

ARS
EDUCANDI

ARS EDUCANDI

VOLUME

XI

PART I

MEN – CRISIS, PROGRESS, CHANGE?

PART II

MORALNA PANIC AROUND GENDER –
RECONSTRUCTIONS

scientific editors

Hussein Bougsiaa, Lucyna Kopciwicz, Marcin Welenc

WYDAWNICTWO
UNIwersytetu GDAŃSKIEGO
GDAŃSK 2014

Scientific Council

Evelyn Arizpe, University of Glasgow, Scotland
Suad Mohammad Babiker, Ahfad University For Women, Sudan
Maria Czerepaniak-Walczak, Uniwersytet Szczeciński, Poland
Maria Dudzikowa, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Poland
Wiesław Jamrożek, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Poland
Marek Konopczyński, Pedagogium Wyższa Szkoła Nauk Społecznych w Warszawie, Poland
Roman Leppert, Uniwersytet Kazimierza Wielkiego w Bydgoszczy, Poland
Mieczysław Malewski, Dolnośląska Szkoła Wyższa, Poland
Jan Masschelein, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium
Peter Mayo, University of Malta, Malta
André Elias Mazawi, University of British Columbia, Canada
Lech Mokrzecki, Uniwersytet Gdański, Poland
Bolesław Niemierko, Uniwersytet Gdański, Poland
Joanna Rutkowiak, Uniwersytet Gdański, Poland
Tomasz Szukdlarek, Uniwersytet Gdański, Poland
Bogusław Śliwowski, Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, Poland
Wiesław Theiss, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Poland
Patricia Thomson, University of Nottingham, Great Britain
Jan Żebrowski, Uniwersytet Gdański, Poland

Editorial Board

Piotr Stańczyk (editor-in-chief), Piotr Bauć, Radosław Breska,
Michał Daszkiewicz, Maria Groenwald, Alicja Jurgiel-Aleksander,
Lucyna Kopciwicz, Małgorzata Lewartowska-Zychowicz,
Justyna Siemionow, Piotr Prósiniński (secretary), Sylwester Zielka

Peer-reviewed journal

Zdzisław Aleksander, Ateneum – Szkoła Wyższa w Gdańsku
Joanna Ostrouch-Kamińska, Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie
Ewa Rodziewicz, Akademia Marynarki Wojennej w Gdyni
Edyta Zierkiewicz, Uniwersytet Wrocławski

English translation
Anna Moroz-Darska

Project of the cover page and title pages
Andrzej Taranek

Editor for the Gdańsk University Press
Jerzy Toczek

Typesetting and page layout
Stanisław Danecki

Tłumaczenie sfinansowano ze środków Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego na podstawie umowy nr 661/P-DUN/2018 z dnia 13 lipca 2018 roku w ramach realizacji zadania 1 – stworzenie angielskich wersji wydawanych publikacji w 2018 roku.

The translation was financed with funds made available by the Ministry of Finance and Higher Education under contract No. 661/P-DUN/2018 of 13 July 2018 as a part of the execution of task 1: the creation of English-language versions of the issued publications in 2018.

© Copyright by Uniwersytet Gdański
Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego

ISSN 1230-607-X

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego
ul. Armii Krajowej 119/121, 81-824 Sopot
tel./fax 58 523 11 37, tel. 725 991 206
e-mail: wydawnictwo@ug.edu.pl
www.wyd.ug.edu.pl

Księgarnia internetowa: www.kiw.ug.edu.pl

Contents

Hussein Bougsiaa, Lucyna Kopciwicz, Marcin Welenc	
Introduction	7
PART I	
MEN – CRISIS, PROGRESS, CHANGE?	
Krzysztof Arcimowicz (University of Białystok)	
Crisis of Masculinity or Masculine Opportunity? An Overview	13
Monika Grochalska (University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn)	
Critical Perspectives in the Exploration of Meanings of Intimacy	27
Bartłomiej Lis (University of Wrocław)	
Socialisation Towards Normative Masculinity:	37
Institutions and Mechanisms of Shaping the Heterohabitus. Examples	37
Aneta Grygiel-Dorszewska (Higher School of Social Communication in Gdynia)	
The (Un)true Masculinity: Pedagogical Considerations of Male Identity	51
Krzysztof Wąż (University of Zielona Góra)	
Teenage Boys as Fathers: Two Socialisation Perspectives	65
Tatiana Maciejewska (University of Zielona Góra)	
The gym as a place of constructing masculine corporeal identity	79
Urszula Kluczyńska (Poznan University of Medical Sciences)	
Bigorexia: Men's Troubles with Their Body	97
Jan Papież (University of Gdansk)	
Bigorexia as a Male Identity Disorder	109
Tomasz Nowicki (University of Gdansk)	
Why Do Men Kill? The Construction of Masculinity on the Basis of Hunting Practices	117
Hussein Bougsiaa (Institute of Pedagogy, University of Gdansk)	
Masculinity and the Social Violence Against Women	129
Aneta Kokot (Kujawy and Pomorze University in Bydgoszcz)	
The Sexual Aspect of Mobbing in Schools in the Relations Between the Head and the Teacher: Nature, Manifestations, Implications	141
Sława Grzechnik (University of Gdansk)	
Discursive Construction of Knowledge in Line with the Logic of the Development of Pupils' Male Habitus in the Classroom	159

Martyna Klaus-Kowalska (University of Gdansk)	
On Their Way to Manhood: Boys in Single-Sex Schools	175
Olga Śnieżko (University of Gdansk)	
Men and Women in Islam: Between the Stereotype and the Reality in Northern Sudan	187
Piotr Prósiniowski, Joanna Ranachowska (University of Gdansk)	
Masculinity on your Screens: Constructs of Men and their Sexualities in Role-Playing Video Games, Films, and Adverts	197
Katarzyna Klonowska (University of Warsaw)	
The Paradigm of Masculinity in the Context of Morality Changes: Heterosexual Male Sponsorship	211
Magdalena Stoch (Pedagogical University of Cracow)	
Men as Seen by Women: The Educational Potential of Contemporary Polish Feminist Literature	219

PART II

MORAL PANIC AROUND GENDER – RECONSTRUCTIONS

Piotr Stańczyk and Sylwester Zielka (University of Gdansk)	
Talk with Prof. Ewa Graczyk About Search for an Enemy, Gender, and Education of Teachers	233
Lucyna Kopciewicz (University of Gdansk)	
Nature and Equality – Moral Panic Around Boys Failing at School in the 1990s in the Perspective of Feminism- and Posthumanism-related Concerns in the 21 st Century	243
Agnieszka Kościńska (University of Warsaw)	
Gender Panic – a Red Herring or a Dispute Around Cultural Citizenship?	259
Paweł Kozielski (University of Gdansk)	
Pro-pornographic Sex Education as an Ailment of the Polish Republic: an Analysis of the Press Discourse of “Gazeta Polska”	269
Iza Desperak (University of Lodz)	
Boys Dressed Up as Girls, or the Creation Myth of the Polish Anti-Gender Crusade	279
Przemysław Szczygieł (Associacio Cultural Catalano Polonesa Barcelona, Catalonia)	
The School Apparatus and the Exclusion of Women During the Dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain	289
Wojciech Sitarz (University of Wrocław)	
“Western Degeneration” versus “Native Normality”: Moral Panic in the Russian Media Regarding Homosexuality	303

Introduction

For the last two years, the term *gender* has been used frequently in the Polish media space. As much as the very notion of *gender* has long been a part of the terminology of the social sciences and the humanities (and does not arouse much astonishment), numerous linguistic inventions such as *gender ideology*, *genderism*, or the *lobby of genderists* can be encountered as a part of media discussions. An analysis of the phenomenon of *genderism* shows that we are dealing with a fully mature and consciously maintained moral panic surrounding equality-related social changes natural for a society that develops democracy. This is because such inventions, brought to life by right-wing social forces and the Church, are aimed at the identification and demonising of cultural and social changes related to the progressing processes of individuation, secularisation, and democratisation. They are also aimed at showing that such changes are fundamentally inconsistent with nature – understanding nature not in the framework of the biological diversity of all beings, bio-egalitarianism or recognition of every biological (sexual) disposition of the human body as equally valuable and worthy of respect in the perspective of life, but with clear references to the right-wing vision of the social order (encompassing a fundamental inequality of the power of women and men, non-recognition of the right of the social existence of specific groups and identities, in particular sexual ones, and a call to eliminate some of them from the field of social visibility).

Historically speaking, at the beginning of the 1990s the phenomenon of social anxiety was recorded with reference to the progressing equalisation of the status of women and men in Western societies. In relevant literature, it was described as a “crisis of masculinity” being a consequence of a “too far-fetched” (oh, the irony of it!) process of the emancipation of women. The anxiety introduced to the Western media, debates the issues of: the school success of girls, the sexualisation of the image of girls, the brutalisation of girls and the topic of boys as victims of the processes or of the restrictive, violent traditional socialisation. The Polish moral panic surrounding gender is even richer and more complex. Its core is the “unnatural nature of sex”, i.e. every form of sexual activity deviating from the procreative marital sex (and procreation unsupported with new reproduction technologies). It therefore seems clear that it would be worthwhile to analyse these issues in detail.

Our publishing project, the results of which are presented herein, is an attempt at a reconstruction of the basic parameters of the moral panic in Poland surrounding educational equality programmes, sexual education, and issues related to gender and homosexuality. We believe that it is worthwhile to have a closer

look at the panic, having regard to the catalogue of endangered democratic values such as equality, cultural diversity, solidarity, justice, dignity, and social care for others.

However, we intend to begin our project in a classical way – by following the well-trod path of Western social research. Hence, in the first part we refer to two significant theoretical contexts: the crisis of masculinity (the ways in which it is understood are analysed by Krzysztof Arcimowicz), and transformations of social models of intimacy (Monika Grochalska). They are followed by texts devoted to changes in the socio-cultural models of gender, and in particular masculinity: scripts and scenarios of sexual behaviours, mechanisms of their generation, consolidation and control, manners and procedures in which they are implemented and realized, as well as new social experiences of men that have not been well described so far.

We treat the problems related to masculinity as questions which are poorly represented in the Polish socio-pedagogical research. We see the need for a more intense theoretical reflection and research focusing on issues related to masculinity: the multitude of its possible local models and its actual realisations and rearrangements. In particular we focused on identity-related processes related both to the experiences of social power and social powerlessness with which boys and men are confronted at various stages of their life. We also wanted to devote a close look at many places in which these identity-related processes are activated.

Bartłomiej Lis and Aneta Grygiel-Dorszewska analyse the issue of male socialisation, focusing on mechanisms controlling masculinity within the heterosexual matrix. Krzysztof Wąż analyses the socialisation-related experience of men confronted with the situation of early fatherhood. Tatiana Maciejewska, Urszula Kluczyńska and Jan Papież discuss the bodily aspect of male identity and its development. In turn, Tomasz Nowicki and Hussein Bougsiaa talk about the issue of violence engrained in the identity-related project of traditionally understood masculinity. The thread of violence is of key importance for Aneta Kokoń's research focusing on the school space – the workplace of teachers of both sexes. School as a place of gender-related socialisation is analysed by Sława Grzechnik and Martyna Klaus. Olga Śnieżko undertakes the topic of socialisation potentials in the context of religion, while Piotr Prósnowski and Joanna Ranachowska – in the context of video games (an area of gender research which has so far been neglected). An important area of new, rather infrequently analysed socialisation experiences of men is the phenomenon of sponsoring discussed by Katarzyna Klonowska. The last issue is the problem of the revaluation of contemporary models of masculinity in Polish feminist prose. This issue is tackled by Magdalena Stoch.

The second part of this volume of our annual contains texts devoted to questions of the moral panic in Poland and its neighbouring countries. This part is opened by Piotr Stańczyk and Sylwester Zielka's interview with Prof. Ewa Graczyk from the University of Gdansk, which is followed by papers by Lucyna Kopiciewicz, Agnieszka Kościńska, Paweł Kozielski, and Izabela Desperak that focus on the Polish moral panic, as well as Przemysław Szczygieł's text concerning gen-

der-related anxiety in Catalonia, and Wojciech Sitarcz's article discussing the situation in Russia.

The texts contained herein show that any attempt at imposing new moral entanglements on the modernising society will, fortunately, be an extremely difficult task. However, we cannot disregard the macro-level of gender socialisation, global discourses such as neoliberalism, religious fundamentalism, and militarism, which, when clashed with local processes, may contribute to the strengthening of anti-democratic practices.

We kindly thank all the Authors for their contribution to this volume.

Hussein Bougsiaa
Lucyna Kopciwicz
Marcin Welenc

PART I
MEN – CRISIS, PROGRESS, CHANGE?

Krzysztof Arcimowicz
University of Białystok

Crisis of Masculinity or Masculine Opportunity? An Overview

Introduction

I would like to start the article with a general reflection. The use of the term “crisis” is probably at its peak and the term is applied to a number of walks of life as well as various academic disciplines. One may even be of an impression that the world is immersed in a massive crisis, of a previously unheard of calibre. Such common use of the term causes some people to form an opinion that the world used to be better, more just, and free of crises. I think the illusion of a better world gone with the wind, may influence a negative assessment of the transformations of masculinity, femininity, sexuality, and the family, that we can observe in the contemporary societies.

The issue of a masculinity crisis is an area of interest of diverse academics: specialists in sociology, psychology, pedagogy, cultural anthropology, history, and philosophy. Authors who write about the masculinity crisis present varied points of view on the world, they call up different theories, and value social change connected with female emancipation in different ways. This all causes the issue of a masculinity crisis to be viewed from different angles, where different indicators of the crisis are presented and different phenomena are associated with it. In Poland, masculinity crisis gathered the interest of academia in the early 21st century. A valid voice in the debate belonged to Zbyszko Melosik and his book *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej* [Crisis of Masculinity in Contemporary Culture]. Melosik (2002, p. 7) writes that when typing the phrase “crisis of masculinity” into Google’s search engine in the early 21st century we would get ca. 20 thousand website addresses. In October 2014, the same search phrase returned more than 90 hits in Polish (*kryzys męskości*) and around 1.7 million in English¹. One may therefore say that the notion of the crisis of masculinity is of interest to a rising number of academics and journalists, although in my opin-

¹ Accessed on October 8, 2014. The English phrase used was “crisis of masculinity”.

ion the knowledge on the crisis of masculinity is actually low among the Polish society².

The goal of this paper is to characterise the different ways of understanding the crisis of masculinity in subject literature. I will mostly reference academic publications, but in order to present the issue more fully, I will occasionally refer to popular science literature as well as web articles. Additionally, I would like to voice my personal opinion on the crisis of masculinity.

The term “crisis of masculinity” in the context of the transformation of relations between women and men, as well as the category of masculinity itself, came into common use among Western academics in the last decade of the 20th century but men’s identity issues had been described much earlier. Some of the books and articles from the 1970s and 1980s, even though they do not contain the term “crisis of masculinity” itself, do describe the said crisis to a large degree. Therefore, wherever necessary, I will use those publications in this paper.

One can say that currently in Poland as well as in other countries of the Western culture there are two competing paradigms of masculinity. The traditional paradigm sees masculinity in domination and specialisation in given areas. It is based on the dualism of gender roles, and the asymmetrical character of male, female, and children’s traits. It entails the need to quench feelings and emotions³. The new paradigm of masculinity emphasises the equality and partnership of man and woman, treating these values as fundamental in the creation of the new social order. It includes the concepts of androgyny and self-fulfilment, understood as the drive towards complete humanity. This paradigm allows a man to exhibit both masculine and feminine traits. The man’s life motto becomes co-operation, not domination, and he is a partner to women and children. The new version of masculinity – as opposed to the traditional paradigm – does not handicap non-heterosexual sexual identities (cf. Arcimowicz 2003, pp. 25–27). The patriarchal vision and the modern vision of masculinity fight for just one of them to attain the status of truth. In reality, though, few men fulfil all the requirements of the patriarchal imperative in their lives. There is a relatively small group of men who support all the postulates of the modern vision of masculinity. A vast majority of men from the contemporary societies of the West fulfil the values and patterns that continue the elements from the patriarchal and the modern version of masculinity⁴, although the intensity of the traditional and the modern traits can differ, with an advantage of one option or the other (Arcimowicz 2013, pp. 173–179).

² I am formulating the thesis based on conversations with the students of a few Polish universities during my Master’s and Bachelor’s seminars as well as during classes in anthropology of culture and sociology of culture.

³ The traditional paradigm of masculinity largely overlaps the version of hegemonic masculinity which was described by the Austrian sociologist Raewyn Connell (1995, pp. 71–86).

⁴ One also needs to remember that a similar phenomenon can be observed on the macro scale, i.e. some societies differ in their levels of patriarchalism (see Malinowska 2002; Walby 1990).

In my opinion, different approaches to the crisis of masculinity stem from two different visions of masculinity, although with some approaches the crossing of the two concepts of a man can be observed.

Ways of understanding the crisis of masculinity

The first approach assumes that the crisis of masculinity arose in association with female emancipation, whose effect is the weakening of the traditional model of masculinity. The approach builds on the understanding of traditional, patriarchal masculinity, associated with men dominating over women, to be an ahistoric category which cannot be (re)negotiated. The traditional paradigm of masculinity which accentuates the specialisation of women and men in specific walks of life is seen as a clear and the best model. Robert Bly claims that the transformation of the traditional model of masculinity accumulated the difficulties in men-women relations. Attempts to abandon the traditional model are interpreted as ones that jeopardise the social order (Bly 199). According to the conservative authors that support their claims on the biological essentialism, female emancipation facilitates the creation of problems in intimate relations across genders as well as the division of roles within a family (cf. Bly 1990; Clark 1994; Dobson 1994).

In the 1960s and 1970s the development of feminism in the US and Western Europe caused the weakening of the traditional paradigm of masculinity and the increase of social rights for women. The feminist movement was the subject of a harsh critique on treating biological differences as the fundamental criterion for depreciation of the feminine gender and assigning additional value to the masculine one. Women gained a number of privileges which used to be the domain of men. However, in the 1980s a strong counterattack on women's rights was observed – a so-called backlash, or the attempt to take back the winnings of feminism. Susan Faludi (1992, pp. 56–92) says it is a largely camouflaged phenomenon. In the United States and subsequently in other countries, a number of social movements and organisations emerged which voiced the restitution of the authority of fathers in families and the return of the pattern of traditional masculinity to sons, as well as anti-feminist sentiments. There were also opinions suggesting that the unfavourable position of women is an effect of feminism. According to Faludi (1992), the mass media twist the truth and falsify facts, giving the impression that the activities which improved the position of women actually turned it for the worse. According to the author, one of the main goals of the backlash is to push women back into their accustomed roles.

The conservative men's movement established in the United States is an association of opponents of women's emancipation and homosexuals⁵. The key person

⁵ In the United States and other countries there exist a number of men's social movements that voice different opinions. In this work, the conservative, anti-feminist and homosexual-hostile men's

in the organisation was Robert Bly. One of the forms of restitution of men's lost "true" masculinity and psychic strength was through camps at holiday resorts. Their meetings were supposed to give rebirth to the wild men. Participants built shacks, beat on drums, drew wild roars from their chests and all was meant to help rebuild masculine identity (cf. Faludi 1992, pp. 343–344).

Another group that attempts to rebuild the past strength of the traditional model of masculinity and reconstitute gender dimorphism are the Promise Keepers. In 1996, their conferences, held in 22 American states, drew over a million participants. In October 1995, a manifestation of men at the Washington Mall with over a million participants was a major event. The organisation focuses on the specific role of a man, who should lead the family and not allow women to take over this role (Peterey-Mroczkowska 1998, pp. 82–91).

The second approach combines the crisis of masculinity with identity issues of contemporary men where, according to the researchers, the problems do not result from female emancipation but are largely a consequence of the patriarchal model of masculinity. Roger Horrocks, a psychologist, in his *Masculinity in Crisis* (1994), claims that if a large group of men feels unhappy, withdraws from social life, does not cope with everyday problems, avoids responsibility, and appears aggressive towards other men and women, it can be said to suffer from a crisis of masculinity. It needs to be said, however, that Horrocks considers the patriarchal masculinity, the macho masculinity, to limit and cripple men. In his view, men ought to abandon the patriarchal attitude towards women as well as rethink their masculinity (Horrocks 1994, p. 25, in: Mizierska 2003, p. 182).

Horrocks' ideas converge with the position of researchers who built the foundations for the so-called "men's studies" in America in the 1970s and 1980s. Herb Goldberg and Joseph Pleck criticised the traditional paradigm of masculinity and pointed to the need of changing it. In his *The Hazards of Being Male* (1976), Goldberg shows how much spontaneity and sensitivity a man loses when assuming a stereotypical masculine role. The author is heavily critical towards traditional concepts of masculinity which also contain the command to be hard and not to show one's own weaknesses because it significantly limits the man's humanity. In his 1979 *The New Male*⁶, the American psychologist formulates an opinion that the traditional paradigm of masculinity is a paradigm of self-destruction (Goldberg 2000, p. 13).

The third approach towards the crisis of masculinity associates the said crisis with the discomfort men feel when different models of a man in contemporary culture clash. The approach takes into account the assumption that the traditional model of a man is not an optimal solution, at least for some men, but there is no good alternative to it (cf. Wojnicka 2010). Elisabeth Badinter points to two

movement will be called "a conservative men's movement", while men who are the descendants of the women's suffrage movement as well as the gay liberation movement will be called "pro-feminist men's movement".

conflicting models of masculinity within contemporary culture. According to the first model, which she calls a “hard” man, the definition of masculine identity is done through the following rules: no feminine elements, being a winner, hard rules, relying only on oneself. According to Badinter, this model is a threat both to men and women because it does not allow to satisfy a large portion of emotional needs. The opposing model is a “soft” man, being the antithesis of the former. However, the new model leads to some men not being able to cross the border between childhood and adulthood and not being able to free themselves from being dependent on their mothers or partners. She claims that neither of the described models influences the condition of men positively (Badinter 1993, pp. 118–138, 160–162).

Similarly to Badinter, other authors voiced opinions of the lack of alternatives to traditionally understood masculinity, although some articulated the problem of the crisis of masculinity to a larger degree than the French academic did. In *The End of Masculinity* (1998), John MacInnes says that the crisis of masculinity is a fact and a common occurrence. The author brings up some negative aspects of the traditional model of masculinity as a severe crisis of the said model, however failing to find an alternative model that could replace it. He assigns the status of a utopia to the new androgenic pattern (McInnes 1998, p. 46), also claiming that in the contemporary societies of the West some traits that used to be treated as typically masculine such as strength, courage, independence, strength of spirit, and sexual initiative – are currently increasingly often used as starting points to assaults on men. McInnes claims there are no positive models of masculine roles (*Manly Virtues and Masculine Vices*; in: Melosik 2002, pp. 10–11).

The fourth approach perceives the source of the crisis of masculinity in the crisis of heterosexuality and its hegemonic standing in culture (Melosik 2002, pp. 35–47; Skoczylas 2012). Heterosexualism makes up one of the main elements constituting the traditional paradigm of masculinity (see: Arcimowicz 2003, pp. 34–36, 56–57). As of the 1960s, the activities of gay and lesbian social movements in the societies belonging to the Euro-American culture questioned heterosexuality as the only allowed sexual norm. Works of authors associated⁶ with gay and lesbian studies played a major part here, followed by research and theoretical concepts developed as part of the queer studies (see: Seidman 2006, pp. 11–12; Baer, Lizurej 2007, pp. 14–15; Corber, Vallocchi 2003, pp. 3–4). As of the 1980s, many films and series as well as other media coverages from the culture of the West started to feature positive images of sexually unnormative people. It needs to be added, though, that the alteration of the approach of the media towards sexual minorities is the consequence of not only changes of morality in sexuality as well as larger tolerance towards people of non-normative sexual orientation but also because of eco-

⁶ Goldeberg’s *The New Male* was translated into Polish and published by Bertelsman Media under a somewhat misleading title, probably a consequence of marketing aims: *Wrażliwy macho: mężczyzna 2000* [Sensitive Macho – the 2000 Man].

conomic reasons (see Arcimowicz 2013, pp. 144–148, 409–428; Leo 2001, pp. 101–123; Tropiano 2002, pp. 109–128; Melosik 2002, pp. 35–47). Research conducted in the United States and in Poland shows that sexually un-normative people form a few per cent of the society. Among non-heterosexual men there is a higher percentage of those who earn salaries above the average and whose education is higher than that of heterosexual men (cf. Solomon 2016; Izdebski 2012, pp. 386–388). Advertisers and broadcasters, in the time of hardening competition, need to take this into account, and therefore the number of broadcasts directed at un-normative people is growing.

At this point, it is worth recalling the thought of Anthony Giddens (1992), who remarks that one of the reasons for the weakening of heterosexuality as the only acceptable norm is the separation of sex from procreation. Sexual revolution and the popularisation of contraceptives opened new possibilities to heterosexual people, previously accessible only to homosexual people (see Skoczylas 2012). Also, it needs stressing that the category of sexual orientation by itself can be losing its meaning. Better recognition of human sexuality has led to the discovery of such categories as asexuality or autosexuality.

The weakening of the normative influences of heterosexuality leads to the crisis of masculinity because traditional gender and sexual identities need to be always binary: masculinity versus femininity, heterosexuality versus homosexuality (Traister 2000, p. 293, in: Skoczylas 2012).

The fifth approach combines the crisis of masculinity with the global crisis. According to the Austrian physicist and philosopher Fritjof Capra (1982), in the last 20 years of the 20th century the world found itself in the position of a deep global crisis. The author of *The Return Point* writes: “It is a complex, multi-dimensional crisis whose facets touch every aspect of our lives – our health and livelihood, the quality of our environment and our social relationships, our economy, technology, and politics. It is a crisis of intellectual, moral, and spiritual dimensions; a crisis of a scale and urgency unprecedented in recorded human history” (Capra 1982). The author claims that defining the reasons for the current crisis of civilisation is impossible if one takes a fragmentary look, and this is the prevailing perception of reality by most of the scholars, which makes it impossible for them to comprehend the most pressing problems of the contemporary times. These problems are of a systemic nature, which means that they are closely interconnected and interdependent. According to the philosopher, the phenomenon which carries the deepest meaning to the changes of the social, economic, and political system is a slow and resistant, but also inevitable, dusk of the patriarchal system. Capra and other authors claim that there is a need to free academia from the element of humans dominating over nature, while voicing anthropocentric and androcentric sentiments (cf. Capra, Steindl-Rast, Matus 1992). Capra signals the existence of a feedback loop between the patriarchal approach and the global crisis of the contemporary world, starting with the assumption that androcentrism is the reason behind the crisis and that the only way to leave it behind

would be to change the traditional paradigm of masculinity and assign more importance to women in the construction of the new social order. His point of view is closely related to the reflections on the condition of the world as voiced by New Ageists.

The sixth approach assumes that the crisis of masculinity is more of a product of discourse than an actual social problem connected with the identity and psychic issue of contemporary men. According to some authors, a discursively constructed crisis of masculinity is not a new phenomenon, and the discourse itself intensifies at times when the traditional gender order seems to be endangered. Elahe Haschemi Yekani (2011, p. 9), a culture expert, draws our attention to the fact that crying over the alleged crisis of masculinity seems a periodically recurring phenomenon. This is confirmed in the research of Michael Messner, an authority in men's studies. The American sociologist claims gripes over the weakening traditional masculinity appeared in the United States at the turn of the 20th century⁷. They were connected with first-wave feminism. The actions of female Americans led to some changes in the system of the law: making women independent of male wardens, reform of the system of education that allowed girls to become educated. These changes were perceived by a lot of men as a threat to their dominating position. In the public debate, women's increased presence on the job market and better education were criticised, and opinions were voiced that the changes would cause the feminisation of the society. As a consequence, in 1910 The Boy Scouts of America were formed, whose aim was for the "real men" to be able to instil "real manhood" in boys. American football, brutal and traumatic, became the most important sports discipline in the USA, attempting to form the symbol of men's strength and power (Messner 1994, pp. 102–114). It can be said, therefore, that the roots of Faludi's backlash, a 1980s reaction of conservative men to the achievements of second-wave feminism, appeared much earlier.

The seventh approach is represented by those authors who say there is no crisis of masculinity. It often intertwines with the approach stressing the discursive construction of the crisis of masculinity. Researchers doubting in the sense of using the term "crisis of masculinity" refer to the broadening of the term or definition of masculinity (Gardiner 2014; Duch-Dyngosz 2013a, 2013b). The new vision of a man includes behaviour patterns that entail men crossing the traditional gender binarism – for example a pattern of a child guardian or a sensitive partner to a woman. According to a team of researchers from six countries (Austria, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Norway, and Israel) a man's work-based gender is currently evolving to the form of a caring masculinity and active participation in daily housework (Puchert, Gartner, Hoyong 2005; in: Kwiatkowska, Nowakowska 2006, p. 17).

⁷ Badinter refers to the French and English crises of masculinity of the 17th and 18th centuries. She writes about the emergence of "dandies" – men wearing makeup, tights, buckled shoes, and wigs, who spoke with emphasis (Badinter 1993, pp. 29–32).

Crisis of masculinity or masculine opportunity?

Here, I would like to offer my own viewpoint on the crisis of masculinity. I think the term cannot be used *en bloc* in reference to all the behaviour patterns of men functioning in contemporary culture. If I were to use the term “crisis of masculinity”, I would need to do so in reference to the patriarchal paradigm of men, although even in this case I would be tempted to speak of the “transformation of masculinity”.

In my opinion, it is important, and by all means positive, that apart from the traditional paradigm of masculinity, some countries have fully-fledged new patterns of masculinity, while in some – including Poland – such patterns are emerging⁸. Masculinity can have many faces and men can build their identities making use of different values. The emergence of new models of masculinity creates the possibility of choosing cooperation, allows to exhibit features that were traditionally considered masculine and feminine, and in some situations allows to attain a person’s full individual potential.

I generally agree with the position of those authors who consider the crisis of masculinity to be largely a discursive construct. I am not denying the fact that some men, in connection with the social changes and female emancipation, can have trouble defining their identity and finding themselves in new roles, as confirmed by some studies (see *Species. Praktyczny przewodnik po świecie młodych mężczyzn* [Species. A Practical Guide Through the World of Young Men] 2008, pp. 6–25). However, more problems, even though they are often unknown, are caused by the patriarchal paradigm of masculinity (see Friedan 1993, pp. 173–180; Chmura-Rutkowska, Ostrouch 2007, pp. 277–286). What seems like a crisis to some may be an opportunity to others, and here I mean heterosexual women and men who abandon the patriarchal vision of masculinity, sexually- and gender-unnormative people. When we look at the transformations of the category of masculinity from a wider perspective, we can conclude that the rejection of the patriarchal paradigm of masculinity based on such values as domination, power, or uniformisation, may be the beginning of the construction of a new world order where justice, freedom, and diversity will be valued to a larger degree than nowadays. The search for one great alternative to the patriarchal paradigm of masculinity is not a good solution, as in it I see the danger of replacing one hegemony with another. I think that there is no need to search for an alternative to the traditional model of masculinity by force; it is just enough not to interfere in the development of new patterns of masculinity.

The defendants of the patriarchal social order consider the division between the family and public areas, where the former is dominated by women and the

⁸ The growing force of the new paradigm of masculinity can be observed not only in the growing participation of men in childcare and housework but also in the emergence of pro-feminist men’s movements in Northern America and some European countries (see Śmietana 2006; Wojnicka 2010).

latter by men, as a natural state which should not be changed. This clashes with the right for everyone to make decisions related to their lives, which ought to have higher priority than the cultural compulsion of everyone behaving in the same way, in accordance with their gender. It needs to be added that the societies of the West started to develop fastest when women received rights similar to men, and started to receive an education and to work outside the home. It is not at all well when the definition of one's path of life is dictated by ideological pressure and legal compulsion. Democracy is not about enforcing unification, but rather about creating the conditions for every person to realise their personal patterns. There is no single ahistorical, universal masculinity; there are a number of masculinities. Potentially, in a given society there exists a number of equal yet different concepts of masculinity.

Final remarks

One needs to remember that the most important publications on the category of masculinity are related mostly to the societies of the West, and that the authors most often analyse masculinity in the context of their own cultures. Most of the English-language literature on men has a strong ethnocentric and/or class-centric vision. Raewyn Connell claims the discourse on masculinity is mostly constructed on the basis of the lives of a few per cent of people living in one cultural area and at one time (Connell 1993, p. 600). The supporters of biological essentialism, but also some more progressive authors, often forget about the deep diversification of men in individual cultures of the world. Many authors also fail to recognise, strange as it may seem, that the patriarchal model is a relatively new social system in the history of humanity. Archaeological discoveries and the research of academics from other fields indicate that in the later Palaeolithic and the Neolithic ages, i.e. 40–3 thousand years BC, there existed egalitarian societies, or even such in which women played the dominant role (Cameron 1981; Gimbutas 1987; Campbell 1988; Brach-Czaina 1997; Krzak 1994, 2007; Bachofen 2007).

According to Linda Brannon, we can distinguish three contemporary categories describing men and their reactions to the changing roles of women. The first is formed by traditional men, lamenting over the changes, failing to find gains from female emancipation for themselves, treating women as rivals. The second is populated by men at the transition stage who are able to interact with a woman as a partner in an intimate relationship. These men do not always support the emancipatory drives of women, but they try to adjust to the changes on the role of women by altering their behaviour. The third category is that of progressive men, supporting the feminist movement and especially the concept that the traditional gender role is harmful to men (Brannon 2002, pp. 554–555). As history shows, as early as the 19th century a large group of men, including well-known persons, supported the claims of the suffragettes (Brod 1987, p. 269; Shiffman

1987, p. 295). However, both nowadays and in the past, the pro-feminist men are in a minority.

In the discussion on the crisis of masculinity, it is often stressed how weak men are, how little or nothing depends on them. However, when we check who possesses actual power, who makes the most important decisions, it turns out that the disproportion of power between men and women, to the advantage of the former, is still large. It also needs to be remembered that abolishing sexual discrimination *de iure* will not mean that actual equality of men and women in all areas of life will appear automatically. It is a process, stimulated by legal solutions, but one needs to keep in mind that the solutions do not guarantee its complete success.

I think the emergence of new patterns of masculinity is a chance of liberating from the pressure of the traditional paradigm that associates masculinity with domination and violence. It is not about creating a cultural pressure that commands all men to realise their life patterns, but rather about pointing to the deficiencies of the existing model of gender socialisation and creating the possibilities of the equal functioning of different patterns of masculinity. In Poland, there exist dynamic tensions between the traditional and the new gender models. There are attempts to halt the transformations, but evolution cannot be stopped, only merely retarded.

Literature

- Arcimowicz K., 2013, *Dyskursy o płci i rodzinie w polskich telesagach. Analiza seriali obyczajowych najpopularniejszych na początku XXI wieku* [Discourse on Gender and Family in Polish Soap Operas. Analysis of the Most Popular TV Dramas of the Early 21st Century], Wydawnictwo Akademickie ZAK, Warsaw.
- Arcimowicz K., 2003, *Obraz mężczyzny w polskich mediach. Prawda, fałsz, stereotyp* [The Image of Man in the Polish Media. The True, the False, and the Stereotypic], Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk.
- Bachofen J. J., 2007, *Matriarchat. Studium na temat ginajkokracji świata starożytnego podług natury religijnej i prawnej* [Matriarchy. A Study on the Gynaecocracy of the Ancient World According to Religious and Legal Nature], Wydawnictwo KR, Warszawa.
- Badiner E., 1993, *XY: Tożsamość mężczyzny* [XY – On Masculine Identity], W.A.B., Warszawa.
- Baer M., Lizurej M., 2007, *Z odmiennej perspektywy. Pomiędzy studiami gejowsko-lesbijskimi a studiami queer. Wprowadzenie* [From a Different Perspective. Between Gay-Lesbian Studies and Queer Studies. An Introduction], [in:] M. Baer, M. Lizurej (eds.), *Z odmiennej perspektywy. Studia queer w Polsce* [From a Different Perspective. Queer Studies in Poland], Oficyna Wydawnicza Arboretum, Wrocław.
- Bem S., 2000, *Męskość kobiecość: o różnicach wynikających z płci* [Masculinity, Femininity: Gender-dependent Differences], Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk.
- Bly R., 1990, *Iron John: A Book About Men*, Addison Wesley, Boston
- Brach-Czaina J., 1997, *Bogini. Neolityczne zabytki Malty i Gozo* [Goddess, Neolithic Monuments of Malta and Gozo], [in:] J. Brach-Czaina (ed.), *Od kobiety do mężczyzny i z powrotem: rozważania o płci w kulturze* [From Woman to Man and Back: Thoughts on Gender in Culture], Wydawnictwo Trans Humana, Białystok.

- Brannon L., 2002, *Psychologia rodzaju* [Gender Psychology], Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk.
- Brod H., 1987, *A Case for Men's Studies*, [in:] M. S. Kimmel (ed.), *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park.
- Cameron D. O., 1981, *Symbols of Birth and Death In the Neolithic Era*, Kenyon-Deane, London.
- Campbell J., 1988, *The Power of Myth*, Doubleday, New York.
- Capra F., 1982, *The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture*, Bantam Books, New York.
- Capra F., Steindl-Rast D., Matus T., 1993, *Belonging to the Universe: Explorations on the Frontiers of Science and Spirituality*, Harper, San Francisco.
- Chmura-Rutkowska I., Ostrouch J., 2007, *Mężczyźni na przełęczy życia. Studium socjopedagogiczne* [Men at the Turning Point of Life. Socio-pedagogical Study], Impuls, Kraków.
- Connell R. W., 1995, *Masculinities*, Policy Press, Cambridge.
- Connell R.W., 1993, The Big Picture. Masculinity in Recent World History, Theory and Society No. 5.
- Corber R.J., Valocchi S., 2003, *Introduction*, [in:] R. J. Corber, S. Valochi (eds.), *Queer Studies. An Interdisciplinary Reader*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden-Oxford-Melbourne.
- Crabb L., 2013, *Men&Women: Enjoying the Difference*, Zondervan, Grand Rapids
- Dobson J., 2008, *What Wives Wish Their Husbands Knew About Women*, Tyndale House Publishers Inc., Carol Stream, Illinois.
- Duch-Dyngosz M., 2013, *Atlas polskich mężczyzn* [Atlas of Polish Men], "Znak" Vol. 11.
- Duch-Dyngosz M., 2013, *Kryzys męskości to mit!* [Crisis of Masculinity is a Myth!], Onet.pl, 07.11.2013, <http://facet.onet.pl/kryzys-meskosci-to-mit/wvyzj> [accessed on March 5, 2014].
- Faludi S., 1992, *Backlash. The Undeclared War Against American Women*, Vintage, London.
- Friedan B., 1993, *The Fountain of Age*, A Touchstone Book, New York.
- Gardiner E., 2014, *There's No Crisis in Masculinity, Only a Narrow Definition of Men*, The Conversation, January 31, 2014, <http://theconversation.com/theres-no-crisis-in-masculinity-only-a-narrow-definition-of-men-21777> [accessed on October 13, 2014].
- Giddens A., 1992, *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*, Polity, Cambridge
- Gimbutas M., 1989, *The Language of the Goddess*, Harper and Row, New York.
- Goldberg H., 1976, *The Hazards of Being Male*, Signet, New York.
- Goldberg H., 1979, *The New Male: From Self-Destruction to Self-Care*, Morrow, New York.
- Haschemi Yekani E., 2011, *The Privilege of Crisis, Narratives of Masculinities in Colonial and Postcolonial Literature, Photography and Film*, Campus, Frankfurt.
- Horrocks R., 1994, *Masculinity in Crisis*, Houndmills, Basingstoke.
- Izdebski Z., 2012, *Seksualność Polaków na początku XXI wieku. Studium badawcze* [The Sexuality of Poles in the early 21st century], Wydawnictwo UJ, Kraków.
- Krzak Z., 1994, *Megality Europy* [Europe's Megaliths], Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw.
- Krzak Z., 2007, *Od patriarchy do matriarchy* [From the Patriarchic to the Matriarchic], Wydawnictwo Trio, Warsaw.
- Kwiatkowska A., Nowakowska A., 2006, *Mężczyzna polski. Psychospołeczne czynniki warunkujące pełnienie ról zawodowych i rodzinnych* [The Polish Man. Psycho-social Aspects Conditioning the Fulfilment of Professional and Family Roles], Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Ekonomicznej, Białystok.

- Leo J. R., 2001, *Reprezentacje gejów w amerykańskim melodramacie telewizyjnym lat 80.* [Gay Representation in American TV Drama of the 1980s], [in:] E. Ostrowska (ed.), *Gender – Film – Media*, Wydawnictwo Rabid, Kraków.
- Malinowska E., 2002, *Feminizm europejski: demokracja parytetowa a polski ruch kobiet. Socjologiczna analiza walki o równouprawnienie płci* [European Feminism: Parity, Democracy and the Polish Women's Movement. Sociological Analysis of the Struggle for Gender Equality], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź.
- McInness J., 1998, *The End of Masculinity. The Confusion of Sexual Genesis and Sexual Difference in Modern Society*, Open University Press, Ballmoor.
- Melosik Z., 2002, *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej* [The Crisis of Masculinity in Contemporary Culture], Wolumin, Poznań.
- Messner M. A., 1994, *Boyhood, Organized Sports, and the Construction of Masculinities*, [in:] M. S. Kimmel, M. A. Messner (eds.), *Men's Lives*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
- Mizierska E., 2003, *Pogrążony w kryzysie. Portret mężczyzny w polskim kinie postkomunistycznym* [Immersed in Crisis. Portrayal of Men in Polish Post-Communist Cinematography], "Kwartalnik Filmowy" Vol. 43.
- Petrey-Mroczkowska J., 1998, *Promise Keepers, czyli rehabilitacja ojcostwa*, "Więź" Vol. 5.
- Puchert R., Gartner M., Hoyong S., 2005, *Work Changes Gender. Men and Equality in the Transition of Labour Forms*, Barbara Budrich Publishers, Leverkusen-Opladen.
- Seidman S., 1996, *Introduction*, [in:] S. Seidman (ed.), *Queer Theory/Sociology*, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge.
- Shiffman M., 1987, *The Men's Movement*, [in:] M. S. Kimmel (ed.), *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park.
- Skoczylas Ł., 2012, *Kryzys męskości. Ujęcia teoretyczne* [Crisis of Masculinity. Theoretical Approaches], *Kultura i Historia*, <http://www.kulturaihistoria.umcs.lublin.pl/archives/4250> [accessed on October 13, 2014].
- Solomon M. R., 2016, *Consumer Behavior: Buying, Having, and Being*, Pearson, London.
- Species. Praktyczny przewodnik po świecie młodych mężczyzn* [A Practical Guide Through the World of Young Men], 2008, Discovery Communication Europe Ltd, London.
- Śmietana M., 2006, *Ruchy społeczne mężczyzn na tle studiów nad męskością* [Men's Social Movements in the Perspective of Masculinity Studies], [in:] A. Lipowska-Teutsch (ed.), *Mężczyźni na rzecz zmiany* [Men's Support Towards Change], Towarzystwo Interwencji Kryzysowej, Kraków.
- Traister B., 2000, *Academic Viagra: The Rise of American Masculinity Studies*, *American Quarterly* Vol. 52, No. 2.
- Tropiano S., 2002, *The Prime Time Closet. A History of Gays and Lesbians on TV*, Applause Theatre and Cinema, Books, New York.
- Walby S., 1990, *Theorizing Patriarchy*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Wojnicka K., 2010, *Od maskulinizmu do profeminizmu. Społeczne ruchy mężczyzn – zarys problematyki* [From Masculinism to Profeminism. Men's Social movements – an Overview], "Uni-Gender" Vol. 1: <http://www.unigender.org/?page=biezacy&issue=04&article=04> [Accessed on March 10, 2014].

Summary

Crisis of Masculinity or Masculine Opportunity? An Overview

In this article the author provides a critical overview of the debates around the status of men. The ways in which these kinds of problematics have emerged are discussed at length to highlight the kind of polemic which continues to inform the moral panic surrounding the plight of men who have acquired the status of the “new disadvantaged”.

Keywords

masculinity, crisis, progress, change, social research.

Monika Grochalska

University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn

Critical Perspectives in the Exploration of Meanings of Intimacy¹

Rather than the subject of scientific research, intimacy often seems to be considered the domain of all sorts of agony aunts writing online advice columns. When the need to define intimacy for research purposes arises, it turns out to be problematic. The issue of intimacy has been largely trivialised by popular opinions and cliché definitions. It transpires that we “sense” what intimacy is more than we actually know what the term means. This is a sphere of life which is very often taboo and at the same time highly idealized. This text is intended to present the most adequate scientific definitions of what we consider intimacy in everyday life, and at the same time to “demystify” this realm of human experience. Simultaneously, an attempt will be made to demonstrate the value of having a critical perspective in the process of discovering the many meanings of intimacy. They are inextricably linked with the ever changing and constantly evolving discourses of love, which are eternally present in the public space and penetrate into the world of science, at the same time contributing to the dominance of a single, relatively rigid scheme of interpretation in the research on these most personal areas of everyday life. Finally, selected concepts of Pierre Bourdieu’s and Michel Foucault’s theories will be discussed, together with an indication of possible ways of applying them as a new analytical framework for removing the taboos surrounding intimate relationships and investigating the hidden aspects thereof.

Polish social pedagogy and family sociology are dominated by the discourse of family intimacy. It is a sphere defined from the point of view of family and marital relations, often idealized, but without an in-depth analysis of the relationship between the two partners forming the core of the family, or the ways in which they experience intimacy in a relationship (*cf.* Ostrouch-Kamińska 2011, pp. 31–40). This is a subject that is neglected and ignored. By definition, the intimate remains private, which is why intimacy appears to be a difficult to define and elusive object of research.

¹ This article was written as part of the project funded by the National Science Centre allocated on the basis of the decision no DEC–2011/01/D/HS6/02470.

This paper will outline the possibilities of the critical analysis of intimate relationships from the viewpoint of Bourdieu's and Foucault's social theory. The aim is to answer the question whether and to what extent a critical perspective will allow us to interpret the processes of constructing intimate relationships and perceptions about them, as well as the ways of experiencing intimate relationships.

(Re)defining Intimacy

According to Robert Sternberg (2006, p. 185; Wojciszke 2011, pp. 336–338), intimacy is one of the components of love. It comprises all the positive feelings we have towards the partner and the actions that reflect those feelings. Intimacy may be described in the following terms:

- warm and loving contacts,
- mutual understanding,
- emotional reassurance,
- kindness,
- sense of security and peace in the presence of the partner,
- being able to count on the partner,
- support and help.

Such an understanding of intimacy may be identified with (Wojciszke 2010, pp. 10–11):

- the desire to promote the welfare of the partner,
- experiencing happiness with and because of the partner,
- high regard for the partner,
- being able to count on the partner in the time of need,
- mutual understanding,
- sharing of one's self and one's possessions with the partner,
- giving and receiving of emotional support,
- intimate communication,
- valuing the partner as an important part of one's life.

These components may be regarded as a set of practices characteristic for intimate relationships. According to Bourdieu's theory, they are generated by the habitus.

The structure of intimacy, i.e. the configuration of the above-mentioned factors, does not depend on whether this concerns love for a life partner, father, mother, siblings or a friend of the same sex. Intimacy appears in all these relationships with different intensity, but it is always a collection of experiences characteristic of love in general (Wojciszke 2010).

It is also important to note that intimacy in a relationship gradually disappears. In the friendly relationship phase, halting the decline in intimacy becomes a fundamental problem. It is about maintaining mutual emotional attachment, affection, trust, and willingness to give and receive support. Intimacy may fade away as a result of egoism, intolerance, aggression, absence of support or infidel-

ity (Wojciszke 2011, pp. 345–346). It seems, however, that in certain relationships intimacy in this sense does not have a chance to develop at all, because factors such as intolerance, aggression or infidelity have existed from the very beginning. Nevertheless, due to various mechanisms, such as the discourse of a “happy family” or marital and family myths (Kocik 2006, pp. 80–90) imprinted in the course of socialization, the partners continue to pursue and remain in such relationships. However, there is also some kind of intimacy in these relationships. This suggests that the psychological approach to love is incomplete.

In fact, intimacy is a scarcely tangible, dispersed, and undefined object of research. What is certain, however, is that intimacy is reflected in the practices undertaken by the partners towards each other, and at the same time it determines those practices.

Contemporary Discourses of Love – Idealizing Living as a Couple

Reliable research on the sense of intimacy is hampered greatly by the tendency to idealize family and marital relationships, a tendency which is also encountered in academic approaches. This is due to the fact that the research is often founded upon the “natural and self-evident” premises arising from the prevailing discourses of love. According to Maciej Gdula (2009), nowadays (based on the analysis of self-help books on love) we are able to distinguish three main discourses of love present in the public sphere:

1) utopian

There is an absence of external criteria for evaluating the relationship. The discourse is dominated by rationalisation, involving a debate about a fair and balanced division of labour, as well as the assumption that it is possible to remain in a close relationship, even though fully complementary relations are not possible due to undeniable “natural” differences between women and men. This discourse contains references to socio-biology.

2) utilitarian

Here love is portrayed as a game. The relationship is defined in terms of profit and loss; partners get together only when they are able to produce more goods together than on their own. The union should be managed as an enterprise and treated as a long-term investment. It is a discourse “fuelled” by the theory of social exchange.

3) traditional

It emphasizes the “natural” completeness of the relationship between a woman and a man, with children as its “natural” consequence. Spouses should exercise control over their sexuality, as sex is meant to be, by its nature, procreative. Any “friction” in the relationship is blamed on cultural decay and if relationships disintegrate, this is due to the “toxic” environment and not the partners themselves. Such discourse is in keeping with the conservative Catholic discourse and is often found in research on the structure and functions of the family in pedagogy.

If an attempt was made to reconstruct the definition of intimacy inherent in the discourses mentioned above, the differences would be profound. Utopian discourse assumes the existence of differences, which make women predisposed to certain behaviours towards a partner, while men are predisposed to others. Women are more inclined to take care of their partner, it comes naturally to them. Furthermore, when it comes to happiness, women and men find it in different ways, thus it is essential to be aware of these mutual preferences in order to be able to make your partner happy. Respect for the partner is based on understanding these mechanisms. It is assumed that the relationship is about sharing goods and experiences, but sometimes there is not enough room for genuine interest, and then (for the sake of the relationship) it is necessary to pretend that the partner's experiences are of interest to us. This is especially true for men, as they do not have a natural gift of interest in their partner's experiences. You can use material goods to "buy" the happiness of another person. Women are also more inclined to provide emotional support, while men need to master adequate ways to act in this area. Sharing intimate information usually serves to achieve simultaneous satisfaction of the partners. Having a partner and being in a relationship seems to be an important component of life, while, at the same time, making life more difficult.

In the utilitarian discourse, the constituents of intimacy are treated as resources. It is rather a matter of one's own benefit than the welfare of the partner. Happiness is achieved only when the benefits are multiplied. Respect for the partner arises when the partner actually helps to maximize these gains. The belief that you may count on each other is also linked to the possibility of pooling resources. A common goal, i.e. maximizing returns, makes partners understand each other better. Material values are superior to spiritual ones – women are at the forefront of their acquisition. In terms of giving and receiving emotional support, there is also a clear asymmetry – it is men who benefit more. The exchange of intimate information is a means of reaping the benefits in the form of satisfaction. A relationship and a partner are important as long as they help to maximize profits.

In traditional discourse, it is the man who is supposed to be the breadwinner, and the woman who is supposed to safeguard the home "infrastructure". Giving and receiving emotional support is of limited importance – what is important is keeping up the appearances. The exchange of intimate information is necessary, for example, to prevent an unwanted pregnancy. The use of natural family planning methods requires the partner to be informed about the fertile and infertile days on which sexual intercourse can be initiated. The partner and relationship are at the heart of the value hierarchy, but this is because of complying with the external norms.

All these discourses are linked to science by a specific dialectical relationship. Their components are the product of academic reflections (psychological, sociological and pedagogical), while at the same time re-impacting the awareness and perception of intimacy by researchers. However, these discourses rarely contribute to understanding the true nature of intimate relationships because they are enslaved by external norms, moral imperatives, structural conditions and internalised beliefs about gender and sexuality.

Critical Approaches to Intimacy

It is worth considering what critical theory can contribute to the analysis of intimate relations. What is a relationship of two people in the light of critical theory? What nuances omitted in the dominant discourses does this perspective allow us to capture?

In Bourdieu's theory, the key factors in the analysis of intimate relationships are as follows:

- 1) the theory of practice, especially the problem of the adaptation of practices to structures (models constructed on the basis of discourse),
- 2) the problem of acquiring practices as mediation between the structure and the systems that it produces, and the habitus – understood as the effect of structures and, at the same time, the principle of externalizing what is acquired in the form of practices,
- 3) the concept of symbolic violence – explaining the mechanisms of subordinating certain social groups to others and imposing on them the perspective of the dominant groups in perceiving and evaluating reality.

As regards the issue of adapting intimate life practices to models previously constructed on the basis of the discourse, Bourdieu's assumptions (1990, p. 52) are as follows:

- 1) the objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, and thus intimacy itself is also constructed,
- 2) the principle of this construction is the system of structured, structuring dispositions, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions.

This means that through the dominant discourses, representations of relationships are formed in people's minds, which determine their expectations towards this type of relationship (expected results) and the practices undertaken. Discourses, however, ignore important aspects of intimacy, thus generating false representations of such relationships, and, consequently, unrealistic expectations of the relationship/partner and practices that are not suited to the objective circumstances. In such cases, being in a relationship generates dissonances, which inevitably lead to the modification of the representations. Since they are constructs – however, represented, modified, shared and passed on in the process of interaction – their modification is always somehow "skewed" by the discourse, and is never determined solely by past experiences. It may therefore lead to the emergence of further false representations of relationships, further maladjusted practices and further dissonances.

When referring to the process of acquiring practices, understood as mediation between the structure and the systems that it produces, the role of the habitus cannot be overlooked. It is necessary to embrace here the understanding of the habitus as the effect of structures and, at the same time, the principle of externalizing what is acquired in the form of practices. To quote Bourdieu: "The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of clas-

sification (*principium divisionis*) of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the *habitus*, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of lifestyles, is constituted" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 170). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that it is the *habitus* that generates the practices undertaken towards the partner in the relationship. If the partners are equipped with different *habitus*, they will also generate other practices, and their own practices may be interpreted by the partner inconsistently with their intentions. Given that men and women are equipped with a different gender *habitus*, we should anticipate the emergence of a number of problems associated with such a mismatch. Furthermore, Bourdieu admits that "the system of *matching* properties, which includes people [...] is organized by taste, a system of classificatory schemes which may only very partially become conscious although, as one rises in the social hierarchy, lifestyle is increasingly a matter of what Weber calls the 'stylization of life'" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 174). One of the possible interpretations of these words assumes that women and men, with different *habitus*, acquire different schemes of classifying practices in the course of socialization, i.e. they develop a different taste. This clearly concerns what the partners approve of within each other and what they expect of each other. The process of socialisation makes these expectations all too often quite contradictory. Girls are imprinted with a script which consists in searching for a charming, chivalrous and loving knight in shining armour. In adulthood, however, it turns out that there is a shortage of knights, as boys are socially conditioned to dominate over women and this dominance stretches over the sphere of eroticism as well. Often this dominance is linked to physical violence and has little to do with the "love" for which girls are groomed. In short, boys expect their life partner to be a "sexy uninhibited maid", while girls want to be "princesses", pursued and adored. In this situation an evident conflict of interest arises. This explains the frequent disillusionment with first relationships.

Rarely do intimate experiences end with the first relationship, however. As Bourdieu puts it, "the *habitus*, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices – more history – in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms" (Bourdieu 1990, p. 54). All existing and past experiences of "being-in-a-relationship", both in the individual and collective sense, make us acquire schemes of perception, thinking and action in an intimate relationship, i.e. we construct representations of intimate relationships. And they certainly differ considerably depending on the gender *habitus*.

According to Bourdieu, "*habitus* is an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions – whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioned and conditional freedom it provides is as remote from the creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from simple mechanical reproduction of the original con-

ditioning" (Bourdieu 1990, p. 55). Therefore, all newly formed unions are the product of previous experiences, individual and collective, as well as internalised knowledge, individual and collective, about relationships and practices that are at the same time the result of these experiences and an attempt to adapt to new objective circumstances.

Drawing on the legacy of Bourdieu's theory of practice, it can be concluded that the practices associated with the functioning in a relationship are produced by the habitus. Habitus is a structured structuring structure. This means that the whole process of socialization and the norms and values that we assimilate, characteristic of the social class we come from, produce different ideas and expectations about relationships. This is why we engage in different behaviours in relationships and expect different consequences of these behaviours. The degree to which practices are adapted to objective circumstances may also vary. The dynamics of a relationship are therefore continuously (re)negotiated and shaped by and within the discourse.

The concept of symbolic violence shows that there is only one perspective in the discourse – the heteronormative one. It dominates in each of the discourses of love listed above. In the traditional understanding of a household and the family an asymmetry of power relations is inscribed. A family, in its traditional sense, is a reflection of the power relations prevailing in a society where women are a subjugated group, which is manifested in a system of symbolic practices that naturalize the social order with the dominant position of men. These practices are most clearly discernible in the process of gender socialization, aimed at maintaining the traditional order and the masculine *status quo*.

Symbolic violence makes the dominant discourses of love incorporate the values, norms and perspective of the dominant group, i.e. heterosexual men. From this standpoint, in each of the discourses, a successful relationship is based on a woman's sacrifice. This is one of the invisible determinants of functioning in a relationship, conditioned by the female habitus.

The heteronormative matrix in the realm of intimate relationships may be examined even more closely, using the interpretative framework derived from the works of Foucault (1978; 1977). Two aspects seem to be of particular relevance in a critical analysis:

- 1) understanding gender and sexuality as normative, organizing categories,
- 2) treating gender as a construct to control sexuality.

The categories of gender and sexuality serve as instruments for preserving the heteronormative order. A discourse of power is inherent to them. The field of family, and indeed the area of relations between partners, represents an arena of constant power struggles rather than a safe haven and refuge. This is absent from any of the dominant discourses.

In the vast majority of studies and socio-educational analyses, the phenomenon of power is rarely discussed². Relationships are rather interpreted as a quest

² With a notable exception of the work of Eugenia Mandal (2011).

to reach consensus. As Eugenia Mandal noted, researchers seem to assume that the family is the most idyllic place in the world, where power or struggle for power does not exist. But meanwhile, it can be observed in many situations occurring in marriage and in the family, which for most people represents a fundamental value and a source of happiness. At the same time it is the family home which criminologists call the "most dangerous place on Earth after sunset" (Mandal 2011, p. 161). It also seems that the prevalent interpretation of intimacy does not take into account the confrontation of partners or the interplay between understanding, closeness and support and sacrifice, feelings of resentment and retribution, or even revenge.

The discursively formed gender binarism remains in the service of heteronormativity – no "difference" in relations is tolerated. The binarism of gender and dispositions viewed as "natural" for each of them means that any non-normative behaviour within the relationship is rejected, kept hidden by the partners, and, when discovered by the environment, socially stigmatized. This applies especially to homosexual relationships, which are most often concealed from the community (such is the social requirement), and when discovered and disclosed, they are constantly "cropped" to the norms typical for heterosexual relationships and evaluated according to such norms. A critical perspective, by exposing the hidden aspects of relationships, allows us to explore the space of the experience of partners in homosexual relationships without this heteronormative cliché. Social representations appear in this context as a neutral analytical category, as they do not emphasize gender roles. It should be noted, however, that the very process of constructing social representations about gay relationships is also determined by the heteronormative socialisation schemes. However, once the process of their modification begins, a greater role seems to be played by past experiences, while socialisation factors are of lesser importance (mainly due to the negligible occurrence of such models in the public space).

The dialectic of subordination and subjugation referred to by Foucault as "subjectification" takes place in the process of socialization, through behaviour marked by symbolic violence. Medicalisation, particularly pronounced in the traditional discourse of love, is an instrument of control subordinated to the imperatives of morality. Such tendencies are illustrated, for example, by disputes in political discourse centred around contraception, or by noticing and valuing behaviours that are not in line with the standards of dominant groups, which are referred to in discourse as deviations and aberrations, etc. That which is intimate is forced into the mechanism of exclusions, hollow places in the system of the knowledge and the power of society.

And just as, according to Foucault, the discourse on sex seems to conceal its problems (the more you talk about sex, the thicker the "veil" of the discourse that hides it), so in the case of love the dominant discourses make the true nature of one of its components, intimacy, more and more concealed (Foucault 1978). The neutralization of discourses is facilitated by the shared and natural experiences of intimacy. The purpose of love discourses is to keep women in a state of subordination – especially to the rigors of attractiveness, which requires a variety of practices

that modify the appearance and are designed to evoke a sense of pleasure in the partner in many different ways. These practices are determined by discourse, and their carriers are both science and the mass media, popular self-help books, psychological work, or the socialisation process.

In conclusion, critical theory may allow research to touch upon what the dominant discourses, speaking of love, continue to consistently and invariably hide, such as, but not limited to, the “murky” structural conditions of love and intimacy. It also creates an opportunity to identify uniform criteria for the interpretation of data on the experience of intimacy in relationships by both heterosexual and homosexual couples. Moreover, it allows us to investigate the aspects of constructing social representations of relationships and the role of public discourse in this process, which makes it one of the most promising perspectives on contemporary intimate relations, dynamic and negotiable.

Literature

- Bourdieu P., 1984, *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, transl. Richard Nice, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Bourdieu P., 1990, *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford University Press.
- Foucault M., 1978, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. I, II, III, translated by Robert Hurley, Pantheon Books, New York.
- Foucault M., 1977, *Power and Sex. An Interview with Michel Foucault*, Telos June 20, 1977
- Gdula M., 2009, *Trzy dyskursy miłosne* [Three Discourses of Love], Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.
- Kocik L., 2006, *Rodzina w obliczu wartości i wzorów życia ponowoczesnego świata* [The Family in the Face of Values and Lifestyles of the Postmodern World], Oficyna Wydawnicza AFM, Kraków.
- Ostrouch-Kamińska J., 2011, *Rodzina partnerska jako relacja współzależnych podmiotów* [The Partnership-based Family as a Relationship of Co-dependent Entities], Oficyna Wydawnicza Impuls, Kraków.
- Mandal E., 2011, *Miłość, władza i manipulacja w bliskich związkach* [Love, Power and Manipulation in Intimate Relationships], Wyd. Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Sternberg R.J., 2006, *A Duplex Theory of Love* [in:] *The New Psychology of Love*, R.J. Sternberg, K. Weis (Eds.), Yale University Press, New Haven & London
- Wojciszke B., 2010, *Psychologia miłości* [The Psychology of Love], Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk.
- Wojciszke B., 2011, *Psychologia społeczna* [Social Psychology], Wyd. Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa.

Summary

Critical Perspective in the Exploration of Meanings of Intimacy

This paper is designed to provide the most relevant scientific definitions of what we are used to call “intimacy”, but also to slightly “demystify” this sphere of human expe-

rience. At the same time the author attempts to demonstrate the usefulness of a critical perspective in the exploration of multiple meanings of intimacy. They are inextricably linked with the discourses of love – variable over time and continuously prone to numerous modifications. They are constantly present in the public sphere and they penetrate the world of science, contributing to the dominance of a single, relatively rigid schema of interpretation of existing research on the most intimate areas of everyday life.

Keywords

intimacy, love, everyday life, privacy, change

Bartłomiej Lis
University of Wrocław

Socialisation Towards Normative Masculinity: Institutions and Mechanisms of Shaping the Heterohabitus. Examples¹

Men who turn out to be dominantly homosexual in their mature lives as well as those who identify themselves with the socially and culturally developed category of being gay are not subject to socialisation to a masculine role that would differ from the dominant discourse on gender while they are boys or adolescents. Gays, just like heterosexual, bisexual, and all other men, in accordance with the initial identification of being men by anatomy, are nurtured accordingly to this “observation” (a performative procedure of “masculinising” a boy’s body starts, together with forming in a young man the proper behaviours and ways of acting, thus shaping a specific, clear gender disposition). The first habitus, found in later possible “reconstructions”, is practically always a habitus filled with heterosexuality as an immanent part of human nature. Traces of preparing boys to being normative men are also easily identifiable in gay narrations on childhood and adolescence. The understanding of masculinity which is dominant in the discourse and in which the heterosexuality of a person is a crucial element was a topic of socialising practices also in reference to homosexual men (Levine 1998, p. 55). The readiness to accept such a perspective, naturally brought different results with each gay that I spoke with during my research², but despite rare “exemptions” from the normative acting out of one’s gender, my interviewees agreed to their gender role being defined in this way. It was not always an easy feat, but I dare say that such cases of gender non-conformism can be discovered by an avid researcher in the stories of heterosexual men as well.

¹ The article is an adapted chapter from my Ph.D. thesis entitled *Normy płciowe a strategie tożsamościowe gejów. Socjologiczna analiza tożsamości płciowej mężczyzn homoseksualnych* [Gender Norms and Gay Identity Strategies. Sociological Analysis of the Gender Identity of Homosexual Men] defended in 2013 at the University of Wrocław.

² While preparing my Ph.D., I collected narratives of homosexual men (aged 17–69, self-defining as gay; 40 interviews). I used the deep interview method, standardised to a degree. I conducted the research in large and mid-sized Polish cities (Wrocław, Gdańsk, Warsaw, Bielsko-Biała) in 2008 and 2009.

This article presents some of the mechanisms of shaping the heterosexual habit of boys, focusing on the institution of peer groups.

Peers: gender protectors, and the attitude towards feminised/non-normative boyhood

The stories of homosexual men on the topic of their childhood are very diversified. Some perfectly fill the traditional understanding of boyhood, where long-lasting open-air games, team sports, and other typical pastimes are to “forge” the men of the future. Naturally, there are also narrations which serve as illustrations of the stereotypes of feminised gays. All bear the traces of the normative impact of the environment: if a person speaks of a normal, traditional childhood, and speaks positively of their functioning within this childhood, it is a sign that the socialising actions were aimed at a boy whose internal predispositions were not in conflict with the content of the socialising practices. If an interviewee speaks of the troubles of growing up and facing the verbal abuse of those in the environment who do not accept his non-standard behaviour, a researcher sees the sign of impending stories of coercing a specific normativity. In both cases, the activity of peers, especially boys, in the area of creating the proper understanding of gender within a person is indisputable, regardless of the degree of success of replicating it later.

During the interviews, I collected many testimonies of “regular”, “street” upbringing, in which the interviewee was to no degree a subject of “normative admonition” from peers, be it boys or girls (*expressis verbis*, because “normative admonitions” were naturally voiced in the background). Examples of individuals visibly diverging from the expected style of boyhood are more interesting from the viewpoint of the analysis of gender-normalising practices³. Other children, younger and older alike, primarily boys, are especially active in the area of guarding gender correctness⁴. We can rest assured that non-normativity in this area will be seen and properly categorised. This is the consequence of the cultural compulsion to either mark an individual that falls outside of the norm sanctioned by statistics, exclude one from the dominant group of “proper attitudes”, punish non-conformism, or a symbolic call for “one of their own” who is brave enough to act differently from the prescribed role of a boy/man. The practices governing “gender purity” whose

³ This inability/difficulty in reproducing masculinity, naturally, may also be related to men, who are currently mostly heterosexual. I expect that similar research on such a group could bring relevant data, although it is possible that because of the defined status of “feminised boyhood” it would be more difficult to acquire such testimonies (because of the fears of how the researcher might take it).

⁴ Emma Renold, a social researcher, studied a group of boy and girl students in an elementary school in Great Britain. She concluded that unfavourable behaviours towards “girlish” boys can also be found among some girls. It is a group which we could call, using Raewyn Connell’s vocabulary, emphatic/subordinate girlishness, acknowledging the rules of the patriarchal majority, including those of hegemonic masculinity (Renold 2002, p. 424).

execution is the domain of normative boys are mostly related to children of the same gender. The assortment of possible tools to negatively sanction non-standard behaviour of some boys is diversified. The most common tools are “laughter” and “challenge” with the basis of these violent actions most commonly being the perceived femininity/effeminacy of an individual. Some of the words used to describe my interviewees in their boyhood were: lady, girl, girls’ king, girlie, dandy, faggot, tomboy, pantywaist, queer or softie. Associations with femininity, or lack of masculinity, were the most common way of verbally punishing an individual. Symbolic deprivation of masculinity, equalising one with the “worse sex”, was on one hand a sanction that corrected the unacceptable behaviour of a “peer”, and on the other a way to distance oneself from the non-normative behaviour in accordance with the rule of “fag discourse” according to the sociologist C. J. Pascoe⁵.

In secondary schools, mostly in the first two grades. There was a group that decidedly did not like me, despite not knowing me at all and most of the time boys from that class followed me and called my name, diminutively: “Michałek, Michałek” (*Mikey, Mikey*), naturally followed by the word “fag” thrown into the air. They ran after me around the school and called me these names. I was naturally annoyed and always sent a curse or two their way but I could not help it. As it turned out later, one of the boys, from that class, is gay. [...] I do not know the reason behind this. Maybe because I spent time with girls, maybe because I was the school’s activist, maybe my way of being which came into light, one of my **uncontrolled behaviours**, way of gesticulation, speaking loudly – I always speak loudly when something excites me and this is not much of a masculine trait. Maybe these were the reasons (Michał, 23).

Michał, while attempting to explain the nature of the unpleasant name-calling, recognises such elements of his behaviour which – if noticed – are usually perceived by some groups as un-masculine, or feminine. Diminutive names symbolically put him in the position of a “baby”. It is one of the ways of depriving one of their masculinity. He also points to the fact that there are non-heterosexual individuals among the oppressors who mastered the normative syllabus to a higher degree. This, again proves that sexuality does not necessarily need to be associated with gender and that homophobic behaviour dismisses the suspicion of an individual being homosexual, ergo – unmanly.

Przemek told me his difficult relations with the boy part of his lower secondary school class:

⁵ According to Pascoe, adolescents use the terms “gay” and “fag” not necessarily to offend the boy who is indeed so sexually inclined but rather in order to discipline other young men and warn them against un-masculine (i.e. feminine) acts in the future. Constant use of homophobic language in adolescent cultures (especially boys) serves more functions than the mere stigmatising and exclusion of non-normative sexuality. “Fag discourse”, as the sociologist calls it, is a recurring story, whose usage by the subject, even for a moment, stabilises their wobbly masculine identity. It is only possible to reach this state at the expense of taking away someone else’s masculinity (by calling them “a fag”) (cf. Pascoe 2005, 2007).

[...] clashes started, especially in the lower secondary school, between myself and those hetero-peers who like playing football, always keep close together, and who like such “manly”, in parentheses of course, pastimes. There was even some simpleton name-calling, well. Generally, all throughout the lower secondary school stage, from the very beginning, they took it into their heads that I was gay; **even I did not exactly know this for myself** and I never spoke about it or even suggested it. But they took this into their heads and it was always known I was gay and it was so all throughout the lower secondary school. Sure, it was never a “gay” but rather a “fag”, this was the way it looked. **They were very heterosexual**, all the time quoting lines from porn films. You can actually imagine this: a bunch of guys that tried their best to be ultra-cool while for me they were pathetic. And still are. (Przemek, 20)

This story is an example of specific behaviours, habits, manners (in this specific case: preferring the company of girls and reluctance to play sports) which served to prove that if a boy does not completely accept the rules of normative masculinity, he is automatically associated with being homosexual. The interviewee did not know himself if he was gay, we can conclude that he was rather told he was gay based on a set of stereotypical traits. Further, the interviewee includes the adjective “heterosexual” into the description of “masculinity” and the behaviours of his adversaries. For him, it is no surprise that part of the traditionally understood hegemonic masculinity lies in heterosexuality.

Yet another account follows a similar pattern. Mateusz was very early to recognise his sexual desires as mostly homoerotic. He performed a coming-out, not hiding his preferences from the environment. This news caused a series of aggressive behaviours of homophobic origins as well as an assumption of a homosexual man becoming faithless to the idea of masculinity (where masculinity was understood as heterosexuality) (Redman 2000, p. 488).

I was very quiet, calm, I learned and still do learn because I like it and so I was a subject of mobbing, so I did not have a lot of friends. There was also this fact that I declared myself a gay, which was a real pisser. At school I was beaten, called names, I did not have a lot of friends – I rather spent time online or reading books. Once, after I was beaten, I was sent to hospital. I remember it to this day, I was told: “Why do you have a dick? **It’s for fucking**. For fucking, not to play around with it or to do blowjobs to others.” (Mateusz, 17)

The oppressors call upon the understanding of activity, domination, and insertion during sexual intercourse as attributes of masculinity. Every other, even imaginary, (un)use of the male sexual organ is treated as improper, unworthy of man. Knowledge of Mateusz’s homosexuality allowed others to feminise him, which was treated as a justification of the violent behaviour towards him (Barron, Bradford 2007, p. 242). The vulgar questions which he was asked are also a symbolic call for what the oppressors deserve, and demanding the unambiguity of the world, so that it is clear and legible. Homosexuality of one of their peers brings unease and may undermine the declared system of the organisation of gender and sexuality.

“Sexual tools” as a way to humiliate a non-normative boy were also used by Jarek’s “peers”. All that was needed to classify him as a victim was the fact that he liked to listen to music by Madonna, made friends with girls, was a good student, and was obese.

A lot of boys did this thing in primary school where they pulled down their pants and covered the... with their hands. Not only was this directed at me but this was a trend so I also... In my case they did something like this: they pulled down their pants, pointed their “things” out but they covered them with their hands and pretended to be copulating. And they said to put it in their mouths or to do oral sex (Jarek, 26).

Symbolically degrading the weaker boy whom they perceive as unmasculine takes on the form of a figurative submission, inscribing the target into the passive sexual role, with a functional objectivization of the misfit – since he is feminised in a way, let’s show him his place in the gender/sexual order of things (cf. Lis 2010, pp. 145–146).

One of the interviewees pointed me to the fact that “corrective behaviour”, a form of punishment for specifically understood gender lack of normativity, is usually performed in groups. It is a ritual which makes sense if it is performed in front of an “audience”. An increased audience also means that more people want to or feel obliged to join such practices. According to the philosophy of the “fag discourse”, the oppressing activity contains as much sanctioning of lack of masculinity in the anatomical man as prevention: showing to others that one is masculine, which can also include depriving others of their masculinity.

I remember I was called a “dandy” for a long time; the other name was “lady”. This was the result of my behaviour, way of being. It was always a behaviour of the whole group towards me, never of individual people. Nobody talked to me personally that there was something in me they didn’t like; everything was always cool – it was just when they came together as a group, they tried to act. (Filip, 20)

Some of the interviewees, when talking about their childhood and adolescence periods, recalled that it was easier for them to find common grounds with girls than with other boys. They pointed out that such contacts were characterised by a lower level of competition, ease, lack of the need to prove oneself. The interviewees were also accompanied by the reluctance to accept one of the elements constituting “boys’ masculinity”: fights within the gender group and picking on girls (cf. Epstein 2006).

If we talk about friends, most of them were girls [laughs – BL], I did not make many friends among boys. I did not prefer typical boy games. My mum says: “you always preferred to pick flowers, play with your grandma, not play gins with your friends”. So I spent my childhood playing girls’ games, I liked it more, maybe because I grew among dominant women – there were a lot of women around, the only men were my dad, some uncle and grandpas, and apart from that, all women, cousins, sister, mum,

grandmas [...] I really enjoyed playing shop, house, and I did not have much contact with other boys. Boys were out there but me and the girls had the world of our own. I did not take part in typical boy games, like football which I hate, really despise. Boys in kindergarten were used to the fact that I stayed with girls and we did things of our own, they did things of their own, we did not get in each other's way. It was pre-ordained, it was a division of roles, I do my things, they do theirs; they run around in the playfield, we spend time on some meadow but it was not a problem. It was in the lower secondary school that things changed. (Przemek, 20)

As far back as I can remember, I liked playing with girls. I had a load of girl friends, girl peers, girl mates. It was different than with boys who pissed me off, they ran around, had idiotic games of their own, like shooting guns. I was totally disinterested in them. Things came about on their own; we spoke the same language so when I made friends, it was always with girls, I don't even know how it happened. I have a sister who is a year older than me; we were of similar age, she had her friends so there were more girls than boys around. They often came with some blanket, spread it out on the lawn, took out their dolls – I always took part. We played Chinese jump rope, hopscotch. Sure, boys were quick to start calling me names such as "lech" and so on. (Kuba, 27)

Both Kuba and Przemek when answering questions on childhood friends and games confirm the stereotype of a gay who finds himself in the centre of a women's world, although this is not representative of all homosexual men, which I am going to develop further. Here, I would like to point to the fact that the interviewees told these stories with smiles on their faces and a discreet shame could be felt. Embarrassment with never having boy (ergo: heterosexual) friends, which concludes that their friendships are not real? This is related to the archetype of men's friendship, boys' games, and James Matthew Barrie's fairy "Neverland". The sociologist Dwight Fee, based on his research, concluded that for a lot of homosexual men, friendship with other men, especially of those men who are heterosexual, is something desirable, and possibly, because of its rarity, something valuable (Fee 2000, pp. 57–58). It is definitely safer from the perspective of peer opinion, as confirmed by Patryk:

It was always painful to me that in secondary school – earlier, in primary I kept with boys and girls, but in secondary school it was only girls – and this exactly was painful to me because at that time I still relied on the opinion of others. It hurt that I did not have relations with other boys, that they kept together and I was not with them; so what did it make me look like? That I am different and surely, everyone thinks straight away "there is something wrong with him". And this was sort of a trauma to me. (Patryk, 24)

Spending time with only girls in the kindergarten and early school may be grounds for questioning the "boyhood" of a boy, just like it is likely that later lack of female company (in mature life) may result in the assumption of a man's homosexuality. Patryk felt this pressure and realised the importance of having male

friends. In culture, such acquaintances are mythologised and presented as socially more attractive, bringing higher gains, than a friendship with a woman.

Ease in making friends with girls, mentioned by the above interviewees, did not have to be so easy two or three decades ago. In the words of Irek, even the idea, the attempt to strike such a friendship was internally dampened. The interviewee was not even able to learn what consequences his acquaintances with girls could have for his social functioning within the peer group.

Sure, I had some closer friends, I got on better with girls, but at this age girl friends were an absolute no-no. To have a girl friend is unacceptable because this will turn into you know "they love each other dearly" or something like that. That these two are a couple. So yes, that was a time when conversation went on sort of smoothly, but it did not mean that I started some more serious relations. It was only in the secondary school when I actually started having girl friends. In primary school, none. I think that the group pressure, you know, boys sticking to boys, girls to girls, this was strong enough so that I also did not accept this. (Irek, 45)

In the testimonies of older interviewees one can see that the pressure of the environment was a solid blocker to undertaking any action that might disturb the "boy reputation", but also a sign that the practiced antipathy to girls was fully internalised and the exclusion of girls from the closest circles was dictated by personal predispositions. Leszek says:

I never played with dolls, I did not play house with girls, I did not jump rope. They made me play the game once and I was very unhappy, because I thought this game was so un-boyish. I was thinking "God, what am I doing with those women?" I had some kind of subconscious distaste for girls. I wanted to be a good sport so I endured the jump rope but I did not take any satisfaction from playing. Sure, playing football was no satisfaction to me either but this was something I could live with because it was a boys' game. Boys played it, while jump rope was mostly for girls and this was totally unacceptable. (Leszek, 44)

For some interviewees, their emerging sexual non-normativity which could, but did not have to, be noticed and stereotypically associated with the opposite sex (while still considering its binary character) was overlapping with another, more visible and "scandalous" non-conformism. For Miłosz, the membership with a Goth subculture meant additional problems with being accepted by those in the environment. The aesthetics of the subculture includes painting one's face, dying one's (long) hair, applying piercing all over the body, and wearing platform shoes. These elements are not associated with the sexuality of the members.

I think this was the end of primary school, just before summer holidays. I remember we went out with a group of friends into the streets and to school wearing this heavy makeup, and we left school later. So we almost got beaten up. First, they remarked delicately that only girls can wear makeup and when we did not react, they started

a cat-fight. A typically Polish one – “you fucking faggot!” etc. I remember we escaped just then and this was all. And there were similar troubles at school. Maybe we should remove him, place him somewhere else, maybe we could use a psychologist, etc. (Miłosz, 25)

Such a narration is proof of the normative understanding of gender roles which is dominant in Polish society. Each insubordination in the area of male corporality, body style, is practically immediately associated with being homosexual or is a reason for consultation with a psychologist. People are reluctant to broaden their horizons on how much one may deviate from the traditional model of masculinity and still function as a man in a society.

Excess weight, education, sport

Not only decisive feminisation of a growing boy (smooth movements, late mutation of the voice, “improper” clothes, a “girlish” hobby or simple overrepresentation of girls within the group of friends) can be grounds for a negative peer reaction. Also other, seemingly more neutral, behaviours or personal traits can be named “unmanly”, breaking some cultural norm of masculinity. This is the case with e.g. excess weight, reluctance to play team sports, or achieving high marks in education. This is the way Irek explains his alienation at school and his problems with peer relations.

I used to blame my obesity then. However, I think it was a set of different things: fat, sluggish, good learner – a swot! It is not a group which is well liked. They are getting all the top grades and so, see, he learned this stuff and you did not spend time learning, right, you dumbbo? Also, when there are social games, just like let’s kick the ball together, or do something else together, that normally brings people closer, I did not participate. I didn’t play. I simply wanted to talk, and they wanted something else; well, heck, Irek was a different sort of guy and that’s that. (Irek, 45)

Yet another of my interviewees shared his view on the reasons for the aggression which he was a victim of in his childhood.

For example, if it shows that I am in love with a girl and I am still a scapegoat, it means this has got nothing to do with my emerging homosexuality. Also, I thought I knew boys, also from the group of aggressors, who – or so I suspected, felt – could be homosexual or have some other reasons for being different and they found their place easily. They could be within the group of aggressors or completely outside the circle of violence. (Tomek, 23)

Homosexuality as an erotic preference (if it is unrecognised/unnoticeable) does need to be, as we see, a reason for peer exclusion, just as the fact of being in-

terested in girls does not save one from being excluded. Harassment constructed around “lack of masculinity” does not need to be a simple consequence of a singular example of a boy’s lack of normativity. It is not a rule for every obese boy to become a victim. The exclusion is definitely a configuration of a number of factors, where being overweight is but one of them. Similarly to obesity being associated with being passive, powerlessness, softness, potential for penetration (Padva 2002, pp. 281–292), being diligent at school and achieving good grades is seen by some youth subcultures as signs of a lack of masculinity. Debbie Epton showed in her research that the reluctance of some boys to participate in a successful educational process is associated not only, as some claim, with class origins, but also with a specific understanding of masculinity. Schoolwork, also because of the mostly female teaching cadre, is sometimes interpreted as unmanly, and thus a danger to a masculine, heterosexual, status of a student. The gay interviewees that the British scientist talked to for the purposes of her research often indicated that achieving good grades was a reason for school violence, including hate speech of a homophobic character (Epstein 2006, p. 289).

Analogously, lower sports achievements, or avoiding physical education classes, can be a pretext for name-calling or ridicule. The natural space in which manhood may and should build up within a boy is the metaphoric football field. Repeated absence from physical education classes or unsatisfactory sports’ results are to prove the lack of masculinity. What is important, the measure of physical fitness, strength, and fortitude lies in participating in team sports almost all of the time. Successes in other forms of physical activity, such as swimming or dancing, do not need to limit suspicions of homosexuality (lack of masculinity).

I like sports, when I play them on my own. I despise football. Twenty-two idiots with a ball. I prefer swimming, I do not like anything that has something to do with a ball. When I was little I was a goalkeeper and was hit on the head with a ball, pretty hard. At school I always tried to see a doctor and sometimes begged her to be relieved from physical education for the whole year. I was happy then. When playing sports, I would be in bigger trouble from the other boys. They would massacre me with a ball – I knew it because they told me. I tried to leave the sports hall and sit somewhere, just not be inside there. (Mateusz, 17)

Sport, as has been said a few times above, is an important element in the shaping of the masculine identity, especially football which holds enormous cultural capital and symbolises “the true masculinity” (Barron, Bradford 2007, p. 250). Thus, gender differentiation takes place – marking one as different from girls as well as subordinating the alternative, non-masculine versions of boyhood (Re-nold 2002, p. 283).

Paweł, yet another one of my interviewees, felt excluded from his class because of his obesity, which disabled him from fully participating in physical education classes. Lack of specific skills associated with strength and physical toughness was perceived by his peers as something non-masculine.

Is masculinity perceived as associated with physical fitness? It may be, or so I think that people associate it this way. Well, I used to be fat, very fat, I had a belly, full cheeks, and so on, so during physical education, because of my physical limitations, some things didn't work out. And then people laughed. Since then, I did all I could not to take part in PE classes. If I was ever rejected, it wasn't because of my homosexuality but within a specific context – physical education classes. I could feel humiliation then, to some degree. I tried to keep away from them as much as I could and it did not work out. So I would not do it. I did not have motivation to show everyone that I can stand on my hands. (Paweł, 27)

In the words of Barron and Bradford, “wrong – non-sporty – bodies can easily be marginalised and excluded” (Barron, Bradford 2007, p. 249). At the end, I would like to quote Irek, who told me about the difficulties with him failing to understand the rules of the “manhood game”. The man took a long time to learn the binary gender setup and what the society expects of him. His words reveal the constructive, cultural character of gender identity. The obviousness, as it turns out, is not understandable to everyone just by the fact of one being born a man or a woman. The interviewee complained about not having a guide to the “masculine world” since his father did not play this role, and that he had to reach the understanding of (traditional) masculinity, which took him a long time on his own. Finally, his biography, at least according to his narration, seems to testify to the defeminisation of his early childhood behaviours and the acceptance of normative masculinity – something that used to be inaccessible and incomprehensible, although already considered early on as attractive.

Actually, I had to develop my own model of masculinity much later. I was an outsider. All the time, even in primary school, I had an impression that people asked me “what are you acting? Are you a boy or a girl?” and I said “I am Irek”. I always had a feeling that I am above the division. That some must behave so-and-so because he is a boy and someone needs to behave so-and-so because she is a girl. I am me and that's that! I am me! It was only after some time, I don't know, maybe because of stronger socialisation, that I simply constructed my notion of what a man means and that's that. It wasn't because I missed it. Sure, after I thought on it for a while, I realised that I do not completely know what it's all about. Why they are different, and I don't know what it's all about? (Irek, 45)

Crossing the gender norms in the early years and its consequences

Leaving the gender-ascribed role is a cultural and social scandal which in the eyes of the normative majority calls for appropriate sanctions. Being reprimanded by peers and family is of a pedagogical character. It serves to draw the attention to the behaviours of the individual who does not fit the stereotype of “a normal boy”. The critique of gender non-conformism is a ritual which needs to be constantly

present. Proper words, gestures, looks and deeds need to be applied in a situation which accentuates the extraordinariness, the spectacularism of the non-normative behaviour. Examples of the gender non-normative behaviours that can meet the negative reaction of those in the environment have been stated above. Here, these can be supplemented by “unboyish” hobbies / interests, such as dance, or unconventional methods of spending free time.

For instance, I have never played football. This sport was never attractive to me. A few times, however, maybe more, I played Chinese jump rope with girls which was, like, an extra pretext to take it out on me. [...] I only remember that my physical education teacher was worried and told the girls not to play with me, not to ask me to join them to play. They told me that. (Robert, 29)

[...] I liked playing the cable [jumping over a rope – BL], which was mainly a girls’ game. This also always called for some reaction from those in the environment. I remember there were these two girls – sisters, and their parents commented my way if I **“maybe shouldn’t go kick some ball”**. (Michał, 23)

The “care” for “gender hygiene” of children, as evidenced by the two quotes above, seems to be a general duty, an obligation of the older or more competent people, also third parties. As it turns out, even children’s games have gender, and the involvement of “improper players” can have consequences for their future identity, also, as we can guess, their sexual identity.

In the reaction to the crossing of the norms, the most common tool used to express the “unusualness” of such activity is laughter (*cf.* Lis 2007, pp. 265–268). It may be a mere message to the young person and the observers of the event that one has the awareness that whatever is happening is “not serious”. It is a show, a game, a moment of loose theatrical carnival. A boy putting on his mother’s dress, clumsily applying lipstick to his small lips, is an element of a show for adults. The accompanying laughter is neither a mockery nor is it harmful, but it is hard not to perceive in it some concealed socialising functions.

We dressed up when we were kids; those were quite common games to us. We put on mum’s clothes, put on makeup; especially missing the lips when you’re five, that was funny for the adults. (Adam, 19)

Functions of (non)verbally regulating the area of permissible behaviours may differ. Correction – erasing the improper, bad habits; punishment – symbolic compensation to a chaos which has permeated into the ordered social space due to the “erroneous” reading of the male/female role; prevention – showing others that non-normativity cannot be praised and also showing, by one’s “police” stance, that we fit into the behavioural mainstream, that is “we learned our roles so well that we can be a waypoint to others”. It needs to be said, however, that there is a general lack of “gender competences” of the reacting people, whose competences have been learned through socialisation and are in no way obvious/natural.

The “key” according to which the oppressors (“educators”) read the non-normativity of their peers is rather expansive. It encompasses not only “girlish”, anti-“boyish” behaviour but also issues related to sickness, obesity or high achievements at school – all these can be reasons to deprive their victim of their masculinity. Examples of gender non-normativity, in any understanding, can be found in the biographies of homosexual as well as heterosexual men. Taywaditep writes that gender non-normative boys gradually de-feminise their behaviours so that only traces of such behaviours can be found in their adult lives. This is the consequence of the pressure of those in the environment as well as valuing of the behaviours that the specific culture considers “masculine”. Fear of being ridiculed, beaten or excluded from group activities may be a sufficient regulator of the gender behaviour of boys (Taywaditep 2002, p. 6). Although I have noted numerous stories of traditional, conformist childhoods which are proof of successful gender socialisation, here I have focused mainly on those narratives that allow us to see the normativity-setting procedures and their effects.

Literature

- Barron M., Bradford S., 2007, *Corporeal Controls. Violence, Bodies, and Young Gay Men’s Identity*, “Youth & Society”, Vol. 39, No. 2.
- Epstein D., 2006, *Real Boys Don’t Work. “Underachievement”, Masculinity and the Harassment of “Sissies”*, [in:] S. M. Whitehead (ed.), *Men and Masculinities: Critical Concepts in Sociology*, vol. II, Routledge, London–New York.
- Fee D., 2000, “One of the Guys”. *Instrumentality and Intimacy in Gay Men’s Friendships with Straight Men*, [in:] P. Nardi (ed.), *Gay Masculinities*, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks–London–New Delhi.
- Levine M. P., 1998, *The Life and Death of Gay Clones*, [in:] M. S. Kimmel, M. A. Messner (eds.), *Men’s Lives*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston–London.
- Lis B., 2007, *Śmiech jako narzędzie normalizacji oraz strategia oporu. Rzecz o subwersywności komizmu w „Little Britain”* [Laughter as a Tool of Normalisation and Strategy of Resistance. About the Subversiveness of Comic Humour in “Little Britain”], [in:] M. Baer, M. Lizurej (eds.), *Z odmiennej perspektywy. Studia queer w Polsce [From a Different Perspective. Queer Studies in Poland]*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Arboretum, Wrocław.
- Lis B., 2010, *Męskość i władza. Refleksja nad receptywnością i praktykami S/M w seksie między mężczyznami* [Masculinity and Power. Reflection on Receptiveness and S/M Practices in Sex between Men], [in:] E. Banaszak, P. Czajkowski (eds.), *Corpus delicti – rozkoszne ciało. Szkice nie tylko z socjologii ciała [Corpus Delicti – Delightful Body. Sketches not only about Sociology of the Body]*, Difin, Warszawa.
- Padva G., 2002, *Heavenly Monsters: The Politics of the Male Body in the Naked Issue of Attitude Magazine*, “International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies”, Vol. 4, No. 7.
- Pascoe C. J., 2005, *Dude You’re a Fag: Adolescent Masculinity and the Fag Discourse*, “Sexualities”, Vol. 8, No. 3.
- Pascoe C. J., 2007, *Dude You’re a Fag. Masculinity and Sexuality in High School*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Redman P., 2000, “Tarred with the Same Brush”: “Homophobia” and the Role of the Unconscious in School-based Cultures of Masculinity, “Sexualities”, Vol. 3, No. 4.

-
- Renold E., 2002, *Presumed Innocence. (Hetero)sexual, Heterosexist and Homophobic Harassment among Primary School Girls and Boys*, "Childhood", Vol. 9, No. 4.
- Taywaditep K.J., 2002, *Marginalization Among the Marginalized*, "Journal of Homosexuality", Vol. 42, No. 1.

Summary

Socialisation Towards Normative Masculinity: Institutions and Mechanisms of Shaping the Heterohabitus. Examples

This article is an exploration of mechanisms that relate to constructions of dominant straight masculinity. The collected narratives reveal the regulative role of violence and reveal the interplaying dynamics of the community, family, peers and schools; the boys are involved in constant negotiation over multiple and intersecting identities.

Keywords

masculinity, socialisation, heteronormativity, habitus, oppression, childhood

Aneta Grygiel-Dorszewska

Higher School of Social Communication in Gdynia

The (Un)true Masculinity: Pedagogical Considerations of Male Identity

In spite of the fact that masculinity continues to be perceived as an obvious and constant category, those in search of a universal and exhaustive definition might be a little disappointed. Although the body of scientific literature on the subject of men is growing year by year, it is difficult to find a precise explanation of the term “masculinity”. However, taking into account the findings from masculinity studies so far, especially those relating to the existence of not one but multiple masculinities, it is reasonable to expect that enclosing this term within a strict definition framework may not only prove difficult but simply impossible. Researchers investigating the topic of the masculine role propose very general, broadly encompassing terms. The same is the case with dictionaries. Masculinity is generally explained as a complex set of traits that are characteristic, typical of men (Szymczak, 1978; p. 148). Both dictionary and scientific definitions of masculinity emphasise the significance of social expectations associated with the masculine role, as these expectations determine the shape of masculinity, and generate the norms and attitudes that should constitute masculinity. Just as these expectations may vary both in time and in space, so can the definition of the masculine role. The same is the case with the colloquial definitions of masculinity, which reflect the observed properties and behaviours related to sex, congruent with the stereotypes functioning in a given culture (Kluczyńska 2008).

The contemporary definitions of masculinity most commonly reflect the traditional understanding of the social role of men. Descriptions of masculinity generally focus around the tasks a man should fulfil. The term “a real man”, which is frequently used in the context of defining masculinity, not only puts pressure on men to fit within the current framework of the masculine role but also to prove and confirm that they deserve to be called men (Badinter 1995; Goldberg 1979; Bourdieu 2001). As Judith Halberstam adds (2002, p. 353), this results in a certain anxiety among men regarding the true status of their masculinity. A study conducted by Jan Mazur, Małgorzata Pietrzak and Aleksandra Kowalczyk (2008, pp. 419–427) has shown that the social image of “a real man” is one of a man who is responsible, protective, resourceful, intelligent, strong and resolute. A slightly more radical image of requirements towards masculinity emerges from the norms of the masculine role developed by researchers investigating the topic of mascu-

linity. The imperatives presented below are not a realistic description of masculine practices, but rather a certain expression of social aspirations, a normative pattern (see: Hyży 2010, p. 72).

Deborah S. David and Robert Brannon (1976, pp. 1–45) list the following four masculine imperatives:

- 1) avoiding behaviours associated with femininity;
- 2) subjugation of others;
- 3) being strong and independent;
- 4) being confident, aggressive, ready to take risks.

Edward H. Thompson Jr. and Joseph H. Pleck (1987, pp. 25–36) described the following norms defining the masculine role:

- 1) status and other's respect – an imperative associated with the desire to gain power;
- 2) toughness – an imperative of physical and emotional strength, independence;
- 3) anti-femininity – avoidance of stereotypically feminine activities and occupations. Table 1 below provides a detailed comparison of the male role norms over the years 1970–2003.

Table 1. A comparison of the male role norms over the years 1970–2003.

1970 (Turner)	1978 (Cicone and Ruble)	1984 (Brannon)	1986 (Pleck)	2003 (Mahalik)
Independent style of achievement	Active	Proscriptive norm against anything feminine	Independent	Violence
Competency	Dominant in relationships	Achieving status	Assertive	Power over women
Incompetency in feminine activities	Achievement oriented	Independence	Strong personality	Disdain for homosexuals
Suppressing emotion	Level headed	Self-confidence	Forceful	Risk-taking
–	Self-contained	Aggressiveness	Has leader abilities	Pursuit of status
–	–	–	Willing to take risks	Emotional control
–	–	–	Willing to take a stand	Dominance
–	–	–	Aggressive	Playboy
–	–	–	–	Self-reliance

1970 (Turner)	1978 (Cicone and Ruble)	1984 (Brannon)	1986 (Pleck)	2003 (Mahalik)
–	–	–	–	Primacy of work
–	–	–	–	Winning

Source: (Golden, 2011).

Until recently, men were able to easily align with the above requirements and imperatives that define the shape of the masculine role. Nowadays, however, in light of the ongoing emancipation of women that consequently increases women's independence and resourcefulness, it is becoming more and more difficult to manage the task of being "a real man" (see: Olechnicki 1996), as this category is becoming less and less unambiguous and obvious. The disintegration of the monopoly of the traditional masculinity, usually equated with the "real manliness", has undermined the *status quo* in the area of sexual roles. Masculinity has come to be perceived as a sociocultural construct that is plastic and susceptible to external factors. In the process of shaping their own identity, contemporary men no longer have to limit themselves to a single, traditional pattern of the masculine role. The range of the available versions of masculinity is currently much wider and could, as it might seem, promote a liberal creation of one's identity. Paradoxically, however, we increasingly hear about the crisis of masculinity (see: Melosik 2006, pp. 8–9). The contemporary man feels lost when faced with the lack of a point of reference in constructing his identity, and gets confused by the overwhelming amount of information, often conflicting, about his role.

The aim of my paper is to present the most important findings of my phenomenological study – in which I investigated the ways in which the masculine identity is shaped. My study has shown that despite the noticeable changes in the ways of fulfilling the sexual roles of men and women, and despite the existence of multiple alternative versions of masculinity, contemporary young men are looking for the "real manliness", which they most commonly equate with traditional masculinity. I will attempt to explain here how the subjects of my study interpreted masculinity ("the real manliness") and unmasculinity, and where they drew the dividing line between these categories.

Methodological assumptions

The study whose results are presented below was conducted using the phenomenographic approach defined by its creator as "the empirical study of the limited number of qualitatively different ways in which various phenomena in, and aspects of, the world around us are experienced, conceptualised, understood, perceived and apprehended" (Marton 1994, p. 4425). As the main purpose of my study was to re-

construct the meanings assigned by the respondents to masculinity in the context of their individual experiences in their private, family and professional lives, it was necessary to refer to their personal knowledge, to their world of everyday living understood as normality, the common order and the closest space of human experience (Waldenfels 1993). The starting point for my analyses was the assumption about the “intersubjectivity of meanings assigned to specific phenomena” (Kopciwicz 2005, p. 40), defined as a shared understanding of the social world by individuals.

I used the method of the semi-structured phenomenographic interview to conduct my phenomenographic study. An interview guide served as the research tool. The study was conducted on a group of young males consisting of final-year students and graduates of the Faculty of Social Sciences (10 subjects/P), Faculty of Theology (10 subjects/T) and the Faculty of Technical Sciences (10 subjects/I) at the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland. This method of selecting the subjects was dictated by the desire to demonstrate a broad spectrum of meanings of masculinity that may vary depending on the individual experiences (e.g. educational experiences) of the subjects.

The main criteria for selecting interviewees for my study were:

- sex (males);
- availability;
- age (24–28 years); optimal on account of the resolution of the identity crisis associated with adolescence and the readiness to take on further developmental tasks congruent with social standards (Mikulska 1996, p. 225).

The fragments of interviews presented below will be labelled as follows: W 1/P to W 10/P – statements by students/graduates of the Faculty of Social Sciences, W 1/I to W 10/I – statements by students/graduates of the Faculty of Technical Sciences, and W 1/T to W 10/T – statements by students/graduates of the Faculty of Theology.

Masculinity *vs* unmasculinity

Interpretation of the research material collected during the study allowed me to establish where the borderline(s) between what is masculine and what is unmanly lie(s). In the course of my analysis I identified the most common designata of what my respondents thought was associated with being masculine (*What makes you feel masculine? What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?*). I then identified statements about what my respondents considered unmasculine. Interestingly, the subjects were not directly asked about topics related to unmasculinity. On several occasions, when asking probing questions, I made reference to unmasculinity, but it always followed the elaboration of the conversation thread started by the interviewee and the context of the conversation. In most cases, however, it was the subjects that addressed this issue (to complement the topic of being masculine).

Table 2 provides a summary of meanings related to what is masculine and unmasculine identified in the research material. I identified three categories to which I will refer in my analysis below (external appearance, sexual orientation, character traits).

Table 2. Masculine vs unmasculine: a summary of meanings.

Category	Designatum	
	"Masculine"	"Unmasculine"
External appearance	Facial hair, clothing, haircut, muscles	Preoccupation with one's physical appearance, effeminacy, metrosexuality
Sexual orientation	Heterosexual orientation	Homosexual orientation
Character traits	Perseverance, resourcefulness, strength	Being a boy, weakness, a weakling, a milk sop, a loser, a softie

Source: Author's own research.

Below are descriptions reflecting the meanings of masculinity (being masculine) and unmasculinity (being unmasculine) presented in Table 2. Their analysis allows to locate the boundary between masculinity and unmasculinity.

External appearance

External appearance is an important component of feeling masculine by the study subjects, as evidenced by the statements made by my interviewees. Within this category, the men referred to clothing, haircut, body build or self-care (the so-called hygiene). In their statements, they very often indicated facial hair and body hair as the typical male attributes.

Well, my clothes, right? Yes, on many occasions, it does contribute to me feeling masculine. Sometimes, the stubble, as they say, the three-day stubble look... (W 1/P)

[...] men also, in a way, try to emphasise the... you know, positive aspects of their appearance, right? I like to dress up too, you know, once in a while, because a suit is not something I wear every day. So... So it also kind of makes me masculine in a way. But, let me get this straight, this is not something, like, super important to me... (W 1/P)

[...] Or this, for example, a recent thing. There was this T-shirt in a shop window that I saw, I knew, I looked good in it. It was a big deal too. I just knew that I had to get that T-shirt for when I go out with someone. So I got it and I just knew I looked cool in it. No-one had to convince me that I did, I just felt good wearing it. Or this: I know that when I... I know that, you know, when I go out or something and I get a cool haircut, I know that I feel good having that haircut and that I look good in it, so that gives me an advantage, right? When I go out, for example, whether dressed up or..., or just to show my face somewhere, I also know then that I feel good with it, that it gives me a good feeling about myself, the feeling that I look cool. And whether someone else likes it? Well... (W 19/T)

So, like, when we have classes with students and... for example, with my colleagues, right? We agree that, for example, on Tuesday we have class, right? So, I'm doing a seminar [...] a lecture, and then, for example, someone comes wearing some sort of a T-shirt or something or some jumper, and I, for example, come dressed in a suit. And, I feel more masculine then. (W 26/1)

I don't know. Body hair too. The fact that I have facial hair makes me masculine. My strong voice. That also makes me masculine. (W 2/P)

External appearance determines feeling good about oneself. It also gives a certain advantage over other men. It is an important element of the masculinity: the right look confirms one in the belief of being a man, being part of this group, it strengthens the male ego. As regards taking care of one's external appearance in a masculine way, there is a certain limit my respondents mentioned on multiple occasions:

Because, on the other hand, the man should not, in my opinion, well, at least that's what I think, excessively take care of the way he looks. He should do what he's expected to do; I don't know, shave, wear clean clothes, look smart, smell nice, that's for sure, but at the same time he should not go overboard with it, right? So that he ends up looking like a perfumed sissy, right? You know, overdoing it... Like, now, for example, when you hear that men, I don't know, go to beauty parlours, shape their eyebrows. That's just madness, right? Me personally? I feel a bit uncomfortable with the idea. I'm more of a supporter of... Perhaps I'm a little bit conservative in this respect, but I'm a supporter of normalcy among men. For men to just look smart, be clean, smell nice, be shaved, as they say. To represent a certain level, right? After all, this is a certain indicator of masculinity. (W 1/P)

[...] better hygiene, personal hygiene, so to speak, some hair removal or some such... [silence]. In my opinion, that's just something a man doesn't generally need, but if a particular man feels all right with it, then, of course, why not? As far as masculinity is concerned, then it is because of things like that, guys lose a bit of their masculinity. (W 18/T)

Well... I'm not that old-fashioned to believe that a man should smell of whisky and a horse, but on the other hand I don't go to the extremes of metrosexuality either, right? I mean... I don't know, using some fancy cosmetics or what have you. Something kind of in between, so a man that takes care of his appearance, well-groomed, so to say... Oh, and this: the more fit, the more masculine. (W 25/1)

According to the above-quoted fragments of the interviews, any excess in taking care of one's physical appearance carries the risk of distorting the truly masculine image. The scope of a man's activities in taking care of his appearance should, according to the study subjects, be limited to the necessary minimum. Anything that goes beyond the known and familiarised canons of the masculine appearance meets with disapproval on the part of my interviewees. Preoccupation with one's appearance, both in terms of clothing and body care, a trait traditionally attributed

to women, distorts the learned image of the “real masculinity” and, as one of my respondents put it, the image of “normalcy among men” (W 1/P). While the subjects were clearly aware of canons of male beauty other than the traditional ones (for instance, metrosexuality, which they mention very often), they proved very conservative, as exemplified below, despite the self-declared tolerance towards those “non-standard” ways of fulfilling the masculine role in terms of the masculine look.

That it's like... I don't know... Well, okay, so I'm going to say something insulting about those homosexuals but to me those [cannons of male beauty] are so... poofy, delicately speaking. It's just... a man who has more cosmetics than a woman, a man who, I don't know, overdoes it with taking care of his appearance... it doesn't make sense in my opinion. Okay, I understand, some guys sweat more, others sweat less. And that's a fact. But, come on! You don't go to extremes to avoid it, right? Because it's just unrealistic. I can't imagine, I don't know, going on a sun bed for twenty minutes a day, or... however long you go on a sun bed for. I don't know, I've never been. I just don't feel the need to. I don't feel the need to be tanned in the winter. Yeah, that's what I mean. To me, it's just not manly. Yeah. Like this. (W 5/P)

When I see how men dress, well, it's a bit embarrassing to me. When I find it difficult to tell if it's a bloke or a woman. I don't know. I find it kind of irritating. I mean, obviously, these are other orientations. Me, I'm tolerant, I don't mind, I know a few people who are bisexual. A man who acts a bit effeminate, well, that's slightly irritating. (W 13/T)

To me, some blokes, metrosexual, so pedantic about the way they look, well, to me, they're just ridiculous. I get it, it's absolutely fine to be taking care of yourself, but you don't want to go overboard with it, do you? If a bloke spends three hours in the bathroom, in front of the mirror, it's... to me, it's just, you know... To me, it's just not manly, so to speak. To me, it's not manly because generally... I get it, taking care of yourself, but... there are certain limits, aren't there? I couldn't stand it. For example, there are five of us sharing the flat and you just don't spend two hours a day in the bathroom doing your hair, right? Cause he just won't leave the bathroom? I cannot imagine anything like that. To me, it's... This is the change and it is increasingly noticed. I don't know, the sun bed and so on, it's a bit... a bit fake, yeah, that's it, fake. (W 5/P)

When I watch TV, that stupid TV... the only thing I see is a bunch of faggots running around television. “Have challenges, be sexy, be clever!” And [those] men wear T-shirts, oh... that's the real man: a T-shirt down to here [the respondent is pointing to his navel], wearing, preferably a nice perfume, white Puma shoes, instead of black cargo trousers... Well, for me, he's not a man. (W 2/P)

In the context of the above statements, metrosexuality and homosexuality, both equated with an excessive attention to external appearance and with effeminacy, are in contradiction with a model of masculinity learned and accepted by many of my respondents. An excessive number of cosmetics, using a sun bed, spending several hours in front of the mirror a day, wearing “not very masculine” clothes – all this builds resistance among the respondents as being artificial and abnormal, but most of all unmanly.

Sexual orientation

Sexual orientation or, to be more precise, heterosexual orientation is another essential indicator of masculinity and of what is masculine.

What confirms me in the belief...? Uhm... the fact that I fancy women. If I was a man and I fancied other men, then it would mean that there's something wrong with me. I believe this is the way our world works. I took biology in my final exams at secondary school, so I can safely say that the fact that I fancy women, that I might ogle them occasionally, also points to my masculinity. (W 2/P)

According to the respondents, heterosexuality is a manifestation of a man's health and normality, and the best proof is the interest in the opposite sex and the opposite sex's interest in them, and a good sex life.

I feel masculine when I see that I attract interest in women. That is definitely an indicator of masculinity. (W 4/P)

[What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?] [...] apart from the fact that I am aware of that, it's my girlfriend. The relationship I have with her kind of makes me aware that I am a man. Great sex with a woman as well. (W 15/T)

[What makes you feel masculine?] I would once again, first of all, mention sex. That's one thing for sure, that's what I'm certain of. (W 15/T)

T 20: [What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?] [...] Satisfying my girlfriend...

A: This is what confirms you in your belief, am I correct?

T 20: Yes. I mean, it's like, if she left me or cheated on me and then came back to me, that would mean that I'd been better than the other guy. And if she didn't come back to me, then, well, ha ha. So, that could also be an indicator of me being a masculine guy. I mean, that's exactly what it boils down to, that there are many factors that make up masculinity. But the thought that you satisfy the other person, including physically, is something you can be proud of, ha ha. (W 20/T)

[What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?] My woman! (W 21/1)

As Zbyszko Melosik has pointed out in one of his books (2006, p. 26), "on the subjective level, a man feels like a man first of all through the angle of his sexuality and sexual potency, and then through the angle of other attributes of masculinity", and the statements above go to prove this. According to the respondents, sexual performance and the ability to satisfy the female partner's sexual needs are extremely essential factors that contribute to feeling masculine.

Identifying what, according to the respondents, was masculine and what was unmasculine with respect to sexual orientation, was not an easy task, as the respond-

ents made a very clear distinction between heterosexuality, i.e. what is masculine, and homosexuality, i.e. what is unmasculine. In their statements, one can notice their aversion to those who represent a sexual orientation they consider unmasculine.

I'm averted to homosexuals. Don't know why, though. I find them repulsive. I don't care what they get up to in private, I just can't stand the sight of them. I can't imagine a situation where they would walk around in the open, hand in hand, and I would have to look at it.
To me, in my opinion, it's an illness, isn't it? (W 5/P)

The aversion to homosexual men is most likely caused by an imperative/obligation to be heterosexual, most likely internalised during the socialisation process. This imposed and learned heteronormativity causes anything that deviates from this principle to be perceived as an abnormality, or even an illness. Gays are thus perceived as inadequate, weak men.

Character traits

Within this category, the subjects mainly indicated those predispositions and character traits of men which point to their strength. The traits most commonly mentioned by the respondents included: perseverance, resourcefulness, independence, and the ability to help those weaker than oneself – traits which are not (at least not stereotypically) attributed to women.

To me, a masculine guy is a guy who knows how to take care of himself, not a loser who shouts loudly, won't shave his beard, drinks vodka and when he gets home, he doesn't even know how to wash his own socks. (W 3/P)

[What makes you feel masculine?] First of all, when I'm persistent in what I do, and I know that I really try my best and pursue a goal I've set myself. (W 11/T)

[What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?] The fact that I know how to knock a nail into the wall. (W 30/1)
I feel masculine when I find myself able to cope in difficult situations. [...] That is definitely an indicator of masculinity. (W 4/P)

[...] well, you need masculinity so you're not all thumbs, right? You know, being helpful, being able to do things around the house, right? Tighten a screw, fix something, hang up a painting, right? Because of that... you have a higher value, right? (W 26/1)

Readiness to help others is one of the principal elements of "being masculine". The respondents, however, emphasised that also in this case (as was the case with taking care of one's external appearance, for instance) there is a certain boundary you should not cross, as excessive submissiveness and the inability to say "no" are no attributes of masculinity.

T 20: I wish I was... more assertive more often; yeah, that's it!

A 1: Okay, and do you believe that's what a man needs? To be assertive?

T 20: Yes, sometimes. Not to make yourself look like a weakling or a milk sop. But this is normal that when someone asks you for help, you want to be helpful, right? Although sometimes you should refuse. (W 20/T)

[A man] cannot be a walking disaster, that's for sure. He has to have an opinion in male-female relations. (W 28/1)

Being masculine also means some sort of dominance, both in male-female relations and male-male relations. According to the respondents, the feelings of being better than others, being stronger, more resourceful than others, are also indicators of masculinity. Exaggerated masculinity (the so-called hypermasculinity, which manifests itself in an excessive (or even artificial) display of manly strength, both physical and mental, is, however, rejected by the respondents.

[...] some guys want to be macho; they simply pretend to be someone they're not; they do stupid things to impress their mates, which seems so shallow, more childish than manly. (W 23/1)

What counts the most in being masculine is remaining natural, and any distortion attempts are quickly exposed by the respondents.

Conclusion

The concepts presented above along with the respondents' statements are focused around three main categories: external appearance, sexual orientation, and character traits. My aim was to find the dividing line between masculinity and unmasculinity, and to identify factors that determine the way in which the meanings associated with what is masculine and what is unmasculine are classified. The main dividing line in the case of all the categories discussed here turned out to be the extent to which a given conception agreed with the socially recognised standards of masculinity. The respondents considered to be masculine all things learned, tried and tested, and traditional. Everything that was beyond the framework of fulfilling the masculine role internalised in the process of upbringing was considered completely unmasculine or not very masculine.

Most of the statements quoted above reflect the masculine imperatives described by Elisabeth Badinter (1995) ("don't be a homosexual", "don't be a woman", "don't be a child"). In the conceptions of masculinity and unmasculinity I have discussed above, the first two imperatives distinctly come to the fore. The men dissociate themselves from any behaviours socially associated with women (e.g. preoccupation with external appearance, effeminacy). In their statements, they also manifest their heterosexual orientation, which – in their opinion – certifies "the real masculinity". Behaviours manifesting helplessness or weakness ("don't be a child") were also considered unmasculine by the respondents.

Most of the statements about what is masculine and what is unmasculine reflect the traditional paradigm of masculinity. The articulated meanings very closely correspond with the model of masculinity based on the strong and purposefully emphasised difference between men and women. According to the respondents, "masculine" first of all means "not feminine". The dissociation from behaviours or traits considered feminine by the society stems from the socialisation of the individual. In our society, from the earliest age, men are inundated with messages that carry an imperative to make themselves different from women and to build their identities in opposition to them. It is therefore unsurprising that in their adult life, men understand masculinity as the opposite of femininity. The respondents, obviously, at various stages of their development, modify certain elements of the role imposed upon them. According to their statements, they are aware of the various ways in which masculinity is realised and are open to these new patterns (e.g. metrosexuality). However, in many cases, this apparent openness to changes turned out to be just empty words. The respondents do not understand these changes and are merely passive observers. What is more, they are very often uncomfortable with these changes (which some of them expressly state), as they shatter the established order as regards the fulfilling of social roles related to sex.

The emphasis on the biological attributes of masculinity (facial hair, hard voice, physical strength) was an interesting element of the respondents' statements. In the face of dynamic sociocultural changes, which result in the blurring of the borderline between men and women, these factors are most likely the last bastion of masculinity, the thing that is impossible to unify.

Analysis of the respondents' statements in the context of the search for what is masculine and what is unmasculine has demonstrated once again the attachment to the traditional image of a man. Many of the concepts discussed here were based on stereotypes learned during the socialisation process and constructed on the basis of the differences between men and women. According to the respondents, the new patterns of the realisation of masculinity promoted, for instance, by the media have not revolutionised the existing (traditional) classification into what is masculine and what is unmasculine. The respondents, however, do recognise the new potential ways to fulfil the male role.

As Melosik points out (2006, p. 188), the contemporary man has got caught up in a form of a socialisation trap. On the one hand, he is being inundated by traditional messages about his sex role, while on the other, he is faced with expectations that do not really align with the learned standards of masculinity. Every choice carries some risk: the sense of inadequately meeting the social expectations, exclusion from the circle of real men, failure to find one's place in the family and partner relations. It seems that contemporary men are forced to assess the balance of potential profits and losses associated with selecting a specific way of realising their masculinity. Most of the respondents chose the traditional masculinity pathway, although many of them attempt to find a compromise between the learned and the novel patterns of the masculine role. It should, however, be borne in mind that changes in the understanding of the social sex roles do not follow a revolutionary pattern. Rather, the process of redefining masculinity and femininity is evolution-

ary. As Zbyszko Melosik and Tomasz Szkudlarek state (1998, p. 29), you cannot cut across the socialisation process and “cut off” the values in which the grandparents and parents of the young generation of men grew up. What should be done, however, in order to stimulate the evolution in the understanding of sex roles? Can pedagogy help to change the status quo in the field of masculinity and femininity? According to Ewa Majewska and Ewa Rutkowska (2008, p. 119), the contemporary system of education is often described by theoreticians as repressive and one that consolidates the asymmetrical social order, as confirmed by many studies in the field of sexual socialisation at school. Despite the quite pessimistic diagnosis, the education sector should, however, be considered a potential starting point for fighting the stereotypes that consolidate the inequality of the sexes in society.

Literature

- Badinter E., 1995, *XY: On Masculine Identity*, transl. by Lydia Davis, Columbia University Press, New York
- Bourdieu P., 2001, *Masculine Domination*, transl. R. Nice, Stanford, California.
- David D.S., Brannon R. (eds.), 1976, *The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: the Male Sex Role*, Reading, Massachusetts.
- Goldberg H., 1979, *The New Male*, New York.
- Golden T., 2011, *Anti Male Bias*, <http://menaregood.com/malebash3-1l.pdf> [accessed on 20.03.2011].
- Halberstam J., 2002, *The Good: As Good As it Gets and Heterosexual Conversion Narratives*, [in:] J.K. Gardiner (ed.), *Masculinity Studies and Feminist Theory. New Directions*, New York.
- Hyży E., 2010, *Chrześcijański ruch Promise Keepers a kryzys męskości. Perspektywa feministyczna* [Christian Movement Promise Keepers and the Crisis of Masculinity. A Feminist Perspective], [in:] M. Dąbrowska, A. Radomski (ed.), *Męskość jako kategoria kulturowa. Praktyki męskości* [Masculinity as a Cultural Category. Masculine Practices], Lublin.
- Kluczyńska S., 2001, *Męskość, kobiecość, androgyndia* [Masculinity, Femininity, Androgyny], “Niebieska Linia” No. 4.
- Kopciwicz L., 2005, *Kobiecość, męskość i przemoc symboliczna. Polsko-francuskie studium porównawcze* [Femininity, Masculinity, and Symbolic Violence. A Polish-French Comparative Study], Kraków.
- Majewska E., Rutkowska E., 2008, *Wskazówki dla nauczycielek i nauczycieli o edukacji wolnej od dyskryminacji* [Guidelines for Teachers on Education Free from Discrimination], [in:] E. Majewska, E. Rutkowska (eds.), *Równa szkoła – edukacja wolna od dyskryminacji. Podręcznik dla nauczycielek i nauczycieli* [Equal School – Education Free from Discrimination. A Textbook for Teachers], Gliwice.
- Marton F., 1994, *Phenomenography*, [in:] T. Hussen, T. N. Postlethwaite, *International Encyclopedia of Education*, Oxford.
- Mazur J., Pietrzak M., Kowalczyk A., 2008, *Mężczyzna prawdziwy a mężczyzna typowy. Językowy obraz współczesnego mężczyzny w świadomości Polaków* [The Real Man vs the Typical Man. Linguistic Picture of Contemporary Man in the Consciousness of Poles], [in:] A. Radomski, B. Truchlińska (eds.), *Męskość w kulturze współczesnej* [Masculinity in Contemporary Culture], Lublin.
- Melosik Z., 2006, *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej* [Crisis of Masculinity in Contemporary Culture], Kraków.

- Melosik Z., Szkudlarek T., 1998, *Kultura, tożsamość i edukacja – migotanie znaczeń* [Culture, Identity and Education – Twinkling of Meanings], Kraków.
- Miluska J., 1996, *Tożsamość kobiet i mężczyzn w cyklu życia* [Identity of Women and Men in the Life-Cycle], Poznań.
- Olechnicki K., 1996, *Między rambo a mięczakiem. Tożsamość mężczyzny wobec wyzwania feminizmu* [Between Rambo and a Softie. Male Identity in the Face of the Challenge of Feminism], "Odra" No. 7–8.
- Szymczak M. (ed.), 1978, *Słownik języka polskiego* [Dictionary of the Polish Language], Vol. 2, Warszawa.
- Thompson Jr. E. H., Pleck J. H., 1987, *The Structure of Male Role Norms*, [in:] M. S. Kimmel (ed.), *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*, Newbury Park.
- Waldenfels B., 1993, *Pogardzana doxa. Husserl i trwający kryzys zachodniego rozumu* [The Despised Doxa. Husserl and the Continuing Crisis of Western Reason], [in:] Z. Krasnodębski (ed.), *Świat przeżywany. Fenomenologia i nauki społeczne* [The Experienced World. Phenomenology and Social Sciences], Warszawa.
- Zajączkowska M. J., 2008, *Perspektywa równości płci w edukacji i wychowaniu* [The Perspective of the Equality of Sexes in Education and Childrearing], [in:] K. Denek, T. Koszczyk, W. Wiesner (red.), *Edukacja jutra, XIV Tatrzańskie Seminarium Naukowe* [Tomorrow's Education. 14th Tatra Region Scientific Seminar], Vol. 1, Wrocław.

Summary

The (Un)true Masculinity: Pedagogical Considerations of Male Identity

The essence of this article is an attempt to define (un)true masculinities as an outcome of the phenomenographic approach. The author reveals the regulative role that "fake" masculinity plays in the construction of dominant versions of masculinities in Poland.

Keywords

masculinity, socialisation, identity, change

Krzysztof Wąz

University of Zielona Góra

Teenage Boys as Fathers: Two Socialisation Perspectives

Amongst the sociocultural transformations of gender patterns referring to masculinity, those associated with performing the role of the father are arguably the most radical. In present times, the social expectations addressed to the “new father” significantly differ from those expected of men having children in the past few centuries, and living up to these expectations not only requires overcoming the stereotype of the father, but also the stereotype of the “masculine man”. This, in turn, requires a considerable modification of the socialisation process for gender roles realised with reference to adolescent boys. Without these changes, young men may become helpless when faced with the tasks arising from the newly defined role of the father, especially when forced to assume this role as adolescent boys.

In this paper, I present two very unique types of adolescent boy socialisation experiences associated with the role of the father. The first one refers to a real-life situation where an adolescent boy is to become a real father. In the other one, an adolescent boy merely plays the role of a father as part of an educational programme. These experiences will be presented using data from two studies, the results of which have been re-interpreted for the purposes of the present paper.

Socialisation for the role of a father

In our times, especially in the past three decades, the models of the “father-king”, “father-God” and even the “absent father” have become less and less common (Sikorska 2009, p. 192), and a better defined model of a new father has emerged. It represents a man who is involved in the care and upbringing of his child from the moment the child is born, who assists during labour and delivery, and who engages in activities that used to be reserved for the mother, a father who equally shares parenting activities with the mother or, in some cases, also assumes them (as, for instance, during paternity leave).

In this situation, socialisation and upbringing to fatherhood appear to be extremely complex tasks. Is it possible to avoid excessive “feminisation” of the process of the socialisation to reach masculinity, to evade the trap of an “identity incongru-

ous" to the expectations of society, when passing on the model of an involved (including emotionally involved) father who is sensitive to the needs of his small child? The situation is not made any easier by the "moral panic" instigated by individuals on an ideological crusade in the name of the "fight against gender ideology", who regard any departures from the traditional model of gender socialisation as a threat to the "natural", conservative social order as well as a corruption of morals.

The current models of gender roles do not replace the former ones, but emerge next to them, creating a kind of a tension between the traditional and new roles (Kwiatkowska 1999). This, however, does not occur without bearing significant costs, when a man assuming the role of the father is expected to meet many new requirements along with those found in the former model. "The contemporary socialisation narrative seems to have been reflecting the ambivalence between the deeply rooted traditional models and egalitarian standards which are a part of the current expectations" (Paprzycka 2010, p. 34). In the case of boys, this ambivalence is manifested in a twofold way: on the one hand, by nurturing the traits considered typically masculine, and on the other, by introducing traits traditionally attributed to women, such as the features which support the process of an efficient childcare.

The main socialisation agendas, which are the source of gender stereotypes adopted by an individual, include family, school, the Church, peer group and the mass media. As the issues discussed in this paper are limited in this respect, we can, however, only briefly mention the role of the first two.

The socialisation of boys for the role of a father starts in the family. The primary socialisation is the effect of the relationship of the young boy with his father. Today, however, it is difficult to rely on the "models presented by the fathers from older generations, as they have only started embracing parenthood when they taught their children how to comply with social norms (so rather late)" (Szlendak 2011, p. 448). Moreover, in the past, in families with many children, boys often observed the relationship of the father with their younger siblings, observed him assume this role, and they could, and sometimes had to, take care of their younger siblings. In present times, a significant proportion of boys have no such experience, or even no contacts with their own fathers on a daily basis.

School impacts the process of gender typification mainly through the content in textbooks and the information delivered by the teachers (Muszyńska 2004). Ironically, the most conservative models, excluding the changes taking place in the standards ascribed to gender roles, and including the role model of the father, are presented during family life classes (Izdebski, Wąż 2010). School textbooks present family members and their relationships with one another in a predominantly traditional and stereotypical way. "Men are rarely depicted in family roles. And we will surely not see a father taking care of an infant or sick child. The dad found in a school textbook is only present on special occasions" (Wołosik 2011). However, the textbooks that have been released more recently do attempt to overcome gender stereotypes, depict women beyond the family sphere, and show men as part of family life, including taking care of a young child. Teachers are often also susceptible to gender stereotypes, which translates into (often subconsciously, as part of the so-called invisible curriculum), treating male and female students in different ways. This invisible school

curriculum (through the socialisation messages produced by teachers and presented by the textbooks) reproduces gender stereotypes, as well as fatherhood stereotypes.

The first socialisation perspective – adolescent fathers

Young people present varying approaches towards sexual activity, but they are increasingly becoming more liberal. This phenomenon is quite conspicuous in studies conducted on sixteen-year-olds. Nearly one quarter of the respondents (24%) stated that having sexual relations at their age was normal. More than half (53%) of the respondents shared the view that people of their age may engage in some form of sexual activity, but with the total exclusion of sexual intercourse. Only 13% of respondents assumed a very restrictive standpoint, claiming that persons their age should definitely not engage in any form of sexual activity (even caressing). One should note that the boys presented views which were more liberal, i.e. they were slightly less often than the girls in favour of the statement that “persons my age should definitely not yet engage in any form of sexual activity”, and much more often approved of the view that “having sexual relations at my age is normal”. The majority of sixteen-year-olds (54%) believed that sex life could begin before the age of 20, with almost one-fourth (24%) having placed this moment even earlier, before reaching adulthood. The boys were twice as likely as the girls to state that sexual activity could be started before the age of 18 years old (Wąż 2008). The results of the research carried out in 2010 show that in the age group of 15–16 year olds, 20.0% of boys and 13.7% of girls had already gone through sexual initiation. In the case of 17–18 year olds, already 45.3% of the boys and 38.5% of the girls were sexually active (Mazur, Małkowska-Szkutnik 2010). One should note, however, that it was mainly the girls that became younger at the moment of sexual initiation. Over the past 20 years (1990–2010), the percentage of adolescent boys after sexual initiation increased by only a few (2–9) percentage points (with a greater increase in the older group), while in the case of girls it rose two or threefold (with a greater increase in the age group of 15–16) (Wojnarowska, Szymańska, Mazur 1999; Mazur, Małkowska-Szkutnik 2010).

Sexual activity initiated too early and irresponsibly with no knowledge about contraception may result – in some cases – in premature procreation and parenthood. Fatherhood of adolescent boys has never been at the centre of social attention, nor has it been treated as an important problem of scientific research. It is adolescent motherhood that usually becomes the source of great interest and emotions, and the role of an equally young father is treated at most as an additional obstacle in the life of an adolescent mother (when both parents are very young), and as a crucial evidence of both parents’ irresponsibility.

Pregnancy and the birth of a child are significant events in the course of the life of women, events which can either stimulate growth, become a crisis experience, or even a critical event (Skowrońska-Zbierchowska 2010). This postulate also works in reference to many men, especially adolescent boys. “Divergence of adolescence” or lack of compatibility between the rate of the biological, sexual, mental

and social development we observe in adolescents (Jaczewski 1992), makes it impossible to assume the role of a mature and responsible father. Early parenthood confronts adolescent boys with responsibilities fit for adult people, at the same time blocking their chances of solving developmental tasks typical for adolescence. They are not ready to assume the responsibilities of a father in terms of the mental, emotional, social as well as economic terms. Being under age is also a fundamental legal obstacle to care for a child in a formal sense.

Early procreation statistics for boys are far from complete, as it is the decision of women bearing the child to disclose information about the child's father. Among the men indicated as legitimate fathers by women who gave birth to a living child in 2004, 3054 were under the age of 19 (0.86%), but 17 348 mothers (4.8%) did not provide information on the father. In 2013, there were 1996 fathers (0.54%) under 19 and 14 002 mothers (3.77%) who did not provide information on the father. The situation is even more complicated by the fact that the women who revealed that their child's father was an adolescent were predominantly their peers. The women who did not provide father data were also predominantly adolescent. Let us note/ that the belief that the situation of adolescent parents is common is nothing more than a myth. Adolescent mothers most often pointed to young, but adult men being fathers of their children (GUS [Central Statistical Office] demographic data for 2014).

What socialisation experiences are shared by the adolescent boys who became fathers? What factors diversify these experiences and to what extent? An attempt to answer these questions will be made below based on a reinterpretation of the research material from qualitative studies conducted in 2008 and 2009 on samples of 30 women and 30 men who became parents before the age of 18. The results of this research are presented in a monograph devoted to the problem of adolescent parenthood (Izdebski, Wąż 2011).

The analysis of the statements made by men who became fathers as adolescents and the statements of women who became mothers at the same age and presented the reactions and behaviour of under-age fathers of their children, enables us to identify a number of factors that had an impact on the depiction of their socialisation experiences related to this situation.

The first of these factors is the awareness of the partner's pregnancy (that she will give birth to a child). This is a *sine qua non* condition. Without being aware of this fact, the boy could not, for obvious reasons, assume the role of a father. In some cases, however, the girls (often under pressure from their parents) did not inform the boy about the pregnancy or provided this information very late. Sometimes the information about the girl's pregnancy reached the boy from other, often strange sources. The moment the boy found out he was to be a father also bears some significance. Respondents who found out about it at the beginning of pregnancy had more time to handle the problem, or assume the role earlier, experience and prepare for childbirth with their partner, and support her in this difficult period, in which her young age was also a factor.

Another determinant is the type of relationship between the boy and the mother of the child. The majority of them were current partners – "girlfriends" of the

respondents. However, relationships between adolescents are often short and turbulent. In some situations, even before the girl realised she was pregnant, the relationship with the father of the child had ended, and sometimes they were also very conflicted. Relatively often, the girl's pregnancy was also the result of an ephemeral relationship, or even an incidental acquaintance that happened during a party, under the influence of alcohol. So the adolescents were practically strangers.

The type and scope of socialisation experiences related to early parenthood are to a large extent determined by the boy's acceptance of himself in this role, by whether he will use the strategy of a runaway father or deny fatherhood, by the extent to which he is able to rationalize and control the feelings of shock and fear in response to the news about the pregnancy (the feelings which were predominant in the studies conducted), and, finally, by the extent to which he will be involved in the support of the mother of the child during pregnancy and in the care of the child after its birth, as well as the extent to which he will want and be able to participate in this care on a daily basis.

A factor which significantly determines the ability of the adolescent to assume the role of the father is also the way in which the girl and her parents treat him. Even if the young father had a close relationship with the girl and had had the experience of a relatively long adolescent relationship, he cannot count on being accepted in the new role. As a "candidate" for a father, he undergoes a new verification process, in particular conducted by the girl's parents. This evaluation is often to his disadvantage. The new role expects different qualities than the ones appreciated in a boyfriend, who is rather just fun to be with. The evaluation of a boy who was not formerly introduced to the parents of the girl and is virtually a "stranger" to the girl herself, is even more disadvantageous.

In the case of adolescent boys, the attitude of adults (especially their parents and the parents of the child's mother) towards the situation has a decisive influence on whether and to what extent they will be able to take on the role of the father of their child. In practice, they are the ones making decisions about everything or nearly everything. First of all, this determines whether or not a child will be born at all. In the case of the pregnancy of a young girl, abortion is considered relatively often. Although only those whose child was actually born participated in the qualitative studies, abortion was also considered in at least a few cases in this group. Parents of teenagers (and especially the parents of the girls) decide to what extent the young people will assume parental roles, if at all, to what extent they will have the opportunity to exercise these roles together, and to what extent autonomously, and what support they will receive in performing these roles. In practice, then, it is the parents – especially if the mother of the child is very young – who decide to what extent and what type of socialisation experience will be shared by the adolescents, including the adolescent father.

The economic factors, and practically – with no income of their own – the material status of their families, is an extremely important determinant. Not only in terms of ensuring adequate social welfare for the young family, and especially for the child, but also as a basis for building the autonomy of the young people.

Extremely difficult material conditions exacerbate the already difficult situation of the adolescent parents, multiply problems, and are not conducive to establishing good relations between them and engaging in the role of parents.

A factor which bears considerable importance is the age of the boy who became a father, as well as the age of the mother of the child. This is not only a determinant of how effective childcare will be exercised in reality, but also the extent to which the young parents will be accepted by their environment, including members of their families. We do not only refer here to the chronological age, but to the actual level of cognitive, emotional, social and moral development. Assuming the role of the father, the role formerly reserved for adults only, may accelerate the process of puberty, but those who are too far away from this stage may find it very challenging to confront this task. It is thus not surprising that not everyone wants and is able to cope with it.

The aforementioned factors, which could impact the depiction of socialisation experiences linked to the role of a father became the basis for attempting to establish a classification of these experiences – the selection of particular types of (too) early fatherhood (table 1).

Table 1. Classification of (too) young fathers

Type of fatherhood	Description
The Fully Legitimised Father	He can fully assume the role of the father as the family(ies) have accepted him in this role and have created appropriate conditions for the young parents to take care of their child together, live together, sometimes even in their own home; this often encourages a great deal of commitment and responsible behaviour, although sometimes, despite favourable conditions, the boy is not able to cope with his responsibilities; the relationship of the young parents is not always able to last.
The Heroic Father	He is alone in his role as a father, often deprived of sufficient help from his parents; he takes everything – the overwhelming responsibilities and circumstances – “on the chin”, goes to a gynaecologist with his girlfriend, tries to earn money, gives up many things (friends, parties, sometimes even school....)
The (Almost) Father	He fits into the conditions created by the family (parents), supports the mother of the child, helps her during pregnancy and after childbirth, does not have to be heroic and give up everything that has been important to him so far, and assumes the responsibilities of the father to the best of his strength and abilities
The Visiting, Special Occasion Father	He is allowed to visit the child and the girl as a (reasonably) desired guest, does not have to take responsibility, and is somehow a candidate for a father, a person who wishes to take on this role in the future

Type of fatherhood	Description
The Brother Father	The parents (most often of the girl) “adopt” the child, and assume full care and responsibility for the child, thus assigning the role of siblings to adolescent parents; sometimes a formal adoption follows
The Divergent Father	A boy considered to be an unsuitable candidate for the father and partner of a girl (usually by the girl’s parents and sometimes by the girl herself), is isolated from the child and his/her mother; sometimes he attempts to fight to be a legitimate father, but sometimes this situation is convenient for him
The Runaway Father	The boy escapes from fatherhood, renounces the child (and his mother), denies fatherhood, sometimes manifests a hostile attitude towards the girl, often loses himself in partying, tries to forget, and deadens the remorse related to his actions
The Unaware Father	The boy does not know that he is to become a father; sometimes the acquaintance with the child’s mother was very brief and he has no contact with her; rarely – he knows the mother, but does not presume to be the father of the child; sometimes this situation is temporary and after some time the boy is informed that he has become a father; depending on his reaction and other determinants, the unaware father becomes a father of another type, either a runaway father or a visiting father
The Potential, “Would-have-been” Father	He has gone through the experience of the girl becoming pregnant, and the decision to have an abortion that (sometimes) is made by others or with his passive participation

Source: own work

As demonstrated, fatherhood which happens (too) early can generate a very diverse pool of socialisation experiences. For the most part these are not experiences which can be considered beneficial for development. This is not surprising – nowadays the role of a parent is so complex and culturally defined that it can be efficiently performed only by adults (many adults also struggle with parenthood, but this problem is not a part of this paper). This does not mean, however, that every situation of premature fatherhood is exclusively the source of negative experiences. Some boys capitalize on it in terms of the socialisation process. This is especially the case when the boys obtain the information about the pregnancy when they are relatively mature, and their parents want and are able to offer a type of support, which enables the boys to actively assume the role of a father and does not challenge them beyond their strength and abilities. The analysis of the life stories of young fathers proves that for some of them the birth of a child and caring for it enabled them to become mature earlier and start building the foundations of a future family.

The second perspective of socialisation – a simulation of fatherhood

The socialisation experiences of adolescent boys who became fathers described above will now be compared to a situation in which their peers only played the role of a father while participating in an educational programme. It was an early parenthood prevention programme “Be Responsible. Education for Responsibility and Partnership in the Family”, which was commissioned by the Ministry of National Education and developed and implemented into educational practice between 2004–2005 by a team of academics of the University of Zielona Góra.

The programme was the Polish version of the American educational and preventive programme “Baby, Think It Over” which aims to prevent adolescents from engaging irresponsibly in sexual activity too early and to minimise the resulting teen pregnancies. The project was based on the use of an infant simulator, which was a doll simulating some of the needs of a small child. The authors of the Polish project abandoned many solutions of the American programme, because they found that it was excessively based on fear. The US programme participants were daunted that the child born may suffer from disabilities, they might have to bear very high costs of child care, upbringing and education, and presented an extensive scale of infant childcare. Even though the studies on the effectiveness of the programme carried out in the United States (Out, Lafreniere 2001; Somers, Fahlman 2001) confirm it is possible to achieve the results assumed by its authors – i.e. the discouragement of early parenthood and the declared postponement of procreation – according to the team preparing the Polish version of the programme there was a real danger that participants in the project could become paralysed by the very thought of the need to take care of and bring up an infant, which could have created a lifelong, negative attitude towards parenthood.

Just like the American prototype, the Polish project was intended by its authors to prevent teen pregnancy. However, the aims, content and method of implementation of the programme were significantly modified. As a result, the strategy of frightening the participants was abandoned in favour of a strategy of providing knowledge about the needs of the new-born child and the ways of handling them properly and demonstrating the enormity of the tasks facing the parents of a young child, the need for a responsible attitude for carrying them out, as well as the joy of parenthood. As a result, the purpose was to maintain, strengthen or form a belief about the values of parenthood and its extraordinary role in human life. The programme included two parts: educational classes (10 hours of teaching) and a simulation of infant care performed for 48 hours (from Friday to Sunday) in the students’ family homes. The essence of the project was learning by doing – modifying attitudes and acquiring competences through caring for an electronic simulator of an infant (Wąż 2008).

The programme was implemented in an experimental phase in 24 schools located in three provinces of western Poland: Zachodniopomorskie, Lubuskie and Dolnośląskie, from September 2004 to January 2005. In the following, 2005/2006

school year it was implemented in 88 schools in the Mazowieckie, Podlaskie and Wielkopolskie Provinces. The participants of the project included students of the last grade of lower secondary schools or the first grade of upper secondary schools.

What were the socialisation experiences of the young boys participating in the programme and taking on the role of simulator caretakers? What factors diversified these experiences and to what extent? To answer these questions we will use the results of the qualitative research conducted along the experimental implementation of the programme. The first, experimental phase of the programme included 636 (33.3% of the total) boy participants. The programme participants filled out a "Caretaker Diary" where they wrote down their impressions after taking care of the infant simulator. Some of them had also prepared longer, free pieces of writing/diaries on this subject. The analysis of these statements enables us to identify a number of factors that had an impact on the students' socialisation experiences related to their role as the caretakers of infant simulators.

As all the students voluntarily participated in the programme (this rule also applied to their parents) and signed a special commitment to exercise responsible "care" of the simulator, in the aforementioned situation the pressure factor was not at all in question. The experiences of the boys, on the other hand, were diversified in terms of the level of commitment with which each student provided the care. In general, we could observe that the students made great efforts to perform their role well. In addition to their statements, it is also evidenced by the results of the simulation recorded objectively by a computer (in the vast majority of cases, students obtained from 90 to 100% accurate responses to the needs indicated by the simulator).

It is motivation that proved to be the greatest factor in the diversification of the various people's responses. Some boys approached their task very emotionally – caring for the simulator was identified with caring for a real infant – and the role itself was even perceived as a role of a parent. Others showed great awareness of the convention, played the role of fathers, but they were far from identifying the simulator with a child. Still others treated caring for the simulator as an attractive educational task, an opportunity to have fun, to spend time in an interesting way, an opportunity to prove themselves, to test themselves, and to show off to others, etc.

The factor that diversified the socialisation experiences of boys was the attitude of their parents, including the extent to which they became "grandparents" of the simulator, the extent to which they followed the rules of the experiment provided by the teacher, the extent to which they modified these rules (thus increasing or reducing the scope of tasks performed by the adolescent "father"), the extent to which they helped, supported, or helped out with the tasks, the extent to which they themselves were involved, and could and wanted to devote their time and attention. Largely, the point was to see to what extent they created an atmosphere at home that would be conducive to the adopted convention, make the situation less artificial, conducive to the child's activity, and motivating the child to make an effort and persevere in the realization of a difficult task. It was also important to what extent the convention proposed in the programme was adopted by other people, especially other residents in their homes.

The socialisation experiences of the boys who were caretakers of the simulators were also impacted by the reaction of the environment, especially their friends, by how they evaluated the implementation of this task and by the extent to which the student was subjected to social “exposure”, the extent to which the situation of the simulation was limited to the closest family members, and the extent to which the group of actors (people observing the student as a “father”) was expanding – whether friends and neighbours paid visits to the caretaker’s home during the simulation process, and how they reacted to the role he played. Whether the boy wanted or needed to leave the house with the simulator, stayed with it in public places (in a bus, park, shop, etc.), and how others reacted to seeing him with a “child” in a carrier also played a part.

The factors described above, which impacted the depiction of the socialisation experiences of students – participants of the programme – lay at the basis for proposing the classification of these experiences, and selecting particular types of „fathers” – caretakers of the infant simulators (tab. 2).

Table 2. The classification of “fathers” – caretakers of the infant simulators

Type of “father” – infant simulator caretaker	Description
Committed	Identifies with the role of the father of the infant simulator very much, treats it as a child, emotionally engaged in the care
Responsible	Tries to carry out all the tasks related to care, assumes full responsibility, and apart from listening to additional instructions does not accept any help from parents
Student	The simulation of infant care represents a type of homework; he does not “buy” the convention of the project, but is interested in the records of the effects of the simulation and strives to achieve the best/better results
Not self-reliant	Relies on parents to a large extent, seeks their help, support, and even wants them to assume his tasks
Real-life	He is moderately committed to the care of the infant simulator, accepts the convention, but at the same time tries to live his regular life, meet his friends, and have fun.
Hedonist	He considers the simulation of infant care to be a game, an adventure, expresses a specific approach to the convention of the “father” of an infant simulator, and eagerly keeps in touch with his friends to boast about his unique “toy”.

Source: own work

The participation of boys in the project was very important for the authors of the programme as it was addressed to girls and boys alike. The idea was to

make students aware that both women and men are responsible for procreation and childcare. The authors of the programme were considerably concerned about boys' reactions to having been invited to participate in the programme and how they would meet the responsibilities of the infant simulator caretaker. These concerns were connected with a long-lived postulate of developmental psychology that adolescent boys are far less socially mature than their female peers. The concern not only referred to the childish behaviour of the participants themselves, but – possibly to even a greater extent – to boys who were not part of the programme and who could ridicule their colleagues who had assumed the role of infant simulator caretakers. In the course of the programme it was proven that these concerns were unfounded. The aforementioned approach of students toward the infant care simulation also contradicts this. The course of the experiment additionally indicated that there is a correlation of responsible attitudes towards procreation and parenthood with the previous experiences of the young people participating in the programme (including boys) in regard to taking care of younger and ill persons or those in need of care.

What were the socialisation experiences shared by the students participating in the programme? The very fact that boys were entrusted with the role of the sole (apart from the assumed parental support) responsible caretaker of an infant simulator meant that these experiences could be viewed as specific, in line with the model of a “new father” who actively participates and engages in the care of an infant child. However, despite the efforts made by the authors of the programme, the situation remained artificial, and even with the adoption of the convention proposed in the programme by the student and his parents, the circumstances reminded of that of a single parent. Nevertheless, we can state that the total of socialisation experiences which accompanied the infant care simulation were very beneficial, and contributed to the development of responsibility, a trait which is not only indispensable in the process of exercising care over an infant, but is also an essential component of a mature adult personality.

In individual cases, however, the students' experiences varied, which was reflected in the identified types of “father” – caretaker of the simulator. The most valuable developmental experiences were acquired by the boys, who “bought” into the convention of the programme and obtained optimal support from their parents. The experience proved less valuable for those boys treating the project merely as homework or fun, boys' whose parents were not sufficiently involved in the care or whose parents, on the contrary, attempted to help out with everything.

Differences between the two socialisation perspectives

It appears to be important to try to compare the socialisation experiences acquired by adolescent boys in the atypical roles of fathers and caretakers of an infant simulator in the summary of analyses performed here. A synthetic picture of this comparison is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Differences between the two socialisation perspectives

	Real fatherhood	Simulated fatherhood
Socialisation mechanism	Learning by doing	Learning by doing
Naturalness	Natural situation, and a set of social actors (mother, father, child, grandparents)	Artificial situation, educational task, care of the infant simulator, its appearance and operation are an attempt to overcome artificiality, the lack of key social actors – the girl – the child’s mother and her parents
Social Exposure	Very extensive; the boy is judged not only by family members, but by the whole social environment; in many cases this evaluation is highly critical	Moderate; usually limited to the members of the closest family, sometimes only parents; approval is expressed towards the task carried out by the boy
Degree of autonomy	Forced situation – determined by life, and often by someone else (e.g. the girl’s parents)	Voluntary situation – independent decision to join the project (although parents’ approval was also necessary)
Level and type of emotions	High, usually negative emotions, stress	High, usually positive emotions, eustress
Adult/parental support	In many situations adults’, and their own or their girlfriend’s parents’ support is missing	Support of own parents acting as “grandparents”, also indirect support from the teacher
Duration	A long-term or lifetime role	A role very limited in time, taken up only during the project, for a few days
Possibilities and extent to which one assumes the role of the father	In many cases no possibility to undertake the responsibility (assume the role of father) and/ or making it difficult by the mother of the child and/or her parents – isolation, rejection and/ or unwillingness to assume the role (denial, escape)	In all cases assuming the role and acting as a father with more or less commitment

Source: own work

Both cases show an extensive efficiency in the change of attitudes, as we are dealing here with the most effective socialisation mechanism, i.e. learning by doing (own activity) (Zimbardo, Ruch 1971, p. 559). However, the group of experiences

characteristic for both socialisation perspectives is different. In the first case – of real fatherhood – the effectiveness is determined by the naturalness of the situation, high social exposure, and long (lifetime) duration. In the second case – of the infant simulator “fatherhood” – by autonomy (voluntary decision making), positive emotions, the support of adults, and the possibility to assume the full range of roles.

However, the most important advantage of the second perspective of socialisation is its constructive, educational character. It was arranged in order to prevent adolescent boys and girls from having to assume parental roles. The evaluation of the programme, including deferred evaluation (Wąż 2014), makes it possible to conclude that this is possible. It turns out that in such a “sensitive” area related to sexual activity it is possible to carry out an educational action with a positive impact on the total of the socialisation experiences of the adolescents. It can be once again pointed out that the reasoned educational impact can modify the famous saying of Cicero: *Usus magister est Optimus* (“experience is the best teacher”) into one of – “an experience wisely designed by adults is the best teacher for the young”.

Literature

- Zimbardo Ph.G., Ruch F.L., 1971, *Psychology and Life*, Scott, Foresman, Glenview, Illinois. GUS (central statistical office) data, 2014, <http://demografia.stat.gov.pl/baza-demografia/CustomSelectData.aspx?s=uro&y=2013&t=00> [accessed on 20.08.2014].
- Izdebski Z., Wąż K., 2011, *Edukacja seksualna. Potrzeba, oczekiwania społeczne, realizacja* [Sexual Education. The Need for, Social Expectations, Execution], “Edukacja. Studia. Badania. Innowacje” No. 1.
- Izdebski Z., Wąż K., 2011, *Obraz (przed) wczesnego rodzicielstwa* [The Picture of (Too) Early Parenthood], [in:] Z. Izdebski, T. Niemiec., K. Wąż, *(Zbyt) młodzi rodzice* [(Too) Young Parents], Wydawnictwo TRIO, Warszawa.
- Jaczewski A., 1992, *Dojrzewanie – szczególny okres rozwoju* [Adolescence – a Special Period of Development], [in:] *Wychowawcze, etyczne i społeczne problemy zachowań seksualnych młodzieży* [Educational, Ethical, and Social Problems Related to Sexual Behaviour of the Youth], Z. Izdebski (ed.), Wyd. TRR, Zielona Góra.
- Kwiatkowska A., 1999, *Siła tradycji i pokusa zmiany, czyli o stereotypach płciowych* [The Power of Tradition and a Temptation of Change – on Gender Stereotypes], [in:] *Męskość i kobiecość w perspektywie indywidualnej i kulturowej* [Masculinity and Femininity in the Individual and Cultural Perspective], J. Miluska, P. Boski (eds.), Wydawnictwo Instytutu Psychologii PAN, Warszawa.
- Mazur J., Małkowska-Szkutnik A. (eds.), 2011, *Wyniki badań HBSC 2010. Raport techniczny* [Results of 2010 HBSC Surveys. Technical Report], Instytut Matki i Dziecka, Warszawa.
- Muszyńska E., 2004, *Warunki edukacji szkolnej dziewcząt i chłopców: różnice, ich przyczyny i skutki* [Conditions of the School Education of Girls and Boys: Differences, Their Causes and Results], [in:] *Płeć i rodzaj w edukacji* [Sex and Gender in Education], M. Chomczyńska-Rubacha (ed.), WSH-E, Łódź.
- Out J.W., Lafreniere K. D., 2001, *Baby Think It Over: Using Role-play to Prevent Teen Pregnancy*, *Adolescence* Vol. 36, No. 143.
- Paprzycka E., 2010, *Ambiwalencja – analiza socjalizacji kobiet w perspektywie gender* [Ambivalence – Analysis of the Socialisation of Women in the Gender Perspective], “Przegląd Socjologiczny”, Vol. 59, No. 3.

- Sikorska M., 2009, *Nowa matka, nowy ojciec, nowe dziecko. O nowym układzie sił w polskich rodzinach* [New Mother, New Father, New Child. On the New Power Structure in Polish Families], Wyd. Akademickie i Profesjonalne, Warszawa.
- Skowrońska-Zbierzchowska A., 2010, *Doświadczenia małoletnich rodziców. Aspekty socjopedagogiczne* [Experience of the Adolescent Parents. Sociopedagogical Aspects], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk.
- Somers C.L., Fahlman M.M., 2001, *Effectiveness of the "Baby Think It Over" Teen Pregnancy Prevention Programme*, "Journal of School Health" Vol. 71.
- Szlendak T., 2011, *Socjologia rodziny. Ewolucja, historia, zróżnicowanie* [Family Sociology. Evolution, History, Diversity], Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Wąż K., 2014, *Ewaluacja programu profilaktyki wczesnego rodzicielstwa* [Evaluation of an Early Parenthood Prevention Programme], "Rocznik Lubuski", Vol. 40, Part 1: *Uwarunkowania rozwoju zachowań ryzykownych* [Conditions Behind Risky Behaviours], M. Famicka, Z. Izdebski, K. Wąż (eds.).
- Wąż K. (ed.), 2008, *Bądź odpowiedzialny. Wychowanie do odpowiedzialności i partnerstwa w rodzinie. Opis programu edukacyjnego i jego realizacji* [Be Responsible. Education for Responsibility and Partnership in the Family. Description of an Educational Programme and its Execution], Wyd. UZ, Zielona Góra.
- Wołosik A., *Edukacja do równości, czy trening uległości? Internetowa szkoła równości i demokracji* [Education for Equality or Submissiveness Training? Internet School of Equality and Democracy], http://www.wstronedziewczat.org.pl/downloads/ania_gender-fair.pdf.10 [accessed on 09.04.2011].
- Woynarowska B., Szymańska M.M., Mazur., 1999, *Wiedza i przekonania o HIV/AIDS. Zachowania seksualne. Raport z badań wykonanych w 1998 r.* [Knowledge and Beliefs on HIV/AIDS. Sexual Behaviours. Report on a 1998 Study], Katedra Biomedycznych Podstaw Rozwoju i Wychowania, Wydział Pedagogiczny UW, Warszawa.

Summary

Teenage boys as fathers: two socialisation perspectives

This article is an empirical exploration of early fatherhood as a real life experience and an educational experiment. The author reveals the regulative role that "simulated" fatherhood plays in the construction of the concepts of boys as fathers.

Keywords

teenager, fatherhood, socialisation, early fatherhood, identity, adolescent, adolescence

Tatiana Maciejewska
University of Zielona Góra

The gym as a place of constructing masculine corporeal identity

In the modern, rapidly-developing societies of the West, with their cultural crisis and moral revolution, the picture of masculinity and femininity is undergoing redefinition. Within an individual lost in the image of gender, a need arises to consciously create their gender in a variety of ways. The bodily, visual aspect has become a drawing board where one's image can be created, where one can follow fashion or swim against it, where gender can be stressed or unified. Nancy Etcoff (2000) considers appearance to be "the most public part of the self". According to her, lookism is the most common and at the same time most concealed prejudice which unconsciously functions in the society. Appearance is treated as a source of pleasure, shame, and/or information. According to the researcher, the reason behind working out at a gym or improving nature through plastic surgery is the drive to be not only a work of nature but also a work of art. The fitness club has become on one hand the space for self-creation, for the constructing of one's bodily "self", and on the other, the place for a bodily regime – a kind of panopticon, where one is one's own guardian, critic, and prisoner at the same time. In postmodern culture there is a possibility of the social "negotiation" of one's role, identity, attitudes, and bodily image. An "error margin", a deviation from fulfilling traditional roles, is permissible. Deciding upon self-creation has become not only acceptable but even required. Easy juggling of identities allows to create oneself anew, as if from building blocks. Retaining the traditional elements does not exclude the introduction of cultural novelties. Individuals create themselves ostentatiously more often. They create self-display on the social stage.

This article presents a fragment of research on the perception and creation of masculine identity by men working out in the gym. It is an attempt to portray men creating their visual, corporal, ostentatious identity. The article quotes testimonies of the interviewees on the selected issues. The problem required the analysis of not only behaviours, but above all the feelings associated with being a man in the modern world. The interviewees see the gym as a place containing the tools to construct their subjectivity. For them, it is a place of construction and destruction.

A bodily armour is made, while weakness and fragility are crushed. The symbol of muscularity gives them a feeling of stability, immersion in the traditional dimension of masculinity. According to Raewyn Connell (1995, p. 54), masculinity is a model of cultural gender, a set of practices initiated by the body, oriented towards the body, and related to it. The body as an object of social and cultural practices becomes a participant to these processes. Connell (1995, p. 86) defines the elements of the gender regime – they are the relations of power, relations of production, emotional structures, and symbolization. She is a supporter of understanding masculinity as a gender design which is a response to the existence of a number of models of masculinity. Pierre Bourdieu (2001, p. 52) claims that the mechanism of constructing gender is based on the proper arrangement of the body in the system of social practices, the incorporation of the relation of rule. Cultural distinctions are the ones that direct the individual's choice of the shape of their own corporeality. Differentiation is based on undertaking bodily behaviours and creating a specific image of one's own body. One's existence in the world is of a corporeal character. Fundamental dispositions impose the social adjustment of a body, which undergoes permanent reproduction. According to this, the body is a showpiece, it becomes the expression of the place one takes in the social and gender order. The gender body is a social and political body, while masculinity is a dynamic concept.

Characteristics of the interviewees

The research was conducted on twelve men, aged 20 to 55, regularly working out at a gym, and exhibiting sporty, athletic bodies. The project used the quantitative strategy, with the case study as a tool. The sample was oriented at maximising the information gain – the selection of cases based on the expected information allows for the maximum utilisation of the information from small groups and individual cases (Flyvbjerg 2006). The research was performed on men with a specific body build, proving their regular physical workout. The selection criteria were: the history of the workouts (minimum 2 years of regular workouts at the gym), and body build (showing the physical workout). Six of the interviewees have higher education, five – secondary, with one being a student. Four of them consider themselves entrepreneurs. They work in entertainment, trade, electronics, and insurance. Three are bodybuilding instructors (two of them work at gyms). One is a salesman in a specialist shop and one works in finance. Another one is a lawyer, and one is an owner of a mechanical workshop. Half of the group are residents of Zielona Góra, the other half – of Warsaw. The research employs the quantitative strategy. The final research material was acquired in twelve narrative interviews and during observations. The limitation of the number of participants allowed to reduce the emergence of issues related to excessive research material, which in turn would disable reaching the deep sense of the interviews during analysis. The analysis is a time-consuming process and with large quantities of research material there exists a possibility of merely a surface character of analysis. With each participant,

a meeting to conduct an interview was arranged as well as a meeting to perform (participatory) observation during a workout. Contacts were arranged through people working out in the gyms. Interviews were conducted according to prepared guidelines, identical in every case, but not limiting the flow of narration. During the interviews, the participants were directed towards talking about a specific stage of life or a topic. The quantitative strategy allowed to reach the deep sense of the interviews when performing the analysis of the material. The analysis was a two-stage process, with exemplative and typological analysis (Paprzycka 2012, p. 57).

Constructing the masculine visual identity

In traditional societies, masculinity and femininity are precisely defined. The process of socialisation and self-nurture drives towards an identification of an individual with the image of a man or woman which functions within the culture. Lack of fulfilment of social expectations creates a situation of a "misfit", subject to assessment by the system of social control. There appears a normativity-driven construct of gender, reproduced in social discourse. The construct of masculinity in the traditional culture generates the libido of masculine domination. The identity of the individual depends on their own belief as to who they are, where they are heading, and the ability to sustain specific narrations. Gender perceived as a social category becomes information, based on which judgements are made. The ways of defining masculinity by the interviewees, their feeling of being men, are determined by definitions functioning within society. The recreation of the dominant patterns is determined by the society-embedded definitions. Repeating of the existing patterns occurs when one's own feeling of sexual identity aligns with that which functions within the society. The interviewees, underlining those features which are stereotypically assigned to masculinity, seem to confirm the words of Bourdieu (2004, p. 67), according to whom despite masculinity being potentially staged within the theatre of the gendered society, it cannot be completely changed or replaced. The interviewees seem to repeat the traditional patterns of masculinity. Their feeling of their own identity translates to their identity as a whole. This may be the reflection of a thesis by Eugenia Mandal (2010, p. 204) on gender identity as a subsystem of identity. Openness to corporeality may be the result of the redefining of masculinity within society.

The interviewees define masculinity through a prism of physical and psychic features. In their narrations, they indicate the importance of the traditionally-defined masculine features in defining masculinity. This is related mostly to personal and character traits. Such understanding of masculinity may be the result of fixed mutual interactions between the cognitive, behavioural, and environmental determinants (Bandura 1977). When asked about the definition of masculinity, the interviewees needed to think the question over. The question was a surprise. They largely reacted with saying "a man is a man". This may be proof of an unreflective copying of cultural patterns and playing out gender roles. They, however,

stressed the importance of building one's image, a visual identity. The willingness to make a defined impression on others is one of the chief motivators for them. Self-presentation is the fundamental condition of successful personal and professional contacts.

Mandal describes self-presentation as an intentional process of managing or driving home the impression one makes on others during social interactions. The author claims that one of the simpler methods of self-presentation is the use of props and decorations (clothes, hairstyle, scent, interior decoration, choice of physical workout and sports disciplines, suntan, type of diet). The willingness to adjust one's image to the expectations of the environment is strengthened by the fear of negative assessments (Mandal 2010, p. 64). Andreas Schneider explains how people become collectors of identities organised into a hierarchy of importance. He claims that people create the image of themselves based on the reactions of others. According to him, the building of self is a process of reaching unclear objectives with the use of limited tools. It requires involvement, being an actor, and reflecting upon oneself (Schneider 2007, p. 5). According to Alicja Kuczyńska (1983, p. 9), one uses their own bodies as the fundamental means of expression. Corporeality shaped canons of all aesthetics in the past. According to the author, an individual may feign situations, pretend to be someone they are not. They may exhibit values they do not possess, while concealing others. This occurs thanks to things, material objects, behaviours, and/or spiritual contents. People supplement corporeality with newer objects that camouflage its primary matter. Monika Bakke (2000, p. 9) perceives the body as a place of transition for the stimuli incoming from the external world, as well as those that leave the body, constituting visual proof of change as the rule of the world, a field of individual and group inscription. Elisabeth Grosz (1990, p. 25) claims that it is fragile, sensitive, and inspiring, adding that old age, disease, and death are natural to a human. Magdalena Sarnińska-Górecka (2008, p. 163) uses the metaphor of a "body-costume", which she uses in reference to sexuality. The idea of a costume was borrowed from gender performativity theory, which assumes that femininity and masculinity are costumes that contain elements characteristic to the given gender category. Both genders define themselves through the style of being, the way of constructing one's identity, with the border of freedom being cultural norms and social limitations. The costume of "real masculinity" is perceived in contemporary culture in a traditional way (the alpha male). A lot of men lock themselves to the changes related to defining masculinity – changes that may be considered beneficial only to women. Emancipation freed women from the rule of men and from this point of view men have suffered a loss. However, as many authors suggest (cf. Brannon 1996; Renzetti, Curran 2008) men gained, among others, the right to show emotions, to be pacifists, to be weak on occasion, to be loving fathers and caring partners. According to Linda Brannon (1996), the current stereotypes are rooted in 19th-century culture. For centuries, masculinity was presented as being opposed to femininity, as its contradiction. Building up muscle can be considered the continuation of this image (masculinity – strength, femininity – weakness).

Example narrations:

A man must be a man in his character, so he needs to be psychologically strong, hard, needs to take care of himself and his closest. If we talk about appearance, he needs to be clean and physically fit (Janek).

The intent to fend for oneself and others can be associated with the skill of guaranteeing survival for oneself and one's family, which is typical of the traditional approach to the role of a man. The interviewee, while stressing the importance of the traits of character in being a man voices his attachment to the tradition of masculinity. Albert Bandura (1977) explains this by the fact of the learning and copying of the patterns that function within society. The interviewed men also indicated the importance of corporeality in being a man. The outward appearance is important, as well as the way others perceive men. Corporeality and the way of dressing are important to the participants of the study.

A man needs to look good; he should be athletic. Even if he has nice hair and clothes but he has a limp body, what kind of man is he? Although, if he acts cool, not like a pussy, has good clothes and looks good, then even if he does not work out, he is OK. I don't like those who don't care for exercise and construct a philosophy around it, saying they do not have time.

The second half of this testimony can indicate the preferences for fashion options accessible to men. A skilful choice of clothes, according to the interviewee, could be used to conceal bodily deficiencies. Such an approach may be the result of the pressure from the fashion and cosmetic industries on contemporary men. Media-imposed requirements towards men can become inaccessible ideals. The interviewees associate masculinity with the physical aspect:

If a woman sees a man who looks kind of OK, he is clean, well-dressed, smells good, they go right to it. He undresses and underneath there are those awful slabs of fat – you could just start screaming and scam. A man needs to have all things where they belong (Sebastian).

Fear of having a fat-laden body appeared in most of the narratives. This can be associated with a body dysmorphic disorder, such as bigorexia.

The interviewees may construct their own image by imitation or realising their own representation of a pattern of masculinity. Their deficiencies can be masked by a game of pretences, putting on various masks (Leary 1996). The interviewees create a facade of dominance, by creating their visual identity. According to Erving Goffman, an individual plays out their role only in the presence of others. Observation shows that most of the research participants try to play their role even without being aware they are being watched (Goffman 1956). Their way of expressing themselves is associated with daily labour, effort, regularity, and self-discipline. Working on oneself, one's corporeality, is their way of building their "self". This

allows to transmit a specific image of oneself. Consistent building of the image of oneself is something Bartek pays attention to:

A man needs to take care of his image, he should be beautiful – well, not to exaggeration, but he should give his body a chance, and needs to get dressed somehow, too. Elements of cosmetics need to be put in place. If the Maker or your genes did not give you good looks, good body proportions, then you will get nowhere even if you chew nails and spit tacks. But one should always try.

This narrative may indicate his compulsive care for his appearance. This may be the effect of submitting to a media dictatorship. In the testimony, there appears the topic of genetic injustice. He considers people who were given ideal bodily proportions to always be attractive. This may suggest the interviewee referencing canons of fashion and attempting to tackle the ideals. His tone of voice may suggest, however, his lack of satisfaction from the achievements. He also points at the hierarchy found at the gym:

You know how it is in the gym – you are new, you pay your dues. You are an old-timer – you get all the respect.

Further, the interviewee speaks about his age:

As time passed, I had some injuries, you know, you need to look after yourself more, the body does not regenerate to the same degree. The body is fatigued, loses its firmness, you put on fat, so at a certain age you need to take a wise approach, not all gung-ho, like in the old days. All needs to be carefully considered: diet, training, so that you still look good, not like an old man.

This testimony shows a professional and well thought-over approach to the workout. The research participant, bearing in mind the passing of time, tries to adjust the workout to the capabilities of his body. His skills in correcting workouts and the need to have good looks may be associated with the type of work he does:

If I sat there, obese and disgusting, everyone at the gym would take me for an idiot, not an instructor. This post requires professionalism. People believe in what the instructor tells them, as long as they see he is well-kept. How would I be able to convince someone to take up diet, exercises, assure him that it will be OK because of these things, if I did not represent what I said? That would be a farce.

The interviewee points at the need for the corporeal image to be consistent with that of the profession. His approach fits the definition of image and manners of its execution. PR trainers accentuate the meaning of conscious self-creation.

Hegemonic masculinity is realised through the use of violence towards women and the weaker representatives of the same sex. It is supported through the system of law-making, as well as legal, and political mechanisms¹. Hegemony is

¹ Relying on masculine authority, acceptance from the subjects.

reproduced through the process of nurturing. Connell (1995, p. 76) supports the understanding of masculinity and femininity as gender designs. She draws attention to the processes and relations that induce women and men to do gender. According to her, masculinity is "a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality, and culture" (Connell 1995, p. 75). She puts forward a thesis on the existence of a number of masculinity models which come in specific historic, topographic, and cultural conditions (they undergo change and evolve). She characterises the structure of masculinity in culture, distancing it from the concept of the biological domination of gender. She also claims that the body is also a participant to social processes, an object of practices which create these processes. Each form of masculinity is rooted in the structures of relations subject to historic modifications.

The main cultural notion of the cultural-sociological conception of gender, according to Bourdieu (2001), is the habitus situated in the moment in which the body comes in contact with society. The habitus is related to an individual body, but it is a sign of belonging to a social group. This notion is used to differentiate between social groups, characterise their lifestyles, and determine their position in the gender relation. Monika Szczepaniak (2010) points at the mechanism of constructing gender according to Bourdieu's concept, founded on the proper arrangement of the body in the system of social practices, on the incorporation of the relation of power. She notes that Bourdieu exposes symbolic knowledge which works using habituated patterns, with no control of will and self-reflection. An individual follows the prohibitions, suggestions, etc.. Bourdieu (2001, p. 9) writes about the process of the somatisation of relations, where "the androcentric vision imposes itself as neutral and has no need to spell itself out in discourses aimed at legitimating it". The body constantly reproduces itself. Fundamental dispositions impose a social tuning of the body. Szczepaniak (2010) stresses the construction of gender by Bourdieu in the pre-discursive space, on the plane of spontaneous activity determined by the gender, social, cultural, and ethnic practices inscribed into the body. The body, as a showpiece, becomes the expression of the place taken in the social and sexual order. According to the author, in the light of both concepts, the sexual order appears not as a model rooted in corporeal structures. Edith Wölfl (2000, p. 104) formulated a thesis which says that masculinity as a project remains a historic category, while as a type it remains the dowry of the body. As social practice, masculinity is especially fragile, unstable, and full of contradictions. There is no escaping the body, as it is constantly defined and formulated. This mutual relation of social and corporeal aspects causes gender to be a dynamic and complex concept, escaping essentialist, positivist, normative, and semiotic interpretations (Szczepaniak 2010).

The research participants build the "costume" of their gender identity out of muscles. They create a visual identity which allows them to fit the traditional masculine discourse. The gym becomes a place where the rules of hetero-normativity become reproduced. The further section of this paper will attempt to present the fluctuation of the borders between the definitions of masculinity provided by the gym-goers, where the constitution of the patterns of modern masculinity takes

place. In the area of two paradigms of masculinity, one can differentiate between many models of masculinity. When turning towards the corporeality, a man is faced with compulsions and prohibitions related to it. Corporeality becomes a seat of traditional patterns and a generator of feminised masculinity. In the area of the corporeal approach, the patterns of gender binarism can be broken and the pluralism of gender construction can be developed. This approach can also amplify and emphasise gender differences. The crisis of masculinity is defined through the prism of changes associated with the new situation of men in the social arena. The changing power setup and feminisation of society destabilised the historically fixed position of men, which caused a feeling of threat. The paradigm of the new man entails that the above features are the stereotypical view of men, who have the right to show emotions, feelings, weaknesses, empathy, i.e. features that were previously associated only with women. A man is increasingly often portrayed as a fashion expert, a well-kept, friendly being who, uses creams for his care and visits the spa². The diversity of new models of masculinity, coexisting in the social space with the stereotypical views, may lead to problems with defining oneself. For many, masculinity is associated with sexual potency, an attractive sexual build, and/or domination. The crisis of the traditional notions and patterns of masculinity and femininity caused the emergence of a difficult situation in the self-definition regarding one's role.

The body as a place where meanings are inscribed

Corporeality and thinking about it have undergone many metamorphoses in all the world's cultures and societies. This caused changes in the area of meanings assigned to human corporeality and therefore a disturbance in the unambiguous feeling of sexual identity. It is the human body which makes one of the chief elements of subjectivity. It is a carrier of biological and cultural gender differences. In its area, identity is created. In the process, an individual holds no power over the corporeal social techniques. Social discourse delineates the area of the possible use of the body. The central point of defining one's identity, according to Sarnińska-Górecka (2008, p. 164), is assigned to individuality with corporeality – which is given to an individual and which the individual creates. Through corporeality, the individual can make themselves, create their image, steer the way this corporeality is perceived by others, and find (or fail to find) their sexual identity, their social gender, which, according to Judith Butler (2006, p. 123) is the carrier of the compulsory, determining, forced practice of the embodying of norms. Instincts and reflexes become muted in favour of civilising the body, improving and perfecting it, according to the existing norms, while the attributes of both genders become fluid between the genders. Dominika Dzido (2006, p. 172) notices that one's own body may turn out to be previously unexplored. This has become a topic of reflection in the discourse of many sciences. The question on the matter of corpo-

² Spa (*sanitas per aquam* – health thanks to water) – resorts which have relaxation-cosmetic water treatments as part of their offer.

reality provides many answers. There emerges a category of the disciplined body, following the current trends and patterns of beauty. The saturation of a body with specific contents causes it to become a sports creation. The problem of a body as a work of culture is undertaken by men's and women's studies, currently differentiating bodies which are discursive and material, physical and communicative, consumptive and medical, individual and social. The abovementioned author, in her discussion on corporeality, undertakes the idea of a gendered body, filled with cultural contents. She formulates this notion of a gendered body which encompasses issues and ideas associated with the meaning of gender within a body. Cultural sexual identity is called "gender", a theoretical construct introduced by feminism. According to Butler (2006, p. 220), the cultural norm is realised on the surface of the body. Balejko (2001, p. 136) calls it the "embodiment of the norm". Different behaviours, poses, and ways of constructing images, are characteristic of women and of men. An individual is subject to gender-based meanings. The gender perspective allows an insight into the social reality from the viewpoint of the cultural identity of gender situated in the body. According to Bourdieu (2001), schemes of acting, characteristic of defined social groups, are inscribed into bodies. The ways of using the body tell a lot about the belonging to a given class. The variety of preferences can also be seen in the body – practiced sports, clothes, or care for instance are the expressions of belonging to a specific social context. A body equipped with signs also produces signs. Belonging to a group or identifying oneself with a group states one's attitude towards one's body. Having a certain taste, according to Bourdieu (2001), is seen in everyday practices, such as eating, getting dressed, moving around. The body is a reflection of tastes. The language of the body, clothes, body care level, and sportiness of the body inform about one's social space of life. The author sees the differences between men's and women's approach towards their bodies. He used the word "habitus" to describe the everyday expression of "corporeal practices". Kaufmann (2003, p. 65) writes that habits are not found in a body but rather in the extended body, inscribed in the social universe. Zygmunt Bauman (2004, p. 163) claims that the body becomes a field of practices of a special meaning to the identity of an individual. Making the body more attractive serves to shape a specific image. According to Krajewski (1997, p. 67), identity is made synonymous with a visual signal-clue which can be seen by others and whose meaning may be recognised according to the sender's signal. The signals may relate to the shape of the body, adornments, the home, and visiting specific places. Frequenting fitness clubs can be synonymised with reflective designing of one's identity, appearance, and image. According to Philip Zimbardo (1977), people make great efforts to achieve advantages in the form of being noticed by others, and gaining respect, love, and admiration. According to him, this is associated with the need to be socially approved, thanks to which one can gain the sense of one's identity.

Example narrations:

In his narration, Marcin points at three stages of the approach to a (more or less) muscular body:

- 1) a muscular body as an attribute of a sportsman;

- 2) a muscular body as an attribute of a bandit;
- 3) a muscular body as an attribute of a trendy man.

The interviewee also speaks about the need to exhibit his skills:

I was on holiday once and I went to the gym. I was hoping to do a light workout but some guys came, quite muscular but nothing to surpass me. Complete dodgers, so I thought I would teach them a lesson. I worked out so that their faces fell. I know there is something of an animal instinct at play here. I needed to show off my tail, just like a peacock would.

The next part of his testimony shows the attempts to mask his deficiencies with a muscular body:

I always wanted to be totally buffed-out. I am not a tall, good-looking dark-haired man, so I thought that chicks would go for the muscles. Well, it wasn't so. Chicks look at the guy's material standing these days. Really money-oriented.

We may conclude from the above that one of the chief reasons for taking up attempts at improving the interviewee's corporeality was his sexual drive. The need to win women became his motivator, and he seems to be disappointed with the lack of expected results. Mateusz seems to be happy with the stereotypical approach to muscular men:

I need to admit that a sporty look, muscles underlining the shirt, that makes an impression on people. They don't know what to think. They often associate such looks with bandits, so they prefer to step aside.

From this narrative one may conclude that the reason for the interviewee's workout is his will to scare people. The interviewee bases this on the stereotypical approach to muscular men. The bad press of the "beefcake" seems to be an advantage for him. This may be the result of the pressure from the environment in which he functions. Social learning influences the choice and recreation of specific behaviours (Bandura 1977). A muscular body and being tall make Sebastian's interpersonal relations more difficult:

My looks were always a problem. I bring up the problem myself always when I visit someone to do business – there is always a wall I need to crash through. People consider my looks as if I was thick-skinned, boorish. When I say something in a firm voice, they tell me not to shout. If you are well-groomed and elegant, they think you're a rich man and that makes relations difficult.

The interviewee feels sorry about people judging others by appearance. In his opinion, people assess a newly-met person through stereotypes. Dominik associates masculinity with being muscular:

I think that a muscular body adds masculinity to men; well, that's what people think. You can be surprised, though; I know that gays also look after themselves, they can be

muscular and so on but that is not visible, so people also think gays are a hundred per cent men. Well, it's a shame; I would prefer if it weren't so.

This testimony is full of negative opinions on people of different sexual preferences. The interviewee wants muscular bodies to be associated only with heterosexual men, which can indicate his homophobia. Further, he reveals his expectations as to being muscular:

When a man walks down the beach in the summer, no slabs of fat, muscular, tanned, oiled, women look back and men just swallow, they are afraid to look because they can get a fist on the nose and they are afraid for their women, that they will lose them for sure.

This testimony shows the participant's attitude towards a muscular body. It gives him the sense of having an advantage over other men. It becomes a protective suit, giving strength and self-confidence. Krzysztof makes the following testimony about trying to meet his expectations:

I am not interested in fitting into anything, but rather in being satisfied with myself, being free of complexes, and I will get that if I say that I achieved something. The stereotypical look will be an addition, I don't think about it at all. This will come by itself, someone will say I am a hundred per cent man. I don't care about it too much, above all I want to be happy with myself, it's all I care for.

The interviewee has a need to be perceived as a true man. This may be served by undertaking physical activity. Further, he speaks about the advantage over other men provided by appearance.

If you are large, other men look at you and feel respect. They prefer not to come closer. They need to know their place, the wimps. I have been feeling very good at the gym for some time; especially after a few months of diet I am starting to feel better because my figure is changing. When I looked worse, I felt worse at the gym. The worse a man looks, the worse he feels. If I go to the gym at 6 a.m. so that I have time for the kid in the evening and there are just three of us, there is no hierarchy, but when I visit the gym at other times, there is. More buffed folks stick together, and no one talks to the wimps.

He associates feeling good with looking good. He translates satisfaction with the corporeality with life satisfactions. Aleksander makes the following statement regarding trust that sporty men provoke:

An elegant, well-kept, sporty man creates more trust.

This can be treated as a testimony that breaks the myth associating muscularity with strength.

I look good and I know it. Most women look at me and I can say they fancy me. I see it, their body language says it all. At work, whenever there is a difficult lady-customer, the bosses call me because they know no woman can resist me. I don't feel the need to fight, I feel better than some men; well, I may not be a model but all is OK.

Borys testifies to the advantages of working out:

A few years ago when I started working out, friends were surprised: a lawyer? Frequenting places associated with criminals? They did not understand it that this is simply a place to work out. Now they visit the gym because it started to be trendy, even compulsory, because a lot of things can be talked over, decided, just there, at the backstage, in the jacuzzi, on a bike, in the sauna, etc. Well, it's not so easy at first, it was hard for me, a man is afraid he will get laughed at, expelled, but I was fixed on being there and it seems like my place now.

The interviewee sees the connection between the look and the practiced profession:

My profession requires that I am elegant and well-kept; this makes relations with others easier. Huh? Well, not always. Depends on the social group I talk to; if those are people from, let's say, a lower class, with lower education, they see you as someone who is somehow better than them. I sense other men my age looking at me with jealousy. I feel better than them, I know that I look good, feel great, and they are some kind of senile farts.

When working out, the interviewee became satisfied with his appearance, and through this, he gained self-confidence and an advantage over his peers.

The response to the androgenic pattern of masculinity and feminisation is, in the cases of a lot of men, hyper-masculinity. A hyper-man is the alpha male in the traditional understanding. The "hyper-" prefix accentuates all his features. Such a man is strong and muscular. He crosses the limits of muscularity, and he puts his body on the pedestal of beauty and physical strength, which he often achieves with the help of supporting chemical substances – all this for the price of sexual capacity, internal breakdown, and the euphoric-depressive states that are the result of taking anabolic substances.

Bauman (2000) assigns the name of identity to the work of art formed from the fragile matter of life. He makes it synonymous with harmony, logic, and coherence, which people lack in "the flow of [their] experience", and he understands the search for identity as "the ongoing struggle to arrest or hold down the flow". What is called identity, the author calls "spots of crust hardening time and again on top of volcanic lava which melt and dissolve again before they have time to cool and set. [...] The experienced, lived identity could only be held together with the adhesive of fantasy, perhaps day-dreaming" (Bauman 2000). It is the reason behind the popularity of temporary identities that allow for their quick change. The life of an individual has become uncertain, lacking solid foundations. In the face of the lack of long-term feeling of security, according to Bauman, immediate satisfaction is a solace, and the world becomes "an aggregate of products for immediate consumption" (2000). Creating temporary definitions of oneself allows to avoid disillusionment. Tomasz Leszniewski (2001, p. 55) draws attention to the feeling of boredom. This is a reference to Bauman's aforementioned model of a post-modern man. The changing balance of powers within society results in the feeling of dan-

ger among a lot of men. Fearing the change of the order in which they have been brought up, and internal crises which can occur to them, they seek salvation in anti-androgenic attitudes. Borders between masculinity and lack thereof have become fluid. Men lose themselves in the rapid inflow of information, which is one of the reasons of the crisis of masculinity. The body becomes a connector between the traditional hegemonic masculinity and its modern version. Elements embedded in tradition give the interviewees the feeling of a stable identity.

Summary

According to Melosik (2006, p. 156), the post-modern approach to gender is a starting point for the interpretation of the social contexts of the body. It becomes a text into which the social meanings of masculinity/femininity are inscribed, and through which they can also be read. The interviewees want to be perceived as strong and efficient dominators. In their opinion, a muscular body is a showcase of strength that gives them an advantage over other men. The body has become an industrialised product. The term "industrialised body" was used by Lionel Tiger (2000, p. 29) to describe the industrialisation of societies on the level of the citizens' bodies. The author, one of the main promoters of the concept of male studies, believes that the contemporary humanity ignores or completely rejects their own roots, nature, and the fact they are *homo sapiens*. He writes about the ignorance of prehistory, which continues to live in genes and the body of human beings who have an old portfolio of needs and reflexes. Man's failure to listen to their inner selves, and their blind following of the current trends, are the results of industrialism, requiring an absolute involvement in being part of the great machine.

The need to arouse respect and fear may be rooted in childhood complexes. In the narrations of the research participants, the aspect of the domination associated with being and possessing specialist knowledge also appeared. One of the interviewees feels no need to compete with others, as he feels better than the rest. Two of the subjects claim that aggressive behaviour and work as a security guard at the disco caused problems in their life. There were also testimonies breaking the stereotype associating muscles with strength. Three of the interviewees said that large muscles were not sufficient, as martial arts skills are also required. This confirms the opinion of Lopez, Hodson, and Roscigno (2009, p. 26), who consider that men wish for power not only over women but also over other men. The will to keep this power and to dominate may lead, according to Sallaz (2002, p. 98), to harassing other men, e.g. at the workplace, at the gym, etc. The author claims that domination over other men takes place by feminising them or by the imposing of the dominant gender norms. The situation is carried over to the general male-male social relations. Perceiving themselves as muscular, dangerous men, gives the subjects a sense of self-confidence and power over others. Corporeality is for them one of the fundamental means of expression. Thanks to it, it is possible to exhibit values which in reality one does not possess and at the same time conceal the deficiencies (Kuczyńska 1983, p. 9). The interviewees decorate their corporeality with mus-

cles. This confirms Kuczyńska's thesis on camouflaging the primary nature of the body. The observation of the research participants during workouts revealed that they take physical exercises seriously. At the gym they are well-known, appreciated, and they feel at home. Thus, they build self-confidence, and feel satisfaction. Most of the research participants are gym experts. They possess large knowledge, and are old-timers. They have a proper figure and an opinion they have worked to gain for years. This gives them the feeling of power and control over others. They do not pay attention to other people, or the beginners working out at the gym which look at them with awe. They only hold conversations with similar colleagues. This confirms the hierarchy of the gym. It is a specific place, where people, working out side by side, create a more or less integrated group staging a play (Goffman 1956). Each of the members has a role and if he plays it badly, this can cause all the performance to fail. Social relations are born through the exchange of dramatically elevated activities and reacting to activities. All are subject to socialisation based on learning to master the "grips". The observations prove that the research participants, to stress their position at the gym, use the following tactics: loud conversations, laughter and doing workouts, walking all around the gym and stretching, ostentatious choice of weights, changing of workouts so as to present their strength to others, tensing their muscles in front of a mirror, opting for proper clothes (large t-shirts widening the figure, sleeveless shirts showing the arm muscles, waist belts, gloves, knee breeches).

The research participants feel confident at the gym. Thanks to their knowledge, muscles, and long-term workouts they feel they are on the top of the hierarchy. They exercise with full involvement, not allowing themselves longer pauses and conversations. During workouts, despite high concentration, they are aware of the surrounding people and the need to constantly build their image. Erect bodies show high self-confidence. It is important for these men what they look like and what impression they make on others. They claim that their sporty, muscular bodies allow them to be perceived as real men. All the men who work out are tanned and smell of designer perfume. This testifies that they also take care of their bodies from the aesthetic and cosmetic perspectives. The use of treatments (e.g. cosmetics, the solarium) can also be the reflection of a new approach to masculinity. The research participants drew attention to the health aspect of physical exercise. Those who are over 40 consider having a sporty figure to help them retain fitness, good looks, and therefore – youth. Being afraid of being old, they invest in their bodies.

The main cultural notion of the cultural-sociologic concept of gender, according to Bourdieu (2001), is the habitus situated in the moment of the body coming in contact with society. The habitus is related to an individual body, but it is a sign of belonging to a social group. This notion is used to differentiate between social groups, to characterise their lifestyles, and define their position in gender relations. Career, the possession of immaterial goods and power are, according to the subjects, the inherent elements of masculinity. A man who is not financially fulfilled, or who is not on his way to increase his material wealth, is not a complete man in their eyes. They feel mobilised in their drive towards riches which, according to Goffman (1956), is motivated with the drive to cause an impression leading

to achieving the set goal. The goal can be an attempt to take control over others. Foucault (1995, p. 84) writes about the dispersed power working as an aerosol mist, which governs an individual. It causes people to join specific clubs, possess specific objects, and generates the need of being, thus creating a specific, Goffmanian decorative façade. A few of the research participants do not want to talk about money, claiming instead that money is to be multiplied, not talked about. They share the opinion of others, that a true man must be rich. Their reluctance to talk about material possessions may prove their loyalty to the traditional ideals, according to which a gentleman does not talk about money. It may, however, also be an attempt to escape an inconvenient topic. Marody and Giza-Poleszczuk (2000, p. 70) indicate, as the moment of renegotiating gender identity in the post-1989 Poland, "the return of a man with a capital M". The picture of masculinity was articulated as that of a person who is physically fit and attractive, strong, powerful, individual, earns well, is properly dressed, self-confident, and independent. The research participants talked about the need to have prestige, which Bourdieu (1992) called the patriarchal dividend. In his opinion, through prestige and power, men gain profits from the patriarchal system, even if they are at the bottom of the hierarchy. The reproduction of these behaviours takes place through the process of nurture. The author refers to the male libido of domination, and he treats the gender order as a model rooted in the structures of the body. The presenting of one's dominant "self" by the interviewees is done consciously and deliberately. The input into achieving the male identity can be the proof of submitting to the pressure of the media or an attempt to play the role of a real man. Goffman (1956) writes about more or less deliberate and conscious playing out of one's role. It is associated with the feeling of compulsion from the society, e.g. in a specific group. According to Leary (1996), while demonstrating an attitude, an individual transmits a specific image of themselves. Controlling the played role sets the stage in the information game. The research participants, presenting themselves in sharp, clear ways, may be subject to stereotype assessments. The self-presentation of the researched men is a conscious act. It is a process of the individual controlling the way they are perceived by others. It makes for the fundamental and inevitable aspect of social life. While demonstrating specific attitudes, the individual conveys a vision of self. Making the desired impression on others has serious implications. It may increase the number of rewards and decrease costs (Leary 1996).

Literature

- Bakke M., 2000, *Ciało otwarte filozoficzne reinterpretacje kulturowych wizji cielesności* [Open Body: Philosophical Reinterpretations of Cultural Visions of Corporeality], Poznań.
- Balejko D., 2001, *Teatr ról płciowych. Teorie o performatywnym charakterze tożsamości płciowej oparte na filmie Jennie Livingston „Paris Is Burning” oraz tekstach teoretycznych Judith Butler* [Theatre of Gender Roles. Theories on the Performative Character of Gender Identity Based on Jennie Livingston's Film "Paris is Burning" and Judith Butler's Theoretical Texts], [in:] M. Radkiewicz (ed.), *Gender w humanistyce* [Gender in Human Sciences], Kraków.

- Bandura A., 1977, *Social Learning Theory*, Englewood Cliffs.
- Bauman Z., 2000, *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge.
- Bauman Z., 2004, *Dwa szkice o moralności ponowoczesnej* [Two Sketches on Postmodern Morality], Warszawa.
- Benjamin L. T., Hopkins J. R., Nation R. J., 1987, *Psychology*, New York.
- Bourdieu P., 2004, *Męska dominacja* [Masculine Domination], Warszawa.
- Bourdieu P., 2001, Wacquant L. J. D., *Zaproszenie do socjologii refleksyjnej* [An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology], transl. A. Sawicz, Warszawa.
- Brannon L., 1996, *Gender: Psychological Perspectives*, Needham Heights.
- Butler J., 2006, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge.
- Campbell B., Pope H. G., Filiault S., 2005, *Body Image Among Arianal Men from Northern Kenya*, "Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology", No. 3.
- Connell R., 1995, *Masculinities*, Cambridge.
- Dzido D., 2006, *Kulturowe kody płci* [Cultural Codes of Gender], [in:] J. M. Kurczewski (ed.), *Praktyki cielesne* [Corporeal Practices], Trio, Warszawa.
- Etcoff N., 2000, *Survival of the Prettiest: The Science of Beauty*, New York
- Flyvbjerg B., 2006, *Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research*, "Qualitative Inquiry", Vol. 12, No. 2, April 2006
- Foucault M., 1995, *Historia seksualności* [The History of Sexuality], Warszawa.
- Goffman E., 1956, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York.
- Grosz E., 1990, *Jacques Lacan: A Feminist Introduction*, Routledge.
- Kaufmann J. C., 2003, *Ego. Socjologia jednostki. Inna wizja człowieka i konstrukcji podmiotu* [Ego: For a Sociology of the Individual], transl. by K. Wakar, Warszawa.
- Kuczyńska A., 1983, *Wzory modne w życiu codziennym* [Models That are Fashionable in Everyday Life], Warszawa.
- Leary M., 1996, *Self-Presentation. Impression Management and Interpersonal Behavior*, Boulder.
- Leszniewski T., 2001, *Moda i tożsamość – dylematy współczesnego człowieka w świecie konsumpcji* [Fashion and Identity – Dilemmas of Contemporary Individuals in the World of Consumption], [in:] T. Szlendak (ed.), *Rozkoszna zaraza. O rządach mody i kulturze konsumpcji* [Delightful Plague. On the Reign of Fashion and Consumption Culture], Wrocław.
- Lopez S. H., Hodson R., Roscigno V. J., 2009, *Power status and abuse at work: General and sexual harassment compared*, "Sociological Quarterly", Vol. 50, No. 3.
- Mandal E., 2010, *Pojmowanie fenomenu płciowości w psychologii* [The Understanding of Gender Phenomenon in Psychology], [in:] A. Kuczyńska, E. K. Dzikowska (eds.), *Zrozumieć płć. Studia interdyscyplinarne II* [Understanding Gender. Interdisciplinary Studies II], Wrocław.
- Marody M., Giza-Poleszczuk, 2000, *Być kobietą, być mężczyzną – czyli o przemianach tożsamości związanej z płcią we współczesnej Polsce* [Being a Woman, Being a Man – or the Gender-related Identity Changes in Contemporary Poland], [in:] M. Marody (ed.), *Między rynkiem a etatem. Społeczne negocjowanie polskiej rzeczywistości* [Between the Market and the Full-Time Job. Social Negotiation of the Polish Reality], Warsaw.
- Melosik Z., 1996, *Tożsamość, ciało, władza* [Identity, Body, Power], Toruń.
- Melosik Z., 1999, *Tożsamość, płć i różnica w perspektywie ponowoczesnej* [Identity, Gender, and Difference in Postmodern Perspective], [in:] J. Mikulska, P. Boski (eds.), *Męskość-Kobiecość w perspektywie indywidualnej i kulturowej* [Masculinity-Femininity in Individual and Cultural Perspective], Warszawa.
- Melosik Z., 2006, *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej* [Crisis of Masculinity in Contemporary Culture], Kraków.

- Paprzycka E., 2008, *Kobiety żyjące w pojedynkę. Między wyborem a przymusem* [Female Singles. Between the Choice and the Compulsion], Warszawa.
- Renzetti C. M., Curran D. J., Maier L., 2012, *Women, Men and Society*, London.
- Sallaz J., 2002, *The House Rules: Autonomy and Interests Among Contemporary Casino Croupiers*, "Work and Occupation", Vol. 29, No. 4.
- Sarnińska-Górecka M., 2008, *Ciało jako kostium* [The Body as a Costume], "Colloquia Communia" No. 1–2: *Kobiecość?* [Femininity?], ed. by E. Hyży, Toruń.
- Schneider A., 2007, *The New Men: Masculinity after Traditionalism and Feminist Reaction*, Lubbock.
- Szczepaniak M., 2010, *Libido dominacji. Męski habitus w świetle koncepcji socjologicznych* [Libido of Domination. Masculine Habitus in the Light of Sociological Concepts], nowakrytyka.pl.
- Tiger L., 2000, *The Decline of Males: The first Look at an unexpected New World for Men and Women*, New York.
- Wöfl E., 2000, *Jenseits von Kain und Abel. Wege aus gewaltsamer Männlichkeit*, München.
- Zimbardo G. P., Ruch L. F., 1977, *Psychology and Life*, Illinois.

Internet resources:

Mandal E., 2007, *Autoprezentacja* [Self-Presentation], kadry.nf.pl.

Summary

The gym as a place of constructing masculine corporeal identity

This article explores the role that the gym plays in the formation and negotiation of masculinities for men: how bodybuilding serves as a masculinizing practice. It maps the set of practices, manifestations and implications for masculine corporeal identity.

Keywords

masculinity, physical strength, body, bodybuilding, identity

Urszula Kluczyńska

Poznan University of Medical Sciences

Bigorexia: Men's Troubles with Their Body

Introduction

The assessment of body image in terms of leanness and obesity is culture-dependent. Poorer cultures, where thinness is associated with poverty, malnutrition and illness, value obesity higher, while the opposite is the case in developed countries, where thinness is associated with self-control and prestige, and is valued higher (Grogan 1999, p. 20). There are certain standards of a desirable body that have been created by society, and in terms of men, in our culture this would be a mesomorphic, lean (without excess fat) and muscular body.

It is noteworthy that increasingly younger individuals of both sexes experience anxiety about their body's adequacy in relation to culture-imposed demands. While girls define the ideal body as a sylph-like figure, boys consider a combination of slimness and strength to constitute the ideal body. Although studies investigating the level of body satisfaction indicate a higher dissatisfaction with one's own body among girls than among boys (Duncan et al. 2006, p. 92), it is noteworthy that body dissatisfaction in these groups concerns different aspects (Konstanski, Fisher & Gullone 2003, p. 190). The main source of dissatisfaction among girls is the perception of being too fat, while boys not only describe themselves as too obese but often also as too wimpy.¹ While girls strive after slimness, for boys, being slim is one of the reasons for the lack of satisfaction with their bodies (Konstanski, Fisher & Gullone 2004, p. 1322), because young men would like to be bigger and more muscular and display a higher level of motivation to build muscles (McCreary & Sasse 2000, pp. 297–304). Researchers also point to an association between dissatisfaction with one's body image and self-confidence among girls and boys (Cohane & Pope 2001, pp. 373–379). Bigorexia, or muscle dysmorphia, develops around the age of 19 years, give or take 3 years (Olivardia 2001, p. 256), so it not only affects adult males but also adolescents².

¹ Research shows that half of the boys and young males who are dissatisfied with their body image want to lose weight, while the other half want to gain weight (Furnham & Calnan 1998, pp. 58–72; Drewowski & Yee 1987, pp. 626–634).

² It should, however, be borne in mind that the research studies investigating muscle dysmorphia include men aged 18–30 years.

Muscle dysmorphia

Muscle dysmorphia is a disorder of, predominantly, the male body image but can also affect women, although to a much lesser degree (Chung 2001, pp. 565–574; Pope et al. 1997, pp. 548–557; Hitzeroth et al. 2001, pp. 521–553; Pope et al. 2000). The prevalence of this disorder is difficult to determine, although in the year 2000, researchers estimated that 100,000 people worldwide³, or even more, could meet the formal criteria for this disorder (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000). This phenomenon, described mainly by Harrison G. Pope and Roberto Olivardia and colleagues, was initially referred to as “reverse anorexia” or, colloquially, as bigorexia. Muscle dysmorphia has been defined as a pathological preoccupation with muscularity characterised by excessive concern about such muscularity and by undertaking efforts to increase body weight without increasing body fat (Morgan 2000, pp. 521–523). Those affected are dissatisfied with their musculature (the disorder therefore does not affect all the aspects of body image or all parts of the body) and are characterised by having a discrepancy between their ideal and their actual body image. The affected individuals are convinced that they are insufficiently muscular, while in reality they are usually better built than the average person (Leone, Sedoryt, Gray 2005, p. 353).

The belief that one’s body is not sufficiently muscular results in discomfort or in the deterioration of social and professional life as well as other areas important for well-being. It is often the case that the affected individuals do not undertake activity in these areas, as they are completely absorbed in their exercise and diet programmes and their daily “bodily” rituals (Olivardia 2001, pp. 254–255). The discomfort and obsession associated with the belief that one’s musculature is insufficient do not, however, result from vanity or the desire to look great, but to look – in their opinion – “acceptable” (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000). Individuals with muscle dysmorphia avoid circumstances where they would be forced to show off their bodies, and when they do find themselves in situations like this, their response is one of discomfort or severe anxiety. Another important feature is the fact that individuals affected with this disorder continue with exercise, diet or the intake of various substances despite being fully aware of the negative consequences. Muscle dysmorphia differs from other disorders merely in the preoccupation with being too small or insufficiently muscular, and not, as is the case with anorexia nervosa, with being too obese, or with a specific aspect of appearance, as is seen in body dysmorphic disorder (Olivardia 2001, pp. 254–255).

³ Muscle dysmorphia, although first described in the United States, is not restricted to this geographical region. A number of analyses indicate that the disorder occurs in Europe, America and Africa (see: Pope et al. 2000, pp. 1297–1301; Lipiński, Pope 2002, pp. 163–171; Hitzeroth et al. 2001, pp. 521–523).

Behaviour of individuals with muscle dysmorphia

Individuals with muscle dysmorphia display a number of diagnostic behaviours. First of all, they focus on exercise, which mainly involves lifting weights to sculpture their muscular silhouette, follow a strict diet, and compulsively check themselves out in the mirror (Olivardia 2001, p. 255). Pope, Phillips and Olivardia (2000, p. 9) quote one of their respondents who admitted that he devoted 90% of his time to lifting weights, his diet and focusing on his image. These behaviours were so compulsive that he was unable to pass by a mirror without looking at himself in it, but only when he was certain that no-one else was looking. According to studies by Olivardia and colleagues, men with muscle dysmorphia look at themselves in the mirror between 9 and 12 times a day, while men who lift weights but are not affected by this disorder do so 3 times a day (Olivardia, Pope & Hudson 2000, pp. 1291–1296). Some men look at themselves in the mirror up to 50 times a day, devoting about 40 minutes to this particular activity each day. Bigorexics not only check themselves out in the mirror, but also in shop windows, pocket mirrors and even in cutlery. Olivardia, as an example, describes a man who caused a car accident because, while driving, he kept looking at his muscles in the rear-view mirror to check that they were not too small. These behaviours are compulsive and are so strong that men are incapable of refraining from them (Olivardia 2001, p. 255). Studies have shown that men with muscle dysmorphia spend more than 5 hours a day thinking about their insufficient musculature (Olivardia et al. 2000, pp. 1291–1296; Pope et al. 2000, p. 92). Researchers quote a history of a man who once decided that when he looked in the mirror and concluded that he did not look good enough, would stay at home the whole day and did not leave for fear of people looking at him with criticism in their eyes. It even, or perhaps mostly, happened when he had planned to meet his friends later that day: he would cancel due to severe anxiety, stress and fears (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, pp. 84–85). Another respondent said that when he looked in the mirror before going out on a date and decided that he did not look good enough, he would cancel the date (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, pp. 93–94). Such behaviours result in an increasing social isolation and breaking off of many relationships.

Giving up important social, professional and leisure events in order to be able to exercise and stick to one's diet is an important element of behaviour in individuals affected by muscle dysmorphia (Pope et al. 1997, pp. 548–557). One man did not accompany his wife during labour because he had planned to go to the gym around that time and was afraid that if he missed his training even once, his muscles would shrink. A student did not take an important final exam only because it overlapped with his training (Olivardia 2001, p. 255). Another respondent admitted that whenever he went somewhere, he would analyse the area he was going to in order to find out the location of the closest gym where he could work out. One time, before he went on an island where there was no gym, he shipped his workout equipment there, undeterred by the high shipment fees, so that it was

already waiting for him at his hotel once he arrived! Some people do not go away at all for fear that it could disrupt their exercise and diet routine (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 90).

Individuals suffering from bigorexia pay very strict attention to what they eat, particularly in terms of the calories they consume. They spend up to 3 hours daily on activities related to food consumption (planning, shopping for appropriate food products and supplements, and packing small portions into plastic bags) (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 91). In order to consume appropriately selected ingredients as often as they can, they generally do not eat out, as they are unable to determine the energy value of the dishes (Olivardia 2001, p. 255). Eating is associated with a rigorous distribution of calorie intake, rather than with relishing the taste of food. As providing a sufficient number of calories to boost the still inadequate musculature is impossible without resorting to protein shakes, these products are an integral part of the diet. Olivardia tells a story of a man who prepared a protein shake at his desk in his law firm every 90 minutes, using a loud blender which disturbed his work colleagues. When he was forced to stop this practice, or he would be fired, he quit his job (Olivardia 2001, p. 255; Pope et al. 2000, p. 89). Another respondent was unable to reconcile his job with his rigorous schedule of workouts: he would leave work an hour early, and his lunch break would last about two and a half hours, which resulted in him too being fired. So he changed his job and started working as a personal trainer (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 89). Focusing on exercise and diet not only interferes with social relations but it often makes it impossible for the affected individual to pursue their acquired profession, even if it is quite lucrative. Even though they usually get less pay, men often decide to work at gyms or sports clubs, as it does not interfere with their compulsive activities. Researchers also report a story of a man who worked as a chef and grabbed every opportunity to exercise at work: he lifted pots, and went to the toilet to do at least fifty push-ups. Even though he felt embarrassed every time he got caught, he still could not stop doing it (Pope et al. 2000, p. 91).

Men with muscle dysmorphia compare other people's physical appearance with theirs. These comparisons are always to the disadvantage of the affected individual, whose distorted perception of his own body does not allow him to self-evaluate himself in a realistic manner. Studies indicate that individuals affected by this disorder have poor insight. Less than half of the men with muscle dysmorphia had excellent or good insight, half had poor insight, and eight percent had no insight at all. This means that the recognition of their body size was incorrect and they could not be persuaded that they were not at all insufficiently muscular (Olivardia, Pope & Hudson 2000, pp. 1291–1296). Therefore, patients avoid showing their body off for fear of being negatively perceived by others. Clearly, then, they are not the kind of people who would show their naked or nearly naked torsos. On the contrary, they try to hide their still insufficiently muscular body under multiple layers of clothing, so that it looks bigger (Olivardia 2001, pp. 255–256). They also steer clear of the swimming pool or the beach (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 9). One respondent admitted that whenever he went to the doctor, he

never took off his T-shirt if an examination with the stethoscope was necessary, and that his doctor put the stethoscope underneath his clothes (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 90). Another respondent admitted that during the selection of players for two teams he never agreed to be on the team that took their T-shirts off because he was afraid to show his naked torso. Whenever he did get selected to be on the shirtless team, he always came up with an excuse not to participate in the game (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 92). Because they spend their whole free time working out, the affected individuals are at a risk of social isolation as a result of withdrawing from interpersonal relations and avoiding others for fear of being compared with them (Olivardia 2002, p. 61).

Muscle dysmorphia also causes discomfort in relations with partners. In one study, a man avoided sex with his wife because he did not want to waste his energy on activities that did not involve working out and developing muscle mass. Eventually, he limited his sexual activity to having sexual intercourse twice a month. Another respondent avoided kissing his girlfriend for fear of the calories he believed her saliva could contain (Pope et al. 2000, p. 90). It is often the case that due to the patient's excessive preoccupation with building his muscles, their partner breaks up with them (Pope et al. 2000, pp. 9 and 90).

Continuing to work out even after an injury is typical of patients affected by muscle dysmorphia. Researchers describe, for instance, a man who continued to work out despite having fractured a bone, as he was so afraid to lose muscle mass that he exercised despite the pain and the risk to his health. This resulted in five weeks of convalescence, after which he was convinced that his muscles were so small that he could not face going to a public gym and started working out at home (Pope et al. 2000, p. 93).

Individuals affected by muscle dysmorphia often mask their illness with the desire to do sports (Leone et al. 2005, p. 354). In their case, their growing musculature is not a "side effect" of their sports activities but the very reason why they do sports in the first place. Researchers suggest that coaches expect their players to be physically fit and muscular, and if an athlete is predisposed to developing muscle dysmorphia, a sporty environment can contribute to this disorder. They therefore suggest that coaches and people working with athletes should be appropriately prepared to be able to diagnose the disorder.

It is possible to mathematically describe the muscularity of men using the fat-free mass index (FFMI), which is calculated from the person's height, weight and percentage of body fat. The value of 20 describes an average muscled man, and the value of 23 refers to the description of a man whose musculature is visible. According to an analysis by Elena M. Kauri and colleagues (2009, p. 193), FFMI values above 26 cannot be achieved in a natural way, or at least by exercise and diet only, without the support of anabolic steroids (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 35). Studies show that patients with bigorexia often exceed the value of 26 (Mosley 2009, p. 193). It may therefore be concluded that these individuals have resorted to anabolic steroids to achieve better results in a shorter timespan (Olivardia 2001, p. 256). Individuals with muscle dysmorphia, when entering the subculture

of body builders, find out that steroids will give them what supplements cannot, namely a faster and greater muscle growth. The greatest danger is addiction to these harmful substances, to which patients are particularly susceptible, as well as the health risk posed by the use of steroids (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000).

The aetiology of muscle dysmorphia

The aetiology of muscle dysmorphia is unknown. The hypotheses regarding the causes of the disorder are based on the biopsychosocial model (Olivardia, Pope & Hudson 2000, pp. 548–557; Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000). Some researchers suggest that muscular dysmorphia has appeared as a result of socio-cultural factors (Pope et al. 1997), namely the expectations and social pressures regarding body image (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000; Olivardia 2001; Leit, Gray & Pope 2002, pp. 334–338). Olivardia hypothesised that apart from sociocultural factors, the causes of muscular dysmorphia could be associated with biological or genetic predispositions (Olivardia 2001, p. 256). Lantz, Hera and Mayhew describe muscle dysmorphia as a result of the interaction between low self-esteem, dissatisfaction with the body, or its erroneous perception in combination with the impact of biological and social factors (Lantz et al. 2001, pp. 71–86). The authors suggest that the development of muscular dysmorphia is a direct result of dissatisfaction with one's body (Lantz et al. 2001). Frederick Grieve (2007, pp. 63–80), on the other hand, proposes a model that takes into account biological factors (BMI), social and psychological functioning, and participation in sports. He points out three most important variables: distorted perception of the body, dissatisfaction with one's body, and an internalised ideal of body image, which in combination with perfectionism, low self-esteem, pressure of the mass media, and participation in sports, provide conditions conducive to the development of muscular dysmorphia.

Olivardia points out that muscular dysmorphia coexists with other psychiatric disorders. Together with his colleagues, he demonstrated in a study of a group of men that 29% of people with muscular dysmorphia had eating disorders, and 58% had a history of mood disorders (Olivardia et al. 2000, pp. 1291–1296). Sufferers from muscular dysmorphia also have low self-esteem (Pope et al. 2000; McCreary & Sasse 2000, pp. 297–304) and are more compulsive (Olivardia 2001, p. 257). Because people with muscle dysmorphia often use illegal substances that are supposed to help increase their musculature (steroids, illicit drugs), they are at a risk of medical complications related to the intake of these products.

Classification of the disorder

There is ongoing debate on the appropriate classification of muscular dysmorphia, which is important for its prevention, diagnosis and treatment (Chandler et al. 2009, p. 151). Muscle dysmorphia has been classified as a subtype of the dys-

morphic body disorder (Pope & Katz 1994, pp. 375–382), and some researchers point to its links with the obsessive-compulsive disorder (Maida & Armstrong 2005; Chandler et al. 2009, p. 150; Pope et al., 2000, p. 97) or suggest that bigorexia should be classified as an eating disorder (Grieve 2007, pp. 63–80; Grieve & Hellick 2008, p. 288; Goodale et al. 2001, pp. 260–266). It has also been suggested that muscle dysmorphia should not be included in existing groups of diseases, but rather an independent description of the disorder should be created (Chandler et al. 2009, p. 151).

Denise M. Maida and Sharon L. Armstrong (2005, pp. 73–91) analysed the relationship between muscle dysmorphia and other disorders, and pointed to the association of this disorder with the obsessive-compulsive disorder, dysmorphic body disorders, and dissatisfaction with one's body. The authors suggested that muscle dysmorphia was closer to obsessive-compulsive disorder than to somatisation disorder (Maida, Armstrong 2005, p. 85).

Grieve (2007, pp. 63–80) claims that this disorder [muscle dysmorphia] includes both anxiety and eating disorders, and that there are many similarities between the diagnostic criteria for muscle dysmorphia, anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa. The researcher notes that the disorder was initially referred to as "reverse anorexia" (Pope, Katz & Hudson 1993, pp. 406–409) because of the similarity to anorexia nervosa, and as many of the affected individuals had previously suffered from an eating disorder. Also, in both disorders, self-esteem is strongly associated with body shape and size. The closer the body is to the socially propagated and rewarded ideal, the higher the self-esteem. Therefore, men strive towards a mesomorphic body with as much muscle and as little body fat as possible. Both muscle dysmorphia on the one hand, and anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa on the other, are characterised by a chronic preoccupation with one's body and the desire to change it through proper diet and exercise. A disordered self-perception is another similarity, as individuals with anorexia continuously see themselves as insufficiently thin, while individuals with muscle dysmorphia perceive themselves as insufficiently muscular (Grieve 2007, p. 65). In both anorexia and bigorexia, the affected individuals are heading for physical self-destruction. Undertaking exercise despite pain and injury, continuously following a low-fat and high-protein diet in spite of hunger, and using steroids – these are all behaviours that destroy their bodies (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 11). Grieve also draws an analogy between muscle dysmorphia and another eating disorder: binge eating disorder. Men consume huge amounts of calories, also in the form of special shakes (because ordinary food would often fail to provide the desired amount of calories), which they then "convert" into muscles (Grieve 2007, pp. 65–66). An important difference between muscle dysmorphia and anorexia is that anorexic patients, whose focus is on getting rid of fat from their body, engage in pathological behaviours related primarily to food intake, considering exercise only a second most important point of focus. Individuals with muscle dysmorphia, on the other hand, while striving to develop muscles, focus on working out and subject their bodies to many hours of training, combining this with a strict diet. These two co-existent behaviours,

therefore, are assigned a different weight in the two disorders (Maida, Armstrong 2005, p. 74; Olivardia 2001, p. 255). Maida and Armstrong point to yet another significant difference between muscle dysmorphia and eating disorders regarding the aetiology of the former. While in the case of eating disorders researchers have demonstrated a significant impact of childhood trauma (physical, emotional or sexual abuse) and problems within the family, patients with bigorexia were not affected by this issue, although it should be noted that in childhood they felt some embarrassment or shame due to imperfections of their appearance, e.g. they were ridiculed for being obese or skinny (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 15). Some subjects with muscle dysmorphia said that when they were children, they were very small or obese and because of that they were bullied by their peers. Consequently, they focused on their bodies and appearance to end the bullying (Olivardia 2001, p. 256).

Diagnosis and treatment of muscle dysmorphia

Treatment of muscle dysmorphia is mainly based on the treatment recommendations for obsessive-compulsive disorder, dysmorphic body disorder and eating disorders (Olivardia 2001, p. 257). Olivardia points out that people suffering from muscle dysmorphia rarely see a specialist and start treatment. More commonly, they seek professional help for depression that accompanies the disorder or for abusing harmful substances (though not steroids). Patients do not attempt to seek help because it would entail an embarrassment associated with admitting that their body is not perfect, but also their sense of masculinity would be undermined if they were to reveal their problem to someone (Olivardia 2001, p. 257).

While individuals suffering from anorexia tend to be forced to seek help due to cachexia and the risk of dying, those affected by muscle dysmorphia seem to be perfectly healthy and give the impression of someone who leads a healthy, active lifestyle (Dawes & Mankin 2004, pp. 24–25). In order to help diagnose the problem, Pope, Phillips and Olivardia created a fifteen-item list, affirmative answers to which may suggest different degrees of bigorexia.

Men with a low degree of muscle dysmorphia agree with four or five statements, whilst if a person agrees with half of the statements, this means that bigorexia has a significant impact on their daily living. The list addresses the following issues: frequency of worrying about being slim and muscular enough; giving up attractive meetings and activities due to previously scheduled workouts; negative impact of workouts on career opportunities or giving up work; being on a high-protein and low-fat diet with supplements to increase muscle mass; spending large sums of money on musculature-improving supplements and substances; giving up eating out or going to dinner parties because of one's diet; avoiding situations in which others can see one's body (beach, changing room, public shower) for fear of being perceived as having an insufficiently muscular body; wearing several layers of clothing to look better built; deliberately choosing clothing that

make one look larger; frequently measuring the circumference of individual parts of the body (chest, biceps, etc.); continuing to work out despite injuries for fear of losing muscle mass; using drugs (legal and illegal) to increase musculature; frequently comparing oneself to others for fear of being less muscular than they are; experiencing jealousy for a long time after seeing someone who is more muscular (Pope et al., 2000, pp. 88–89).

In addition, the Bodybuilder Image Grid (Hildebrandt, Langenbucher & Schlundt 2004, p. 171) can be useful for the diagnosis of suspected body image disorders in men (and for evaluating the perception of attractiveness of the male body by both men and women). The use of this tool in men involves setting them four tasks: to indicate an image which, in the subject's opinion, reflects the way his body looks at the moment; to indicate the image that depicts the ideal body according to the subject; to indicate the most attractive body type; and to indicate the most attractive body image for the opposite sex.

The treatment process should include attempts to reduce the time spent at the gym, and to stop using steroids, which, however, is associated with the greatest fear among the patients, namely weight loss (Olivardia 2001, p. 257). Another important element of the treatment process is psychoeducation, which should include education on proper nutrition and the dangers of steroids, and should show that the images presented in the media are not always an accurate representation of peoples' appearance or a right suggestion of what people should look like. The course of treatment involves an observation of the development of muscle dysmorphia and checking the age at which it appeared. Olivardia also emphasises that during psychotherapy, it would be good to focus on the reasons or experiences that influenced the individual's focus on his body image. The author further states that cognitive-behavioural techniques used in the treatment of dysmorphic body disorders and pharmacological treatment can be used in the treatment of bigorexia. While working with the patient, it is also important that the patient stops using steroids. Clinicians should also determine the patient's ideal body image and estimate how realistic it is (Olivardia 2001, pp. 257–258). Ultimately, the goal of the treatment should be to increase insight and the ability to realistically assess one's body⁴.

Conclusion: muscle dysmorphia and masculinity

The problems with body image, once defined as typical of women, are increasingly becoming a domain of men. By focusing on the body, men have made it an important element of their identity and their sense of masculinity. From the psychological perspective, individuals affected by muscle dysmorphia have low

⁴ For more on the treatment of muscular dysmorphia: work with the patient, tips for psychologists, therapists and people who may work with the group at a potential risk of this disorders (athletes), see: Olivardia 2001; Leone et al. 2005; Grieve et al. 2009, pp. 306–314.

self-esteem. Striving for musculature may therefore be an attempt to compensate for the feeling of being insufficiently "masculine" (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000).

Research has shown that since the 1990s, an increasing number of men have been declaring dissatisfaction with their bodies or individual parts of their bodies (McCaulay et al. 1988, pp. 381–390; Mishkind et al. 1986, pp. 545–562). According to Olivardia's analyses (2002, pp. 59–63), the level of male dissatisfaction has tripled in less than 30 years. In a study conducted in 1996, 11% of men (and 15% of women) would give up 5 years of life if they could only weigh as much as they would like to, while 17% of men (and 24% of women) would give up more than 3 years of their life (Garner 1997, p. 34).

Researchers point out that men feel dissatisfaction with their appearance as much as women, and they even surpass the latter with respect to certain body parts, namely the chest (Pope, Phillips & Olivardia 2000, p. 27). Men have succumbed to dictates, bans and expectations related to the body, which previously affected mainly women, and, according to researchers, today, up to 25–30% of patients with eating disorders are male (Anderson, Cohn & Holbrook 2000). Almost half of the respondents in research studies were completely or very dissatisfied with their appearance, 74% of men thought they were too fat and felt extremely uncomfortable if they could not work out for a week, and half of the respondents admitted to using steroids (Pope et al. 2000, p. 92). The body has become an opportunity but also a trap. However, dissatisfaction with one's body among an increasing number of men is not suspended in a vacuum, and the socio-cultural background plays a key role (Kostanski et al 2003, p. 1322).

Literature

- Anderson A., Cohn L., Holbrook T., 2000, *Making Weight*, Carlsbad, CA: Gurze Books.
- Chandler C.G., Grieve F.G., Derryberry W.P., Pegg P.O., 2009, *Are Anxiety and Obsessive-Compulsive Symptoms Related to Muscle Dysmorphia*, "International Journal of Men's Health" No. 8.
- Chung B., 2001, *Muscle Dysmorphia; a Critical Review of the Proposed Criteria*, "Perspect Biol Med." No. 44.
- Cohane G.H., Pope H.G. Jr., 2001, *Body Image in Boys: A Review of the Literature*, "International Journal of Eating Disorders" Vol. 29, No. 4.
- Dawes J., Mankin T., 2004, *Muscle Dysmorphia*, "Strength Cond. Journal" Vol. 26, No. 24–25.
- Drewowski A., Yee D.K., 1987, *Men and Body Image: Are Males Satisfied with Their Body Weight?*, "Psychosomatic Medicine" Vol. 49.
- Duncan M.J., Al-Nakeeb Y., Nevill A.M., Jones M.V., 2006, *Body Dissatisfaction, Body Fat and Physical Activity in British Children*, "International Journal of Pediatric Obesity" Vol. 1, No. 2.
- Furnham A., Calnan A., 1998, *Eating Disturbance, Self-Esteem, Reason for Exercising and Body Weight Dissatisfaction in Adolescent Males*, "European Eating Disorders Review" Vol. 6, No. 1.

- Garner D.M., 1997, *The 1997 Body Image*, "Psychology Today" Vol. 30.
- Goodale K.R., Watkins P.L., Cardinal B.J., 2001, *Muscle Dysmorphia: A New Form of Eating Disorder?*, "American Journal of Health Education" Vol. 32.
- Grieve F.G., 2007, *A Conceptual Model of Factors Contributing to the Development of Muscle Dysmorphia*, "Eating Disorders" Vol. 15.
- Grieve F.G., Truba N., Bowersox S., 2009, *Etiology, Assessment, and Treatment of Muscle Dysmorphia*, "Journal of Cognitive Psychotherapy: An International Quarterly" Vol. 23.
- Grieve R., Helmick A., 2008, *The Influence of Men's Self-objectification on Drive for Muscularity: Self-Esteem, Body Satisfaction and Muscle Dysmorphia*, "International Journal of Men's Health" Vol. 7.
- Grogan S., 1999, *Body Image. Understanding Body Dissatisfaction in Men, Women and Children*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Hildebrandt T., Langenbucher J., Schlundt D.G., 2004, *Muscularity Concerns among Men: Development of Attitudinal and Perceptual Measures*, "Body Image" Vol. 1.
- Hitzeroth V., Wessels Ch., Zungu-Dirwayi N., Oosthuizen P., Stein D.J., 2001, *Muscle Dysmorphia: A South African Sample*, "Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences" Vol. 55.
- Kostanski M., Fisher A., Gullone E., 2003, *Conceptualising Body Image: The Inherent Difficulties in Analysis*, "Australian Journal of Psychology" Vol. 55.
- Kouri E.M., Pope H.G. Jr., Katz D.L., Oliva P., 1995, *Fat-free Mass Index in Users and Non-users of Anabolic Androgenic Steroids*, "Clinical Journal of Sport Medicine" Vol. 5.
- Leone J.E., Sedoryt E.J., Gray K.A., 2005, *Recognition and Treatment of Muscle Dysmorphia and Related Body Image Disorders*, "Journal of Athletic Training" Vol. 40, No. 4.
- Lipiński J.P., Pope H.G. Jr., 2002, *Body Ideal in Young Samoan Men: Comparison with Men in North America*, "International Journal of Men's Health" Vol. 1.
- Maida D.M., Armstrong S.L., 2005, *The Classification of Muscle Dysmorphia*, "International Journal of Men's Health" Vol. 4.
- McCaulay M., Mintz L., Glenn A.A., 1988, *Body Image, Self-esteem, and Depression-proneness: Closing the Gender Gap*, "Sex Role" Vol. 18.
- McCreary D., Sasse D., 2000, *An Exploration of the Drive for Muscularity in Adolescent Boys and Girls*, "Journal of American Collage Health" Vol. 48.
- Mishkind M.E. et al., 1986, *Embodiment of Masculinity*, "American Behavioral Scientist" Vol. 29.
- Morgan J.F., 2000, *From Charles Atlas to Adonis Complex – Fat is More than Feminist Issue*, "The Lancet".
- Mosley P.E., 2009, *Bigorexia: Bodybuilding and Muscle Dysmorphia*, "European Eating Disorders Review" Vol. 17.
- Olivardia R., 2002, *Body Image Obsession in Men*, "Healthy Weight Journal" Vol. 16.
- Olivardia R., 2001, *Mirror, Mirror on the Wall, Who's the Largest of Them All? The Features and Phenomenology of Muscle Dysmorphia*, "Harvard Review Psychology" Vol. 9, No. 5.
- Olivardia R., Pope H.G. Jr., Hudson J.I., 2000, *Muscle Dysmorphia in Male Weightlifters: a Case Control Study*, "American Journal of Psychiatry" Vol. 157.
- Pope H.G. Jr., Gruber A.J., Choi P.Y.L., Olivardia R., Phillips K.A., 1997, *Muscle Dysmorphia: an Underrecognized Form of Body Dysmorphic Disorder*, "Psychosomatics" Vol. 38.
- Pope H.G. Jr., Gruber A.J., Mangweth B. et al., 2000, *Body Image Perception in Three Countries*, "American Journal of Psychiatry" Vol. 157.
- Pope H.G. Jr., Katz D.L., Hudson J.I., 1993, *Anorexia Nervosa and "Reverse Anorexia" among 108 Male Bodybuilders*, "Comprehensive Psychiatry" Vol. 34.

Pope H. G. Jr., Katz D. L., 1994, *Psychiatric and Medical Effect of Anabolic-Androgenic Steroid Use. A Controlled Study of 160 Athletes*, "Archives of General Psychiatry" Vol. 51.

Pope H. G. Jr., Philips K. A., Olivardia R., 2000, *The Adonis Complex: the Secret Crisis of Male Body Obsession*, Free Press, New York.

Summary

Bigorexia: Men's Troubles with Their Body

In this paper, I set out to answer the questions about contradictory discourses of male corporeal identity related to gym practices. I explore the role of the gym in the formation and negotiation of masculinities for men.

Keywords

masculinity, body, identity, bigorexia

Jan Papież

University of Gdansk

Bigorexia as a Male Identity Disorder

Masculine identity. A theoretical perspective

The historical, social, cultural and economic changes that are taking place in the modern world require the individual and society to establish their own identities, to deliberate on who we are and who we would want to be. David Riesman, among others, states that the aforementioned factors reveal different perspectives that determine our image of our own "self" (Riesman 1950). In the literature, we can find various definitions of identity. Regardless of their theoretical context, however, what they all have in common is uniqueness and distinctiveness. One can talk about at least three main planes of identity: substantial, individual and social.

The substantial dimension of identity relates to our spirituality and is the essence of humanity. Our identity is immanently linked with our spirituality and is a gift that we were given by our creator. Therefore, our drive towards perfection is the meaning of our lives, but this is the maturity we gain only at the point of death. In Hinduism, human soul is synonymous with one's consciousness. On one hand, it is something separate from the body, but on the other, it is highly dependent on it. Christians, in turn, see the body as a prison of the soul, which limits the perfect spiritual sphere that is freed at the point of death, when the body and soul are separated. The substantial dimension of our identity relates to the value of the body as something secondary and it is only up to us to decide whether we will make use of its temporal joys (focus on developing our body) while losing our opportunities to develop and perfect our souls, assuming that the body is imperfect and does not disturb the development of the immaterial part of our "self" (Paleczny 2008).

The mental dimension of identity, represented, among others, by Erik H. Erikson, focuses on our individual consciousness, and relates our identity to our minds. It presupposes that identity is based on knowledge, and is a resultant of the biopsychosocial attributes of a person that are culturally conditioned in the spiritual and material planes. It relates identity not just to internal experiences, but to the influence of outside stimuli on the development of the human mind, body and spirit. The psychological dimension has an individual character because the experiences we receive through our senses are highly subjective depending on the

level of development of a given individual, their gender, age and their immersion in the culture in the process of socialisation and upbringing (Erikson 1980).

The sociocultural dimension relates to the sociocultural factors that comprise its determinants which designate our place in the social space. Representatives of this approach include Zygmunt Bauman and Margaret Mead. It is culture that has always determined our identity, and the emerging social norms that have pointed towards the direction of our development (socialisation). According to Tadeusz Paleczny: "Cultural identity is a type of individual consciousness that is group-ordered based on the common elements of childhood, tradition, symbols, values and group norms, which marks the individual as similar to or different from others who are situated in the near or far social space." (Paleczny 2008, p. 22). The definition proposed by Paleczny is of both an individual and a group character (cf. Kloskowska 1996; Berger, Luckmann 1966; Melchior 1990; Bokszański 1989; Mead 1975). The principal elements of individual identity according to Maria Jarymowicz and Teresa Szustrowa are the awareness of "one's own coherence in time and space throughout various periods of life, in social situations and fulfilled roles, as well as the awareness of one's distinctiveness, individuality, and uniqueness" (Jarymowicz, Szustrowa 1980, p. 442). In the postmodern period of the cult of the body for all social groups, and especially for select individuals, there is a specific relationship between the tendency to and drive towards individuality on the one hand, and the desire to become a cohesive element of the group on the other. An imbalanced masculine identity, unlike the female identity, not just in the sphere of the value of the body (appearance) but also in the face of socio-cultural requirements, requires women to maintain a slender body figure, and requires men to be athletic. These drives sometimes take pathological forms: anorexia in the case of women, and in its male counterpart – bigorexia.

The aforementioned dimensions of identity do not function in isolation, but, as previously mentioned, are based on multiple factors, the most important of which are psychological (individualistic), cultural and social. Based on these determinants, mixed, more complex identities, which are a sum of our experiences, emerge in the postmodern society. Pessimists declare that the age of globalisation has led to a crisis of identity. They claim that there is no homogenisation of culture, but rather its gradual or abrupt destruction or opposition to it in some of its areas. One example can be the 9/11 attacks and the recent terrorist attacks in Paris. We see the struggle of three worlds: the Muslim, the Catholic and the secular. Philosopher Leszek Kołakowski states that "The assertion of self-identity, whether by an individual, by an ethnic group, or by a religious body, always involves a danger: a desire to dominate others. In defending his legitimacy, an individual may easily come to feel that he must affirm it by expanding his power" (Kołakowski 2013, p. 251).

The body and health and value

Health and the body in both the physiological and mental sense have always had an important place in the hierarchy of the needs of a person, which is reflected in various practices of maintaining it in various cultures. These include activities connected with healing, hygiene, and physical development, through to magical effects also influencing the psyche. In practice, such behaviours were often connected. Religious prescriptions (the Bible, the Quran) were concerned with hygiene, nutrition and even etiquette. An overview of such practices from antiquity to modernity in various cultures is presented by Irena Rudowska (1989).

Relatively much is known about the civilisations of ancient Greece and Rome, both in terms of the attitude towards health and the beauty of the human body and the culture surrounding it.

Ancient Greece had a high level of hygiene. The goddess Hygieia, a daughter of Asclepius, was a personification of this concept. There were baths connected with the gymnasium (a school for the body and soul). J. Rudowska writes that the amenities were not as luxurious as in Rome, but bathtubs and aqueducts were already known. Lidia Winniczuk writes that "boys on Crete at the age of 14 started rigorous physical training, which was to prepare them for military service" (Winniczuk 1983, p. 273). When they came of age at 18, they joined teams known as "hetaireia". Greek medicine too was highly developed, which was appreciated by the Romans who hired Greek doctors, such as Galen, a member of the imperial court of Marcus Aurelius. Household healing practices were passed on from mothers to daughters.

In the classical period in Athens there was no legal requirement for children to be taught, but by custom this was the duty of their parents. Plato even thought that children have no duties towards parents that did not give them education. Plato's dialogue *Laches* is a "pedagogic" dispute of worrisome parents and other speakers, which of course include Socrates. They all look for advice on where to send their sons and what to teach and train them in, in order to best benefit them (Plato 2012). The Greeks loved the beauty of the human body and dedicated much attention to preserving its vitality and physical fitness. A means to this was sport, which was practiced in numerous sports facilities, and the Olympics as fitness competitions in various disciplines.

The Greeks, like other people, wanted to be happy. Philosophers discussed happiness at length. Various schools of philosophy argued about what is necessary to achieve happiness. Aristotle thought that even the highest "moral and mental goodness, was not enough. For a man to be happy, he also cannot be very ugly or of bad parentage, weak or ill, poor, lonely, devoid of family and friends. Only various kinds of goodness combined in a man make him happy. Aristotle was convinced that if one needs all of them to achieve happiness, one should train all human abilities" (Tatarkiewicz 1962, pp. 62–63).

The Greek philosophers agreed on many other issues, especially that happiness depends on the individual, not on external conditions. All the schools of philosophical thought were in agreement that only moral and wise behaviour leads to happiness. Władysław Tatarkiewicz believes that even the hedonists were in agreement with the moralists on this, and quotes Epicurus: "It is impossible to live a pleasant life without living wisely and honourably and justly, and it is impossible to live wisely and honourably and justly without living pleasantly" (Tatarkiewicz 1962, pp. 62–63).

Ancient Rome introduced fewer new philosophical ideas, but the Romans, as empire builders, had to care for the physical shape of their legionnaires. In the capital itself, sport was connected with hygiene. Much care was given to aqueducts and plumbing. Already in the 6th century BC, Tarquin the Proud built the first sanitation system (*cloaca maxima*). In the 2nd century BC, the first public bathhouses were being built and according to an inventory from the times of Agrippa, there were 170 at the time (according to Pliny the Elder, the number was as high as 1000). The numbers sound improbable, but it's possible that they include smaller baths, and not just in the capital itself. Agrippa was also the builder of the first *thermae*, which were more than just baths. They were complexes that include various pools, gardens, sport stadiums, gymnasiums, massage and cosmetic parlours, but also libraries or even museums.

In Poland, the frequent wars and physical labour required much strength of spirit and fortitude. Zbigniew Kuchowicz writes: "It appears that tall, broad-shouldered men were valued [...] Much value was also given to male elegance, although this, of course, depended on the social circles". This also included the rural areas. "A handsome farmhand was a young man who cared for his appearance, and in some areas wore a feathered hat" (Kuchowicz 1957, pp. 268–269).

Bigorexia as the loss of one's identity

The expansion of one's body leads to the diminishing of one's own identity and to subordinating the "self" to the body. Andrzej Pawłucki states that post-modern manifestations of self-creation through the body are characterised by making such creators the slaves of their artificially enhanced bodies. A body created through effort and pain, attaining fitness through arduous training in the gym, "pushes" the "self" into the background, and makes it subservient to the body. According to the cited author, "elevating oneself through the body is accompanied by diminishing one's spirituality, including getting rid of it entirely" (Pawłucki 2001, p. 70). Submitting to postmodern ideologies of the cult of the body, however, leads to losing one's humanity and identity, to the empowerment of just one's body. This phenomenon is known as bigorexia. According to Harrison Pope, who coined the term: "bigorexia is a type of dysmorphophobia, a disorder distorting the perception of one's body. It is characterised by an obsession about one's appearance and musculature. An afflicted person sees themselves as

not muscular enough, and strives towards achieving an unreal ideal, by using substances that aid muscle growth" (Maciejewska, Trzciński 2004, p. 3). It also has a psychological dimension and is first and foremost related to the distortion of one's own body image.

Zbyszko Melosik also shows a distorted ideal of a male body. He writes that in the culture of consumption, human identity is reduced to the body, and its construction shifts from the inside to the surface. Previously, the body was just the vessel of one's self and now it dominates, "one feels that this is all that is left" (Melosik 2006, p. 24). Additionally, the current media landscape orders us to be the masters of our bodies, and to compare them to the models who appear in commercials. Melosik calls this phenomenon the "mediaisation of masculinity". He then states, citing other scholars, that "among many middle class men, one can observe an obsession with their bodies, which leads to taking actions to make their body more sexually attractive, which used to be seen as exclusively feminine" (Melosik 2006, p. 24). Citing research done in the United States, he also claims that men increasingly look desperately for ways to "embody" their own bodies. They retreat into their bodies, which become their prisons.

Examples confirming the above statements include research done under my supervision, which confirms that in the case of bigorexia the subjects' own self-image is distorted. A group of people using a gym in the Tri-City area was studied. Among them, 100% were men, 52% with a higher education, 24% with a secondary education, 14% with a vocational education and 10% still students. Among the studied men, 65% were unmarried and 35% were married. The prevalence of bachelors might attest to the need to be physically attractive, as appearance, according to the study subjects and to the public opinion and media, is decisive not just in personal life. It is hard to unambiguously determine the cause of this phenomenon – maybe an actual need within the men or their low self-esteem, lack of self-confidence, or just a new fashion. Most of the gym users were men between 180 and 190 cm of height and 80 to 100 kg of body mass. Their body weight was not a result of obesity, but of muscle growth. One should note that they were men who had already been using the gym for several months, who might have already lost weight, or, in the case of people of low weight, had gained musculature.

The body parts that the men cared for the most were, in order: their chest, stomach, legs, back, forearms, buttocks, shoulders and calves. 23% of them visited the gym every day, 51% several times a week, and 26% several times a month.

The study shows that the exercise brought the intended effect and satisfaction from fulfilling it. The studied men were happy with their appearance and regularly exercised in fitness clubs. In this way they wanted to continue developing their bodies. At the same time, they were afraid that if they stopped exercising, they would lose all the effects they had worked on. This begets the question what means were used to achieve these effects. The studied men said that the specialist press used by those who worked out at the gym were magazines such as "Muscle" or "Kulturysta", which are not highly regarded by professionals. They often include advice on quickly "gaining mass with low cost", including "enhancers" such

as steroids, gainers, supplements etc. Among the men who worked out at the gym, 29% admitted to having used steroids, 80% had used gainers, and 32% other dietary supplements. The quantitative data confirms that attaining the desired look was more important than adopting a critical attitude towards the side effects of using pharmacological enhancers.

The model of the modern man changes and is influenced by various socio-cultural aspects. This is pointed out especially by Melosik, who writes that “the modern man found himself in a certain socialisation trap” (Melosik 2006, p. 188). He faces the following questions: should he develop the traditionally masculine traits and dominate women by objectifying them, or focus on developing feminine traits, feeling his unmanliness, an “identity inadequacy” (Melosik 2006, p. 189; Nowakowska 1988). Such a split can lead to a crisis of masculine identity. Not all men can attain the promoted ideals or even approach them, which can lead to stress, the awareness of being an incomplete and imperfect man. This opinion already enters the area of deviations that might be found in the group of men who are working out at the gym, who are unhappy with their bodies or setting impossible goals for themselves. But the answers do not include such goals.

Not all of those who use the gym maintain an Aristotelian moderation, and instead spend even more than a dozen hours daily at the gym. An intense training puts a major strain on the heart and limbs and leads to the weakening of the body’s defence mechanisms. Breaks in such an intense workout lead to relatively quick weight gain.

When they lack the strength to work out, they use vitamin supplements, miracle diets and even anabolic steroids, which disrupt the cellular metabolism, disrupting the absorption, creation and ingestion of substances necessary for the body to function effectively. Such a physical anomaly (pathology) spreads throughout body’s systems through a domino effect. The consequences include a lower immunity to diseases and can lead to diabetes and even cancer.

This state of addiction can be called bigorexia (masculine anorexia) – losing one’s “self” and serving as a medium to something unintentional, something beyond oneself. Andrzej C. Leszczyński, when trying to find 21 year old Arthur Rimbaud’s reasons for abandoning poetry and any literary life whatsoever, quotes Chesterton: “A man whose mind knows the way to madness is a poet. A man whose mind cannot find the way back is a madman”. Rimbaud, by choosing between life and writing, chose the former: as here he existed as the “self” and regained the feeling of normalcy (Leszczyński 1998).

Let us hope that under the watchful eye of good coaches and in a favourable social atmosphere, the gym can be like a Greek gymnasium, where the Roman phrase by Juvenal is realised: “*mens sana in corpore sano*”.

Literature

- Bauman Z., 1997, *Postmodernity and its discontents*, Cambridge.
- Berger P.L., Luckmann T., 1966, *The Social Construction of Reality*, New York.
- Boksański Z., 1989, *Tożsamość-interakcja-grupa. Tożsamość jednostki w perspektywie socjologicznej* [Individual Identity in the Sociological Perspective], Łódź.
- Erikson E., 1980, *Identity and the life cycle*, New York.
- Jarymowicz M., Szustrowa T., 1980, *Poczucie własnej tożsamości-źródła, funkcje regulacyjne* [The Search for one's Own Source Identity, Regulatory Functions], [in:] J. Reykowski (ed.), *Osobowość a społeczne zachowanie się ludzi* [Personality and the Social Behaviour of Humans], Warszawa.
- Kłoskowska A., 1996, *Kultury narodowe u korzeni* [National Cultures at Their Root], Warszawa.
- Kołąkowski L., 2013, *On Collective Identity*, [in:] *Is God Happy? Selected Essays*, New York City.
- Kuchowicz Z., 1957, *Z dziejów obyczajów polskich w wieku XVII i pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku* [From the History of Polish Customs in the 17th Century and the First Half of the 18th Century], Warszawa.
- Leszczyński A. C., 1988, *Trzy rozumienia normalności* [Three Understandings of Normalcy], "Problemy", nr 9.
- Maciejewska T., Trzeciński P., 2014, *Zachowania ryzykowne podejmowane przez mężczyzn zagrożonych bigoreksją* [Risky Behaviours Undertaken by Men in Danger of Developing Bigorexia], "Rocznik Lubuski", nr 40, Z. Izdebski, K. Wąż, M. Farnicka (eds.), Zielona Góra.
- Mead M., 1975, *Culture and Commitment*, London.
- Melchior M., 1990, *Spółeczna tożsamość jednostki* [The Social Identity of the Individual], Warszawa.
- Melosik Z., 2006, *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej* [The Crisis of Masculinity in Contemporary Culture], Kraków.
- Nowakowska A., 2008, *Kryzys męskości czy konflikt męczyzny – utrata czy wyzwolenie* [Crisis of Masculinity or a Man's Conflict – Loss or Freedom] [in:] *Męskość w kulturze współczesnej* [Masculinity in Contemporary Culture], Lublin.
- Palczyński T., 2008, *Socjologia tożsamości* [The Sociology of Identity], Kraków.
- Plato, 1991, *Laches*, Warszawa.
- Pawłucki A., 2001, *Etyczne credo, Kultura sportowa, Sport i cyrk, Ponowoczesny kult ciała* [An Ethical Credo, Sport Culture, Sport and Circus, Postmodern Cult of the Body], Gdańsk.
- Riesman D., 1950, *The Lonely Crowd*, Warszawa.
- Rudowska I., 1989, *Kosmetyka wczoraj i dziś* [Cosmetics Yesterday and Today], Warszawa.
- Tatarkiewicz W., 1962, *O szczęściu* [On Happiness], Warszawa.
- Winniczuk L., 1983, *Ludzie, obyczaje starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu* [The People and Customs of Ancient Greece and Rome], Warszawa.

Summary

Bigorexia as a male identity disorder

This article explores the role that the gym plays in the formation and negotiation of masculinity for men. It arose out of an interest in how sport can serve as a masculinising

practice – a practice that helps shape, reinforce and validate the constructions of certain versions of masculinity – and what the side effects of this practice are.

Keywords

masculinity, physical strength, body, bodybuilding, identity

Tomasz Nowicki
University of Gdansk

Why Do Men Kill? The Construction of Masculinity on the Basis of Hunting Practices¹

[...] I don't hunt secretly, I do it utterly officially. When somebody asks me, I always say that I go hunting with my friends, with my sons – because they do hunt, with my son-in-law, and with my dog. Sometimes my sons give me the lead to keep, sometimes they give me the rifle.

Bronisław Komorowski,
President of the Republic of Poland, 6 August 2014

The meaning of hunting, as ascribed by its participants, is understood as a service to the nation or the society, or as a business. Hunters further understand it as a form of entertainment, sport, and a hobby. The objection against giving hunting a practical dimension and associating it with personal advantages is an element of the habitus of hunters – a commitment aimed at protecting this practice against social criticism. It is for this reason that the persuasive dimension of the concealment of the very killing of animals in the name of “higher” values and goals is so important in this group's narrations. The meanings around which the hunting culture is shaped are marked by a strong involvement of its participants and development of their subject positions, while in the interactive dimension they create a strong opposition between the exclusive world of hunters and the non-hunting part of society. Such a closing of the circle of those admitted to participation in hunting increases the system of the social intragroup control and develops strong bonds (Rancew-Sikora 2009, p. 47).

¹ I am conscious that the practice extends beyond practices related to the killing of animals. Nevertheless, in the context of the construction of the identity of hunters I take the position that hunting and preparations to hunting are central representations for the construction of subject positions.

Beginnings

In anthropological analyses of the development of human species identity, manners of food acquisition are a significant element of the evolutionary and cultural processes. Anthropogenesis indicates that the ability of group hunting was a trait marking our predecessors – hominids (Konarzewski 2005, p. 21). The consumption of meat had a decisive impact on the development of the brain, and this correlation promoted the development of predatory traits and the improvement of hunting techniques. The genetic memory about the fact that people are predators has survived until our own times, as best illustrated by an encounter, in non-in-vivo conditions, with a non-human animal, which, on seeing us, decides to run away, sensing a lethal threat (Konarzewski 2005, p. 68). A distinctive marker is the genderisation of relations between the primeval human communities. According to a hunting hypothesis, it consisted in the development of strong and long-lasting male groups. Gender-based division of labour was a decisive factor behind the negligible participation of the female population in hunts (Buss 1999).

We all know the famous scene from Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey*, in which a primitive man while playing with a bone he had found discovers that it can be used as a tool to take other beings' life. This cultural myth very clearly reflects the spirit of Darwinism, fighting, and rivalry as the main elements of natural selection. For thousands of years, people have been shaping their symbolic and material world by creating a barrier between human and non-human, man and animal, and by developing two separate metaphysical orders, the transgression of which was reserved to a narrow elite. Hunts and religious rituals formed a bridge between the *sacred* and the *profane* and enabled a demonstration of one's ideological superiority. An anthropological hypothesis provides that anthropomorphic thinking was a significant condition of the development of the ability to hunt (Mithen 1996). Steven Mithen believes that anthropomorphism allowed people to be able to "feel" animals' behaviour and to understand them. This development of perception made it possible to devise technologies enabling an embodiment of anthropomorphic comparisons and the construction of tools facilitating the killing of animals. This mechanism has survived until today, becoming an invisible obviousness of perceiving animals as species having collective interests, and individual animals as ones gifted with psychism and human affections. Paradoxically, the same process has allowed us to develop mutual understanding and empathy. The reflexive consciousness developed in this way made it possible to attribute motives and strategy of action to animals, and, as a feedback, allowed a better insight into our own "selves" (Serpell 1996).

The meaning of hunting

In her comparative analysis of a single act of killing placed in the context of structures of the modern world, Dorota Rancew-Sikora mentions the following meanings of hunting:

Hunting as a pastime

In today's daily practices, in particular in those related to the reproduction of material commodities, the dimension of heroism has been lost for the benefit of assertiveness and passive work ethos. An expression of this longing is the hunting community's internal discussions concerning the definition of the real hunt. In this discourse, the hunting ethos comprises satisfaction, individualism of experience, and noble care for the preservation of the cultural heritage. Hunting is considered to be a collective and individual process of the development of one's virtues: patience, care, respect, strength, and courage. Understood in this way, hunting would be a practice compensating for the direct and comprehensive dimension of the action related to the acquisition of food and domination, which has been lost in consumerism (Rancew-Sikora 2009, pp. 61–63). Nevertheless, we shall not find in hunting a critique or a refusal of the organisation of the world based on the capitalist order. Rather, the difference is built as a part of the relation of superiority over non-hunters. In turn, Pierre Bourdieu stresses the material dimension of positioning the hunting community as a group attracting individuals, in which he observed the domination of economic capital over cultural capital, and for whom participation in the elite community gives the sense of social advancement (Bourdieu 2005, pp. 449–450).

Individual emotions as a hunting trophy

As results from a review of sociological literature concerning the ways in which people experience an activity in which they are deeply involved, a considerable share of the interpretation of the ways in which such activities are experienced is shaped outside of one's consciousness, through a cultural training of how we should experience them. In the hunting discourse, ennobled norms of involvement in a hunt include the search for risk and adrenaline being a consequence of the effort made in their execution (Rancew-Sikora 2009, pp. 63–65). In their statements and recollections, hunters very often describe hunting as an internal emotional experience. The emotions mentioned in hunting stories most often concern the aestheticization of the hunting experience, and avoid the level of empathic compassion.

Hunting as killing

Hunting as a practice aimed at the taking of an animal's life is maintained through the internalization of the act of domination over the prey through the readiness to use violence. Power is represented as one's readiness to use violence. Domination and its collective gratification in the hunting community are related to being granted access to weapons. The acquisition of weapons fosters the need to search for possibilities of their testing (Rancew-Sikora 2009, pp. 65–66). Weapons as tools designed to kill facilitate the adoption of an outlook that is mediated and delineates the border between the human and the animal worlds. The trajectory hunter-weapon-vision-object is subject to the embodiment and spatial setting of sensations and emotions related to the appearance of an animal on the horizon of events. The ownership of a weapon constructs the horizon of perceiving animals as bodies ready to submit to domination. In this approach, one's gaze via a hunting weapon becomes an instrument driving animals away from the observing object, and the very act of killing undergoes a cutting and defragmenting of the cause and effect relationship into separate segments of the cognitive, aesthetic, and moral order. The power of vision is strengthened by technology (regular binoculars, night vision binoculars, rifle scopes, rangefinders, observation telescopes, collimators) in the visual culture and the industrialization of the sense of vision. Hunting technologies allow one's vision to be single, neutral, isolated, and disembodied. The thus-created distance enables one to "freeze" the observed animals and to confirm the observer's separation from the observed. The thus-established distance and power are some of the elements of the vision of a voyeur, highlighting power, and the victimisation of the animal reduced to the role of an object. The subjugated animals become embodiments of the triumph of men's observation, as represented in the confirmation of the optical truth. John Urry and Phillip Macnaghten point out that for nature to become attractive to people, it needs to be subjugated, which in turn makes us turn attention to the "imperiousness" of the hunter's gaze (Macnaghten, Urry 1999). Therefore, the observing party's participation in the picture of the animal's "artefact" becomes possible when the experience is framed in the pleasure drawn from identifying oneself with the vision (the power of the look) and from the observation of subjugation. Jacques Derrida, referring to Lacan, calls this experience narcissism: man's subjectification takes place through the gazing into the mirror of one's own construction of nature.

In the hunting discourse, the border is strengthened through the shifting of the meanings of killing and the use of euphemisms such as "harvest", "punish", "account for", "bring to book", while the killed animals are called "quarry" or "game" (Macnaghten, Urry 1999). James Serpell calls this phenomenon detachment. It consists in the depersonalisation of the opponent and describing them as an artefact. Killing undergoes defragmentation and the meaning of taking a life of another being undergoes naturalisation. Animals' suffering becomes commercial (neutral from the moral point of view), indifferent and banal (Serpell 1996). This

process is an important area in the socialisation of hunting, and it is accompanied by initiation rituals aimed at transforming the experience of killing into an activity the sense of which is built by "higher" cultural values not simply related to taking a life. The very course of hunting does not include sense-creating elements that would allow an explanation of the meaning of hunting. The hunting culture prepares discursive meanings of hunting. Actors engaged in hunting bring along rather than actively give sense to killing, stepping beyond what actually takes place. Hunting culture is aimed at the socialisation of the hunter by identifying individuals with the goals and norms of the group that develops their own moral community. In some cases, such familiarisation with death leads to the drawing of satisfaction from killing and an addiction to experiencing the accompanying emotions, a hunger for them. The limitation of the rationality of the hunter's choice and activity in the situation of a hunt, which is to result in the killing of the prey, is an implication of the internalization of the internal group goals. Although not having to shoot, the hunters staying on the hunting grounds find themselves in a situation marked by a narrowed horizon of events. It includes their belonging to the group of hunters, preparations for the hunt, group pressure, possession of a weapon with live ammunition, hunting authorisation, a firearm's licence, and a meeting with the hunted animal (Serpell 1996). In this sense, being aware of the sense of hunting is of no importance for its efficient execution. In the cultural understanding of hunting, stark violence is not involved when a living being is killed, because the act is socially approved and accepted by the group. Violence addressed to animals does not break the moral order – rather, it expresses cultural values, and strengthens and implements them. In a sense, in the case of hunting and the accompanying culture and traditions, we can talk about the carnivalization of killing. Just like the current discussion on ritual slaughter and its defence in the name of tradition and religion, hunting follows the same paths while searching for its own explanation and justification.

Love of animals and the execution of the masculine identity

How can we explain the combination of authentic love of animals declared by hunters and their killing – what is this ambivalence about? According to Brian Luke, in the hunting discourse the act of hunting and "winning" an animal is expressed in the narration called the erotics of rape, which consists in winning the object of sexual desire. Luke's research demonstrates that the most valuable animals for hunters are those which are considered to be exceptionally beautiful, which become symbols of prestige and satisfaction (Luke 1998, p. 627). During a hunt, the hunter comes in intimate contact with their prey, which is described by words such as admiration, fascination, veneration, and excitement. The motif of death and love strongly present in our culture through Christianity, Shakespeare and romanticism, boiled down to the phrase "I love you, I want to commit a suicide with you", while modernity – including psychoanalysis – allowed the

transformation of the phrase into “I love you – I want to kill you”. Luke describes hunting as a romance which can be fulfilled through a total act of domination and power over the body of the desired animal. Hunters’ descriptions of hunting are dominated by the need of experiencing strong emotions and excitement, and this is why the environment of hunters value so much the development of one’s individual and diverse forms of animal killing – they want to maintain the maximum level of emotions (which in the course of time become routine) for example by collecting different weapons and searching for various animal species to hunt. Hence, we are dealing with a quasi-erotic experience of love as possession and capture.

The very course of a hunt reproduces the dynamics of mating between the hunter and their prey. The careful preparation for hunting, the use of decoys designed to stir the animals’ sexuality, spraying scents, or the simulation of mating sounds, intensifies the development of an intimate relation between the hunter and the animal. Sometimes the emotions accompanying such a situation may lead to a hunter refraining from the killing of their prey. Nevertheless, such behaviour is often only tantamount to postponing the killing and saving the shot for later. In this way, one may prolong the satisfaction and pleasure drawn from hunting. What counts, is the pleasure of contemplating the forest and experiencing the non-human world. The beauty of animals is described through anthropomorphisms, in which animals take a feminised form. In this sense, metaphors of anthropomorphised animals can be interpreted both ways – as animals concealing women, or as women concealing animals. In hunters’ tales, the aesthetics of nature creates a tension between the stage of shooting at the animal, when sensations provide ambivalently experienced pleasure, and the stage following the taking of life, when the agony and the display of trophies are aesthetised by the turpistic² affirmation of the realism of the dead bodies. This attitude strongly manifests itself in the hunters’ tendency to photograph themselves next to the killed animals and in the display of trophies. This appropriation is tantamount to subjecting sensory experience to the hegemony of visibility, which transforms nature into a theatre performance. Camille Paglia wrote about it in the following way: “There is, I must insist, nothing beautiful in nature. Nature is a primal power, coarse and turbulent. Beauty is our weapon against nature... Beauty halts and freezes the melting flux of nature” (Macnaghten, Urry 1999). When adopting the habitus of the hunting culture, one acquires the ability to separate the act of killing an animal from the fabrication of corpses; this is achieved by including the nobility ethos in the discourse and comparing trophies to the tradition of the decoration of castle or hunting halls. The prey is described as beautiful, charming, delicate or innocent. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer described the process of the cultural distortion of the animal and the feminisation of its nature to beauty as follows: “Yet behind men’s admiration for beauty lurks always the ringing laughter, the boundless scorn, the barbaric obscenity vented by potency on impotence:, with which it

² The word “turpistic” refers to the trend in Polish poetry (in particular popular in the 2nd half of the 20th century) focusing on ugliness, decay, and death.

numbs the secret fear that it is itself enslaved to impotence, to death, to nature" (Horkheimer, Adorno 2002, p. 207).

Hunters also enjoy talking about their hunts, and write and publish recollections in which they often describe the course of a hunt in great detail. In psychoanalysis, the very act of killing an animal to satisfy one's desire is referred to as necrophilia. Since only the killing of an animal allows one to come close to them, touch them, and feel their smell, hunters as a part of the hunting initiation ritual smear their forehead with the animal's blood. What is also important is the subsequent fetishisation of the animals' body through taxidermy and trophies. The preparation of dishes from the killed animals also steps a lot beyond the very process of eating meat and is treated as a feast and presentation of a carefully prepared body.

Additionally, Rancew-Sikora indicates that for men, hunting makes a great excuse for dates and being unfaithful to their partners as well as highlighting their masculinity, increasing their attractiveness through the use of weapons and participation in a successful hunt. "We hunt easy chicks by picking them up, stalking, approaching with a vehicle (best with a luxury car) and using decoys (expensive gifts). Members of our hunting club cannot afford the last two methods. However, they all talk about their broad range of female trophies. Some only talk about it, others actually do have it" (Czekała 1993, p. 5). In some statements, hunters refer to sex explicitly: "killing during hunting is like an orgasm during sex", "we may resign from hunting, but this is equally as unnatural, undesirable and absurd as a resignation from sex". Naturalisation of hunting as a symptom of our instincts and nature is aimed at crossing the moral space, just like naturalization of sex is sometimes used as a justification of acts of violence against women. Hunts very often take place in hermetic male groups isolated from their families and dear ones, and such a context fosters the atmosphere of breaking rules and norms. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that there are also women hunters: their share in the community of hunters amounts to 1% to 4%³.

In patriarchal cultures, the drive to satisfy all one's needs through domination and violence is characteristic of men. Often, acts of violence are accompanied by the strategy of placing responsibility on the victim. Similarly to hunts, although it is the hunter who initiates the violence, the emerging narration discusses threats from the animals as well as their blame, understood for example as damaging agricultural crops and causing losses in forests. Rancew-Sikora's analyses underline that sexual metaphors are so strong in the hunting discourse that they go far beyond the linguistic structure, merging with the hunting experience. In this approach, hunting is a strong factor for the construction of the masculine gender identity. This effect is also amplified by the very co-presence of hunters focused on rivalling each other for trophies in a strong masculine group. The group supports their mutual conviction of heroism, nobility and pride coming from the act of killing (Rancew-Sikora 2009, pp. 69–73).

³ Data concerning women's participation in hunting in Europe.

Selected results of surveys concerning the attitudes of Polish hunters

It results from Rancew-Sikora's research that hunting is most often a tradition inherited within the family (52%). In terms of pleasure resulting from hunting, the majority of respondents declared visual pleasure connected with approaching and observing the prey (69%). In turn, 90% of respondents admitted a strong need of the reification of hunting and preserving dead animal bodies in the form of trophies (Rancew-Sikora 2009, p. 158). The social stratification of the group under study indicated that it was predominantly the elite of the *Polski Związek Łowiecki* (Polish Hunting Association) who decided to participate in the study. On the basis of the thus-identified population, the researcher adopted a hypothesis on the existence of "the highest degree of identification with the community norms and values" (Rancew-Sikora 2009, p. 157).

The correlation of many opinions concerning hunting with the belief that "only real men are able to hunt" indicates a strong identification of hunting with masculinity. The variable concerning the masculine nature of hunting emerged in cultural and biological explanations. Hunting is a masculine game. The belief that hunting is a masculine practice positively correlated with the cultural justification of hunting as a tradition and the deterministic explanation of hunting as an expression of the real nature of man as a predator. As a part of the historical policy of the Polish Hunting Association (PHA), the culture of nobility has been traditionally reinterpreted. The myth of the nobility ethos as nurturing the national spirit is constructed. The history of hunting becomes a tale about aristocracy, great Polish rulers and noblemen devoting themselves to heroic confrontations with nature. An important role in the recovery of traditions is played by nationalism – historical facts are combined to make a tale, which selects material in a grossly selective manner. "The renewal of the traditions of the Polish higher classes is often marked by attempts at a reconstruction [from nothing]" (Rancew-Sikora 2009, p. 168).

The gender of hunting emerged in practices labelling masculinity as a fighting instinct, rivalry, the stressing of the significance of the ownership of weapons, elite practice, and the attachment to responsibility and obedience to the rules. In their community, hunters also display a contemptuous attitude to those among them who see hunting as a means of the acquisition of food, calling them "meaters". Rivalry in hunting also excludes attempts at the professionalization of the practice – what counts is the development of individual, unique killing methods that may become the content for the building of one's own narrations and identities.

The map of meanings given to hunting, developed on the basis of the personal representations of the sense of hunting specified by the hunters, spreads between satisfaction, a pastime and a hobby, raising one's social status, and the implementation of the patriarchal model of masculinity. Nevertheless, the hunt-

ers' statements also express their strong need of highlighting the acceptance of the presence of women in this group, which is related to their desire to disenchant the belief about the elite masculine nature of hunting and to stress its egalitarianism. The presence of women positively correlated with the construction of the historical hunting policy.

Factor analysis considerably confirmed the reliability of the correlation of hunting with the masculine nature of the activity, as confirmed by the number of the animals killed in the hunter's career and the pleasure drawn from the risk and danger. An analysis of the cohesion of the ideology of the Polish hunting discourse confirmed its consistence with the adoption of the attitude of nature lovers by some of the hunters. Ideologically correct was also the stressing of the presence of women in hunting, although in this case the actual 3% share of women in hunts drastically falsified the above declaration. Cohesion with the ideology of the Polish Hunting Association was also manifested in the explanations concerning the satisfaction drawn from hunting as related to a close contact with the beauty of nature and observation of animals, and not the very effect of hunting. Inconsistence with PHA ideology was, however, discovered in the setting of the acknowledgement of the presence and importance of women in the group of hunters together with the valuation and acceptance of the statement that "my weapon is the most important thing that I own". In turn, the masculine nature of hunting revealed in the study displayed inconsistency with the PHA ideology of animal protection and hunt management. The respondents stressed the importance of the ownership of weapons and understood nature in the strongly masculinized perspective of fighting and rivalry. The responses of the 21% of respondents who agreed with the statement that nature was most important for them included a negative explanation of a disillusionment with society built on cultural justifications for the benefit of the understanding of the world as a brutal, masculine rivalry. In this group, as many as 25% of respondents chose the option "hard to say" when answering the question of what is more important in life: nature or people. The majority of subjects also declared a strong reluctance towards their possible resignation from hunting, stressing the importance of the practice for the construction of their identity.

The results of Rancew-Sikora's research confirmed the syndrome of masculine domination described by Bourdieu. The hunting discourse naturalises social inequalities and the gender-based division of labour, relating them to biological explanations of differences in body biology and the essentialisation of mental differences (Bourdieu 2004).

As for social stratification, Rancew-Sikora's research showed a relation between a high social position of older poorly educated male hunters and the identification of hunting with masculinity. The ideological linking of hunting with social advancement was related to historical politics. In this perspective, hunting as a practice is identified with the nobility culture. Such a narration was often found in nationalism-coloured attitudes.

Summary

It results from the present review of hunting motivations that the strongest motives are social advancement and its confirmation by the participation in an elite community and the development of the traditionally understood masculine identity. In hunting, masculinity appears as an archetype of heroism and strength. Men are identified with a propensity to use violence – and it is them who are entitled to own and use weapons. Equally important in hunting is the development of the opposition of the meanings of animal-man, nature-culture. This takes place both via stepping beyond the oppositions in the act of killing, and in the consolidation of the oppositions at the subsequent stages of the symbolic and material transformation of the animal field. In turn, in the area of the sexual identity in hunting discourse, one may notice the heterosexual model of masculinity, in which nature takes a feminized and rather passive role. In this approach, hunting becomes an act of domination and the building of a patriarchal order. The killing of prey takes place despite a refusal and a life-and-death fight of the animal. Hunting has become synonymous with the patriarchal image of masculinity as stark violence, strength, power, and subjugation. In the current transformations of the perception of the relation between people and animals, and culture and nature, the maintained justification behind the existence of this practice takes the form of an ideological fight for the keeping of the imagined tradition and becomes a quasi-religious cult of patriarchy and masculinity; hence, there are so many references to history and the Roman Catholic religion in the hunting discourse. Anne McClintock (1995) describes this appropriation as the “erotics of ravishment”, as a part of which the white man conquered nature and constructed the conquered bodies in the category of the radical otherness of the animal. According to Rancew-Sikora, the pleasure experienced during hunting takes the form of the enjoyment of ignoring a refusal. The above conclusions are similar to analyses carried out by Donna Haraway (1991, pp. 183–201), according to whom nature and animals always appear as the primary matrix of locating a group of beings outside the limits of the social, political, and moral. The system of exclusions of nature-animal-species-race-gender disguised social constructs to appear as biological determinism, taking away the possibility of rebellion and language from the thus-cut social actors and transforming them into biological monades.

Literature

- Bourdieu P., 2004, *Męska dominacja* [Masculine Domination], Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.
Bourdieu P., 2005, *Dystynkcja* [Distinction], Scholar, Warszawa.
Buss D., 1999, *Evolutionary Psychology*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
Czekala B., 1993, *Seks w puszczy* [Sex in the Primeval Forest], „Łowiec Polski”, Warszawa.
Haraway D., 1991, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, Routledge, New York, London.

- Horkheimer M., Adorno T., 2002, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Komorowski B., 2014, <http://www.rmf24.pl/fakty/polska/news-czasami-rozne-gafy-strzelam-nie-tylko-polityczna-rozmowa-z-p,nId,1480827> [accessed on 2015.01.02].
- Konarzewski M., 2005, *Na początku był głód* [In the Beginning There Was Hunger], Państwowy Instytut wydawniczy, Warszawa.
- Luke B., 1998, *Violent Love: Hunting, Heterosexuality, and the Erotics of Men's Predation*, "Feminist Studies" Vol. 24, No. 3.
- Macnaghten P., Urry J., 1999, *Contested Natures*, SAGE Publications, London – Thousand Oakes – New Delhi.
- McClintock A., 1995, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Routledge.
- http://selforganizedseminar.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/mcdintock_imperial-leather.pdf.
- Mithen S., 1996, *The Prehistory of the Mind: A Search for the Origins of Art, Religion and Science*, Thames and Hudson, London.
- Rancew-Sikora D., 2009, *Sens polowania [The Sense of Hunting]*, Scholar, Warszawa.
- Serpell J., 1996, *In the Company of Animals*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Summary

Why Do Men Kill? The Construction of Masculinity on the Basis of Hunting Practices

This article is an exploration of the ways in which discourses of hunting structure the norms of hegemonic masculinity: how these kinds of practices help shape, reinforce and validate the constructions of the dominant version of masculinity.

Keywords

masculinity, hunting, identity, violence, aggression

Hussein Bougsiaa

Institute of Pedagogy, University of Gdansk

Masculinity and the Social Violence Against Women

Men's violence against women and persons of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) identity is a phenomenon that is rarely discussed in the mainstream media except in its most horrendous and sensational forms. Even rarer is a discussion of the existence of a culture of masculinity in U.S. society that for example condones and in large part perpetuates men's violence against women and LGBT persons. In the media, men's violence is invisible or assumed as "natural" and thus inevitable. While the media's debate on masculinities and violence has been relatively silent or superficial, the scholarly debate on men's violence is vibrant, and a growing men's movement is challenging misogynistic discourses and violent aspects of masculine cultures.

There has been a scholarly debate on the cause of men's gendered violence, which was made visible by feminist scholars in the twentieth century. Several popular explanations of men's violence against women have been delegitimized for their essentialization of men and masculinities. For example, sociobiologists make no distinction between men's gender and sex, arguing that men's biological sex makes men's violence against women an inevitable aspect of their social behavior (Brownmiller, 1975). Sociobiological theories present masculinity as a static monolith; however, not all men rape, and masculinities vary intra and inter-culturally. Although men are viewed to be prone to violence because of biological impulse(s), Michael Kaufman claims that there is "no psychological, biological, or social evidence to suggest that humans [i.e., men in sociobiological theories] are not predisposed to aggression and even violence" (Kaufman 2007, p. 35). Thus, evidence of the theoretical inadequacies in biological reductionism to explain men's violence is increasingly apparent. Sociobiological arguments are less prominent in the literature to date, but current theories such as Connell's hegemonic masculinity and Kimmel's entitlement theories are problematic as well.

R. W. Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity assumes that masculinities are structured in a form of hierarchy, with "hegemonic" masculinities dominating "complicit" and "dominated" masculinities and all "empathized" femininities. This theory is rooted in structural Marxist theory and presents masculinity as a categorical and structured phenomenon (Connell, 1987).

There has even been quantitative work that empirically “validates” Connell’s hegemonic masculinity (Lusher and Robins 2010, pp. 22–30). However, Victor J. Seidler criticizes the theory of hegemonic masculinity because it does not consider how specific groups or individual men interact and negotiate with dominant discourses of masculinity. There is little emphasis on the possibility of men becoming “emotionally or psychologically damaged” by performing hegemonic masculinity in Connell’s theory. Hegemonic masculinity explains very little about men’s violence against women and other men, except in the vague terminology of “maintaining dominance”. Thus, it poses masculinities as the problem that needs to be deconstructed; there is no place for reconstituting masculinities through discourse as a potential solution for ending men’s violence against women and LGBT individuals (Seidler 2006, pp. 36–37). The reconciliatory process is indeed important to consider, as it may be an important strategy for ending all forms of men’s violence. Another problematic aspect of Connell’s theory is that it has been applied to two various cultural contexts without culture-specific modifications and it is assumed a universal theory of masculinity and power.

Michael Kimmel critiques and reworks the theorizing of power maintenance that liberal feminists in addition to radical ones developed to explain men’s violence against women. While men’s violence against women and LGBT persons as the ultimate form of violent masculinity is viewed as a drive for domination, control, and power over women and other marginalized groups, Kimmel notes that most men do not feel individually powerful, and this shows the analytical limitations of the power maintenance theories of men’s violence. He does not deny that men are collectively dominant, vis-à-vis over women and “deviant” masculinities. Therefore, Kimmel theorizes that masculinity is not “the experience of power; it is the experience of [the] entitlement to power” (Kimmel 2007, pp. 100–101). Kaufman builds upon Kimmel’s theory of entitlement by arguing that men’s violence forms a triad: violence against women, other men, and the self. Each corner of the triad reinforces the other. Thus, the links must all be severed to address properly men’s violence and hyper-masculine performance (Kaufman 2007, pp. 44–50). Kaufman rightly asserts that men must rely upon other men for emotional support (a new form of consciousness-raising) to sever the links of the triad of men’s violence (Kaufman 2007, pp. 50–53). Both Kimmel’s and Kaufman’s theories make great leaps forward in the theoretical development of the literature on men’s violence. However, they present masculinity as a monolith, with developed, western masculinity as the core model of masculinity, ignoring the various ways men and women negotiate with the dominant discourses of masculinities across cultures, especially in non-western cultures. Further, their theories cannot explain why many men do not feel entitled or seek hegemonic masculine dominance. It is time for a theory that recognizes as well the multiplicities and fluidity of masculinities, their intra- and inter-cultural variations.

Men’s negotiation and reconciliation with the dominant discourses and images of masculinity bring the need for a new theorizing of masculinities to the table. Masculinities are diverse, contextual, and fluid; men’s negotiations with these

discourses vary even further. The literature needs a theory that explains why some men are able to resolve their differences with the dominant discourses of masculinity, while others use illegitimate means such as gender violence to realize their internalized depiction of masculinity. This theory must also account for the diverse discourses and images of masculinities and their positioning in myriad contexts. Therefore, being cognizant of the criticism of monolithically theorized masculinity, we must turn to a theory that I call the relative deprivation of masculinities. Laura acknowledges that the theory of relative deprivation has merit in the study of gender violence, which I further develop to consider its usefulness in the study of men, masculinities, and violence (O'Toole 2007, pp. 77–78). Edwin Schur has applied the theory of relative deprivation to study the phenomenon of inequality and gender violence (Schur 2007, pp. 92–93). However, there has been little research that considers the explanatory power of a masculine relative deprivation, vis-à-vis male violence in a variety of contexts and cultures.

Gender-based violence is perhaps the most widespread and socially tolerated of human rights violations. It both reflects and reinforces inequities between men and women and compromises the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims (United Nations Population Fund 2005, p. 65).

Agencies of the United Nations have declared in many documents and forums that violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace. As such, women's vulnerability to violence violates and impairs enjoyment of their human rights and fundamental freedoms (www.un.org/womenwatch). It has been described by the Secretary-General of the UN as the most shameful human rights violation and perhaps the most pervasive (UNIFEM 2003, p. 8).

Decades of research and action have led to a deeper understanding of the multifaceted nature of male violence directed at women. Such acts of violence encompass human rights, health, criminal justice, economic, and social justice dimensions. However, the prevalence and breadth of women's experiences of male violence are only gradually becoming known. The World Bank estimates that, globally, violence causes more ill-health for women than malaria and traffic accidents combined, and that it is equally serious in causing death and incapacity among women of reproductive age as cancer (Amnesty International 2006, Campbell 2002). The direct and indirect economic consequences of violence against women, both at an individual and a societal level, are beginning to be documented (see e.g. Katz 2006).

Violence against women takes many forms. The 1993 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women was the first document providing an internationally agreed definition of violence as it pertains to women's experiences. Violence was defined as any act that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life. Around the world, women suffer intimate partner violence, marital rape, rape by other men known to them and by strangers, incest, feticide, sexual

harassment, trafficking for the purposes of forced labor or prostitution, dowry-related violence, honor killings, other forms of femicide, acid attacks, and female genital mutilation. These acts are considered to be “gender-based” violence because they are committed almost exclusively by men against women, and are supported by gender inequalities at the societal level (Ellsberg, Heise 2005; Murnen, Wright, Kaluzny 2002; Levinson 1989, Lewis 2005). Individual acts of violence are supported overtly or tacitly by cultural, social or religious norms and economic inequalities, which can serve to undermine legal prohibitions against such acts. The term “gender-based violence” underscores the links between women’s social and economic status and their vulnerability to male violence.

Social model of understanding men’s violence against women

Here is a paradigm shifting perspective on the issues of gender violence, sexual assault, domestic violence, relationship abuse, sexual harassment, and the sexual abuse of children. This whole range of issues I shall refer to as “Gender Violence Issues”, have been seen as women’s issues that some good men help out with, but I think there is a problem with this framing and I do not think it is adequate. I do not see these as women’s issues that some good men help with. In fact, I am going to argue that these are primarily men’s issues.

Obviously, they are also women’s issues, as by calling them gender violence the women’s issue is part of the problem, for a number of reasons. The first is that it gives men an excuse not to pay attention. Many men hear the term “women’s issues” and we tend to tune out on this, and we think “Hey, I’m a guy. That’s for the girls” or “That’s for the women”. In addition, many men literally as a result do not go beyond the first sentence. It is almost like a chip in our brain is activated, and the neural pathways take our attention in a different direction when we hear the term “women’s issues”. This is also true, by the way, of the word “gender”, because many people hear the word “gender” and they think it means “women”. Therefore, they think that gender issues are synonymous with women’s issues. There is some confusion about the term gender.

Actually, it is worth illustrating this confusion by way of analogy. So let us think for a moment about race. For example in the U.S., when they hear the word “race”, many people think that this refers to African-Americans, Latinos, Asian-Americans, Native Americans, South Asians, Pacific Islanders, on and on. Many people, when they hear the word “sexual orientation” think it means gays, lesbians, bisexuals. Moreover, many people, when they hear the word “gender”, think it means women. In each case, the dominant group is not paid attention to it. It is as if white people do not have some sort of racial identity or do not belong to some racial category or construct, and as if heterosexual people do not have a sexual orientation, as if men do not have a gender. This is one of the ways that dominant systems maintain and reproduce themselves – which is to say the domi-

nant group is rarely challenged to even think about its dominance, because that is one of the key characteristics of power and privilege, the ability to go unexamined, lacking introspection, in fact being rendered invisible in large measure in the discourse about issues that are primarily about us. Moreover, it is amazing how this works in domestic and sexual violence, how men have been largely erased from so much of the conversation about a subject that is centrally about men.

Moreover, here arises a very interesting illustration – the exercise that illustrates, at the sentence structure level, how the way that we think, literally, the way that we use language, actually conspires to keep our attention away from men. This refers to domestic violence in particular, but you can plug in other analogies. It is a work of the feminist linguist Julia Penelope.

It starts with a very basic English sentence: “John beat Mary”. John is the subject. Beat is the verb. Mary is the object. Now we move to the second sentence, which says the same thing in the passive voice. “Mary was beaten by John”. Now a whole lot has happened in one sentence. We have gone from “John beat Mary” to “Mary was beaten by John”. We have shifted our focus in one sentence from John to Mary, and you can see John is very close to the end of the sentence, close to dropping off the map of our psychic plain! In the third sentence, John is dropped, and we have, “Mary was beaten”, and now it’s all about Mary. We are not even thinking about John. It is totally focused on Mary. Over the past generation, the term we have used synonymous with “beaten” is “battered”, so we have “Mary was battered”. And the final sentence in this sequence, flowing from the others, is, “Mary is a battered woman”. So now, Mary is much identified, Mary is a battered woman is what was done to her by John in the first instance. Nevertheless, I have demonstrated that John has long ago left the conversation.

Those of us who work in the domestic and sexual violence field know that victim blaming is pervasive in this realm, which is to say, the blaming is frequently directed toward the person to whom something was done rather than the person who did it. In addition, we say things like, why do these women go out with these men? Why are they attracted to these men? Why do they keep going back? What was she wearing at that party? What a stupid thing to do. Why was she drinking with that group of people in that hotel room? This is victim blaming, and there are numerous reasons for it, but one of them is that our cognitive structure is set up to blame victims. This is unconscious. Our cognitive structure is set up to ask questions about women and women’s choices and what they are doing, thinking, and wearing. Moreover, I am not going to shout down people who ask such questions about women. They are legitimate things to ask. But let us be clear: asking questions about Mary is not going to move us anywhere in terms of preventing violence.

What we have to do is to ask a different set of questions. You can maybe see where I am going with this. The questions are not about Mary. They are about John. The questions include things like, why does John beat Mary? Why is domestic violence still a big problem in the United States and all over the world? Why do so many men abuse, physically, emotionally, verbally, and in other ways, the wom-

en and girls, and the men and boys, that they claim to love? What is going on with men? Why do so many adult men sexually abuse little girls and little boys? Why is this a common problem in for example American society, and all over the world today? Why do we hear repeatedly about new scandals erupting in major institutions like the Catholic Church or the Penn State football program or the Boy Scouts of America, on and on and on? Then in local communities all over the country and all over the world, we hear about it all the time. The sexual abuse of children. What is going on with men? Why do so many men rape women in American society and around the world? Why do so many men rape other men? Then what is the role of the various institutions in American society that are helping to produce abusive men at pandemic rates?

Of course, this is not about individual perpetrators. That is a naive way to understanding what a much deeper and more systematic social problem is. The perpetrators are not those monsters who crawl out of the swamp and come into town and do their nasty business and then retreat into the darkness. That is a very naive notion. The perpetrators are much more normal than that, and everyday than that. So the question is, what are they doing in the American society and in the world? What are the roles of various institutions in helping to produce abusive men? What is the role of religious belief systems, the sports culture, the pornography culture, the family structure, economics, and how does this intersect, and race and ethnicity – how does that intersect? How does all this work?

Once we start making these kinds of connections and asking these important and big questions, then we can talk about how we can be transformative, or, in other words, how can we do something differently? How can we change the practices? How can we change the socialization of boys and the definitions of manhood that lead to these current outcomes? These are the kind of questions that we need to be asking and the kind of work that we need to be doing, but if we are endlessly focused on what women are doing and thinking in terms of relationships or elsewhere, we are not going to get that far.

I understand that many women who have been trying to speak out about these issues, today and yesterday, and for years and years, often are shouted down for their efforts. They are called nasty names like “male-basher” and “man-hater”, or repulsive names such as “feminazi”. In addition, do you know what all this is about? It is called “kill the messenger”. It is because the women who are standing up and speaking out for themselves, and for other women as well as for men and boys, it is a statement to them to sit down and shut up, keep the current system in place, because we do not like it when people rock the boat. We do not like it when people challenge our power. You had better sit down and shut up. However, thank goodness these women have not done that. Thank goodness that we live in a world where there is so much women’s leadership that can counteract this.

And one of the powerful roles that men can play in this work is that we can say some things that sometimes women cannot say, or, better yet, we can be heard saying some things that women often cannot be heard saying: What is a problem? It is sexism. Nevertheless, it is the truth. And so one of the things that we need to say

is that we need more men who have the courage and the strength to start standing up and saying some of this stuff, and standing with women and not against them and pretending that somehow this is a battle between the sexes and other kinds of nonsense. We live in the world together.

Moreover, some of the rhetoric against feminists and others who have built the battered women's and rape crisis movements around the world, is that somehow, like I wrote, that they're anti-male. What about all the boys who are profoundly affected in a negative way by what some adult man is doing against their mother, themselves, their sisters? What about all those boys? What about all the young men and boys who have been traumatized by adult men's violence? The same system that produces men who abuse women produces men who abuse other men. And if we want to talk about male victims, then most male victims of violence are the victims of other men's violence. So this is something that both women and men have in common. We are both victims of men's violence. So we have it in our direct self-interest, not to mention the fact that most men that I know have women and girls that we care deeply about, in our families and our friendship circles, and every other way. So there are so many reasons why we need men to speak out. It seems obvious saying it out loud. Does it not? Now, the nature of the work that is going on in the sports culture and the U.S. military, in schools for example, has pioneered a kind of approach called the "bystander approach" to gender violence prevention. And I just want to give you the highlights of the bystander approach, because it is a big thematic shift, although there are lots of particulars, but the heart of it is, instead of seeing men as perpetrators and women as victims, or women as perpetrators, men as victims, or any combination in there, I am using the gender binary. I know there is more than men and women; there is more than male and female. And there are women who are perpetrators, and of course there are men who are victims. There is a whole spectrum. But instead of seeing it in the binary fashion, we focus on all of us as what we call bystanders, and a bystander is defined as anybody who is not a perpetrator or a victim in a given situation, so in other words friends, teammates, colleagues, coworkers, family members, those of us who are not directly involved in a dyad of abuse, but are embedded in social, family, work, school, and other peer culture relationships with people who might be in that situation. What do we do? How do we speak up? How do we challenge our friends? How do we support our friends? And how do we not remain silent in the face of abuse?

Now, when it comes to men and male culture, the goal is to get men who are not abusive to challenge men who are. And when I say abusive, I do not mean just men who are beating women. We are not just saying a man whose friend is abusing his girlfriend needs to stop the guy at the moment of attack. That is a naive way of creating a social change. It is along a continuum; we are trying to get men to interrupt each other. So, for example, if you are a guy and you are in a group of guys playing poker, talking, hanging out, no women present, and another guy says something sexist or degrading or harassing about women, instead of laughing along or pretending you did not hear it, we need men to say, "Hey, that's not

funny. You know, that could be my sister you are talking about, and could you joke about something else? On the other hand, could you talk about something else? I don't appreciate that kind of talk". Just like if you are a white person and another white person makes a racist comment, you would hope, I hope, that white people would interrupt that racist enactment by a fellow white person. Just like with heterosexism, if you are a heterosexual person and you yourself do not enact harassing or abusive behaviors towards people of varying sexual orientations, if you do not say something in the face of other heterosexual people doing that, then, in a sense, is not your silence a form of consent and complicity?

Well, the bystander approach is trying to give people tools to interrupt that process and to speak up and to create a peer culture climate where the abusive behavior will be seen as unacceptable, not just because it is illegal, but because it is wrong and unacceptable in the peer culture. And if we can get to the place where men who act out in sexist ways will lose status, then young men and boys who act out in sexist and harassing ways towards girls and women, as well as towards other boys and men, will lose status as a result of it. We will see a radical diminution of the abuse. Because the typical perpetrator is not sick and twisted. He is a normal guy in every other way.

Among the many great things that Martin Luther King said in his life was, "In the end, what will hurt the most are not the words of our enemies but the silence of our friends". There has been an awful lot of silence in male culture about this ongoing tragedy of men's violence against women and children. In addition, all what we really need is to break that silence, and we need more men to do that.

It is easier said than done, because it is said now, but obviously it is not easy in male culture for guys to challenge each other, which is one of the reasons why part of the paradigm shift that has to happen does not just understand these issues as men's issues, but they are also leadership issues for men. Because ultimately, the responsibility for taking a stand on these issues should not fall on the shoulders of little boys or teenage boys in high school, or college age men. It should be on adult men with power. Adult men with power are the ones we need to be holding accountable for being leaders on these issues, because when somebody speaks up in a peer culture and challenges and interrupts, he or she is being a leader, really. But on a big scale, we need more adult men with power to start prioritizing these issues, and we have not seen that yet, have we?

It is an important distinction to make, because we do not need sensitivity training. But honestly we need leadership training, because, for example, when a professional coach or a manager of a baseball team or a football team makes a sexist comment, makes a homophobic statement, makes a racist comment, there will be discussions on the sports blogs and in sports talk radio. And some people will say, "Well, he needs sensitivity training". And other people will say, that's political correctness run amok, and he made a stupid statement. The real argument is he does not need sensitivity training. He needs leadership training, because he is being a bad leader, because in a society with gender diversity and sexual diversity and racial and ethnic diversity, if you make those kinds of comments, you are failing

at your leadership. If we can make this point that was made to powerful men and women in our society at all levels of institutional authority and power, it is going to change, it is going to change the paradigm of people's thinking.

For example, the survey which has been implemented at a lot of colleges, and universities athletics activities throughout North America, showed so much about how to prevent domestic and sexual violence. There is no excuse for a college or university to not have domestic and sexual violence prevention training mandated for all student athletes, coaches, administrators, as part of their educational process (Anderson, Cooper, Okamura 2007; Baumgartner 1993; Crenshaw 2010). We know enough to know that we can easily do this. But you know what is missing? The leadership. But it is not the leadership of student athletes. It is the leadership of the athletic director, the president of the university, and the people in charge who make decisions about resources and who make decisions about priorities in the institutional settings. That is a failure, in most cases, of men's leadership.

Let us take the already mentioned Penn State as an example. Penn State is the mother of all teachable moments for the bystander approach. There were so many situations in that realm where men in powerful positions failed to act to protect children, in this case, boys. It is unbelievable but when you get into it, you realize there are pressures on men. There are constraints within peer cultures on men, which is why we need to encourage men to break through those pressures.

And one of the ways to do that is to say there is an awful lot of men who care deeply about these issues. Working with men, working with tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of men for many decades to come would be useful and helpful to reveal the caring men on this issue, but caring deeply is not enough. We need more men with the guts, with the courage, with the strength, with the moral integrity, to break our complicit silence and challenge each other and stand with women and not against them. However, we owe it to women. There is no question about it. But we also owe it to our sons. We also owe it to young men who are growing up all over the world in situations where they did not make the choice to be a man in a culture that tells them that manhood is a certain way. They did not make the choice. We that have a choice have an opportunity and a responsibility to them as well.

Hoping that this will go forward, men and women working together, can begin the change and the transformation that will happen so that future generations will not have the level of tragedy that we deal with on a daily basis.

- Finally, the brave groups of women who dare to speak up on the ground, in country after country, should not have to wage this fight in despairing and lonely isolation. They should hear the voices of scientific thunder. You understand the connections between violence against women and vulnerability to the virus. No one can challenge your understanding (Fedler, Tanzer 2000).

- One in three women may suffer from abuse and violence in her lifetime. This is an appalling human rights violation, yet it remains one of the invisible and under-recognized pandemics of our time (Levinson 1989)

Literature

- Alvazzi del Frate A., 1998, *Victims of Crime in the Developing World*, United Nations Inter-regional Crime and Justice Research Institute, Rome.
- Amnesty International, 2006, Hong Kong: Amnesty International briefing to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. Amnesty International. http://www.amnesty.org.hk/materials/HK_briefing_CEDAW_text.pdf
- Anderson L., Cooper H., Okamura L., 2007, *Individual differences and attitudes toward rape: A meta-analytic review*, "Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin" Vol. 23.
- Artz L., 1998, *Access to Justice for Rural Women: Special Focus on Violence against Women*, Institute of Criminology, Social Justice Resource Project, University of Cape Town. Report prepared for the Black Sash.
- Bachman R., Saltzman L., 1995, *Violence against women: Estimates from the redesigned survey*, Research in Brief. NCJ 154348, National Institute of Justice, Washington.
- Bachman R., Taylor B., 1994, *The measurement of family violence and rape by the redesigned National Crime Victimization Survey*, "Justice Quarterly", Vol. 11.
- Bandura A., 1977, *Social Learning Theory*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Baumgartner M. P., 2009, *Violent networks: the origins and management of domestic conflict* [in:] Brown L., Lamb S., Tappan M., *Packaging boyhood: Saving our sons from super-heroes, slackers and other media stereotypes*, St. Martin's, New York.
- Brownmiller S., 1975, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*, Simon and Schuster, New York.
- Campbell J., Garcia-Moreno C., Sharps P., 2004, *Abuse during pregnancy in industrialized and developing countries*, „Violence against Women”, Vol. 10.
- Campbell J., 2002, *Health consequences of intimate partner violence*, „Lancet” Vol. 359.
- Campbell J., Lewandowski L., 1997, *Mental and physical health effects of intimate partner violence on women and children*, „Psychiatric Clinics of North America” Vol. 20.
- Clatterbaugh K., 1998, *What is Problematic about Masculinities?*, „Men and Masculinities” Vol. 1.
- Connell R. W., Messerschmidt J. W., 2005, *Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept*, „Gender & Society” Vol. 19.
- Crenshaw K., 2010, *Intersectionality and Identity Politics: Learning from Violence against Women of Color*, [in:] W.K. Kolmar, F. Bartkowski (eds.), *Feminist Theory: A Reader*, McGraw-Hill, New York.
- DeKeseredy W. S., Schwartz M. D., 2005, *Masculinities and Interpersonal Violence* [in:] R. W. Connell, J. Hearn, M.S. Kimmel (eds.), *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Ellsberg M., Heise L., 2005, *Researching Violence against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists*, World Health Organization, PATH, Washington DC.
- Embrick D. G., Walther C. S., Wickens C. M., 2007, *Working Class Masculinity: Keeping Gay Men and Lesbians out of the Workplace*, "Sex Roles", Vol. 56.
- Fedler J., Motara S., Webster N., 2000, *beyond the facelift: The legal system's need for a change of heart*, [in:] Y. Jung Park, J. Fedler, Z. Dangoor (eds.), *Reclaiming Women's Spaces. New Perspectives in Violence Against Women and Sheltering in South Africa*, Nisaa Institute for Women's Development, Johannesburg.

- Fedler J., Tanzer Z., 2000, *A world in denial. International perspectives on violence against Women* [in:] Y. Jung Park, J. Fedler, Z. Dangoor (eds.), *Reclaiming Women's Spaces. New Perspectives on violence against women in South Africa*, Nisaa Institute for Women's Development, Johannesburg.
- Felson R., Tedeschi J., (eds.), 1993, *Aggression and Violence: Social Interactionist Perspectives*, American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.
- Gurr T.R., 1970, *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Katz J., 2006, *The Macho Paradox: Why Some Men Hurt Women and How All Men Can Help?*, Sourcebooks, Naperville.
- Kaufman M., 2007, *The Construction of Masculinity and the Triad of Men's Violence*, [in:] L.L. O'Toole (ed.), *Gender Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, New University Press, New York.
- Kimmel M., 2008, *Contextualizing Men's Violence: The Personal Meets the Political*, [in:] M. Kimmel (ed.), *Guyland: The Perilous World Where Boys Become Men*, Harper Collins Publishers, New York.
- Levinson D., 1989, *Family Violence in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Sage, Newbury Park, CA.
- Lewis S., 2005, *Race Against Time*, House of Anansi Press, Toronto.
- Lusher D., Robins G., 2010, *A Social Network Analysis of Hegemonic and Other Masculinities*, „The Journal of Men's Studies“ Vol. 18.
- Messerschmidt, J.W., 2005, *Men, Masculinities, and Crime* [in:] R.W. Connell, J. Hearn, M.S. Kimmel (eds.), *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Murnen S., Wright C., Kaluzny G., 2002, *If 'boys will be boys', then girls will be victims? A meta-analytic review of the research that relates masculine ideology to sexual aggression*, „Sex Roles“ Vol. 46.
- O'Toole L.L., 2007, *Gender Violence in the United States*, [in:] L.L. O'Toole (ed.), *Gender Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, New University Press, New York.
- O'Toole L.L., 2007, *Gender Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, New University Press, New York.
- Sanday P.R., 1990, *Fraternity Gang Rape: Sex, Brotherhood, and Privilege on Campus*, New York University Press, New York.
- Schur E., 2007, *Sexual Coercion in American Life*, [in:] L.L. O'Toole (ed.), *Gender Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, New University Press, New York.
- Seidler V. J., 2006, *Transforming Masculinities: Men, Culture, Bodies, Power, Sex and Love*, Routledge, New York.

Summary

Masculinity and Social Violence Against Women

Men's violence against women and persons of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) identity is a phenomenon that is rarely discussed in the mainstream media except in its most horrendous and sensational forms. Even rarer is a discussion of a culture of masculinity in U.S. society, for example, that condones and in large part perpetuates men's violence against women and LGBT persons. In the media, men's violence is invis-

ible or assumed as “natural” and thus inevitable. While the media’s debate on masculinities and violence has been relatively silent or superficial, the scholarly debate on men’s violence is vibrant, and a growing men’s movement is challenging misogynistic discourses and violent aspects of masculine cultures.

Keywords

masculinity, violence, women, aggression, socialization’

Aneta Kokot

Kujawy and Pomorze University in Bydgoszcz

The Sexual Aspect of Mobbing in Schools in the Relations Between the Head and the Teacher: Nature, Manifestations, Implications

Today we are observing a shift in the paradigm of reform, which goes from innovation to schools' organisational development. This entails, among other things, the tendency to grant the schools and the teachers more autonomy and responsibility by respecting their rights and supporting them in becoming subjects in the education system (Potulicka 2006, p. 8). The growing independence of schools and the expansion of the scope of personal liberty are among the reasons why this change is most visible in the relations between the head and the teacher. Naturally, such a vision of school also implies that more and more attention is dedicated to these interactions. It is necessary to bear in mind that the teacher acts as an employee who is dependent on their superior, i.e. the headmaster or the headmistress of the school. When approaching the issue in this context, it is important to stress that the teachers are exposed to numerous risks, which are typical of their employment relationship, e.g. sexual harassment or mobbing. These in turn are considered unethical phenomena whose occurrence in a workplace threatens the subjectivity of the human-worker, and violates the constitutional right to dignity and the respect for freedom.

Although the awareness among society regarding psychological (and sexual) harassment in the working environment is growing, the literature on this matter continues to underperform in terms of representing, demonstrating, analysing, and explaining the mechanisms that govern the causes, the process, and the results of this phenomenon. For these reasons, the content of the present article is dedicated to mobbing in workplaces, to sexual harassment, and to what is closely related to discrimination on the grounds of gender in the working environment. The following paragraphs will describe the subtle manifestations of the sexual behaviours of perpetrators, which will be approached as a particular dimension of mobbing.

Every unethical workplace behaviour or hostility among co-workers causes a disturbance to the subjective relation between the employees, which in turn affects the humanising nature of work. The view that humans hate their work,

as they feel it imprisons them and cheats on them, becomes increasingly widespread (Furmanek 2008, p. 105). The contemporary working situation of teachers, who face mass redundancies, triggers humans' survival instincts, which elicit an array of the worst, and the most dehumanising behaviours. This leads to occupational stress and pathological behaviours in both the head-teacher, and the teacher-teacher, relations. The representatives of pedeutology are engaged in an interesting debate on the issue of employees as subjects of work. It includes, *inter alia*, carrying out studies that link the risks the teachers are exposed to with the difficult working situation in schools (Kopciewicz 2011; Pyżalski 2010; Merez 2010). Furmanek has also contributed to this debate with a stirring idea consisting of approaching the threats, and even the pathologies of working life, as a form of enslavement through work and an alienation of work. The World Health Organisation forecasts that the globalisation and the introduction of new technologies and solutions will aggravate depression and stress among the employees. Given the fact that we live in an ageing society, and that the highest stress is reported among the employees in the 45-55 age group (European Agency for Safety and Health at Work 2009, p. 22), the level of stress is bound to grow. The research carried out by the European Agency for Safety and Health at Work reveals that stress affects most deeply the workers of the healthcare, transportation, communication, and education sectors. The psychosocial stressors – as they are referred to in the report – in the profession of teachers include, among others:

- high pace of work, related to pressing deadlines;
- pace of work induced by external requirements;
- unexpected interruptions of work (i.e. free time between classes);
- maladjustment of the workplace to teachers' needs and skills;
- mobbing and sexual harassment.

The notion of mobbing is both multidimensional and multiform, hence it is necessary to keep in mind its interdisciplinarity. The terminology proposed by Polish literature on the issue of mobbing is based on foreign publications from the 1980s and 1990s. Therefore, rather than fully relying on the described theoretical and research achievements, caution is advisable, as there is a risk of an overly literal transference and introduction of certain terms with regards to educational theory and practice without prior scientific research in the relevant field, which I consider a *sine qua non* condition. To better comprehend the essence of mobbing, it is important to understand and present terms which the literature links closely to this pathology, but does not consider as its integral part. These conceptual categories are referred to as discrimination and sexual harassment.

As Agata Lankamer and Patrycja Potocka-Szmoń rightly observe, it is necessary to take into account two factors when discerning discrimination from permanent violence. Discrimination is a singular act, not a process as in the case of mobbing. Secondly: in the event of a court trial in relation to mobbing, the burden of proof lies with the employee, while in discrimination cases it is the employer who needs to prove that the differentiation between the members of staff was based on objective and not discriminatory criteria (Lankamer, Potocka-Szmoń 2006, p. 12–13).

With regards to teachers, the discrimination on grounds of sex that may imply the development of sexual harassment is an interesting phenomenon. The question of sex, especially in the context of occupational hazards and access to the labour market, is a relatively new and dynamically developing issue. According to the Educational Research Institute report, the sector is dominated by women, who represent approx. 80% of all employed teachers. It appears that the feminisation of this profession is one of the causes for women to suffer violence in their working environment. According to the research by D. Walczak (2012) and the European Risk Observatory (European Agency for Safety and Health at Work 2009), as well as the data collected by the Stowarzyszenie Antymobbingowe w Bydgoszczy (Bydgoszcz Anti-mobbing Association), sex is not a factor for experiencing stress or violence in workplace, but it does, however, affect the interpretation of its perception. In 2005, 23.3% of men and 21% of women in the EU reported experiencing stress. The share of victims of violence, both among women and men, is proportionate to the number of persons employed and also grows proportionately. For heads of schools who resort to mobbing, sex is not the dominant category. According to the Educational Information System, women represent 76.8% of all heads of schools, while the remaining 23.2% is male. As in the case of the victims, the number of perpetrators is proportionate to the employment structure. In her 2012 report, Walczak indicates that "... everything depends on the personality of the teacher and their contacts with the students" (Walczak 2012, p. 105). The respondents and the heads of schools defined the aspects in which the subtle differences between teachers of the two sexes were visible. These include the following (Walczak 2012):

- greater authority of a male teacher;
- difficult contact and limited trust of pubescent girls toward male teachers; (unwillingness to share secrets, distance);
- sexual innuendos of male students with respect to young female teachers;
- in the face of the increasing number of children from broken families, the presence of both male and female teachers plays an important pedagogical and educational role;
- men fear being accused of harassment;
- women are more meticulous, while men tend to be more focused on specific tasks;
- women are more systematic and timely, and therefore they care more about documentation;
- women are more empathic, and it is easier for them to understand the situation of the students, while men tend to have issues with this aspect;
- women react to various situations more personally;
- woman gossip more often, which spoils the atmosphere in the school;
- women complain more;
- men are better at handling stress.

The aspects listed above should constitute a step forward in scientific investigations on the assessment of occupational risks in the context of the sexes. This is not as relevant for the superior-employee relations in the educational sector as

it is in other professions, especially those dominated by men holding managerial positions, e.g. the health service, where discrimination on grounds of sex can play a key role. The research on bullying against girls, conducted by Lucyna Kopciewicz, seems particularly intriguing. The authoress points to the disinterest of educational authorities and accurately notes that “[...] the curricula and professional development programmes do not take into account the issues of emancipation and anti-discrimination” (Kopciewicz 2011, p. 181). Referring to earlier research, she indicates that no preventative actions or any other initiatives are undertaken to address sexual harassment in schools or the matters of sexual stereotyping, androcentric language and school communication. The most visible manifestation of discrimination on the grounds of sex is the sexual harassment. As of the 1 January 2004, the Labour Code lists the notion of sexual harassment, which is understood as “any unwanted conduct of a sexual nature, or in relation to the sex of an employee, with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of an employee, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive atmosphere; this conduct may include physical, verbal or non-verbal elements” (Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment 2009, pp. 2–3). Apart from physical contact, i.e. “groping”, other manifestations of this phenomenon include:

- staring;
- “jokes” with sexual innuendos;
- comments on clothing and appearance;
- double entendre gestures;
- sexual proposals;
- erotic allusions;
- comments on talents or the lack of such in relation to one’s sex;
- placing images or posters presenting female or male nudes in common spaces (e.g. office rooms).

There are two types of sexual harassment: the so-called *quid pro quo*, when a superior offers the employee a raise or other privileges in return for sexual services (Warylewski 1999, p. 176) and abuse through the creation of a hostile working environment. The latter refers to a situation in which an employee feels harassed by their colleagues, e.g. a woman whose male colleagues put images of naked women on the walls. It can be asserted that sexual harassment is treated as a violation of human dignity in the workplace (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 2002). The European Commission defines it as “unwanted sexual conduct or any other behaviour that refers to gender, which violates the dignity of women and men in their workplace. The definition includes: unwanted, inappropriate, or offensive conduct; conduct that affects the decisions associated with employment; conduct that creates an intimidating, hostile or humiliating working environment” (Agency for Safety and Health at Work 2009, p. 62). The third study on working conditions revealed that 2% of respondents have experienced sexual harassment in the past 12 months.

Women are far more exposed to harassment than men (4% vs. 2%), especially in professions dominated by men (Agency for Safety and Health at Work 2009,

p. 62). European studies also show that 30–50% of women and approx. 10% of men have experienced some form of sexual harassment or unwanted sexual conduct in their workplaces. Men perceive harassment as less offensive and experience its negative consequences less frequently (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 2002). In Poland, 1 out of 20 women admits having been the target of inappropriate sexual behaviour (Wenzel 2007, p. 8). Sexual harassment is a phenomenon that eludes simple diagnosis, as its victims feel guilty of its occurrence, which discourages them from disclosing it. Additionally, the targets' social environment often considers (e.g. the school environment) them complicit in the occurrence of the situation. The reasons why victims do not seek assistance include, *inter alia*, the fear of losing their job or the fear of stigmatisation in the working environment.

Although the Polish and the foreign literature explore sexual harassment as an independent pathology of working life, there can be a causal link between this kind of abuse and the phenomenon of mobbing. Once a woman or a man refuses their superior to carry out a sexual act, they can fall victim to the ensuing antagonistic behaviour. The European directive on equal treatment (Directive 2002/73/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 September 2002 amending Council Directive 76/207/EEC) prohibits sexual harassment in the workplace, considering it to be a form of discrimination. The key elements of workplace policy against sexual harassment include such activities as:

- a clear, context-relevant definition of sexual harassment;
- detailed provisions on preventative measures;
- a procedure for filing complaints and designation of a person responsible for their handling;
- protection and support to harassed employees;
- sanctions for persons guilty of harassment;
- supporting initiatives, such as dedicated training programmes and education of persons responsible for the implementation of the procedures (Agency for Safety and Health at Work 2009, p. 63).

The issue of mobbing should be analysed from different, interdisciplinary perspectives, without disregarding the significance of the humanities, or the social (psychology, sociology, pedagogy) or legal sciences. Also, pedeutology and general didactics that focus on the context of labour studies contribute to the interesting achievements and experience in this field. The perspective of labour pedagogy plays a particularly important role in the debate. In Poland, mobbing became a subject of attention in the second half of the 1990s, and saw a significant growth of interest after the accession of Poland to the European Union. Yet the quality of knowledge and research in the field remains unsatisfactory. Therefore, there is a prevailing need for its expansion and of raising awareness with regard to this phenomenon. This can be achieved by collecting information from other fields of science and by use of the works of Polish and foreign scholars.

Psychological violence¹ is an interdisciplinary, multidimensional term, which causes the analysis from the sole perspective of pedagogical science to be inadequate and incapable of securing an objectivity of observation and assessment. The issue of mobbing attracts scholars from numerous fields, such as psychology, sociology, pedagogics, and other labour-related sciences. These disciplines also set the context in which this paper will attempt to define the causes, the process, and the impact that mobbing has on the working environment. Heinz Leymann is one of the researchers who created a solid theoretical basis for approaching the issue. He views moral harassment as a hostile, unethical, and systematically repeated conduct aimed against one or several persons. Mobbing renders the targets helpless and deprives them of their capacity to defend themselves. Also, the victims will remain in such a situation for as long as the mobbing activities continue. Such conduct takes place very often (statistically at least once per week) and continues throughout prolonged periods (statistically at least half a year). The high frequency and the extended time of exposure to hostile behaviours cause psychosomatic and social harm in the victims. Notably, in order to be considered mobbing, the conduct that is considered hostile and unethical needs to take place over a specified time and at a specified frequency. Such an interpretation of mobbing eliminates singular occurrences of such behaviour and points to the continuous and periodic nature of the violence. What provokes the debate is the time period included in this definition (at least half a year). The question whether such a precise criterion should be employed for diagnosing mobbing in the working environment remains open. Although current literature on psychological harassment does not focus heavily on this provision, for many institutions that support victims this requirement is indispensable for diagnosing mobbing. Meanwhile each person has a different "threshold of tolerance" to experiencing negative behaviours and it is this subjectivity of perception that lies at the base of the controversies.

French researcher Marie F. Hirigoyen offers a more in-depth perspective on the issue. She expands Leymann's concept by adding a psychological background for the use of psychological violence in order to locate the sources of the broadly understood psychological manipulations of other persons. In her interpretation, moral harassment includes all abusive behaviours (gestures, words, acts, attitudes) that, through their repetitiveness or systematic nature, violate the dignity and physical or psychological integrity of an individual and constitute a threat to their future professional career and degrade the atmosphere in the workplace (Hirigoyen 2003, p. 11). Doubtlessly, the author points to two highly important components, which will constitute the basis for my further considerations. As a starting point, Hirigoyen selects the repetitiveness of activities, which distinguishes singular violent acts from permanent psychological violence, while noting simulta-

¹ Both in Polish and international literature there is an on-going debate on the harmonisation of the terminology related to psychological violence in working environment. For the purpose of this article, the notions of mobbing, psychological harassment and moral harassment will be used interchangeably and treated as the same working life pathology.

neously that mobbing begins by emotional blackmail between two individuals in working circumstances. As for the interpretation of mobbing, a definition by two Polish scholars is worth noting, i.e. the approach proposed by Agata Bechowska-Gebhardt and Tadeusz Stalewski. The authors define mobbing as “unethical activity that is irrational from the standpoint of the goals of the organisation, and consists of long-lasting, repetitive, and unfounded abuse of a worker by their superiors or co-workers [...] with the aim of intimidation, humiliation, and limiting of their capacity to defend themselves. Although the perception of this phenomenon is subjective, it is intersubjectively verifiable. It is a multiphase process in which the perpetrator applies an array of manipulation methods, ranging from the most subtle and imperceptible to the most drastic ones, that result in victim’s social isolation, self-depreciation, a sense of guilt, helplessness, and rejection by co-workers, which eventually lead to high stress and somatic and psychological diseases” (Bechowska-Gebhardt, Stalewski 2004, p. 14). The definition above points to the aspects that reveal the complexity of this phenomenon. These include, among others:

1. the process nature of the phenomenon, which indicates that conflict situations, their posterior phases, and the eventual psychological terror, form a sequence of consecutive events;
2. the subjective nature of the phenomenon that can be verified intersubjectively;
3. groundlessness, i.e. mobbing takes place irrespectively of any specific complaints with regards to the performance of the victim (targets include persons who represent a potential threat to the perpetrator/person who resorts to the psychological terror);
4. the multi-aspect and internally diversified nature of mobbing, i.e. numerous factors that shape the occurrence and the process, which include: personality, qualifications and professional competences, cultural and social factors, and position in the workplace hierarchy;
5. manipulative dispositions – Hirigoyen holds that the perpetrators are extremely proficient in manipulating persons who they choose to convert into scapegoats. They subtly win over others, and create their own positive image in the eyes of their co-workers. They manipulate words in order to reach their own objectives (Hirigoyen 2003, p. 16).

When examining the *homo unius libri*, one inevitably sees the deficiencies of the scientific standpoints. The résumé of current literature distinguishes the elements of mobbing that in the light of contemporary theoretical and research approaches should be extended.

Thus far the literature has indicated that:

1. mobbing originates exclusively from conflicts (Leymann), and its causes include social factors, the personality of the head of the organisation, as well as the particular position of the victim;
2. the perpetrator undertakes their activities consciously;
3. the time factor is necessary to define mobbing (at least throughout half a year, once per week);

4. physical and sexual violence are considered a form of mobbing;
5. a victim cannot become a perpetrator of violence;
6. entire responsibility for the situation lies with the abuser.

It should be noted that caution is advisable rather than fully relying on the current theoretical and research achievements, as there is a risk of an overly literal transference and introduction of certain terms with regards to the educational theory and practice, especially in the face of lacking scientific research in this scope.

The extension should, above all else, include the following issues:

1. mobbing stems from an open conflict (Heinz Leymann), from a hidden conflict (Marie F. Hirigoyen; Susan Forward), as well as from the disruption of communication between the individuals in the school due to specific dispositions of the perpetrator;
2. the head of the school may undertake their actions both consciously and unconsciously (in the case of an emotional blackmailer);
3. while varying resistance to stress causes discussions over the time factor, the activities that are considered mobbing must take place periodically and in a systematic manner;
4. physical and sexual violence are not to be considered mobbing;
5. a victim of a manipulator (mobbing) may place themselves as a target as a result of the accumulation of anger, frustration, or powerful experiences;
6. to initiate their game, the manipulator must find a person who will permit it, i.e. a person susceptible to emotional blackmail (Kokot 2011, pp. 17–18).

A 2013 quantitative and qualitative study² identifies and classifies manifestations of mobbing behaviours taking into consideration the sexual innuendos produced by the perpetrators of violence – an issue which has not been adequately explored or defined by the current literature in the field of mobbing-related studies. The narratives of the teachers are consistent in reporting the presence of sex-

² The quantitative and qualitative study was carried out in 2013 at the Kujawsko-Pomorski Section of the B. Grabowska Anti-mobbing Association in Bydgoszcz. The research covered general education teachers. The statistical analysis that was carried out indicated that 46 respondents did experience or continue to experience mobbing, while 86 did not suffer from mobbing. Considering the fact that the sample consisted of 132 persons it is both surprising and troubling that almost one third of persons that contacted the B. Grabowska Anti-Mobbing Association in Bydgoszcz were exposed to mobbing. Out of 30 teachers that were invited to participate in the narrative interviews (after prior phone conversations), 10 teachers declined definitively and 20 persons agreed to participate in the study; 6 of these persons withdrew several days after the interview date was established and 4 resigned after the preliminary phase of the interview. Eventually 7 interviews with general education teachers who were experiencing mobbing were conducted in person. A refusal or a withdrawal from an interview happens quite frequently and is typical of persons recently exposed to mobbing or those who are undergoing the adjustment phase of pharmaceutical treatment in a psychiatric therapy. The persons who turned to BGAA and withdrew shortly afterwards were emotionally dysregulated, highly tearful and neurotic. They feared that someone might overhear them and pass on all the information to their superior. They suffered from a paranoia of sorts, fearing that literally everyone in the room knew the headmaster and would surely report only the bad things that were said about him. Such state is typical of victims of violence. Therefore, under such circumstances the refusal to participate in a study, and specifically in the interviews, is unsurprising.

ual, if not perverted, conduct in the contacts with this kind of perpetrators. While the literature on the subject associates sexual perversions with the pathology of sexual harassment, Leymann sees these activities as mobbing, when addressing the issues of mobbing. Moreover, inadequate attention is dedicated to the directions and the moments of occurrence of pathological behaviours. This means that the study reveals manifestations of sexual behaviours only in the case of perverse narcissistic individuals – an issue that has not been identified in the research conducted thus far. Hirigoyen contributes greatly to this matter, as she defines the perpetrators of violence as perverse-narcissistic individuals. The goal is not to stigmatise the heads of schools by unambiguously defining their guilt, but rather to define a certain set of behaviours that is typical of the abusers. In the Polish language the word “perverse” indicates a degeneration or distortion, pointing to deviations of psychological reactions in terms of drives in the sphere of thoughts and feelings, e.g. sexual perversion. Pinel’s works (1809), a breakthrough in the understanding of perversion, relate all the pathologies to a multiplicity of instincts. Pinel defined perversions, antisocial behaviours, or kleptomania as “...manias without delirium” (Hirigoyen 2002, p. 122), while the word narcissism owes its functioning in literature to Sigmund Freud who used it in 1910 in his research on homosexuality³. The DSM-IV international manual of mental disorders does not list narcissistic perversion among personality disorders (though it does, however, contain a category of narcissistic personality). As Hirigoyen points out, referring to the works of Kernberg (1975), the narcissistic pathology is convergent with what we describe today as a narcissistic perversion. Kernberg describes it in the following terms: “a sense of greatness, extreme egocentrism, and a complete lack of empathy. Still such individuals seek admiration and approval. These patients feel a particularly strong envy towards persons who they imagine to possess things which they themselves do not have, or towards those who seem to enjoy their life. Not only do they lack emotional depth and are incapable of understanding the complex emotions of others, but also their own emotions do not display much variation, and manifest themselves in a form of short, quickly subsiding bursts” (Hirigoyen 1975). The scholar mentioned above accurately attempted to capture the essence of the perpetrators of moral harassment by assigning their *modus operandi* to specific categories. Due to inadequate terminological solutions offered by the literature, for the purposes of this article, the selected behaviours are referred to as “dispositions”. The studied teachers note that an abuser with such dispositions:

has an overgrown ego, that is... I’d say it’s a larger version of Narcissus. (interview 3)

and uses the language to, *inter alia*, degrade a woman to a role of an object.

³ Freud borrowed this term from the works of Paul Näcke. The word “narcissism” was taken from Ovid’s myth, which depicts a narcissistic man who believes that he can find himself in the act of look at his own reflection in the mirror [Freud 1991, p. 273 and further].

But other than that he was famous for his dirty jokes. About women too, in general he was a real champion in this regard. I've heard he had a substantial repertoire. (interview 6)

He wanted to be funny, but these jokes were erotic, sexual. So this was the subject of the jokes, and younger teachers, the girls, would at first giggle, laugh. I'm very sensitive to this matter; after all I've had a long teaching career. (interview 3)

Referring this type of dispositions to the profiles proposed by T. Beck and A. Freeman, D. D. Davis draws a clear picture of a narcissistic personality. For such persons the strategy consists of, *inter alia*, pursuing splendour, riches, high power, and prestige. They are fiercely competitive towards persons who they consider to usurp the rights to such high status (Hirigoyen 2002, p. 47). Their main emotion is anger when they do not receive the adequate admiration, and in the case of unmasking, they easily succumb to depression (Hirigoyen 2002, p. 48). This description of the dispositions of the abusers should pave the way for further research and analyses, especially in the context of the psychological and psychiatric sciences. Also the issue of the intentionality of mobbers' actions and their awareness of the damage they inflict requires further analyses. Thus far, the literature on mobbing often presents a view that mobbing undertaken by the abuser is always intentional and conscious. Possibly, such an approach is justifiable to a high degree. However, the teachers who participated in the study point to the unconscious aspect of such conduct, and it seems that psychology and psychiatry can offer some insight on this matter, especially in the area of personality disorders. It appears that personality factors can determine the intentionality or the non-intentionality of mobbing activities – a fact that requires detailed research and interpretation by means of scientific studies. It should be reiterated that sexual violence and mobbing represent separate pathologies, which can, however, retain causal links. What is striking, though, is the conformity of the narratives of the interviewees. Each of them who faced this type of abuser (i.e. only a narcissistic-perverse type) pointed to the sexual and perverted manifestations. This thread requires, in a longer perspective, a more thorough investigation in the scope of the humanities, social, and medical studies. At this stage it is appropriate to stress that each person possesses traits that can be considered perverse or narcissistic. The typical ones include e.g. the need for admiration or lack of criticism. If they appear individually and incidentally, they are harmless – according to Hirigoyen, every human has a grain of perversion in themselves (Hirigoyen 2002, p. 121). This only becomes an issue if these traits appear alternately and periodically. What differentiates a narcissistic person from a person who simply behaved in a wrong way is the sense of guilt related to the harm that has been done. Although sexual harassment can affect both men and women, it is women who experience it more frequently. Among other things, this is caused by the socio-cultural patterns of education. Women are usually brought up in the spirit of submissiveness to male

dominance and the androgynous language it entails. It is also far easier to place them in a relationship of dependency. Having learnt non-aggressive behaviours in interpersonal contacts, women do not defend themselves, as according to the social norms, this would be un-feminine. In a statement presented below, an interviewee from the interview 1 describes the evening conversation she had with her headmaster on the matter of sex:

It was a girl from the second grade who came to me. She lived outside Bydgoszcz. We also had this very handsome boy in school, who was so aggressive that he was given individual teaching, as he was a threat to other pupils. But you know, at this age all that counts for a girl is looks, so she got infatuated with him. So, supposedly she went on soliciting him and this led to a sexual encounter, allegedly more than once, on the staircase of his house. And you know, I know the details, but it's hard to talk about it. The word got through to the headmaster. I don't know, I think it was the neighbours who reported on them. She was at his place, skipping classes. Allegedly, there were some hard-core, perverted pornographic things going on. At least the story said so. So, you have the teaching staff meeting, late evening, wintertime. At that time it was all good with us. No conflict. The meeting is ending. Empty streets. I was afraid of walking home in such situations – it's not a safe neighbourhood. And then he goes and says that I should stay. The school is getting empty, even his wife had left. We were completely by ourselves in this empty school. Oh, and this whole sex thing was, supposedly, with violence, completely perverted. As it turned out later, this was important. He invites me to his office, we sit in the office and he starts talking of the things he heard. Seemingly there was nothing about this conversation that could make me anxious, but at a certain point I felt fear. I'm sitting there and he starts talking. At first – it's not that easy to shock me with such talk – I jokingly commented, while listening about all this violence, that according to Brazilian tradition, if he hits her, he loves her. At that point I didn't know what he was driving at. I think I wanted to shallow the conversation. Hm... I'm still not sure if I should be talking about it, because I don't know if this was the actual nature of this event, or was it my sick, frightened imagination. And then he started telling me about it in an "aaaawful" great lot of details; the school is empty, it's just the two of us, and he tells me of these intimate situations, right off the bat he talks of all this perversion, violence, etc. And suddenly I realise that he understood my phrasing as some kind of acceptance of perversion. And he got so engaged in telling me the tiniest of details that, first thing, I started to wonder how did he know all that. Secondly, things got weird and I started to be afraid. I blabbed, maybe irresponsibly, I don't know. Such things happened quite often here, so my eyes didn't go wide open, I wasn't shocked that yet another girl... The air got stiff. I sunk deeper and deeper into the armchair and completely buttoned up. This was completely sick. And he's all like... and now all of a sudden he stops talking about Ewa, the schoolgirl, and he starts telling me a story about his friend from the university who had a husband who brutalised her and that this satisfied her sexually. And that's when I became really frightened and started dreading that this would not end well. I cannot explain rationally why. I don't know. I just asked him if that was it, and if could go. I didn't know how to make it end, because I could see he was getting turned on. (interview 1)

Violence, power, and mobbing become mainly the domain of perverse men. For the interviewed women it was mainly the sex-related jokes and touching that were the case, while voyeurism affected mainly girl students.

We wouldn't have him indulge in such foul jokes with us present, and it was only later that we've learnt that he once approached one of our younger colleagues, the youngest one. She had dyed her hair and she came to school with this newly dyed hair and he goes, and this was supposed to be a joke: "did she have all of her hair dyed?" That's what he told her. I've heard she was outraged. So you know... we didn't like that. (interview 3)

Each perverse human seeks dominance and power also through assigning others the responsibilities that, should things go wrong, can backfire on someone else instead of them. This type of person is never guilty of anything and "never gets his hands dirty". If a secret is revealed, they will come out impeccably clean. Such construction and camouflage of oneself remains an indicator of the diagnosis, which is related to the vision of a perfect man in the eyes of other teaching staff. The headmaster would spy on girls in the changing rooms when they were getting ready for their PE classes, and what's symptomatic, he only had classes with girls, and only those from the first grade of lower secondary school.

Just like that, when the girls were changing for their school sports club classes. Just like that he would enter their changing room and talk while the girls were changing. I'm not accusing him of, God forbid, you know what, I don't have any proof. I think that he went overboard in that respect. He was simply contacting these girls, women you could say. He would just go there and talk to them, they would get dressed and talk to him and just walk around. A thing exactly like that definitely happened, hundred per cent. (interview 6)

It is reasonable to presume that the interviewee's refusal to carry out an order (the teacher refused to watch over the girls and stand in the doorway while they were changing for their PE classes) contributed to his dismissal. Firstly, the period between the occurrence of the situation and the dismissal was rather short. Simultaneously it would be an element of removing witnesses, who could threaten the abuser in the future and attest to their sexual practices.

And the headmaster tells we should actually be in the girls' changing room. I say, "in what way should we be in the changing room?" He says: "Please open the door and stand facing outside. The door is to remain ajar. The changing room is here, and I'm supposed to stand here. The door is to be open. These were his recommendations. (interview 6)

Although this is open violence, the perpetrator directs it towards completely subordinate persons, who have lost their credibility and are considered liars by the rest of the staff (as a result of the perpetrator's actions). The goal is to instil

in the victim the sense that they cannot do anything because no-one will believe them. Additionally, the girl students of the lower secondary school from the interviewee's story were usually troubled youths, from families where violence and pathological behaviour occurred on a daily basis. The headmaster's selection of persons was not accidental. He would see them on a regular basis and take them on school trips, even after they graduated.

We were in Kręgiel. They have these triangular Brda-type summer houses by the lake. And I know that two girl graduates were there. We were there with some lower secondary school class on a two- or three-weeks-long summer camp at the end of the school year. So there were these two graduates and he had a special, separate summer house for them. I know that he would visit them for conversations in the evening. They came there specially, they stayed there for the nights, and so on; they had finished school like two or three years earlier. This is not some figment of my imagination, you can ask my colleague with whom I worked, he works there. I witnessed that; the girls would just come over. So in general he had a good rapport with women, but not women, girls one could say. (interview 6)

I dare say that he didn't have such a rapport with his wife. I think that he either had a very limited contact, if he went on like that, because I cannot image it otherwise. I cannot imagine such situations. A guy in his fifties. I don't know, but you could tell he liked to work with the girls. (interview 6)

The headmaster initiated activities with sexual innuendos. Without female teachers' consent, he would touch them under the pretext of picking a speck of dust. The interviewee indicates that initially she had forgot about it, but this was the main reason for her avoiding the perpetrator. Such a statement is common for all the mobbed female teachers.

He's a smoker, I'm a smoker, so, unfortunately, I thought that before leaving I would have a cigarette with my friend. The head of the village joined us. I knew the head of the village as a decent man, so I didn't expect him to react to this kind of behaviour of the headmaster. So the headmaster goes up to him and says he'd join and that we're not going to have a smoke, but rather to have it off with Mrs Marta. I didn't know how to react. I looked at the head of the village, he looked helplessly at me and my friend, and we pretended we simply never heard it. He was a bit surprised that nobody laughed. So we went there and had this cigarette. (interview 4)

The activation of the "repression" mechanism is typical of targets of violence. Also in the context of sexual violence. For the perpetrator, any denial or refusal to stand such conduct serves as an impulse for revenge.

Was he a sleazy man? I'm not saying he was not handsome, ugly, or whatever, it was about his behaviour, the way he looked (?), a speck of dust here, a speck of dust there, it just irked me terribly. Wojtek (victim's husband) says "You go and tell him not to touch you anymore, or I will come and explain it in a different manner". So it's this

kind of behaviour. That's what I forgot about when I talked about these jokes. Because back then this was the cause. We started, at least we... avoided. (interview 5)

To understand better how men received "the weapon in the form of genitals" (Brownmiller 1975, pp. 14–15) and the consent for dominance in a time in which there is so much talk of equal treatment of men and women and the policy of coherence, it is necessary to go back to the period when sexual, physical, and psychological violence were considered a sexual fantasy of victims who brought it upon themselves. Women's hysterias, since the times of Freud (eventually he withdrew from the concept), revealed that the cases of rapes and sexual perversions were not incidental, but were in fact very frequent among the bourgeois milieus, which at the time enjoyed an impeccable reputation. The feminist movements and their activities managed to redefine this sexual act as an act of violence carried out at the will of a man and as a result of the intimidation of the victim, as opposed to the prior conviction that rape was a result of the woman's hidden desires. Also it was accentuated that the psychophysical consequences of sexual violence were to be related to post-traumatic stress caused by exposure to traumatic events. Acquiring such knowledge took years of struggle in a "male dominated world". This inspired other female researchers to continue their activities for women and children who suffer from sexual and symbolic violence. Although further and more detailed studies on headmasters' sexual violence against female teachers in the context of mobbing are necessary, it is also important to take into consideration the witnesses of this kind of violence and the reasons why they condone these actions, and why, in spite of being against such conduct, they chose to ignore actions that are punishable by imprisonment under the Polish legislation. It is worth to cite a statement by one of the interviewed teachers, who recalled the relations between one headmaster and women in the following way:

In the school there is the headmaster, the wife, and his lovers. Now, one of these lovers informs everyone who's new on the job that she lost her virginity to the headmaster, so she can do whatever she wants. And she can do whatever she wants. Because after having worked for so many years, I know that she can do whatever she wants. For him a woman is an instrument for bed. I'm certain. Never in my life have I met such a sexist. He's a sexist to me. Everyone can tell that each of them knows everything. The wife talks to the lover ... (interview 2)

The consequences of using mobbing can be related to the notion of post-traumatic stress syndrome, which describes the psychosomatic impact of long-term exposure to stress and trauma on the functioning of a person. It offers clear diagnostic criteria that are useful for diagnosing the experience of violence, such as rape, prisoner of war's stress, etc. The mentioned scholar rightly observes that this violence is specific, i.e. the scale and damage can be defined, especially since the conditions in which it took place are known. In the case of sophisticated psychological violence such conditions are not entirely met. Moreover, it should be noted that initially it is the victim who is stigmatised as the source of the conflict. This

implies difficulties in diagnosing e.g. the post-traumatic stress mentioned above. Hence, I agree with Herman that it is justified to introduce a definition of complex post-traumatic syndrome into the literature that would cover the entire range of psychosomatic states, not only the singular disorders (Herman 2004, p. 130). What a teacher who suffers from a mobbing-induced PTSD fears the most is that the difficult experiences might reoccur. This constant tension and waiting for an attack force the victim to avoid the perpetrator, the teaching staff, and persons who the victim sees as potential attackers. As a result, the school co-workers often see the victims as withdrawn persons who do nothing to counteract the pathological situation. Meanwhile, the victims focus all their strengths on survival. This remains imperceptible on the outside, as the perpetrator skilfully makes sure to deprive the target of autonomous and subjective relations with other persons. Living under a permanent pressure eventually motivates such teachers to consult a psychiatrist.

Thus commences the stage of sick leaves. The interviewed teachers recall this period in the following manner:

I couldn't cope emotionally and I took a sick leave. So, yeah, actually he was just toying with me. All this time he was just playing this wanton game of cat and mouse. Was it the feeling of guilt? Was it that he wanted me to fear him? Or... What did he want? Or simply to break me. Which he actually succeeded at. Once I took this sick leave I wrote him an application for granting a convalescent leave... (interview 5)

The victim's sense that the abuser continues to function alongside them exposes them to permanent fear and anxiety that the traumatic events will reoccur. Such conditions significantly reduce their capacity to function at work. Instead of defending themselves the victims want to survive. The stress they experience is so strong that it compromises the aspects that give subjectivity to human beings, i.e. autonomy, independence, the sense of agency, etc. Apart from the somatic ones (circulatory system, gastrointestinal tract, skin changes, etc.) the consequences of mobbing include other visible and dangerous effects for health such as changes in the psychosocial functioning of the teacher, i.e. the dysregulation of moods, reduced self-confidence, reduced self-esteem, etc.

Mobbing (and its sexual dimension) is a phenomenon that initiates a process of psychosomatic disruption of a teacher's functioning in school. It usually begins with single acts, which gradually gain intensity, causing negative effects in the body of the teacher, as well as the deterioration of their functioning in their working and private life. The consequences faced by the targets of mobbing include temporary exclusion from working life, breakdown of their psychophysical state or, ultimately, the termination of employment. Herman notes that "There is war between the sexes. Rape victims, battered women, and sexually abused children are its casualties. Hysteria is the combat neurosis of the sex war" (Herman 1997). The sexual dimension of psychological violence is a real and evolving threat for a teacher in their working situation. It transcends by far the ethical aspects, violating human dignity, which evidently affects the functioning of a teacher in a contemporary school.

Literature

- Bechowska-Gebhardt A., Stalewski T., 2004, *Mobbing, Patologia zarządzania personelem* [Mobbing. A pathology of staff management], Warszawa.
- Berne E., 2010, *Games People Play. The Psychology of Human Relationships*, London.
- Brownmiller S., 1975, *Against Our Will: Men, Woman, and Rape*, New York.
- Colligan M. J., Smith M. J., Hurrell J.J., 1977, *Occupational Incidence Rates of Mental Health Disorders*, "Journal of Human Stress" No. 3.
- Cox T., Griffiths A., Rial-Gonzalez E., 2000, *Research on Work-related Stress. Report*, Luxembourg.
- Dalin P., 1999, *School Development. Theories and Practices*, London.
- Day Ch., 1999, *Developing Teachers. The Challenges of Lifelong Learning*, Bristol.
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2002, *Quality of Women's Work and Employment – Tools for Change*, Foundation Paper, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, No. 3.
- Forward S., Frazier D., 1998, *Emotional Blackmail. When the People in Your Life Use Fear, Obligation and Guilt to Manipulate You*, London.
- Freud Z., 2005, *On Narcissism: an Introduction*, [in:] J.-M. Quinodos, *Reading Freud. A Chronological Exploration of Freud's Writings*, London – New York.
- Furmanek W., 2008, *Zniewolenie przez pracę a problematyka pedagogiki pracy* [Enslavement Through Work vs. the Issue of Work Pedagogy], [in:] R. Gerlach (ed.), *Edukacja i praca. Konteksty-wyzwania-antynomie* [Education and Work. Contexts-Challenges-Antinomies], Bydgoszcz.
- Fromm E., 1963, *War within Man: a Psychological Enquiry into the Roots of Destructiveness*, Philadelphia.
- Herman J.L., 1997, *Trauma and recovery. The Aftermath of Violence – from Domestic Abuse to political Terror*, New York.
- Hirigoyen M.F., 2003, *Molestowanie w pracy* [Harassment in the Workplace], Poznań.
- Hirigoyen M.F., 2008, *Molestowanie moralne* [Moral Harassment. The Perverse Violence in Everyday Life], Gdansk.
- Hołyst B., 2006, *Wiktymologia* [Victimology], Warszawa.
- Jóźwiak Z., 2010, *Fizyczne warunki pracy nauczycieli* [Physical Conditions of Teachers' Work], [in:] J. Pyżalski, D. Merez (ed.), *Psychospołeczne warunki pracy polskich nauczycieli. Pomiędzy wypaleniem zawodowym a zaangażowaniem* [Polish Teachers' Psychosocial Working Conditions. Between Burnout and Commitment], Kraków.
- Kłós B., 2002, *Mobbing*, Kancelaria Sejmu – Biuro Studiów i Ekspertyz, Warszawa.
- Kmiecik-Baran K., Rybicki J., 2003, *Mobbing – zagrożenie współczesnego miejsca pracy* [Mobbing. A threat to the contemporary workplace], Gdańsk.
- Kokot A., 2011, *Mobbing – patologia życia zawodowego pracownika* [Mobbing. A Pathology of the Employee's Working Life], Bydgoszcz.
- Kopciwicz L., 2011, *Nauczycielskie poniżanie – szkolna przemoc wobec dziewcząt* [Teachers' Humiliation: School Violence against Girls], Warszawa.
- Lankamer A., Ciborski P., Minga U., 2005, *Mobbing w szkolnictwie* [Mobbing in the School System], Gdańsk.
- Lankamer A., Potocka-Szmoń P., 2006, *Dyskryminacja w miejscu pracy* [Discrimination in the Workplace], Gdańsk.

- Merecz D., 2010, *Psychospołeczne warunki pracy polskich nauczycieli. Pomędzy wypaleniem zawodowym a zaangażowaniem* [Polish Teachers' Psychosocial Working Conditions. Between Burnout and Commitment], Kraków.
- Merecz D., Mościcka A., Drabek M., 2005, *Mobbing w środowisku pracy. Charakterystyka zjawiska, jego konsekwencje, aspekty prawne i sposoby przeciwdziałania* [Mobbing in the Working Environment. The Characteristics of the Phenomenon, Legal Aspects, Countermeasures], Łódź.
- Leymann H., *The Mobbing Encyclopaedia*, <http://www.leymann.se/> [accessed on: 03.02.2006].
- Potulicka E., 2006, *Kadra w szkole uczącej się* [Staff in a Learning School], "Nowa Szkoła" nr 8.
- Powiedz NIE molestowaniu seksualnemu w pracy* [Say NO to Sexual Harassment at Work], 2009, Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment (ed.), Warszawa.
- Pyżalski J., 2010, *Skutki oddziaływania warunków pracy na polskich nauczycieli* [Impact of Working Conditions on Polish Teachers], [in:] J. Pyżalski, D. Merecz (ed.), *Psychospołeczne warunki pracy polskich nauczycieli. Pomędzy wypaleniem zawodowym a zaangażowaniem* [Polish Teachers' Psychosocial Working Conditions. Between Burnout and Commitment], Kraków.
- Stowarzyszenie Antymobbingowe pod patronatem B. Grabowskiej [B. Grabowska Anti-mobbing Association], Kujawsko-Pomorski Branch in Bydgoszcz, 2009–2012 statistical materials.

Summary

Sexual Aspect of Mobbing in Schools in the Relations Between the Head and the Teacher: Nature, Manifestations, Implications

This article is an exploration of the sexual dimension of mobbing in school relations. It maps the set of practices, manifestations and implications surrounding this kind of problem related to the teachers' work and looking at the pathologising aspects of teachers' identity.

Keywords

mobbing, school, teacher, power relations, sexuality

Sława Grzechnik
University of Gdansk

Discursive Construction of Knowledge in Line with the Logic of the Development of Pupils' Male Habitus in the Classroom

Progress is not immediate ease, well-being and peace.
It is not rest. It is not even, directly, virtue. [...] It is the
Consciousness of all that is and all that can be.

P. T. de Chardin, *A Note on Progress*

The issue of the function of language and the “philosophy” of its use is of primary importance for understanding how it is acquired and how it is initially used. The manner of speaking is picked up as a tool of control of both joint attention and joint action. These functions are reflected in the very structure of language, and in the process of its acquisition by pupils of both sexes. Gender-related hierarchy observed in the language of subjects of education is not a linguistic “innateness”, but a set of specific properties of attention, human action, the manner in which language is used, and the dimension of seeing and understanding the surrounding reality in and through language (Bruner 1975). Development being the aim of education (Kohlberg, Mayer 1972) along with the process of the linguistic construction of knowledge rooted in the algorithm of the development of the male habitus, is in a particular way related to virtue, understood as the progress of subjects of education in the area of the perception of the discourse of the school modality of possibilities and compulsion.

The primary place in the reflections on the explanation and interpretation of empirical material, based on critical discourse analysis, along with the gender-hierarchized language, is occupied by the subjects that are related to it and entangled in the field of the classroom. The foundation for the construction of knowledge in the classroom is the communicative teaching and learning environment, in which the teacher plays the supervisory function. The teachers having a traditional attitude to pedagogical activities identify their three main tasks. The first one is the transmission of “ready”, “absolute” and closed knowledge, often limited, due to the teacher’s recklessness, to a monologue rather than dialogue. The second, probably favourite, task of the teachers is the daily execution

of their pedagogical effectiveness in the maintenance of discipline in the classroom, which is directly related to the evaluation and criticism of the status of knowledge, as well as all the actions and behaviours of the pupils. Finally, the last, efficient and effective action, which teachers of both sexes fail to notice, is the discursive consolidation of gender polarization together with the construction of the gender habitus of girls and boys in the process of the “specific” creation of knowledge during classes.

Research results show that gender-related differences and similarities are not only a consequence of home-based socialisation, but also of a “grammatical” socialisation in the school space involving the (un)awareness of teachers and their lack of careful control of their own communication practices in this scope (Howe 1997, p. 44; Swann 2008, p. 625; Sunderland 2000, pp. 149–173; Karwadowska, Szpyra-Kozłowska 2005, p. 139; Bochno 2009, p. 181; Putkiewicz 2002, p. 107; Pankowska 2004, p. 99; Kruszewski 1993; Konarzewski 1991, p. 144). It is worth underlining that according to Aleksander Szejnberg, under the conception of student-centred learning, teachers try to facilitate learning (Szejnberg 2006, p. 17). Therefore, their actions are directed at the construction of knowledge by girls and boys and the usefulness of this knowledge in the “ethnographical¹ museum” of the school discourse.

The present research project grounded in the ethnography of communication covered mainly pupils of both sexes aged 12–13 years. Didactics cares for what happens to children in the period of formal operations, when such children are able to solve abstract problems using logic, and verify hypotheses at the verbal level along with the anticipation of their consequences (Piaget 1996) in the process of teaching and learning. Therefore, the question arises in what way do teachers construct the sensitivity of their pupils’ senses to knowledge, aspirations, and motivations?

An atmosphere of humiliation is not conducive to increasing the motivation either of teachers or pupils. The words and elements they are accompanied by, carrying along with them the potential of causing the suffering of the person they are directed to, are a manner of address that interpellates, determines, labels/positions, and establishes a concrete subject. By way of the said insult and the accompanied intentions, the disregarded and humiliated person, pupil, future man, is placed and introduced to a place/point in the social spacetime determined by the logic of subjugation (Foucault 2009). Such an act limits the possibility of social existence – the possibility that a given interpellation excludes. It is almost immediately, simply by being said, that illocutionary acts effectively perform whatever is spoken out.

T/F²: What sort of a man will you be!?

¹ “Ethnographical”, because empirical studies are based on the ethnography of communication delivered in the classroom.

² T/F – teacher/female, T/M – teacher/male, letter/M (male) after a slash – boy (student) or teacher, e.g. J/M, letter/F (female) – girl (student) or female teacher, e.g. N/F.

The perlocutionary act presented above can potentially cause effects that will emerge later than upon the instance of making the utterance. This leads to certain consequences, which are not the same and do not directly describe the effects that are to show later on.

The category of gender is related to the manner in which masculinity and femininity are presented and constructed and the playing of the related roles (Barker 2005, p. 519). Gender is one of the main notions in the area of understanding the social reality, as well as the field of the creation of the male gender habitus. The theory of social learning explains that the development of gender proceeds just like other types of learned behaviour. Therefore, we may assume that it would be good to categorise gender among those behaviours which are acquired rather than biologically determined (Brannon 2002). The process of the shaping of masculinity begins when a male individual is born and lasts throughout his life. The form and range of the male habitus category are heavily affected by a set of communication practices produced, and even, more importantly, reproduced in the classroom. The gender habitus comprises permanent, translatable dispositions and structured structures with a structuring potential, which function as generators defining and creating practices and imaginaries. Their "content" is related to a goal which does not have to be consciously recognised by individuals, but which should simultaneously predestine them to master instructions and manners enabling the achievement of that goal. The goal is entangled in the objective regularity, control, and collective setting (Bourdieu 2008).

Habitus dispositions are established and effectively implanted by possibilities and impossibilities, liberties and necessity, permissions and bans. The pupil is rooted in the school logic of the discarded, which promotes following what seems to be unavoidable. Objects functioning in the social field, their intuitions, courage, fear and the operating mechanisms are "only" and "as much as" socially-constructed constructs. The medal, which has an engraved "naturalness" on one of its sides, and the "sense of place"³ lit with the lantern of performative acts on the other, is a prize offered by symbolic violence for accepting the "illutio"⁴. It was this practical belief which was harnessed to participate in this cooperation aimed at the implementation of the politics of the male habitus, being the guarantor of its high quality and effectiveness. While reflecting on the habitus, we cannot overlook the fact that it is a product of history and the schemes it presents. Both the individual and the collective practices together with their elements take place owing to the active presence of past experiences in the form of schemes of perceiving, thinking, and acting.

T/F: Basia, are you Patryk? **For God's sake!** When you are to speak, you keep quiet, and when you are not to utter a sound, you keep **blabbing** without being asked to.

³ Habitus, a sense of one's place

⁴ *Illutio* or social illusion – a category belonging to Bourdieu's social theory, tantamount to a well-established belief (good faith) that what one does is good and that actions of other subjects of social field are also appropriate and consistent with the field's logic.

In the above fragment of a teacher's utterance, we may hear irritation combined with a highlighted phenomenon of the pupils' insubordination: "When you are to speak, you keep quiet, and when you are not to utter a sound, you keep blabbing without being asked to". Moreover, the utterance constructed in this way and the learning atmosphere possibly call for serious reflection on the part of the teachers rather than for "God's sake". Basia dared to take a voice without putting her hand up, which the teacher might perhaps accept in relation to a boy pupil, but not a girl pupil.

Interaction between pupils of both sexes and their female teacher, and between knowledge and authority takes place through daily repeated consolidation of the disciplinary order (Foucault 1995) consistent with Michel Foucault's conception of "subjugation" of the subject. The order, similarly to capillary vessels, permeates everything situated within the field of the classroom treated as a social field as understood by Pierre Bourdieu's social theory. The category of "everything" includes behaviour in the classroom, punctuality, constructed gender habitus, consolidated gender hierarchy, manner of speech, and, above all, the manner in which pupils of both sexes generate knowledge.

When looking at the traditional paradigm in which masculinity is entangled, we can spot some cracks and crumbling elements of its structure. Evidence behind this process includes a "significant relativisation of the category of masculinity"⁵ [Melosik 2006, p. 9]. If we assume that the crisis of masculinity is a social fact, it would be good to search for its causes outside the emancipation of women and ponder on the way the category is constructed in the classroom. It would be very likely that it is rooted in the manner of the everyday, regular construction of the male habitus in the school field, based on the repetitiveness of communication practices.

N/F: I will only say that he was unable to stick to any work.

P/M: Really?

N/F: It is also his weakness. But within such a short time...

T/F (interrupting): [...] So he **cannot see a place for himself**, can he? [...] This is what life is about: **not to become too tired in life and perform your tasks well**.

The above fragment may reflect a frustration and inclination to depression of men who sometimes find it hard to find their own place in the social reality. Together with a cognitive dissonance, this process is accompanied by an emerging resistance on the part of pupils, who in the context of the relativisation of the category of masculinity outside school walls, feel frustration (Galasiński 2008a,

⁵ In his paper *Kryzys męskości czy szansa dla mężczyzn? Przegląd problematyki badań* [Crisis of Masculinity or a Chance for Men? A Review of Research Problems] Krzysztof Arcimowicz stated that this category refers to the transformations and evolution, and is a product of a discourse which does not deserve to be called a real problem. This belief was presented during the National Interdisciplinary Scientific Conference "Sexuality, Masculinity, Education. The 2013/2014 Moral Panic – Reconstructions" in Gdansk on 05.10.2014.

pp. 153, 176) and an aversion to school (Melosik 2006, p. 8). It is highly probable that such emotions are translated into the way male pupils – future men – look at their personal and professional life (Galasiński 2008b, pp. 71–72).

[...] Because boys are sort of more **sensitive as far as their pride is concerned**. When a girl makes a mistake, she will smile and go, and when a boy makes a mistake, he instantly feels silly, because the girls saw that he **was like a moron**. Maybe it is the way I feel as well, so maybe that is that, maybe. (WH/M)

[...] They are so limited by all the things around. (WP/F)

As a part of the “official pedagogical discourse”, teachers of both sexes succumb to a network of stereotypes, acting in consistence with the “silent politics” of the construction of the male habitus (Kopciewicz 2003). School is a place where some pupils are asked to keep quiet and not think, while others are encouraged to talk and be intellectually active, and where a thick line is drawn between a female pupil without much mathematical talent and an intelligent male pupil talented in the area of the exact sciences (Kopciewicz 2007, pp. 13–14).

In the field of the classroom as a part of the discursive reproduction of male gender in keeping with the traditional socialisation “grammar”, two simultaneous processes take place: the development of the female habitus, and the construction of the male habitus. The teachers’ share in the acquisition of these gender roles lies in the direct, everyday interactions between the pupils and the teacher, which constitutes an important socialisation factor of the school education (Barnes 1982). Their behaviour and communication practices are significant for the creation of the gender habitus and consolidation of gender roles as a part of the process of pupils’ school socialisation (Melosik 2006, pp. 188–189), and for the quality of the knowledge developed at school.

The gender-hierarchized language limits knowledge, imposing limits to the possibility of assigning meanings and determining a set of “correct” meanings, which are beyond discussion, at the same time defining a set of banned meanings. The adopted manner of the use of language defines the ways of the acquisition of knowledge, and shapes cognitive tendencies determined by the laws of perception. The teacher who manages the situations of talking is able to effectively use them as stimuli to develop the pupils’ competences.

T/F: **Sometimes I have a feeling that the older you are...**

P/F: **...the less we use our minds. [teacher is nodding]**

[...] You can see their preparation, as there are a couple of pupils, maybe two or three, who claim, and their parents confirm this, that they really do always prepare themselves, but they are just not successful with certain things, they can’t do anything. Well, they have been working on it, but they still miss something to have better results. (WS/F)

And there are immediately these insults that he is stupid and dim-witted, that how can you fail to know this, how can you spoil it, after all it is so simple, and they

seem to judge themselves without saying anything more, they don't see that when they go to the blackboard they don't do everything well as well, **so this is the problem: they don't see that thing in themselves but they see it immediately in others.** (WS/F)

Usually at school female pupils are assumed to have little cognitive curiosity, and for this reason it is the boys who are more effectively activated to show off their knowledge, which, however, should be constructed in compliance with the teacher's guidelines. Independence in the process of the pupils' self-learning in the classroom is a "rare commodity"⁶, of which female pupils are almost completely deprived. The teachers managing the "activity" of knowledge in the classroom seem to be supervising critics rather than consultants encouraging pupils to take the initiative and develop their free spontaneity in search of ways of assigning meaning to the picture of the reality which they get to know – a picture they construct every day.

[...] that it is not only **knowledge that is transferred via the textbook only**, [...] so everything obviously depends on the topic, on what issues are discussed, as let us be open about it, [...] pupils completely fail to understand poetry. (WP)

D/M: I know.

T/F: Anyone else? How about you, Oliwia?

P/M: I know it, too.

A male pupil interrupts a female pupil and verbally signals that he knows something, although he was not asked about it. In a way, he "invaded" the communication space of the classroom.

O/F: I understand, although I don't know if this is **correct**.

The female pupil speaks in a quiet and shy voice, as if knowing that her understanding and knowledge are inconsistent with the teachers' expectations. The girl's insecurity concerning her knowledge/drawing of conclusions and her own communication competences is very clear.

O/F: That is this rich knight. [with doubts in her voice]

T/M: No, no. You are doing well, but you have lost yourself somewhere on the way.

O/F: And this Bogart, the knight, the vassal, vassal of this, this...

T/M: You have possibly got confused.

What is missing is the teacher's leading of the girl to the right tracks (O/F). Perhaps the teacher should let her finish her utterance with a success, which might reflect the teacher's good will and/or methodological abilities.

⁶ A notion from the language of economics. It is used to refer to a commodity which is hard to obtain due to its price and availability.

O/F: And they cannot do what they want.

T/M: Fine. I like **your** [plural] line of reasoning.

T/M [after a moment's break]: Perhaps after today's class Weronika will be able to make sense of it.

T/M: It is a chapter that will require thinking and reasoning from you.

D/M: Oh myyyy. Think. Everyone will have a headache.

T/M: Tough luck. Life requires sacrifices. (LH)

E/M: And did a small five-month old baby work as well?

T/M: E/M, think before you ask a stupid question.

E/M: But... [the teacher interrupts].

T/M: Really do think before you ask a stupid question.

E/M: So since what age did you have to work?

T/M: I don't know. Borrow *Code of Hammurabi* and read.

The utterances quoted below show various ways of seeing the same illustration, remaining in the same space of a teacher's non-acceptance.

D/M: It looks like a rounded rectangle.

J/M: Like an ellipsis.

T/F: **A rounded rectangle? [with great astonishment and dissatisfaction].**

According to the researcher, it was just the right way to describe the shape of that something, but it was not consistent with the teacher's way of seeing things, which was the only legitimate way. The teacher's astonishment and dissatisfaction was a negative reinforcement for pupils' further thinking processes. Getting nearer the truth in the words "Like an ellipsis" may have been less inappropriate, but did not deserve to be accepted, either. According to the teacher, the children did not know what to adequately call the shape they saw in the illustration, although they knew what a rectangle, a circle, and an ellipsis look like and they tried to build their look at it on this knowledge. The teacher's criticism, dissatisfaction, and "negative" astonishment effectively stifled the stream of spontaneous mental acts constituting "water" for the "thirsty" knowledge.

The knowledge generated at school does not deserve to be called "proper" interpretative knowledge, as the latter, according to teachers, is not marked by critical reflection, a "fresh" observation of the complexity of the world, the noticing of the non-clear cut status and implications of various states of things, and the controversy of judgements (Klus-Stańska 2002, p. 120). The fragment presented below quite clearly illustrates what the teacher thinks of the potentiality of her pupils' thinking processes:

They do not get prepared. If they put their hands up, they do it as they have some sort of knowledge, from life or something, or a feeling, because maybe they will manage to get a plus and nothing wrong will happen anyway. (WS/F)

There is no thinking, abstract thinking, they cannot imagine certain things, they have to have **concretes**, this looks so now and here, and if they cannot touch, then it is because of such tangible things. (WP/F)

The “managers” of the communication space in the classroom fail to notice the pupils’ ability of abstract thinking, as well as their ability “to imagine certain things”. Additionally, “if they cannot touch” the studied reality, they can only move in the world of “concretes”.

Yet another category revealed in the empirical material, taking the form of an “interesting” combination of acts of speech, is a subsequent factor which fails to promote calm, and an unrestrained, and spontaneous construction of knowledge in the classroom.

T/F: And if we really like something, if we are in a **really beautiful place**, then we try to remember it for as long as possible and this also gives us strength to act. **I feel that it is water off a duck’s back for you, that you just don’t have some feelings, some emotions** [these acts of speech were followed by silence lasting for several minutes].

School teaches the use of “discursive contrast”, and in the above fragment of a teacher’s utterance we may notice the combination of an enchantment with “a beautiful place” and a stream of criticism concerning the (in)ability to feel certain emotions by the pupils: “it is water off a duck’s back for you”. The structure and content of this combination of acts of speech is not a joyful and inspiring factor encouraging active intellectual effort. We can spot a similar contrast in the following fragment of a teacher’s utterance:

T/F: This happens when we don’t know something, that is, when we have these fears and anxieties, because we never know, we don’t, what this world looks like in reality. Even if we have some **knowledge from books, experience sometimes verifies what we know anyway**, doesn’t it? **Someone who is gifted not only has a rich knowledge, but also is intelligent and can use their mind, that’s it. And I have a feeling that you are...** [teacher suspends her voice], even I don’t know.

The way the teacher transmits knowledge to the children is “just the passing, just as much and nothing more”: a simple, undisturbed transmission of knowledge through the provision of ready descriptions, judgements, reflections, interpretations, and meanings, as pupils’ minds “are not prepared for refined” teaching methods that could promote the “attractive” construction of knowledge combined with an independent assignment of meanings.

T/W/F: [...] I have a feeling sometimes that it is, well, just the **passing**, just as much and **nothing more**.

The knowledge teachers present to their pupils does not serve the equal and sustainable development of boys’ and girls’ ability to one day become citizens of

the global democracy, aware of the physical, spiritual, and cultural aspects of life outside school (Giroux 2010, p. 97). Therefore, the ways of seeing and understanding the behaviour of knowledge at school, within teachers' and pupils' intellects, are set in a hierarchical order: from knowledge resulting from following the teacher's way, to dreams of other manners of treatment of pupils, and a network of meanings assigned (non)independently to the surrounding reality.

According to the teacher, as can be assumed from the fragment quoted below, as well as the tone of the voice and facial expressions, a 12–13 years old female pupils' interest in fashion raises doubts, but not as considerable as the pupils' interest related "even to some sexuality". Continuing the way of thinking about the female pupils' interests, it should be stressed that the girls do not have a "perception of the world" which would be marked by parameters approved by the teacher.

It seems to me that **there is no look at the world**, that they have their own **interests** [...], some of them related to fashion, others **even to some sexuality**, to the extent that, that, no, these horizons are not, you know. (WP/F)

Therefore, analysing the above collection of fragments of utterances, we might say that what is imposed here is didactics "contaminated" with the category of knowledge resulting from following the teacher's way, which is what most pupils have (Klus-Stańska 2002, pp. 120, 123–124), in consistence with the logic of the field, in which they function influenced by objective forces. Configured on its basis, the logic of the interaction of communication actions taking place in the pupils' minds constructs meanings remaining in a cohesion relationship with the teachers' professional *illusio* ("practical belief"), which not only is a justification for certain pedagogical practices (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992), but also a certain "pass" enabling the consolidation of habitus-related social inequalities (Kopciwicz 2007, p. 107).

The specific nature of the construction and enlivening of knowledge during religion classes is no different than its trajectory during other lessons. In the light of what Church representatives say, teachers of religion very much want to acquaint pupils with problems related to family, God, and faith. The construction of knowledge on God and a relationship with God, which children are taught not only at home and in church, is presented in the fragment below:

Z/M: Why don't I believe in God?

TR/M⁷: Calm down!

Z/M: What do I risk?

TR/M: You'd better...

During a religion class, a grade six pupil (a boy) asked the teacher a question of ecclesiological provenance: "Why don't I believe in God?", expecting a constructive answer. After a moment, he was given an unsatisfying reply: "Calm down!".

⁷ TR/M – teacher of religion, male.

The meaning of the above response is highlighted by the exclamation mark, which symbolized the answerer's raised voice combined with his tension and dissatisfaction. In reply to the reply constructed in this way, the pupil generated another question: "What do I risk?". He asked what the risk was for asking questions related to an absence of faith in God in a young person. The order to calm down is not a satisfying answer to such a question, as it does not offer the pupil any knowledge on what his risk might be when courageously asking "inappropriate" questions. The pupil heard: "You'd better...". Very possibly, the dialogue thus-constructed by the teacher did not facilitate the construction of any knowledge on God, or, less still, the young Christian's relationship with God.

TR/M: [...] What material commodity do we, people, want?

C/M: A **good brain**.

TR/M: **Knowledge [with reflection]**.

In the spirit of ecclesiological reflections, the teacher asked his pupils: "What material commodity do we, people, want?". The girls kept quiet, but one of the boys said that "the material commodity that he wanted" was a "good brain", i. e. a brain, which, together with the intellect, would independently construct knowledge and assign meaning to the surrounding material and "ecclesiological" reality.

J/M: It is best during maths.

In the case of the mathematics class, we can talk about a high degree of concentration of almost all the pupils on their task. The teacher was involved in the children's every mathematical step. Mathematicians perceive boys as more gifted in this area, and this is why a male pupil states above that as far as the teachers' communication with the pupils is concerned, "it is best during maths".

The placement of *illusio* in the discursive construction of knowledge within the space of the building of the male habitus

The human brain is formed socially and it is simultaneously closed within its own limitations. Marx called them boundaries of the system of categories, which were "imprinted" into one as a part of the social education process (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992). It is due to these socially constructed boundaries that subjects cannot comprehensively perceive and understand situations when under the pressure to act. The language of school determines the framework of the knowledge pupils acquire, and it is this framework which hints how one should see the reality and which imposes an interpretation of effects of the learning process. The framework undergoes constant and ceaseless agreements (Kwaśnica 1987, p. 56). Pupils perform their "self-configuration" in the social field in consistence with the socialisation grammar, which should not disturb the pupil in an independent as-

signment of meanings, modified by individual optics. Everything humans can see and transmit through language depends on the language itself, but also on the individual every pupil is (Kwaśnica 1987, p. 56).

There are children who are conscious and **whatever you tell them, they will accept**, digest, and perhaps draw conclusions. [...] we teach, [...] if we manage to inculcate certain things with the help of consistence, then they will do it **automatically** [...]. They will then notice **how much they know and how diverse is the knowledge they have**. (WH/M)

An individual's "linguistic awareness" probably reduces the limitations brought about by the world of symbols and gives one a chance to notice the reasons behind the poor acuity of not only the school's picture of the world (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992). Victims of language and its limits are its users, who (in a more or less conscious manner) approve the fact that these limits also cover the understanding and assignment of meanings (Bruner, 1996, p. 19) as a part of a basic belief (*illusio*) that everything happens in consistence with the pragmatic order of subjugation.

To talk when they already know something, and **sometimes they know very little**. They have few opportunities to show off that they know, and then they would like to talk a lot and as soon as they know something. (WP/F)

If a child only learns the things that were covered during a lesson, if a child learns, then the context is much smaller, so if I ask a question in a different way, it may turn out that the child does not know, because I did not ask from the side from which they learnt [...]. (WP/M)

[...] We might allow ourselves making references to **some experience, but there is this topic that organises our lesson unit**. (WP/F)

In the above fragment, the teacher turns attention to the fact that in her opinion, pupils might benefit during the education process from "some experience", "but there is this topic that organises our lesson unit", which means that time is meant to be used for the topic of the lesson rather than "references to some experience". In the pupil's "concealed" understanding, the use of their own mind is a process as a part of which the mind can be used in a way they chose. Therefore, the meaning assigned to this category by the teacher in the field of the classroom is not conducive to the development of independent learning, or taking decisions concerning the manner of reaching one truth and many truths by way of a free choice of a set of algorithms leading to them rather than just a single algorithm. The implementation of the monologue-based "paradigm" in the discursive classroom field, as present in the above fragment, also takes place on the basis of a constructed silence consistent with the logic of the field. Additionally, we should remember that in almost every act of speech of the teachers, pupils are required to be

“obedient” in thinking and in the expected and allowed assignment of meanings (Klus-Stańska, 2002, p. 94).

T/W/F: We do not force them to perform any **thinking or make any intellectual effort**.
J/M: They don't feel like thinking. [pupil about his friends]

T/M: So far you have been making a good impression, and you have got this potential, but one can clearly see that you don't learn. These are very simple things, you know? (LH1/M)

The above fragment of a teacher's utterance contains a critique of a pupil's laziness, but not his intellectual capacity, as is the case in relation to the girls.

T/F: **O/F! Don't think, just write. What did you think, you thought that what?**
O/F: That we would conjugate verbs.

T/F: **O/F? Why are you so mute today?**
M/F: There are wiser girls.
J/M: I don't think so.

T/F: Yes. The nose is by the heart. Old age with the height. **Everything is again mixed, mixed up, and is only good for, for, eee...**
M/M: **For a soup.**
T/F: **For a soup. But we are not cooking a soup. We are creating a description.** (LP1)

J/M: Success.
T/M: **No. Why?** [silence]
T/F: **Develop this utterance... This is the way grade three children speak, I don't know, maybe even...**
T/F: You need to be handed everything on your plate, Iza. I feel that you wait for something ready to be provided to you, only the cutlery and start eating. Is there just one J/M in the class? And is the text so complex? Listen. **We are past the first month of school, and instead of it being better after this time, it is worse with you. I really don't know. Maybe we'll end up in April taking Lego bricks and building something? Maybe this will interest you?** [speaks in a raised voice]. **You are looking at me as if I was an alien from space.** [J/M raises his hand] (LP/F)
T/F: What has happened?
K/M: He read the mandatory book!
T/F: Weeell. Krzysiu, boast a little, tell me what you have done. I thought that you had something on your conscience. And instead I can hear such beautiful things. Well, that's good.
P/F: The entire book?
T/M: **You learn on a concrete example, not a general example** [irritated]. What did I say? What are you underlining? You are supposed to underline things of your choice.
T/F: **The whole one, indeed. So, you can see. P/F. He was absent yesterday. Perhaps he needed one more day.** (LP/F)

Interpretative knowledge should be based on what pupils already know about the school field and the broad social world. The particular elements of the studied field are interrelated in a more or less close manner in compliance with the logic of Bourdieu's social field, which refers both to the "trajectory" of discourse, and behaviour in its knowledge space.

The dominating, gender-hierarchized manner of the use of language in the classroom predominantly sketches the significant in the area of the patriarchal logic of the roles fulfilled by women and men both in the private and public spheres, and the collective rather than the individual. Its additional value lies in the fact that it provides potential enabling of the growth/emergence of the expected meanings. What has an ordering influence on what, when and how is said, is the characteristics of social relations, rigour of the subjugation of individuals, imposing on them the position and pathways to femininity, masculinity, and the style of life and work in the broadly understood social field. Male pupils are taught a genderised linguistic code, which places them in the space of chances for making a choice from among the huge range of syntactic forms and using it in hundreds of ways in compliance with the logic of male domination. However, the choice made by pupils is limited, as it does not fully result from the "little researchers'" conscious search, and is additionally grounded in the "magic of [cultural] parameters" rather than in a set of genetic factors.

The manner of the construction of knowledge at school harms both male and female pupils. The teachers' "falsified" interpretation of the potential of discursive space in this scope almost perfectly hides all the assumptions of the "quiet" gender politics, directing the children's thinking towards "paper" equality. The objectified treatment of pupils, in particular female ones, by both male and female teachers leads to a clarity of unambiguous understanding of the roles played as well as their limits. Linguistic entanglement in the imposed trajectory of the development of the young person's identity closes the circle of meanings, which has implications not only in the form of an imposition of an "instruction manual" concerning the construct in the form of knowledge, but, above all, implications in the social and psychological spheres.

The division of children who learn into gender-based groups reflects a premeditated and disciplining configuration of the social field, in consistence with the line of the social division of achievements, activities, and (non)actions. The school manner of using this knowledge and judging it makes it a public phenomenon entangled with the process of distribution and the location of knowledge in the social space. Therefore, we may assume that the school field with its androcentrism creates the "appropriate" conditions not only for the replication of its characteristic power relationship, but also meanings in a precisely determined framing. The framing refers to the teacher's and pupil's executed scope of control, and the determination of the rate and spatiotemporal configuration of knowledge offered and reproduced in discursive genderised pedagogical practices (Bernstein 1990).

Elementary forms of consciousness and intentionality located in the pupil's behaviours and perceptive experiences show that their relation to the school

knowledge remains harmonised with the teachers' traditional way of thinking about the gender-hierarchized algorithm of its "transmission" and control. Every individual is an owner of a network of elements of intentionality showing a collection of mental powers over the manners of interaction with the world, while the dispositions and abilities contained in the habitus of the gender subjects of education build their background. The pupils' resistance as shown in the empirical material is an important theoretical and ideological construct which teachers of both sexes perceive with moral and political indignation. Although the meaning of the oppositional behaviour of male pupils, who more often than girls perform discursive acts of resistance, should not be combined with deviation, pathology, and helplessness, nevertheless teachers do associate it with these features. The teachers' perception of intentionality, consciousness, and meanings constituting the main categories rooted in the logic of resistance (Giroux 2010, p. 137) remains consistent with the traditional "grammar" of school life. The perspective of emancipatory rationality manifested in the pupils' consciousness in parallel processes of the construction of knowledge and the male habitus needs a reliable definition of resistance, a "purification" of the teachers' (in)sensitivity, a new way of seeing the subject, and a free, while simultaneously non-conformist reflection in the context of undistorted basic human values.

Literature

- Barker Ch., 2005, *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*, Sage Publications, London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi.
- Barnes D., 1982, *From Communication to Curriculum*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Bernstein B., 1990, *Odtwarzanie kultury* [Reproduction of Culture], PIW, Warszawa.
- Bochno E., 2009, *Stereotyp płci czy płć języka? Szkolne interakcje komunikacyjne nauczycielek z uczennicami i uczniami* [Gender Stereotype or the Gender of Language? School Communication Interactions Between Female Teachers and Pupils of Both Sexes], [in:] *Koniec mitu niewinności. Płć i seksualność w socjalizacji i edukacji* [The End of the Myth of Innocence. Gender and Sexuality in Socialisation and Education], L. Kopciewicz, E. Zierkiewicz (eds.), Wydawnictwo Psychologii i Kultury Eneteia, Warszawa.
- Bourdieu P., 2008, *Zmysł praktyczny* [A Practical Sense], tł. M. Falski, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków.
- Bourdieu P., Wacquant L., 1992, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Brannon L., 2002, *Gender: Psychological Perspectives?*, Allyn & Bacon, Boston.
- Bruner J.S., 1975, *The Ontogenesis of Speech Acts*, "Journal of Child Language", Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1–19.
- Bruner J., 1996, *The Culture of Education*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Foucault M., 1995, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, Vintage Books, New York.
- Galasiński D., 2008a, *Dyskurs a nieznośna lekkość psychopatologii* [Discourse and the Unbearable Lightness of Psychopathology], [in:] *Krytyczna analiza dyskursu. Interdyscyplinarne podejście do komunikacji społecznej* [Critical Discourse Analysis. Interdisciplinary

- Approach to Social Communication], A. Duszak, N. Fairclough (eds.). Universitas, Kraków.
- Galasiński D., 2008b, *Men and the Language of Emotions*, Palgrave Macmillan, UK.
- Giroux H.A., 2010, *Reprodukcja. Opór i akomodacja* [Reproduction. Resistance and Accommodation], [in:] H.A. Giroux, L. Witkowski (eds.), *Edukacja i sfera publiczna. Idee i doświadczenia pedagogiki radykalnej* [Education and the Public Sphere. Ideas and Experiences of Radical Pedagogy], Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", Kraków.
- Howe Chr., 1997, *Gender and Classroom Interaction: a Research Review*, SCRE, The Scottish Council for Research in Education, SCRE, Edinburgh.
- Karwatowska M., Szpyra-Kozłowska J., 2005, *Lingwistyka płci. Ona i on w języku polskim* [Gender Linguistics. She and He in the Polish Language], Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin.
- Klus-Stańska D., 2002, *Konstruowanie wiedzy w szkole* [The Construction of Knowledge at School], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, Olsztyn.
- Kohlberg L., Mayer R., 1972, *Development as the Aim of Education*, "Harvard Educational Review" Vol. 42, No. 4.
- Konarzewski K., 1991, *Problemy i schematy. Pierwszy rok nauki szkolnej dziecka* [Problems and Schemes. The First Year of the Child's School Education], Wydawnictwo Akademickie "Żak", Warszawa.
- Kopciwicz L., 2003, *Polityka kobiecości jako pedagogika różnic* [The Politics of Femininity as a Pedagogy of Differences], Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", Kraków.
- Kopciwicz L., 2007, *Rodzaj i edukacja. Studium fenomenograficzne z zastosowaniem teorii społecznej Pierre'a Bourdieu* [Gender and Education. A Phenomenographical Study Using Pierre Bourdieu's Social Theory], Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej Edukacji TWP, Wrocław.
- Kruszewski K., 1993, *45 minut, czyli prawie cała historia jednej lekcji* [45 Minutes or an Almost Whole History of One Lesson], Wydawnictwa Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Kwaśnica R., 1987, *Dwie racjonalności. Od filozofii sensu ku pedagogice ogólnej* [Two Rationalities. From the Philosophy of Sense to General Pedagogy], Instytut Kształcenia Nauczycieli im. Władysława Spasowskiego w Warszawie, Oddział Doskonalenia we Wrocławiu.
- Melosik Z., 2006, *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej* [The Crisis of Masculinity in Modern Culture], Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", Kraków.
- Pankowska D., 2004, *Wychowanie a role płciowe* [Childrearing and Gender Roles], Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk.
- Piaget J., 1996, *Studia z psychologii dziecka* [Studies on Child Psychology], PWN, Warszawa.
- Putkiewicz E., 2002, *Proces komunikowania się na lekcji* [The Process of Communication during Classes], Wydawnictwo APS, Warszawa.
- Swann J., 2004, *Schooled Language: Language and Gender in Educational Settings*, [in:] J. Holmes, M. Meyerhoff (eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.
- Sunderland L., 2000, *New Understandings of Gender and Language Classroom Research: Text, Teacher Talk and Student Talk*, "Language Teaching Research", Vol. 4, No. 2.
- Sunderland J., 2006, *State of the Art Review Article: Gender, Language and Language Education*, "Language Teaching", Vol. 33, No. 4.
- Swann J., 2008, *Talk Control. An Illustration from the Classroom of Problems in Analysing Male Dominance of Conversation, in Language and Gender*, J. Coates (ed.), Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

Sztejnberg A., 2006, *Profesjonalna baza wiedzy nauczyciela* [Teacher's Professional Database], [in:] *Komunikacyjne środowisko nauczania i uczenia się* [Communicative Teaching and the Learning Environment], Wydawnictwo Astrum, Wrocław.

Summary

Discursive Construction of Knowledge in Line with the Logic of the Development of the Male Habitus of Pupils in the Classroom

This article explores ways in which school knowledge structures norms of masculinity and is structured by them. It arose out of an interest in how participation in lessons can serve as a masculinizing practice – a practice that helps shape, reinforce and validate the constructions of certain versions of masculinities – and how boys construct identities that are consonant or at odds with this practice.

Keywords

gender, knowledge, inequality, habitus, school

Martyna Klaus-Kowalska
University of Gdansk

On Their Way to Manhood: Boys in Single-Sex Schools

Introduction

Single-sex education¹, which used to be commonplace², in recent years is making a strong comeback. While it is still not an obvious choice in Poland – far from it – there are many people who are interested in separating the sexes in education, and people founding and successfully leading single-sex schools. The ones that already function are usually elitist in character, are private and officially non-denominational (Stradowski 2013, p. 25)³.

The best known single-sex schools in Poland, both for girls and for boys, are run by Stowarzyszenie Wspierania Edukacji i Rodziny “Sternik” [Education and Family Support Association “Sternik”], founded in 2003 by a group of parents, with its headquarters in Warsaw. Well established and recognizable, the Warsaw establishment became a model and almost a “mother” for Gdansk’s Stowarzyszenie Kulturalnego Wspierania Edukacji i Rodziny “SKWER”⁴. The cooperation of both associations can be seen in many aspects of their everyday activities and their schools.

The aim of this article is to establish the model of masculinity (man and religion, gender, civic duty) promoted by single-sex schools, specifically by Warsaw’s

¹ The English term *single-sex education* is translated by the author, like by most Polish educators, usually as “*edukacja zróżnicowana ze względu na płeć*”. Sometimes also the terms “*edukacja monoplciowa*”, “*edukacja jednopłciowa*”, and “*edukacja monogamiczna płciowo*” are used (comp. Śliwerski 2011).

² Single-sex education is the oldest kind of education known to humanity, although in the 20th century, because of, among other things, communist ideology, it was forgotten. The turn of centuries sees some attempts to return to gender segregation in schools, treated as something entirely new, as an alternative to co-education, strongly rooted in human mentality for only several decades.

³ In 2007, there were only 75 private single-sex schools in Poland, while in the United States (according to 2011 studies) there were ca. 400 public (state) schools of this kind.

⁴ The “SKWER” association was founded in 2000, but only through following the experiences of “Sternik” it started to develop more strongly and actively work in the area of single-sex education (www.skwer.org.pl, accessed on 13.12.2014).

elementary school for boys “Żagle” (run by “Sternik”) and Gdansk’s school “Fregata” (a similar school run by “SKWER”), a model that is quite analogous, which is the result of the previously described relationship.

All the information about both schools was acquired by the author from their official websites (www.sternik.edu.pl and www.skwer.org.pl), as, which is worth noting, she was not permitted to access directly the schools run by the Gdansk association. She was not given any specific reasons behind this decision.

Conceptual analysis

In order to be able to analyse the model of manhood promoted by single-sex schools, one first needs to define it. *Słownik Współczesnego Języka Polskiego* [Dictionary of the Modern Polish Language] defines *męskość* – *masculinity* as “the totality of traits typical for a man; his attitude, facial features, behaviour” (Słownik 1996, p. 509). What, therefore, are typically male traits? The same dictionary describes *męstwo* – *manhood*, from which the Polish word for *masculinity* is derived as “courage, bravery, heroism, fearlessness, valour, endurance” (Słownik 1996, p. 509). However, these are only a few of the traits typically ascribed to men. This set is often expanded by traits connected with the roles played by men in society. Among the positive traits posited there usually are: independence, dominance, ambitiously striving to achieve one’s goals, self-reliance, rationality, logic, self-restraint and self-control, abstract thinking, activity, firmness, decisiveness, and effectiveness. The negative traits include: difficulty with establishing close relations with people, emotional frigidness, aggression, callousness, tactlessness (Brannon 2002, p. 212–225).

According to the proponents of single-sex education, the thus-defined masculinity is inherent to every boy, but today it does not fully come to the surface in many cases, is erased, and mixed in the process of upbringing with traits traditionally ascribed to women and womanhood, and opposed to all the ones listed above. The single-sex schools described in this study, already by separating boys from girls, want to protect this masculinity, by first and foremost emphasising its positive aspects, and working on suppressing the negative ones. Their ideological closeness to the manly traits listed in the dictionary is seen already in one’s first contact with them – in the logo, a symbol that is to summarise the project’s foundations concisely but clearly.

The logo – a symbol of masculinity

The schools in question are spiritually close to the organisation founded in 1928 by the priest Josemaría Escrivá de Balaguer, known generally as Opus Dei (God’s Work). The first schools based on the doctrine promoted by this religious

movement were founded in Spain in the 1960s. Their core was to be the teaching of navigation – not literally, but metaphorically. Navigation was understood as moral education, which not only was to allow the child to “sail out” of the family home (port), but first and foremost to constantly keep the once chosen, correct course, among the tempests and maelstroms of everyday life (seas and oceans). This reference to sailing resulted in the coat of arms used by the organisation, which depicts a sailing ship. (Nalaskowski 1991, p. 4–5)

The coat of arms of the Spanish schools became an inspiration for their Polish “branches”. The arms of the “Żagle” [Sails] school refers to navigation through many of its details. The most important one is the steering wheel and a ship ascending high waves and reaching towards a star/comet. This symbolism depicts conquering hardships on one’s way to truth. The star itself is to either evoke the Star of Bethlehem, guiding the Three Magi to the new-born Child, or The Virgin Mary (Stella Maris – Star of the Sea). The Latin inscription at the bottom reads “Duc in altum” (“Sail towards the depths”).

The “Fregata”⁵ school has a much more modest coat of arms. In addition to the waves, there is only a steering wheel. The reference of the symbolism of both coats of arms to masculinity seems clear. A boy graduating from one of these schools, a man, should not fear the hardships that life puts in front of him. He should strive to reach for the truth, which can be done only through following clear norms, grounded in many years of tradition, here very much sanctified by Christianity⁶.

The mission of both schools undoubtedly develops further the model of masculinity illustrated by both symbols.

The mission, or a task to be fulfilled

The activity of schools, both co-educational and single sex, has always been focused on two basic aims. The first one, for years seen as supreme, was the teaching of knowledge and skills, and the second one, was raising the young generation to follow the established norms and ideals.

These aims dominated the mission and everyday life of both the analysed schools. The education and upbringing in the schools should first and foremost: be at a high level, bring out the children’s hidden potential, and support their holistic development: intellectual (mind), moral (will), physical (body) and spiritual (feelings). By adjusting to the specific needs and preferences of pupils (different

⁵ The names of schools/associations – “Sternik” [Helmsman], „Żagle” [Sails], “Fregata” [Frigate] – are also connected with sailing onto the deep sea.

⁶ The associations running the schools strongly emphasise their officially non-denominational character, seeing Christian principles as ethical (Christian identity), and therefore linking acquiring them with shaping a boy to be a good man, not necessarily a Christian. However, this does not change the fact that a child, not knowing Christianity, cannot become well disposed towards this religion. The school should facilitate familiarizing oneself with it (the apostolate idea).

for boys and girls), and basing on Christian values, single-sex schools prioritise shaping the boys' good habits and virtues, and teaching them to boldly face challenges that the reality puts in front of them. "In cooperation with families [school as an "extension of home"⁷] we try to shape spiritually mature men, responsible citizens who will care for the common good, competent and efficient workers, sensitive members of future families, men with a passion for learning and constantly perfecting themselves – persevering, industrious, honest and responsible people, with solidarity and entrepreneurship, able to overcome hardships and to serve others" (www.sternik.edu.pl – *Historia i misja* [History and mission]).

It is worth noting that both schools operate on the basis of an educational concept recognised by many prestigious schools in the world, which is centred around the idea, popular in the middle ages, of the seven liberal arts (skills characterizing a free man) – a concept known as Liberal Arts Education. Based on its guidelines, a school educates and brings up a free man, i.e. one with vast knowledge and high learning skills, one who is wise – able to distinguish good from evil, open to others, one who understands himself and the surrounding world, one who is open and flexible in his thinking, which is to help him in the constantly changing world, and, finally, one who thinks critically, and therefore wisely shapes the world and can play the role of a leader.

The mission of sex-segregated schools also refers several times to the person of the teacher, who, alongside the parent and pupil, shapes a given institution to a large extent. The requirements for teaching at these kinds of schools are high and are not without influence on the key concept of masculinity.

The teacher – a model of masculinity

The right selection of staff, in the time of a crisis of school institutions, when the youth, asked about authority figures, often point to none of them, is a matter of great importance. Single-sex schools rigorously select their candidates, wanting the chosen ones to be a role model for the students, representing, by their attitude and life, the values promoted by the schools, and therefore, by themselves to "support the boys in discovering their manhood and shaping their strong character" (*Historia i misja*) [History and Mission].

For a given teacher to even be taken into consideration in the recruitment process, they must be a man. A woman, because of her gender, is without any chances in this competition. Why a man? This is especially because – as argued by the schools' management – he also used to be a boy, and only someone like this can

⁷ This means that the school is to support and continue the principles and values that the family imbues the child with, is to actively support the upbringing. For this to be possible, before admitting the child to the school, the candidates' families are rigorously and acutely selected. The school could not support a family that would stand out from the school in terms of lifestyle.

understand the distinctive conditions of growing up to be a man. Only communication from a man is fully understood for another man, as it is clear and brief (unlike the way women communicate). Furthermore, only someone of the same sex, who also competes, fights, craves for risk and adventures, can develop such natural urges in his pupils.

It is stipulated that a teacher in a boys' school, a real, heterosexual man, should be married, and have a full family, and therefore the kind in which all of his chosen pupils are being brought up⁸. If he does not already, he should in the future. These guidelines, connected with the school's Christian identity, do not create a dissonance between home and school (the parent and the teacher are two parallel, not divergent models), and guide the boy, despite spending most of the day without women, towards heterosexual relationships, which dominate in society.

Among many requirements that the staff is subject to, two more issues deserve attention in the context of masculinity and manhood. The first one is an expression used by the principal of the "Żagle" school when explaining his selection of employees. According to him, the teacher should bring up pupils to be "Christian gentlemen", being one himself, based on the convergence of theory and practice, words and actions (*List od Dyrektora, Szkoła Podstawowa dla chłopców* [Letter from the Principal, Elementary School for Boys]). They should be Christian, and therefore, in brief, guided by the ten commandments in everyday life; gentlemen, and therefore men who are "well behaved, tactful, being able to act appropriately in every situation, and trustworthy."

The second issue that teachers are to be especially helpful with, and which is also connected with being a gentlemen, is bringing the pupils up to be "men that their [parents' or teachers'] daughters would like to marry (*List od Dyrektora, Szkoła Podstawowa dla chłopców* [Letter from the Principal, Elementary School for Boys]). This is a very general statement, as for each person different aspects might hold value, but its connotations, however one might interpret it, are decidedly positive and sound promising. In order to realise such an ambitious goal – to bring up someone to be a man desired by the "fairer sex" – a set of rules and guidelines was created that the schools should follow in order to bring out the boys' hidden potential.

School organisation

The way a given school is organised is not without influence on the model of masculinity it promotes. Furthermore, the school, being subject to top-down guidelines, significantly reinforces this model.

Aside from male teachers and adjusting the educational requirements to the developmental stage of the boys, the schools also: divide the year into three trimes-

⁸ It is important for the student to have both a mother and (especially) a father. Due to random events (such as a parent's death), this requirement does not always correspond with reality.

ters; have a special organisation of the day, adjusted to the students; have a preferred method of studying – working in groups; base the teaching on guidelines taken from the philosophical doctrine of empiricism; put emphasis on the reading skill; have specific rules in place for when the student is on school grounds; have a programme of so called “good habits”; use a Christian spiritual formation based on the methods of the aforementioned Opus Dei; work closely with the parents.

In the normal, co-educational school that most Polish students attend, the school year is divided into two semesters, and only at the end of the year does one receive a school report with the results of one’s ten-month’s efforts. The same-sex schools for boys modified this sanctified tradition and divided the year into three shorter parts. What was their motivation? Again, it is trying to meet manly needs. According to the psychological studies they cite, this division (adequate stimulation) positively influences the students’ motivation and the effects of the effort are measurable and quickly visible, which is important from the point of view of the boys.

The organisation of the school day is also different. Analogously, based on studies claiming that boys, in order to have fewer problems with concentration in class, need a significant amount of exercise, the management of these same-sex schools decided to introduce in younger grades, aside from the regular physical education classes, two additional “running breaks” (40 minutes before noon and 60 in the afternoon), and in older grades “recreation time”⁹.

During physical activities, but especially during mental ones, boys often work/play in groups, as this is how most of their activities outside of school look, usually including their later professional activity. Young men are fond of competition and it is this work in groups (when possible balanced in terms of skills, talents) under the watchful eye of the teacher-referee which is to allow them to realise this natural tendency. The rules that regulate this cooperation also teach the boys to honourably compete, using the rules of fair play.

Cooperation, in order to bring the expected results, according to the same-sex school doctrine, is often based on practical experience. It is seen as the most effective for boys, most noticeable from the outside in putting lessons of a given subject, or even different subjects (e.g. art and technology), in blocs, which allows them to realise many projects and achieve quick effects of their work. Students from the analysed schools also have access to a programme of school trips that allow them to see things discussed in class in practice. The fact of the school having a garden cared for by the students is also emphasised (which helps them see directly some things discussed in natural sciences classes).

The garden, usually taken care of and cultivated by women, can be an argument for abolishing, not reinforcing the gender stereotypes by the schools. The

⁹ The author was not able to acquire information on how much time is given for “recreation” to older students. It is likely that this is not constant and is adjusted to the needs of students or arbitrarily set by teachers.

same applies to reading skills. Only by observing the environment, people on the streets, in public transport, can one determine that it is women who tend to read books more often. It is also believed that girls master reading more quickly. Schools for boys see infusing their students with a love for literature and improving the inglorious statistics as one of their priorities (around 60% of men do not read any books in a given year). The daily schedule includes one hour for reading any book. Additionally, at the beginning of their school career, the children also attend reading and writing preparation classes and throughout their school education, they can also participate in additional reading-related activities, such as the "Żagle" school's programme entitled *Książki dla ambitnych* [Books for the ambitious] or a family event *Czytanie to męska rzecz* [Reading is a manly thing]. These efforts quickly bear fruit, as their third grade students achieve results in reading tests typical for sixth-graders. A real man is, if not a major book enthusiast, at least someone who is not averse to them.

This reading development, among other things, would not be possible if not for the specific rules regulating the way pupils function in the school (another distinctive component). The rules are formulated in the first person (e.g. "I care", "I try"), for the most part are devoid of the word "no" (negation, negative associations), and are divided into four categories: "my attitude", "relations with others", "behaviour in school", "classwork". The first of these categories obliges boys to be cheerful and smiling, to set challenges for themselves as high as their capabilities, to improve themselves, admit their mistakes, speak the truth and cultivate their language; the second one is about agreeable cooperation, caring about their friendships, being of service to others, using polite phrases ("I'm sorry", "please", "thank you", "good morning", "goodbye" etc.), showing respect to others, not using violence to resolve conflicts nor in any other situation; the third is about punctuality, cleanliness, respect for others' property, neat appearance (uniform), keeping silence in the school building; the fourth is about: being prepared for lessons, obediently following the teacher's commands, not disturbing others, leaving your desk clean after finishing work, volunteering to speak up when an opportunity arises. As the twig is bent, so grows the tree – rules formulated in this way, if mutually respected and realised in reality, will likely have positive results in the future. A pupil shaped in this way will definitely become the "gentleman" that the schools strive to create.

Such rules of conduct became the foundation for one of the most important programmes realised by both schools – the year-long programme of so called "good habits", according to which each month of the school year has an assigned virtue that one should work on in a given period. According to the school management, the aim of the programme is to shape the students' character and prepare them to face adulthood. What is more, this takes place not only at school but especially at home, under the watchful eye of the parents, who every month are given a description and specific guidelines helpful in working with their son. In the school year 2014/2015, the habits chosen, starting with September, were: order-

liness, industriousness, bravery, perseverance, friendship, generosity, responsibility, obedience, honesty, joy. This clearly determines the model of man promoted by the schools. Of particular interest, from the point of view of this article, is the November habit – bravery. It is worth looking at for a while longer.

The didactical plan for November, for classes 0–3 and 4–6, is comprised of weekly slogans and the category of piety. Younger boys were to try to realise the following mottos: “I like hard tasks” (1st week), “I don’t give up easily” (2nd week), “Instead of crying and complaining – I talk” (3rd week), “I set ambitious goals for myself”, by praying for the dead as part of piety (4th week). In turn, the older students were obliged to remember about daily prayer and realised the following: “I fight for valuable things” (1st week), “I eat what I am given” (2nd week), “What is valuable doesn’t come easily, but I don’t surrender to hardships” (3rd week), “Dedication makes us brave” (4th week). Each of these mottos is accompanied by a commentary that aids in their understanding. To quote some fragments: 1) “Anyone can do easy things, but only mature, brave, courageous people decide to take on harder challenges [...] All situations can be coped with eventually; 2) Bravery can also be practiced during meals. We don’t always like the meals we are given; [...] a brave person is not picky, does not complain but eats everything [...] does not allow himself to be driven by momentary dislike; 3) When something hurts us a little, we have a small scratch or we fall, we don’t have to complain [...] we clean the wound, stick on a band-aid and forget about it [...] To be brave is not to complain but to solve problems; 4) The virtue of bravery makes a man happier, because he is able to solve many problems in life and he quickly forgets about his failures”. This is seen as how a pupil of a single-sex school should always behave as a real man.

The character of the sex-segregated schools, as was previously mentioned, is also shaped by their spiritual foundation based on the teachings of the Catholic Church, inspired by the life of Saint Josemaría Escrivá, the founder of Opus Dei. While admitting their Christian identity, both schools are officially classified as non-denominational (they are not run by any Church institution), not imposing their views, and respecting the liberty of conscience. If someone does not share their religious views, they are not obliged to do so, although Christianity is a source of a number of habits and virtues (honesty, generosity, love of one’s neighbour, spirit of service), thanks to which one can make good choices in life, be a good man and citizen. People of other faiths are familiarised with the above, as, according to the people in charge of the schools, one cannot freely choose Christianity without knowing it. Each of the schools has its own priest, an Opus Dei representative, who gives individual aid to the boys and their families. The students are, from the beginning, instilled with the message that work and normal life circumstances are an opportunity to meet God, serve others and to improve their society (the motto of Josemaría Escrivá).

When analysing the organisation of sex-segregated schools that are to bring the students closer to fully achieving their masculinity, one cannot forget about

parents (both of them!) – an equal link in the school-home-child triad. The school authorities of the schools emphasise that it is the parents that bear the full responsibility for bringing up their children. The school is only to assist with that and cooperate with the home when it comes to promoting the values and educational principles. One of the most distinctive initiatives of these schools, which aims for the widely understood integration of the child with the parents, and especially the father – the model and authority, a very important guardian for the young boys – is the so called father and son trips. Each excursion includes campfires, football matches, various activities whose goal is to strengthen the bond between father and son, looking at the son's relations with the peers through a fatherly eye, meeting other fathers to exchange experiences. By spending free time among men, a boy has an opportunity to see masculinity in practice, to choose the best parts of it so that, in the future, as a graduate of a sex-segregated school, he can become a real man.

Graduate profile

Both schools emphasise both the intellectual and the spiritual development of their pupils. By realising their guidelines, they want each boy leaving their confines to not only have the knowledge needed for further stages of education, but also to be self-reliant and disciplined; creative, ready for taking on the effort of learning for his entire life; willing to cooperate, able to cope with problems faced in everyday life and to adjust to changing conditions of the surrounding reality; respectful of his neighbours, moral, a good man, living in accordance with his conscience shaped according to Catholic norms (*Profil absolwenta* [Graduate profile], Fregata). This is another set of traits characterising masculinity according to the sex-segregated schools.

Conclusions

Single-sex schools for boys through practically every action, more or less consciously, bring their pupils closer to the traditional model of masculinity. The sum of the traits and attitudes listed in this article that should characterise a boy attending "Żagle" or "Fregata", according to the schools themselves, juxtaposed with the dictionary definition of masculinity and manhood mentioned in the beginning of the article, allows us to notice that the masculinity promoted by both schools, although it includes the scientific explanation, also expands it, adding several traits connected with the junction point between masculinity and religion (Christianity), such as masculinity understood as dedication and serving others. However, I think that most of the postulated traits fit into the traditional view of a real man, well rooted in the social consciousness. What does this result from? The proponents

of single-sex education directly state that a man is different from a woman and should be aware of it in a world where masculinity and femininity are often being mixed and it is becoming harder to define both of these categories. Although equal, they are different, and not all differences can be transgressed, despite the will and many attempts at combating them. If single-sex schools are gaining more and more proponents, the need for masculinity and femininity as understood for centuries and promoted by these schools still exists and has a basis for it in a world dominated by the right to pluralism and tolerance ensured by the democratic institutions, and, first and foremost, by the right to free choice for all. Maybe other schools, other people, prefer more feminised models of masculinity, or maybe have different priorities altogether, but these schools for boys have set their own course and keep to it consistently. They can.

Literature

- Brannon L., 2011, *Gender: Psychological Perspectives*, Boston.
- Słownik Współczesnego Języka Polskiego* [Dictionary of Modern Polish Language], 1996, B. Dunaj (ed.), Warszawa.
- Nalaskowski A., 1991, *Szkoła jako „Opus Dei” (przykład hiszpański)* [The School as “Opus Dei” (a Spanish Example)], Toruń.
- Sobol E. (ed.), 1993, *Mały Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* [PWN Little Dictionary of the Polish Language], Warszawa.
- Stradowski M., 2013, *Wychowanie do męskości w szkołach zróżnicowanych* [Education for Masculinity in Single-sex Schools], “Kwartalnik Naukowy” nr 1.
- Stowarzyszenie Kulturalne Wspierania Edukacji i Rodziny „SKWER”, www.skwer.org.pl [accessed on: 13.12.2014].
- Stowarzyszenie Wspierania Edukacji i Rodziny „Sternik”, www.sternik.edu.pl [accessed on: 13.12.2014].
- Szkoła Podstawowa dla chłopców “Fregata”, www.szkoladlachlopcow.pl [accessed on: 23.12.2014].
- Szkoła Podstawowa dla chłopców “Żagle”, www.zagle.sternik.edu.pl [accessed on: 23.12.2014].
- Śliwerski B., *Debata o szkołach sukcesu w edukacji* [Debate on Schools of Success in Education], Prof. Bogusław Śliwerski’s blog, 07.10.2011, www.sliwerski-pedagog.blogspot.com/2011/10/szkoy-sukcesu-w-edukacji.html [accessed on: 15.12.2014].

Summary

On their way to manhood: boys in single sex schools

This articles is an exploration of the ways in which single sex schools structure the norms of masculinity: how participation in single sex schooling may serve as a masculinizing practice – a practice that helps shape, reinforce and validate the constructions

of certain versions of masculinity – and how boys construct identities that are consonant with this practice.

Keywords

masculinity, school, identity, single-sex education

Olga Śnieżko
University of Gdansk

Men and Women in Islam: Between the Stereotype and the Reality in Northern Sudan

This text explores the culture of Northern Sudan from the point of view of gender-related problems, which are very clearly determined by the religion dominating in the region. Northern Sudan is an area of my broad empirical research concerning the impact (i.e. the crossing, abrogating, and strengthening) of religion and tradition on the local gender politics of the body, health, and sexuality, as well as the related practices (in particular the practice of female circumcision). In this article, I shall only relate to a small scope of my explorations concerning the impact of religion on the concept of femininity and masculinity. Intentionally, it will not be an “unmasking” interpretation aimed at showing the distance between the local culture permeated with religious elements and the Western culture, and identifying, naming, and condemning its shortcomings. It is, rather, an attempt at an interpretation that is naive, accepting and does not question cultural categories significant for the culture of Northern Sudan. However, I have not managed to entirely avoid references to the Western attitude. This article will present both theoretical reconstructions, and fragments of narrations – the first interviews I conducted with women from Sudan in the summer of 2014.

Culture and religion of Islam

The beginnings of the culture of Islam date back to the 7th century AD. At the same time, the religion of Muhammad – Islam – was also born. Just like the civilizational culture of Islam, the religion is uniquely varied and dynamic. At the base of the culture of Islam lies an imposed religious affiliation. In the history of Islam, the culture is believed to be victorious with the built-in manifestation of its superiority over the defeated (Meier 1998, pp. 9–15).

Initially, Islam was perceived as revolutionary – an equal significance of men and women in the economy and society was highlighted, which was also reflected in the religion. In the historical period referred to as matriarchy, women had a so-

cial and political advantage over men. Indeed, women had the greatest power in society. The visions of femininity were connected with beauty, knowledge, desire, fertility, and love. One of the main assumptions behind patriarchy – the historical epoch that followed matriarchy – was the domination of men. Man symbolised reason, wisdom, knowledge, fertility, majesty, and law (Krzak 2007, pp. 11–21).

From Europeans, contact with the religious tradition of Islam requires exceptional tolerance, in particular intellectual. The notion of tradition largely lies at the gist of every religion. What is more, in the Muslim society tradition is hugely valued for its continuity; it is handed down from generation to generation. It is also worth pointing out that tradition gives sense to the symbolic values cultivated by the followers of this religion. Although the religious tradition of Islam does not enrich the everyday modernity of Muslims, it sets the social order, providing the “permanent ground necessary for all change” (Trzaskowski 2011, p. 73).

What has special significance in the Muslim tradition is *sunnah*. This notion is understood as the “custom of ancestors”. What is more, *sunnah* was perceived as the “tradition inherited from previous generations, covering the accepted, but also the neutral and the condemned” (Abdallah 2009, p. 20). *Sunnah* is one of the sources of the Muslim law. It is also worth pointing out that in the ethical sense, *sunnah* dictates ways of conduct in the daily life of its followers.

In the Arab-Muslim societies, the cultural discourse concerning the situation of women and men should not be understood as a clear-cut one. However, in the opinion of the West, the approach to the issues of gender equality and the fair division of women and men’s social roles is stereotypical in the countries in which Islam is the state religion, and today the attitude of the West is also extremely filled with fear of Islamic terrorism, religious radicalism, and generally by the sense of “war” between the civilization of Islam and the civilization of the West.

The roles of men and women in the society of Sudan are closely determined by religion and the system of law called Sharia. One of its main assumptions is the control of all aspects of the Muslim’s life. It is, however, worth pointing out that the social behaviour of men and women in some situations is marked by a large dose of freedom – for example in Sudanese society, the majority of women do not cover their hair in public places, although faithfulness to the precepts of religion would dictate otherwise.

The woman in Muslim society

Since the times of Jahiliyyah, there have been positive changes to the life of women. It is believed that the treatment of women changed from being objectified to being subjectified. Along with the coming of Islam, a new woman emerged – the free woman of Islam. Since that moment we may officially refer to the Muslim woman who has acquired the possibility to learn – to deepen and improve her knowledge. Islam granted women the right to possess property that is respected and can be kept in the case of a divorce. In comparison with the period of jahiliyyah, the current situ-

ation of women has been entirely revolutionised and is tantamount to a great step forward towards liberation from the continuous pressure of the Arab customs and traditions. As an individual, the woman acquired equal status with the man.

Islam also let women shape their own individual personalities, and it became a road to liberation – to becoming free from the burdening stereotypes that accompanied them in their daily lives before. Owing to the religion of Islam, Muslim women acquired a high social position, in particular in the fulfilment of their basic roles of daughters, mothers, and individuals active in the particular areas of social life. Since then women became equal to men in broadly understood social, economic, and political rights. Islam destroyed the heretofore existing sense of injustice and oppression in relation to women in the social sphere (Abu-Rub Zabza 2008, p. 6).

Equal status of women and men, and women's rights, allowed women to become enlightened Muslims able to look at themselves in a different, more positive, light.

Today, Muslim women usually successfully combine the roles of wives and mothers with their professional duties, just like women in Europe. We also need to point out that our cultures and religions are different – they are based on different values. In the Arab society, religion fulfils the superior function. It is the mechanism controlling the entire life of the Muslim society. Women in Islam have real influence on their lives and the lives of their families; men consider their wives opinions.

In contrast to the period of jahiliyyah, when women had no rights and were treated as objects, Islam covered women with care and respect. In the opinion of the West, this religion enslaves and limits women by imposing on them the obligation to cover themselves and thus limiting their human rights, which – in the local understanding – is not entirely true. The Quran does not contain any information confirming the issue. It provides that women may cover themselves if they want to. What is a fact is that a Muslim woman out of her own free will reserves her beauty, if we understand beauty as the naked body, solely to her husband.

The man in the Muslim society

The role the man plays in the Muslim society is much different to the role played by the woman, although men and women have the same religious duties.

Depending on the relations with the people in his surroundings, the man undertakes a variety of social roles. Islam as a legal, religious, and cultural system determines the rights and obligations of the man referred to as (www.eioba.pl/a/23t/mezczyzni-i-kobiety-w-islamie):

1. grandfather;
2. uncle;
3. father;
4. brother;
5. son;
6. husband;

7. nephew;
8. man who is not a relative.

In view of masculine thoughtfulness and the wisdom of men's minds, men are not only able, but also obliged to care for women, who are physically weaker and are perceived as emotional (Machut-Mendecka 2008, pp. 24–25). Men are vested with the obligation to provide for their families.

Conception of sexual life in Islam

As far as the image of the body is concerned, men and women should cover their *'awrah*, i.e. the areas of their bodies which should not be visible to others. The man's *'awrah* spreads between his navel and knees, while the woman's *'awrah* covers her entire body with the exception of the face and palms. If a man and a woman are a married couple, then they do not have to cover their *'awrah* in each other's presence.

[...] Female sexual organs are associated with a hidden aspect of divinity [...] hence, female sexuality is reserved solely for the husband. Male sexuality on the other hand is reserved solely for the wife. [...] according to Islam, a Muslim using his sexuality in the legal way shall be rewarded [...]. Islam encourages men and women to enter into marriage, since it is marriage that Allah made the only [...] way, through which Muslims may satisfy their sexual desire. [...] Maintaining the continuity of the human race through procreation [...]. In Islam, the question of sex is not a problem. This religion also placed [...] certain barriers to the sexual drive – not to stop its development, but to stimulate and control its direction. Islam perceives the human sexual drive as people's natural need that must be satisfied rather than suppressed [...] The condition however is to satisfy it in a legal manner. (Bazsak 2003, 13.10.2014, pp. 35–38; Alsheha 13.10.2014).

One of the main aspects of femininity is sexuality – femininity in the aspect of sexuality is reserved solely for the husband. Sexuality is an indispensable and special asset of femininity, but it is not meant for show. The sexuality of Muslim women is wrapped in mystery, and hidden from “aliens”.

Stereotypical manners of presenting men and women. The reality of Northern Sudan

Islam respects women and guarantees equal rights to them

At present, there is a lot of debate on the status of women in Islam in the Western discourse. The topic is discussed in connection with attempts at adjusting the Muslim culture to the Western culture (or, more precisely, at showing its fundamental maladjustment). What is noteworthy, women's rights and obligations in Islam differ from the universal, globally-recognised human rights.

As our discussion concerning the stereotypical presentation of Muslim women unfolds, we may turn particular attention to the image created by the media. We seem to think of Muslim women as individuals who are backward, veiled and clothed in dark robes. What is more, when talking about women in Islam, we focus on the lack of esteem, the limitation of rights and the general absence of respect on the part of men. Is this picture of a Muslim woman true? What are the grounds behind such judgements and opinions?

In the religious-cultural tradition of Islam, women's status is equal with men's status. What is more, women are covered by respect and care. The interviewed women said for example:

Allah gave women their rights through al-Quran [...] (interview 2).

Owing to Islam, women acquired the rights they did not have previously: the right to decide, to marry, to inherit, to keep their dowries, to divorce, to decide about family matters (interview 3).

Islam perceives women, both non-married and married ones, as persons with their own rights, such as the right to own and make independent use of possessions and earnings without supervision (of the father, husband, or anyone else). They have the right to buy, sell, give gifts and alms, and may spend their money on whatever they want [...] (interview 4).

Muslim women – beauty hidden under the hijab

Opinions of the West concerning the functioning of Muslim women in the public sphere are shaped on the basis of stereotypes closely related to their clothing. The veiled woman is typically seen as “unlettered” and uneducated, and her life is perceived as limited solely to the home sphere.

However, as results from my interviews with women subjects, the veiled woman perceives herself through her faith, which determines her. The hijab, jilbab or niqab are garments marked by strong religious meaning, which shows to the world a woman who is modest, kind-hearted, and full of respect for her own dignity. By hiding her femininity under the specific clothing, she directs other people's attention to the beauty of her heart.

Women of the Near East, when wearing the hijab, jilbab, or niqab, protect themselves against inappropriate treatment, in particular by men. The benefits of the Muslim clothing worn by women are related to the protection of the female *'awrah* covering their entire bodies, respect for her, and, surprisingly to us, her freedom. The freedom of the woman wearing the hijab is expressed through the clothing, which, for her, provides an opportunity to manifest and seek her rights in the modern world. The Muslim woman wearing her clothes shows the strength of her faith. The religious meaning of the Muslim attire is stressed by the fact that it is worn by women. A Muslim woman's faith, if it comes from her heart, is true and is connected with happiness; it determines her identity, choice, and will.

Muslim women are perceived only and solely as ladies of the house and guardians of the hearth. However, from the religious point of view, the woman is created to be a mother and wife, and these are not her only roles determined by the Muslim society. The Muslim woman should be socially active, she should be active in various social organisations, and in the area of politics.

Covering hair is not related to an impossibility to participate in public life. This is evidenced by women who are active in the field of politics or in various political or social organisations. A woman who decides to wear the veil encounters no barriers to be active in the society (interview 3).

Clothing is to hide the woman and her beauty from the public sight; it may not highlight her beauty. Muslim women hide their hair, as it is no doubt a part of every woman's beauty. These limitations protect the woman's honour in the public place, directing people's attention to her personality traits rather than her beauty... (interview 4).

I wear hijab, but this is not related in any way to the concept of the public sphere or civic life. I put on the hijab out of a certain internal need based on my faith in Islam and this is probably so for every Muslim woman who wears it. (interview 5).

We, people of the West, typically create ungrounded stereotypes concerning women dressed in the black abayat. We perceive this clothing as a crucial evidence of enslavement; our beliefs on the situation of Muslim women are developed on the basis of the way they dress. The external, generally very superficial interpretation of the situation of women dressed in a non-European manner is limited, and we do not take into account all the aspects, all the issues which "speak through" this clothing. The cover does not prevent Muslim women from being educated, enlightened, and aware of their rights and possibilities.

Man as husband and father or archetypal warrior

We all know that the Muslim society is patriarchal. In theory, the man is considered a potential ruler. The man must ensure material prosperity for his family. He is also to look after the ethical/moral side of his marriage. He is ascribed the role of the archetypal warrior as a highly oppressive model of masculinity. In the Muslim society, the man plays the roles of a father, friend, strength, and provider for the woman. Man's culture is expressed through the provision of care and material security to the woman, and through looking after her.

Obviously, in every country in which Islam is the state religion, the situation is different and largely culture-determined.

The women's and the men's spaces are clearly separated from each other – this is a foundation of Muslim societies. Men draw advantages from the external world, and women rule the internal world. It is also worth pointing out that what is particularly clearly visible in the categories of "femininity" and "masculinity" is the traits highlighting gender, such as "anatomy, personality attributes, division of duties and social roles of men and women" (Grochola-Szczepanek 2009, p. 41).

Stereotypes are an unavoidable element of daily life. Without any doubt, the stereotypes result from the different culture in which Europeans are brought up. What is more, some individuals associate people from the African continent – in view of their skin colour and cultural differences – with inferiority and stupidity. This stereotype has a long history going back to colonial times (Kusio 2011, p. 23). As far as the use of stereotypes is concerned, we focus all our attention on the awareness of the fact and the cognitive limitations they carry. One of the main problems of the reality in which stereotypes are present is the fact that they always affect the cognitive structure of the society. More than that, the unconscious use of stereotypes and their consequences in social life lead to their uncritical acceptance. The perspective of the multidimensional functioning of men broadens the horizons, but also unavoidably leads to the emergence of conflicts (Kleina 2011, pp. 199–205).

In the tradition of the Arab-Muslim world, men and women function in separate, alien and non-familiarised worlds. It is worth pointing out that these worlds permeate each other, but just like for men, being themselves for women is possible only in the company of persons of their own gender; in other words, a woman can only be herself among women, and a man can only be himself among men.

In the Arab society, the situation of women changes very slowly and insignificantly. In the majority of societies, it is still dictated by tradition. The idea of gender is mainly shaped under the influence of the Arab culture and religion. In the Arab society, gender is understood in the categories of the opposition of better and worse. As a result, the woman is perceived in relation to the man as an individual who is subordinate and dependent. As aforementioned, in the Arab world, space is divided into that for men and that for women. The division accentuates the strict separation of duties between men and women. Today, we can observe certain changes, such as the ones taking place in the Sudanese society, where an increasing number of women are active in the public space previously culturally reserved solely for men.

In the Arab-Muslim society, the world is divided into the external one, in which men function, and the internal one, which is meant for women. Important family events in the Arab-Muslim tradition are yet another aspect determining separate space in the functioning of both sexes. The existence of a relation between the external and the internal areas is marked in the case of ritualised events related to celebrations: for example during a wedding party, when men and women share a space, enjoying themselves together. Likewise, under funeral-related customs in Sudan, women and men jointly remain awake for the watch over their dead ones, reciting verses from the Quran.

Conclusion

A contact with a different culture, even if we have a certain scope of knowledge about it, is related to an experience of a culture shock. With its 30 million km², Africa is one of the largest continents. The dissimilarity of the histories of Africa

and Europe is mainly the effect of differences between the two continents (Kusio 2011, p. 23). It should also be underlined that in Northern Sudan, and in particular in its capital city, Khartoum, Islam is the majority religion. Generally speaking, the languages which predominate in this area are Arabic and English. The most important issue in the manner in which notions to do with "femininity" and "masculinity" are created is a "set of traits and behaviours connected with gender, which are consistent with the stereotypes prevailing in a given culture" (Grochola-Szczepanek 2009, p. 41).

The picture of men and women in Islam is shaped on the basis of values other than European ones. It should be stressed that the perception of Muslim women as individuals without their own opinions, at the mercy of men, does not reflect the reality of Northern Sudan. In the cultural tradition of Islam, men and women are ascribed different duties, partially justified by biological differences: thus, the main tasks of the man include the obligation to provide for the home, while childcare is the woman's obligation. In recent years, women increasingly have undertaken work, and are socially and politically active, winning financial independence.

In Islam, relationships between women and men are shaped on the basis of values which are much different to European ones. It is true that for persons brought up in a different culture, some kinds of behaviour may be surprising or may raise concern. However, on the other hand, in contrast to the prevailing opinions and media reports, it is possible to observe respect in relation to women.

The Near East and the North and South of Africa are areas considered the least stable ones in today's world. What is more, they are also areas of the greatest unrest and conflicts, a part of which is the cultural and religious gender politics.

Literature

- Abdallah B., 2009, *Rola tradycji muzułmańskiej w egzegezie Koranu* [The Role of Muslim Tradition in the Quran Exegesis], [in:] J. Adamowski, J. Styk (eds.), *Tradycja dla współczesności. Ciągłość i zmiana. Tradycja w tekstach kultury* [Tradition for Contemporaneity. Continuity and Change. Tradition in Cultural Texts], vol. 2, Lublin.
- Abu-Rub H., Zabża B., 2008, *Status kobiety w islamie* [Status of the Woman in Islam], Katowice.
- Alsheha A., *Islam a seks* [Islam and Sex], peb.pl, Białystok, Poland [accessed on 13.10.2014].
- Baszak E., 2003, *Współżycie seksualne w kulturze islamu* [Sexual Intercourse in the Culture of Islam], "Seksuologia Polska", nr 1.
- Grochola-Szczepanek H., 2009, *Kobiecość i męskość w tradycji i kulturze współczesnej Spisza* [Femininity and Masculinity in the Contemporary Tradition and Culture of Spisz], [in:] Adamowski J., Styk J. (eds.), *Tradycja dla współczesności. Ciągłość i zmiana. Tradycja w tekstach kultury* [Tradition for Contemporaneity. Continuity and Change. Tradition in Cultural Texts], vol. 2, Lublin.
- Kleina A., 2011, *Uczenie się międzykulturowe jako szansa na przełamywanie stereotypów narodowych* [Intercultural Learning as a Chance for Breaking National Stereotypes], [in:] A. Szerląg (ed.), *Konflikt i dialog w wybranych społecznościach wielokulturowych* [Conflict and Dialogue in Selected Multicultural Communities], Wrocław.

- Krzak Z., 2007, *Od matriarchatu do patriarchatu* [From Matriarchy to Patriarchy], Warszawa.
- Kusio U., 2011, *Tradycyjne kultury Afryki w paradygmacie determinizmu geograficznego Jareda Diamonda* [Traditional Cultures of Africa in the Paradigm of Jared Diamond's Geographic Determinism], [in:] J. Adamowski, M. Wójcicka (eds.), *Tradycja dla współczesności. Ciągłość i zmiana. Tradycja w tekstach kultury* [Tradition for Contemporaneity. Continuity and Change. Tradition in Cultural Texts], vol. 4, Lublin.
- Machut-Mendecka E., 2008, *Kobieta bez zasłony. Muzułmanka w świetle wiary i kultury* [Woman with no Veil. Muslim Women in the Light of Faith and Culture], [in:] *Być kobietą w Oriencie* [Being a Woman in the Orient], D. Chmielowska, B. Grabowska, E. Machut-Mendecka (eds.), Warszawa.
- Meier M., 1998, *Islam* [Islam], [in:] M. Kardasz, Z. Jurkowlaniec, B. Lada (eds.), *Wielkie kultury świata. Islam. Chiny. Japonia. Kultury andyjskie* [Great Cultures of the World. Islam. China. Japan. The Andean Cultures], Warszawa.
- Trzaskowski Z., 2011, *Tradycja religijna w procesie przemian kulturowych* [Religious Tradition in the Process of Cultural Transformations], [in:] J. Adamowski, M. Wójcicka (eds.), *Tradycja dla współczesności. Ciągłość i zmiana. Tradycja w tekstach kultury* [Tradition for Contemporaneity. Continuity and Change. Tradition in Cultural Texts], vol. 4, Lublin.

Internet sources:

- www.eioba.pl/a723t/mezczyzni-i-kobiety-w-islamie [accessed on 06.01.2015].
- www.euroislam.pl [accessed on 15.10.2014].

Summary

Men and Women in Islam: Between the Stereotype and the Reality in Northern Sudan

The article explores social and religious discourses on gender in Sudan and how this relates to the gender politics of this country. It explores what sexual politics are and why the idea of gender provides a useful analytical tool for looking at the culture of the country.

Keywords

gender, Islam, stereotype, Sudan

Piotr Prósinowski
Joanna Ranachowska
University of Gdansk

Masculinity on your Screens: Constructs of Men and their Sexualities in Role-Playing Video Games, Films, and Adverts

Today most of the cultural texts built of images, narrations, and sounds refer to the new media. People come across this type of message on a daily basis, since our daily life has been strongly filled with new technologies, and what some time ago was just science fiction, now reflects the order of the everyday life of the 21st century society. Reality has been extended to include new meanings, and technological progress has made contemporary people want to catch up with novelties. Today, our daily lives incorporate social media, and an extensive range of the online *multi-player and single-player games with their virtual individuals*. The world of fiction increasingly permeates our reality – a fact promoted by our computers and smartphones ceaselessly working in an online status. Michał Klichowski and Mariusz Przybyła pointed out (2013, pp. 147–148) that people discover a reality that is augmented owing to applications in their tablets and smartphones, but also owing to such inventions as Google Glass, while practically speaking they also start to exist virtually through such products as SmartBand:

[...] Even if you are not within your smartphone's range, this intelligent gadget will record information on your activity and will automatically send it once your connection is restored. Record your lifestyle and daily activity using the Lifelog app (<http://www.sonymobile.com/pl/products/smartwear/smartband-swr10/> [accessed on 17.12.2014])

Modern technology, without any doubt, contributes to the digitation of daily life. People experience themselves not only as “real people”, but also, in a certain way, as digital beings. It is also in games – both single- and multi-player ones – that we find both representations of real players and virtual beings, bots with their artificial intelligence that are programmed to perform concrete actions.

Virtual worlds intermingle with real worlds, and, just like people learn owing to technologies and media, the technology “learns” about people: programs sug-

gest amenities tracing and analysing users' manner of work, while virtual opponents in games try to anticipate each other's steps.

Since the technology, media and technical progress as such have a great impact on shaping humans, we need to have a closer look at the educational side of the media, images, virtual gameplays and other modern cultural texts such as video games, apps, and digital adaptations of what used to have paper form, i.e. books, including comics. What is educational in the contemporary adverts? What, one may ask, can we see on the silver screen and what in the black mirror of the computer?

New cultural texts contain images of women and men, thus becoming an influential platform of gender-related socialisation and shaping of knowledge on what men and women should be like. These messages also offer homunculuses – artificial people created for the purposes of advertising campaigns, the development of the epic quality of films, or creating an original virtual gameplay. The homunculuses are both artists' depiction of the viewers, and a peculiar design of what the viewers should be like. They are a type of a merger of the expectations and suggestions that may result from one's belief on what is feminine and also what is masculine.

Our paper aims at an indication of several significant aspects of modern virtual-multimedia cultural texts – texts that demand more in-depth sociological, psychological and pedagogical analyses.

Stereotypization of gender – personality traits and physical appearance

Stereotypes are ubiquitous, and there are as many types of them as there are easily noticeable traits allowing for the identification and naming of concrete social groups. In other words, we may differentiate stereotypes which are related to one's ethnicity, gender, age, religion, social origin, and even one's job. This is not all, since along with the development of technology, there emerged stereotypical references related to people's digital activity – e.g. people living in villages are often associated with an absence of access to a computer or an inability to catch up with technological novelties. Similarly, one may frequently come across the image of "serious people keeping both feet on the ground", who are associated with *not* playing video games.

In order to be able to refer to stereotypes in advertising, films and games, we need to grasp what is, currently, described as masculine and what feminine; therefore, we shall focus on gender stereotypes and on what they really are. According to Deaux and Lewis, gender stereotyping includes the following four components: specific personality traits, specific roles (behaviours), physical appearance, and professional references (Wasilewska 1997).

When analysing the above fragment, we may notice that stereotypes are based on cultural beliefs highlighting concrete physical and mental traits, but also

a specific position in the society, which is determined by the sketching of the individual's typical appearance and profession. In this way a safe framework is created – it is safe because it guarantees order, with categorization facilitating the understanding and reception of the reality. However, questions arise here – what about individuals who do not fit the image? What if the framework is too narrow or too broad?

Those persons who do not fit the definition of an image are often marginalised, since people do not know which category they should be ascribed to, and their very presence makes one question what so far was a foundation; it suggests the incompleteness or incorrectness of a stereotype, while stereotypes are to provide a specific safety in the area of the reception of the reality (by ordering it).

When it comes to the ordering of reality, it is worth having a closer look at what traits, behaviours, and professions are associated with the individual sexes, which is closely related to the conception itself of gender and the social requirements posed to men and women.

Table 1. Traits, behaviours, and professions associated with the individual sexes

Criterion of division	Women	Men
Personality traits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – emotional – dependent – self-sacrificing – delicate – tender – gentle – sensitive – caring – submissive – coquettish – talkative – spendthrift – indecisive – infantile 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – rational – independent – active – competent – intelligent – able to cope in difficult situations – decisive – confident – willing to be a leader – aggressive – physically strong – courageous – resourceful
Roles (behaviours)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – fulfil themselves as mothers – run the house and perform the related actions – serve men – professionally active 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – the head of the house – breadwinner – professionally active – displaying initiative

Criterion of division	Women	Men
Physical appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – delicate – move gracefully – have a pleasant voice – smiling – care about their appearance – physically attractive – objects of desire 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – tall – strong – wide chest
Jobs (professions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – teacher – hair stylist – waitress – beautician – secretary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – car mechanic – constructor – director – office worker – driver

Source: author's own compilation on the basis of: (Wasilewska 1997, pp. 83–85; Bajkowski 2010, pp. 211–215).

When searching for similarities and differences in the area of stereotypes, we may notice that men are usually identified as persons who are serious (although not excessively) and above all keep both feet on the ground and deal with matters of higher importance. Men are shown as acting subjects, active nonconformists, with a competitive drive that is highly valued in the contemporary employment market – much more so than the qualities of understanding, empathy, and emotionality, which are associated with women. Interestingly, this rather strongly coincides with what is usually expected of women, i.e. looking after the home, family, children, and the elderly. If a woman decides to work, then her professional activity oscillates around the caring and teaching professions. Let us have a look at Table 1. A desirable role of a woman at home is looking after children, and also among the suitable professions we can find that of a teacher – most often of the younger, kindergarten and early school children – which results from the belief that childrearing and looking after children are women's tasks. Another type of profession emerging from the table is the caring professions: a hair stylist, or a beautician, who look after our appearance. Similar expectations are formulated in relation to the private sphere, where it is also the woman who is expected to care for the aesthetics, order, decorations and interior design, at the same being herself pretty and beauty-oriented. The third category that can be noticed in the table is the role of a supporter, someone facilitating and helping to perform serious positions and tasks (assistant, secretary). Women's tasks include assisting those who are better or have a better position, knowledge, and experience: chefs, managers, directors. Female activities are related to a whole range of down-to-earth

and trivial tasks “unworthy of higher positions” such as bringing coffee, preparing the table, etc.. Through this division, some actions are veiled in seriousness and secrecy, while others become insignificant tasks, thus making the persons performing them automatically “less significant”. Such a division in the scope of the image of persons and actions reflects the division into the sacred and the profane, where the sacred refers to the creation and handling of issues of great importance behind the closed doors of the office or kitchen, while the profane refers to the presence of the uninitiated, the ones without a voice, who perform simple tasks on the other side, behind the closed office doors.

What are, generally speaking, the consequences of the functioning of such images? The consequences of gender stereotypes include both men’s and women’s thinking differently about themselves and their presentation of themselves to others, but also different treatment of both sexes by their environments (for instance by other people or social institutions), which results in their different behaviours and life histories. Ultimately, this very often leads to the phenomenon of the self-fulfilling prophecy, i.e. a confirmation of the stereotypes (Wojcieszke 2006).

Images of men in advertising

What comes to our minds when starting to reflect on advertising is a travesty of the beginning of the aforementioned fragment on stereotypes: advertisements are ubiquitous. People encounter a plethora of advertising messages every day: on TV, on billboards, while browsing through YouTube videos, in the spam in their emails, on the radio, in leaflets, in free smartphone and tablet apps – we might go on endlessly. People are surrounded by advertisements all the time and must be to some extent shaped by the narrations and images contained in these advertising messages since they become a natural part of their social environment.

Since advertising time is very limited, advertisers need to use simplifications for their message (content) to be fully understood by the entire audience. What follows, advertisements have to be based on a limited palette of norms, values, and models of behaviour of a given culture – which does not reflect the complexity of the entire real world (Kozłowska 2011, p. 392). Dariusz Doliński points out, however, that we cannot compare the negative psychosocial consequences of advertising messages to their effectiveness in the area of their impact on consumers’ attitudes and behaviours (Doliński 1994, p. 12). This is because the use of stereotypes – created by culture and people themselves – in advertising is aimed not only at a simplification of the process of communication with the recipient during the short (lasting up to a couple of minutes) contact with the message, but also, to a certain extent, answers the expectations (Kozłowska 2011, p. 394).

As usual, a question appears as to whose expectations here are taken into account. Do not men’s expectations of women (and the other way round: women’s expectations of men) become, in advertising, living phantasms, non-real phanta-

sies preying on the needs of physical contact, safety, satisfaction, consumption, contact with the superficially ideal, pleasant, exciting or pleasingly irritating?

However, we should also remember about another advertising strategy: the creation of needs, not just responding to expectations. The “must have” effect has become as equally important as the “must be such” one – the models presented in ads become a standard clothed in popular brands. By raising cultural pressure in the audience, a wish to be the same construct is built. Therefore, a man should have beautiful hair, roam the city in a sprightly gait, and be a swashbuckling male: both a gentleman and a conqueror, and a protector. At the same time, women should – in line with the advertising message – take care of themselves, be beautiful, slim, tempting, and paradoxically both independent and submissive, since men should also like them when they are in their arms, and so they should be guided by men’s dreams and expectations. It is worth adding that such an image is shown both by the companies manufacturing clothes, and those offering food, services, holidays, literature (depending on the imagined recipient), medications, games, household goods, and in particular technological gadgets.

The topic of attractiveness and sexual performance is very often undertaken in advertising. It is enough to just look at the number of ads of medications improving sexual performance. Very popular are also email messages (spam) discussing the issue. Below are just a few examples of spam messages concerning sexuality and physical appearance.

EXAMPLE ONE:

Topic: Size of penis is important!

Content: [Name of medication] is a 100% safe food supplement recommended by doctors, which enlarges and thickens the male member by as much as 40% of the original size. It also increases libido and helps blood flow into the member; as a result blood fills and permanently extends blood vessels referred to as cavernous bodies [the correct name is: cavernous bodies – authors’ note] of the penis. In a longer perspective, the above results in the thickening and enlargement of the penis, and allows a stronger erection.

[Name of medication] is a 2–3 cm larger penis after just three weeks of application! Full, long, and strong erection after just a couple of days!

EXAMPLE TWO:

Topic: Do you desire to impress your woman tonight?

Content: She will be impressed by your potency [link]

EXAMPLE THREE:

Topic: Do you want to have the skin of a 20-year-old?

Content: As we age, we start having problems with the complexion. Skin is no longer as flexible as it used to be and wrinkles finally appear.

Thousands of women all over the world used this method [link], managing to get rid of wrinkles in just three weeks! [link]

As we can see, the desires to satisfy sexual needs and the requirements of one's appearance are here both created and strengthened. The focus is on pleasure, on how others see us (with an intention to surprise them) and on an improvement of very broadly understood biological defects. The advertisements in question of the medications improving potency very often accentuate the fact that they contain natural ingredients and improve health.

What prevails in the advertisements is the vision of a man as an alpha male, a model every man should strive to be – someone who is a swashbuckling muscled fighter, sportsman, a handsome carer, a heteronormative lover. In the majority of the advertising micro-universes, we meet independent men. Of course, there are also many advertisements presenting “helpless” men, but this is mainly the case in advertisements of detergents, i.e. ones in which women are typically cast as the main heroines, specialists on washing, doing shopping, and having good looks.

Interestingly, in the present-day ads even products have gender. The market offers such products as creams just for men, but, surprisingly, also magnesium or yoghurt for men. As much as the targeting of some products to concrete persons can be justified, in the cases in question, gender is by chance constructed in a caricatural way.

The creators of advertisements base their products on stereotypes and they use them in a variety of ways. One of them consists in a stereotypical determination of the target group – in this situation we deal with the application of widespread beliefs about “typical women” or “typical men”, adjusting the content of the message to the thus-determined audience (Doliński 2003, pp. 158–159), and, what follows, to making references to fantasies, often erotic ones. The context in which the advertised product is shown is simultaneously a suggestion of socially desirable and stereotypical behaviours and beliefs. Therefore, the recipient of the advertisement learns that, for instance, women should be particularly careful about their physical appearance (Bator 1998, p. 12). Another way of using stereotypes in advertisements is showing individuals looking and behaving in a specific manner that is consistent with socially acceptable schemes, and associating such individuals with specific objects (including types of advertising products), space, and activities. It is worth adding that the clichés showed in advertisements vary; depending on the type of advertisement, different types of stereotypes concerning specific social groups are shown (Szczęsna 2007, p. 173).

There are advertisements in which the providers consciously show contradictions to the dominating stereotypes and beliefs in the real world. This measure is aimed at winning the viewers' attention and making the advertisement stand out from the others. Examples include the showing of reversed (in relation to what is deemed universal thinking of the viewers) social roles (Frątczak-Rudnicka 1997, p. 98). This measure, nevertheless, only proves how strongly rooted in the society the stereotypes are. This is because, according to Joanna Bator, such advertisements remain in the sphere of parody or pastiche, thus testifying to which attitudes or behaviours are socially acceptable (Bator 1998, p. 9).

Advertisements shape a certain model of a human being; they consolidate and cement the expected. In a way, they socialise. People watch advertisements from their childhood and exist in their virtual universe, which translates to the increasing intermingling of the worlds: the fictitious world of advertisements and what the majority would call reality. There is just one question: to what extent is the “reality” still what we would like to actually call the reality?

Heroes and “women in refrigerators”

In search of socialising models of masculinity, we should also pay attention to films. Films are another important type of texts of culture, a way of expressing ideas, beliefs, opinions, expectations, and meanings, including sexuality and masculinity.

Everybody knows productions such as *Rambo*, *Demolition Man*, *Crank* – films presenting a male destroyer, in which action consists of a series of situations requiring power and aggression. They are not the latest productions, but they still exist in culture, and are familiar to the youngest generations, which proves their social attractiveness and longevity. However, there are also films going a step further, using a motif of the so called woman in the refrigerator.

“Women in refrigerators” is a motif used in films, comic books, and games – generally speaking in cultural texts – consisting in casting the woman in the role of the so-called *plot device* – something that moves the plot forward. The “plot moving” involves the necessity to degrade women: a woman is murdered, raped, hurt or captured just to give a male hero an opportunity to avenge or save her. The woman becomes a part of the scenography; she becomes absent for the benefit of the male action. A catalogue of women treated in this way in comics (which deepen the motif) can be found in a website devoted to similar analyses (<http://lby3.com/wir/>).

Film adaptations of comics have also become popular, and – provided they immortalize an important element of the pop-culture: cult-status stories of heroes, whose significance should not be taken away – also eternalise a large part of stories based on the motif in question. The male hero becomes the predominant influence, exercising pressure on young men, creating the need to identify exactly with these and no other men, who on the one hand rescue situations, but on the other take women’s revenge and action into their own hands, making the women passive in their own story.

However, we also need to mention changes, as an increasing number of interesting productions become available and provide new meanings, trying to show women in an active, angry, but also rescuing roles. Interesting examples include the 2014 film *Maleficent*, in which a woman who is both angry and active is the main protagonist. Obviously, a man is also a part of the story, but without a narrative structure, in which making a woman a helpless delicate being is an indispensable element.

“Masculine homunculuses” in role-play video games

Video games are also, as J. Z. Szeja (2004, p. 3) noticed a rather long time ago, important cultural texts. Unfortunately, Polish pedagogy continues to ignore this part of culture and omits this socialisation area in its research. Just like literature, video games tell stories and have their protagonists, which makes them very interesting and popular among both boys and girls who play together with their parents or without them (<http://www.git2013.pl/konto/materialy>). In this place we might compare games to children’s literature: games and apps become a new version of entertainment, learning, and attractive narration.

Games present – most often in a fragmentary manner – the life of both male and female heroes. We decided to perform an analysis of the construction of selected game protagonists to see what stories lie behind the concrete pixel clothes, and to show what stories win the status of permanent elements of culture.

It is worth beginning with the popular figure of Max Payne from the game under the same title. The game, just like the aforementioned films about heroes, uses a motif of a “woman in a refrigerator” – Max, a policeman, is to take revenge for his wife and daughter who were brutally murdered in their own home by criminals drugged with a substance called Valkyr. Max sets off for a lonely fight, being eyeball to eyeball – or rather gun to gun – with a crowd of criminals involved in the massacre. Just like in comic book adaptations, a woman appears for a moment at the very beginning just to become absent: she is to vanish after initiating the plot, leaving the entire game scene to the man.

The game *Alan Wake*, which just like *Max Payne* was produced by Remedy Entertainment, has a similar structure. The title protagonist, Alan, a writer authoring best-selling horrors, is to find his beloved Alice, who suddenly disappeared from their joint holidays in a small town of Bright Falls. The protagonist faces the task of roaming the murky surroundings of the town, fighting with beings of the darkness, hiding himself in the lantern light, and discovering the history of the town – all in order to find Alice, who – despite being absent – becomes an element of Alan’s story: a story full of fear and fight. Both *Max Payne* and *Alan Wake* made their mark on the history of games. A film under the same title was made on the basis of Max’s story, while for example Filip Kondrak’s text *Alan Wake, czyli podróż do źródeł twórczości [Alan Wake or a Journey to the Sources of Creativity]* (Kondrak 2012) provides evidence that the game *Alan Wake* was noticed as well. These games were noticed by both gamers and other environments. A question arises – does their unquestioned success mean that the society needs an image of a rescuing and revenging man? This is because on the one hand we have excellent sales figures and the popularity of the games under discussion, but on the other – a good, well-designed story, which nevertheless places women in the far background, doing it in a very specific way.

Some developers tried to place women in their stories, making them the main protagonists. In the well-known series *Assassin’s Creed* we become an assassin and

travel through the story performing tasks that mainly consist in murdering selected targets. Most of the protagonists are men: they are silent, resourceful, dangerous, and well-trained – but the developer also created a part of the game called *Assassin's Creed: Liberation*, in which a woman is the protagonist for the first time. The element of changing outfits and hiding was developed in a very specific way. The main available outfits are:

- the outfit of an assassin (standard combat outfit allowing access to all the available weapons);
- the outfit of a female slave (with limited access to weapons);
- the outfit of a lady (limiting movement and weaponry, but allowing to seduce men).

Available are also some special outfits – one alternative outfit for each of the above. The element of hiding and blending with the crowd was also present in the other games from this series, but it was only in this one that the authors implemented the possibility of a typically feminine seduction. Should this be considered a strongpoint or the placement of women in a stereotypical role? Fans of the game and services reviewing games often mention the implementation of outfit changing in *Assassin's Creed: Liberation*. One of the reviews put it in the following way:

Here, a beautiful outfit is used primarily to hoodwink guards and seduce our main targets. However, what we lack is the possibility to run and climb, which made me feel as if I was tied with thick rope. A beautiful maid additionally willy-nilly attracts rascals wondering about the place, and we are forced to get rid of them all by ourselves. What about the guards then? They, on the other hand, after a flirtatious smile, will let us in to the guarded area; however, leaving it will be tantamount to a crime which, here, is with no exception punished with death. Obviously the game simultaneously makes the player frequently juggle different garments (sometimes even during a single mission), from time to time providing them with as much as a feel of liberty in determining their own approach to a concrete task. However, this is the case much too rarely, and the very walks to the “changing room” artificially prolong the gameplay that lasts for about 12 hours (www.benchmark.pl/testy_i_recenzje/assassin-s-creed-liberation-hd-recenzja.html).

The reviewer is right when stressing that *Liberation* is dominated by “changing clothes”. Is not the version with the “feminine strategy” a cheap burlesque in contrast with the male quiet killers from the other parts? The game is also criticized for being easy in comparison to the other parts from this series.

An important figure in new video games is Iron Bull from *Dragon Age: Inquisition*. Iron Bull is a mercenary, a man from the Qunari race – a massively strong people with an untypical religion called Qun; he is a semi-naked muscled fighter with grey skin. Just like all other Qunaris, he has horns. He is a very confident commander who is sometimes jokey. He is designed to fight with huge types of weapons: axes, large swords, etc. He is rather dominant by nature and is shown as a great alpha male. Apart from a romance (a series of additional talks with the main character) with women, this character may also choose narration allowing

a romance with another man. This was tantamount to the breaking of a taboo and built a very strong contrast, since traits associated with a “real man” (power, sexual drive, confidence, leadership skills) are contrasted with a specific construction of sexuality – the character represents pansexuality: he is able to fall in love with someone outside the different sex category. Iron Bull thus breaks the heteronormativity, and the developers play with sexual conventions and difficult topics, sensitising players to the significance of certain social situations. Interestingly, a transgender figure is Bull’s deputy in commanding his mercenaries.

An even more interesting example of an image of men in a game is *Fragments of Him*, a game launched in 2015, in which the gamer becomes a man trying to cope with his male lover’s death. Practically speaking, the game combines two topics which are still partially tabooed and uncomfortable for many people – death and love for a person of our own sex.

In our opinion, games try to balance two clear representations of men: that of macho men and that of men who are “invisible”, absent in the consciousness of the broad audience. Does the fact that the game developers enter tabooed areas of culture herald changes?

What also seems important is the appearance of minorities – which brings games closer to reality. Obviously, some people may say that games do it in a very awkward way. It is true, not all the constructs are successful – this applies to women and men, places and events. Everything depends on the presentation of the story, artwork, and the potential of immersion in the universe (Filiciak 2006, pp. 62–63), but what is significant is the very fact that they break the invisibility of phenomena.

Conclusion

Contemporaneity offers a richness of new cultural texts – advertisements in brand new forms, video games, and film adaptations, and all this production is without any doubt strengthened by technological progress, an increased interactivity of practically every action, and an extension of reality. People begin to exist in a different way, and new cultural texts create a new socialisation platform. To what extent is the virtual only virtuality if people really digitalise their lives? Is it a one-sided action or does culture originating from the fictitious world have real impact on us – by presenting stories, tales, narrations, and offers, and creating needs and attempts at responding to them?

The provided cultural contents suggest what people should look like, and how they should behave, but there are also attempts – some more, and some less successful – at breaking this convention, that should also be analysed anew, as the conventions keep changing, evolve, and come in contact with people just like living beings. We may say that in a certain philosophical way people and technologies in the form of advertisements, games, and films/animations become symbiotic, since they create a new environment of daily life.

Our article touches several important topics only superficially, leaving many questions and points open, but this is its aim, since there is still insufficient research concerning this area of socialisation. It also presents ways of playing with the conventions that bring about an added value, break stagnant beliefs and the concepts of masculinity. Will new productions follow this direction or are we dealing with a non-committal “extravagance”?

Literature

- Bator J., 1998, *Wizerunek kobiety w reklamie telewizyjnej* [Women's Image in TV Advertising], Wyd. Instytutu Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa.
- Doliński D., 1994, *Glupie, naiwne i czasami długonogie* [Silly, Naive and Sometimes Long-legged], “Aida Media. Teoria i praktyka reklamy” nr 7.
- Doliński D., 2003, *Psychologiczne mechanizmy reklamy* [Psychological Mechanisms of Advertising], Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk.
- Filiciak M., 2006, *Wirtualny plac zabaw. Gry sieciowe i przemiany kultury współczesnej* [Virtual Playground. Online Games and Transformations of the Contemporary Culture], Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, Warszawa.
- Frątczak-Rudnicka B., 1997, *Kobiety w reklamie - kobiety o reklamie* [Women in Adverts – Women on Adverts], [in:] R. Siemieńska, *Portrety kobiet i mężczyzn w środkach masowego przekazu oraz podręcznikach szkolnych* [Portraits of Women and Men in the Mass Media and School Textbooks], Wyd. Scholar, Warszawa.
- Klichowski M., Przybyła M., 2013, *Cyborgizacja edukacji – próba konceptualizacji* [Cyborgization of Education – an Attempt at Conceptualisation], “Studia Edukacyjne”, nr 24.
- Kondrak K., 2012, *Alan Wake, czyli podróż do źródeł twórczości* [Alan Wake or a Journey to the Source of Creation], [in:] *Olbrzym w cieniu* [A Giant in the Shade], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków.
- Kozłowska A., 2011, *Reklama. Techniki perswazyjne* [Advertising. Persuasive Techniques], OW SGH, Warszawa.
- Szczęśna E., 2007, *Ku czemu wychowuje reklama?* [Towards What Does Advertising Educate?], [in:] M. Dudzikowa, M. Czerepaniak-Walczak (eds.) *Wychowanie. Pojęcia, procesy, konteksty* [Education. Notions, Processes, Contexts], Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk.
- Szeja J. Z., 2004, *Gry fabularne – nowe zjawisko kultury współczesnej* [Role-playing Games – a New Phenomenon of Contemporary Culture], Wydawnictwo Rabid, Kraków.
- Wasilewska M., 1997, *Wzory kobiet w reklamie telewizyjnej w Polsce* [Models of Women in Television Advertisements in Poland], [in:] R. Siemieńska (ed.), *Portrety kobiet i mężczyzn w środkach masowego przekazu oraz podręcznikach szkolnych* [Portraits of Women and Men in the Mass Media and School Textbooks], Wyd. Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa.
- Wojciszke B., 2006, *Człowiek wśród ludzi. Zarys psychologii społecznej* [Man Among People. An Outline of Social Psychology], Wyd. Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa.

Internet sources:

<http://lby3.com/wir/>

http://wyborcza.pl/1,75478,15299750,Pytamy_o_reklamy_z_gender.html

<http://www.sonymobile.com/pl/products/smartwear/smartband-swr10/>
www.benchmark.pl/testy_i_recenzje/assassin-s-creed-liberation-hd-recenzja.html

Summary

*Masculinity on your Screens: Constructs of Men and their Sexualities
in Role-Playing Video Games, Films, and Adverts*

This article explores ways in which cultural digital texts construct the norms of masculinity: how cultural consumption can act as a masculinising practice – a practice that helps shape, reinforce and validate the constructions of the dominant and the alternative versions of masculinities.

Keywords

men, video games, sexuality, popular culture, socialization

Katarzyna Klonowska
Faculty of Pedagogy
University of Warsaw

The Paradigm of Masculinity in the Context of Morality Changes: Heterosexual Male Sponsorship

The high dynamics of moral changes prompts reflection on the need to re-define the classic paradigm of masculinity. The category of masculinity is increasingly present in academic discourse, due to the occurrences of new phenomena connected with interpersonal relationships, which are men's response to social and cultural changes. Sexual sponsorship could serve as an example of such relationships. The aim of this article is to reflect on the materialization of masculinity in the relationships of heterosexual male sponsorship, with reference to existent sociological theories. The text includes a qualitative analysis of advertisements posted on the internet by men being potential sponsors who seek partners for a sponsored relationship.

Masculinity in the context of moral changes

Great attention is paid nowadays to sexualisation in the media and the public space and the tabloidization of sexuality. The approach to human sexuality has been liberalized, and sexuality in various contexts is present virtually in every area of life. We are witnessing the democratization of desire and the specific "striptease culture" (McNair 2004, p. 5). The mass media co-create the current culture in which public nudity and sexually oriented gazes are allowed as never before in history and are often encouraged because of their high marketing value.

Due to various civilization changes, traditionally perceived gender duality and the resulting division of social roles are also evolving. The gender binarism, particularly evident in the existing stereotypes regarding the proper attributes of sexual affiliation, is now being debated. Sexual stereotypes – simplified images with

a cognitive value and a role of defining the surrounding reality – are becoming less relevant. In the collective consciousness, women are usually attributed expressive or pro-social features (e.g. care for the welfare of others), while men are associated with instrumental or efficient qualities (e.g. assertiveness or control) (Deaux, Kite 2002, p. 360). Currently, these differences are becoming blurred.

The social sciences devote more space to studies related to the transformation of femininity, and the feminist thought has been quoted as *an evergreen* of gender paradigm changes for years now. Masculinity, however, is usually recognized in the context of a crisis and pejorative transformations in response to the growing dominance of women. The literature distinguishes various strategies that men adapt towards subjectively endangered masculinity, e.g. the male types characterized by Zbyszko Melosik (2002, pp. 116–164): a man of success, a Rambo, a macho, a playboy and mixed types. In the face of change, a male who had held power and exhibited the characteristics of a cultural dominator ultimately turned out to be a victim of the system and a reduced human. The response to change is bipolar: on the one hand, it is androgyny (a de-gendering concept) (Butler 2008), which embraces the harmonious combination of traits considered male and female, or complete resignation from sexuality imperatives. On the other hand, the response may involve hyper-sexualization, including the promotion of promiscuous behaviours (Kurzępa 2005, p. 177) and the excessive presentation of traits attributed stereotypically or by cultural imperatives to a particular sex. The above descriptions are paired respectively to two dominating masculinity paradigms. The first of them is the traditional model, derived from the Judeo-Christian tradition, which presents a man as a dominant figure, combining the features of physical strength and mental resilience. The second model perceives masculinity rather from an androgynous and not the androcentric perspective. In this context, the partnership of the sexes as well as the pursuit of broadly understood self-realization hold a high value (Arcimowicz 2008, p. 22). Transformations of masculinity (particularly in Western Europe) have been recognized as a continuous process, so dynamic and complex that studies of masculinity (*men's studies*) are becoming more and more popular among the academic community.

The approach to sexuality has changed as well. People began to appreciate the sex of a ludic and Dionysian character (defined by fun, freedom and pleasure) more than sex in the Apollonian aspect, cherishing harmony and beauty (Lew-Starowicz 1986, p. 74). John Bancroft claims that as a society we have handled the tabooing of pre-marital sex (moving from the model of a restrictive society to a permissive society), while extramarital sexuality is still not accepted, and perception of this type of activity in women and men is unequal (Bancroft 2011, p. 223). While women are faced with social stigma and ostracism, extramarital sexual activity of men is undeniably treated more gently. It may be one of the factors that influences men's decisions to enter into relationships based on sexual sponsorship. Sexual sponsorship is understood here as an intimate relationship between the sponsor and the sponsored person, functioning according to specific (agreed upon) prin-

ciples, and based on financial or material support of a person who the sponsor is sexually attracted to. The commercial value in a sponsored relationship is the fulfilment of the sponsor's specific expectations (social and sexual) by a sponsored person. Discretion (often anonymity) kept by people maintaining a sponsored relationship, is also an important feature. Sponsorship can be divided according to the sexual orientation of the people involved in the relationship. According to this criterion, we can distinguish heterosexual sponsorship, with the most common configuration of partners being: a man-sponsor and a younger woman as a sponsored person. A reverse relationship is less frequent. The second type is homosexual sponsorship, in which the sponsor is either a woman or a man, and a sponsored person is of the same sex as the sponsor.

A man as a sponsor in a male heterosexual sponsorship

Transformations of the male habitus, associated also with the high dynamics in sexual morality, may be reflected in men's decisions regarding relationships with women and sexual relations, e.g. in the context of sexual sponsorship. Pierre Bourdieu, referring to sociobiology, points out that a man is designed to dominate by evolution. The masculinization of a male body (and feminization of a female body) facilitates taking particular roles in the social and gender belief system. A human being engages in various types of "social games", which enable the reinforcement of masculinity in the case of a man, for example through politics, business or science (Bourdieu 2004, p. 71). A man enjoys informal social consent for the dominant position of a guardian who oversees and protects, but also looks down on an object. A man's look at a woman conveys symbolic violence. A woman, on the other hand, is assigned the position of a "symbolic object" whose core of existence is "to be seen". Therefore a woman falls into a mode of constant uncertainty, and her attributes should be: femininity, submission, mindfulness, discretion and withdrawal (Bourdieu 2004, p. 82).

Referring to Bourdieu we may wonder whether a man being in a relationship of sexual sponsorship that he controls (a relationship that is fundamentally different than a socially sanctioned marriage or increasingly sanctioned co-habitation) (Slany 2010, pp. 94–104) can consciously fulfil his domination through his superior position in the sponsorship duo. Or perhaps, rather on the contrary, if we confront Bourdieu's view, a man-sponsor can be understood not only as the symbolic violator, but as a human being trying to adapt or find his way in the contemporary reality. It is justifiable to ask whether the superior position of a man-sponsor is a strategy for the realization of male domination.

Men's involvement in sexual sponsorship may be interpreted through sociological theories regarding coping strategies in the face of social and moral changes. Sexual sponsorship can be explained by Giddens' "theory of pure relationship" (Giddens 2010, pp. 124–137), in which participants are tied only to such an extent

and for as long as the contract that they agreed upon clearly defines. According to another concept, the men's involvement in sponsored relationships may be a kind of a "mollification of risk" (Szlendak 2005, p. 250). Being the dominant person in a sponsored relationship (acting as a client for the offered services), a man spares himself the necessity to take the risk associated with a standard search for a woman (basically protecting himself against any emotional risk). The category of a 'tourist' introduced by Bauman, may be relevant with regard to sexual sponsorship (Bauman 2000, pp. 133–153). According to Bauman's concept, a man may be perceived as a collector of sensations and non-material experiences.

What do the sponsors themselves say about their choices? In order to obtain answers about men involved in sexual sponsorships, we analysed internet advertisements posted by men on the website www.sponsorazukam.pl (*www.looking-forsponsor.pl*). The analysis covered 417 advertisements posted in February 2014. The general conclusions of this study will be presented below.

An important aspect of the research results analysis was the awareness that the information contained in the ads, due to some kind of their marketing value, may not necessarily be truthful. The advertisers could deliberately publish information incompatible with reality, because the advertisement acted as self-promotion and the success in finding an attractive partner would depend primarily on the way of presenting oneself. Therefore, it is worth noting that the so-called "perfect I" of sponsors may be contrary to their "real I" and that a sense of absolute anonymity in the network may contribute to such a situation. However, this is only a hypothesis, which cannot be conclusively confirmed, and therefore the truthfulness of the statements should not be questioned, and the obtained data shall be considered true.

The advertisements differed in terms of their substantive content, because the men were completely free to post and publish any information. However, some common elements were distinguished, which eventually became the subject of analysis and provided knowledge on the three main components of establishing sex sponsorship by men. The conclusions have been divided into three groups of interrelated aspects of sponsorship:

1. Sponsor's ideas about the relationship.
2. Building of one's own image in advertisements.
3. Sponsor's requirements for the desired woman.

Ad 1. Sponsor's ideas regarding the relationship referred to issues related to the place/city of the meetings with the sponsored person. It turned out that sex sponsorship is present in many Polish cities of various sizes and populations, but it is most popular in the voivodship capital cities, which are industrial and academic centres. Most sponsorship proposals concerned Warsaw. 40% of the advertisements defined the capital as a place for establishing sponsorship relationships. It is noteworthy, however, that many potential sponsors mentioned

a certain degree of flexibility in the advertisements: I want to start a relationship on principles that will be determined by both parties. I think it doesn't have to be limited to bed". "Arrangements will be made directly by email or at a face-to-face meeting".

The issue of names given to this relationship by sponsors is also significant. Advertisers used euphemistic names: relationship, arrangement, relation, friendly arrangement, friendship with benefits, mutually beneficial arrangement, relationship with a financial background, discreet relationship, close relationship, sponsored meetings, intimate meetings, stable sponsored relationship, casual meetings, relationship of a well-known nature, and even coaching. The pay itself was not explicitly mentioned either: financial remuneration, pocket money, monthly scholarship, fixed salary, monthly lump sum, monthly salary, financial assistance. Also, sponsors made declarations: I will reward you, I will help financially.

The question of remuneration concerned its form and amount. In most cases sponsors preferred to pay for each meeting separately, and the amount ranged from 200 to 2000–3000 zlotys. The monthly salary specified in the advertisements ranged from 2,000 to 12,000 zlotys. In some advertisements, though in few only, men offered a "flat in exchange for company" as a form of remuneration. Sponsors specified discretion as a key condition that they strongly demand and which they themselves provide. To remain anonymous (which is connected with discretion), few men dared to post their photo next to their advertisement. Fearing the risk of being recognized, only some men signed their adverts with their first name, and only in few cases added their zodiac sign. Only some men brought up the hygiene issue, and very few sponsors addressed the subject of safe sex and health. Many men also pointed out that they were not looking for crypto-prostitution: they often wrote "professionals are not welcome", which clearly indicates that the sponsors themselves do not identify sponsorship with prostitution. This is probably due to the sponsor's pursuit of friendship, understanding and emotional bonds, and not only mechanical sex.

Ad 2. Creating of one's own image in the advertisements was done through the sponsor's self-portrayal. The basis for the self-presentation was a description of the physical appearance and personality/character traits. Most advertisers did not disclose the type/level of their education, but men with higher or postgraduate education prevailed among the 79 people who decided to do it. Also, only a minority of the sponsors identified their profession (24.5%) and marital status (29%). Those who opted to do it were equally proportioned between married and single, representing the profession of entrepreneur or businessman. Men were reluctant to share information concerning their family situation, and none of them revealed details about their children.

The reasons for seeking partners in sponsored relationships combine elements of the sociological theories mentioned earlier in this article. In many cases, men

explained their reasons to become a sex sponsor, and they were: desire to diversify life experiences and find an adventure; desire to fulfil certain sexual fantasies or unmet sexual needs; monotony in marriage; loneliness; being overworked, lack of time for standard dating; disenchantment with love after a breakup with their partner.

Ad 3. The third component of an advertisement was the sponsor's requirements for the desired woman. In this case, sponsors formulated detailed requirements regarding physical appearance, age and personality traits of the potential partner in a sponsored relationship. It turned out that the actual description of the potential partner took up the least space in an advertisement. Men focused on describing themselves or the rules they wanted to establish in a sponsored relationship. None of the men specified the age of the desired woman. Only general age-frames were given, and they are difficult to compare, due to their vagueness. The collected data, however, allowed to determine an upper age limit of women accepted by the sponsors. One of the sponsors identified the age for sponsored woman at 16–20 years, while the oldest potential partner was to be aged 45–60. Almost 50% of the men described their requirements of the physical appearance of a woman, whilst 60% defined their preferences in terms of personality traits. An important, frequently mentioned feature, that was desired among the women (put right next to physical attractiveness), was intelligence.

Myths about sexual sponsorship

Basing on the analysis of the advertisements, the figure of a sponsor has been demythologized. In the public mind, it is usually a middle-aged man who pays for a much younger woman, and the axis of the relationship is sex. The analysed data showed that the sponsors are usually men between 30 and 40 years old (this age was indicated by almost half of men who determined their age), and although most advertisements concerned women under 30 years of age, in many cases older women were sought, and the highest accepted age was between 45 and 60 years. This research has also allowed to partially expose the social myth that sexual sponsorship predominantly pertains to university students. It turned out that relatively few men: less than 25% ($N = 417$), were looking for students in sponsored relationships.

Sponsorship is a major challenge for research. It is a multidimensional phenomenon, and it is very hard to elaborate on it in a comprehensive and ultimate way. In this research it may be concluded that sponsorship is a clearly defined contract between two fully aware people. In this aspect, an analogy to Giddens' theory of pure relationship is evident. According to this concept, relationships between people take on a loose form and bind partners for as long and only to the extent which is acceptable for all the involved parties. These relationships are maintained whilst close contact is still a source of satisfaction, e.g. in the emotional

aspect. Giddens claims (2010, pp. 124–137) that such a relationship is characterized by a mutual trust that allows for intimacy, and after termination of the relation partners do not hold any obligations to each other, because throughout the functioning of the relationship they achieved their immediate interest.

If sponsored relationships were to be understood in this way, it seems unjustified that they should be a source of moral debate. What appears legitimate, however, is qualifying sex sponsorship as a non-standard sexual relationship or as one of the lifestyles chosen by partners. It can be concluded that sexual sponsorship is a conscious choice and a kind of men's response to the current dynamics of social and moral change.

Literature

- Arcimowicz K., 2008, *Przemiany męskości w kulturze współczesnej* [Transformations of Masculinity in Contemporary Culture], [in:] *Nowi mężczyźni? Zmieniające się modele męskości we współczesnej Polsce* [New Men? Changing Models of Masculinity in Contemporary Poland], M. Fuszar (ed.), Warsaw.
- Bancroft J., 2009, *Marriage and Co-habitation*, [in:] *Human Sexuality and its Problems*, Edinburgh.
- Bauman Z., 1997, *Tourists and Vagabonds: the Heroes and Victims of Postmodernity*, [in:] *Postmodernity and its Discontents*, Cambridge–Malden.
- Bourdieu P., 2001, *Masculine Domination*, Stanford.
- Butler J., 2006, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York.
- Deaux K., Kite M., 2008, *Gender Stereotypes*, [in:] *Psychology of Women: A Handbook of Issues and Theories*, Westport, Connecticut – London.
- Giddens A., 2008, *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Cambridge.
- Kurzępa J. 2005, *Młodzież pogranicza – „świnki”, czyli o prostytucji nieletnich* [Borderline Youth – ‘Sluts’, about the Prostitution of Minors], Kraków.
- Lew-Starowicz Z., 1986, *Słownik seksuologiczny* [Dictionary of Sexology], Warsaw.
- McNair B., 2002, *Striptease Culture: Sex, Media and the Democratization of Desire*, London and New York.
- Melosik Z., 2002, *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej* [The Crisis of Masculinity in Contemporary Culture], Poznań.
- Slany K., 2002, *Alternatywne formy życia małżeńsko-rodzinnego w ponowoczesnym świecie* [Alternative Forms of Marital and Family Life in the Post-modern World], Cracow.
- Szlendak T., 2005, *Leniwe maskotki, rekiny na smyczy. W co kultura konsumpcyjna przemieniła mężczyzn i kobiety* [Lazy Mascots, Sharks on a Leash. How Consumer Culture Changed Men and Women], Warsaw.

Summary

The Paradigm of Masculinity in the Context of Morality Changes: Heterosexual Male Sponsorship

The author of the article discusses basic assumptions of the dominant version of masculinity in the era of sexualization. The article presents selected research findings illustrating the phenomenon of heterosexual male sponsorship.

Keywords

masculinity, sexuality, sponsorship, identity, sponsor

Magdalena Stoch

Pedagogical University of Cracow

Men as Seen by Women: The Educational Potential of Contemporary Polish Feminist Literature

Research problem

The goal of this article is to reflect on the rationale for the introduction of feminising works into the literary canon at the secondary school level. I have in mind three specific works: the novel *Biało-czerwony* [White and Red] by Dawid Bieńkowski, *Cwaniary* [The Hustlers] by Sylwia Chutnik and short stories from the book *Magiczne oko* [The Magic Eye] by Izabela Filipiak¹.

I am interested in the usefulness of such texts for the purposes of fulfilling the requirements of the Core Curriculum², (as one cannot avoid this kind of thinking when it comes to schools), and, first and foremost, in their critical potential. I will focus on one motif: the literary portraits of men created through the narration of the female protagonists.

In the title of the article, I have used the term “feminist fiction”. Because feminism is currently being experienced, practiced and described differently, for the purpose of the article I will use the definition of feminist literature as a distinctive kind of socially engaged literature which comprises a form of discourse, a use of literary language that, in the Polish social and cultural context, serves social change, based on such ideals as social justice, minimising unnecessary suffering and combating violence. Such values derive from the idea of preventing discrimination, which Polish schools are explicitly obliged to observe in the Core Curriculum (*Podstawa programowa 2008*, p. 3).

The primary aim of this kind of writing (and more generally – of literature) is emancipation, understood as being capable of conscious self-determination in various areas of activity, shaped through the reading experience. A feminist text (or feminising, as I find this term to be less essentialist), as I understand it, should

¹ I by no means think that these texts are representative of the canon of Polish feminising literature. The choice is subjective and limited by the length of the article.

² *Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego dla gimnazjów i szkół ponadgimnazjalnych* [General education core curriculum for lower and upper secondary schools] enacted through the Minister of National Education regulation of 23rd December 2008.

be directed at deconstructing cultural scripts based on the categories of gender and sexuality, although the process of emancipation itself is situated only on the side of the reader. As I have stated in one of my previous conference presentations³, “feminising” literature is, to me, a fluid, individualised concept, grounded in interpretation, detached from specific texts, and at the same time highly connected with their narrative tissue. Anyone can write a feminist text regardless of their sex and gender, because the definition actually refers to the way of problematising specific issues and is, in the end, reader-oriented (as there is no guarantee that the reader will interpret a given text in the way intended by the author).

The context – research on gender education in Polish schools

The primary context of this deliberation is the research on gender and anti-discriminatory education in Polish schools. According to the report *Wielka nieobecna. O edukacji antydyskryminacyjnej w systemie edukacji formalnej w Polsce* [The great absence. On anti-discriminatory education in the formal education system in Poland] by the Anti-discrimination Education Society (Abramowicz 2011), schools tend to socialise their students well to fulfil roles traditionally assigned to men and women, regardless of how the models of femininity and masculinity are changing under the influence of emancipatory movements. However, when it comes to anti-discriminatory education, Polish schools leave much to be desired. The key terms for such education, such as xenophobia, anti-Semitism, racism, discrimination, sexual minority, gender, stereotypes, human rights, exclusion etc. are, of course, mentioned in the Core Curriculum in the context of such subjects as civic education, history, minority languages or family life education, but almost never when it comes to Polish language education, as if literature did not refer to such issues, remaining indifferent to the problem of social injustice.

In turn, a report by the Heinrich Böll Foundation titled *Męskość i kobiecość w lekturach szkolnych. Analiza treści lektur w szkole podstawowej i gimnazjum z perspektywy równości płci* [Masculinity and Femininity in School Readings. An Analysis of the Content of the Assigned Readings in Primary and Lower Secondary Schools from the Perspective of Gender Equality] (MK 2014) determined that:

The traditional canon strengthens inferiority of women, by assigning to them passivity, submissiveness, protectiveness and self-sacrifice. Femininity is strongly connected with nature, often dependent on men/the family and assigned value based on appearance and not achievements, intellect or strength of character. Men, on the other hand, are identified with strength, courage and heroism (MK 2014, p. 12).

Although the authors of the report focus on the primary and lower secondary school stages, already in the assigned readings at these stages one can see that

³ Conference presentation *Memory: Forgetting and Creating*, University of Gdansk, 11–12 August 2014

boys tend to fulfil the roles of little heroes who, more than their school duties, value spontaneous travels and adventures, during which they can prove their resourcefulness, bravery and optimism (MK 2014, p. 23). Unlike girls, they rebel against the school reality⁴. In most cases, boy protagonists:

already as children behave like men; they are active, brave, heroic; they don't express feelings stereotypically seen as feminine, such as sadness and fear; they initiate contacts with the opposite sex; face their foes; rescue girls; their lives are full of adventures; they rebel and resist, and the world is theirs; already in their childhood they prove that they are real men; as adults they constantly confirm their masculinity; as fathers, they are responsible mainly for their families' livelihoods (MK 2014, p. 56).

The Heinrich Böll Foundation report contains a recommendation to seek more varied gender role models, which, aside from changing the way the texts are being interpreted and reflecting on teachers' attitudes, seems to be an idea worthy of consideration.

Therefore, it is worthwhile to see school readings in the light of categories that are key to anti-discriminatory education and to put in motion a process of interpretation that will initiate critical thinking about modern culture and the power mechanisms it contains. This is connected with the necessity of reading old texts through the prism of new theories and the process of gradually introducing new texts into the school canon.

Dawid Bieńkowski's *White and Red* as a novel on the changing model of masculinity

In *White and Red*, Bieńkowski encourages us to confront the stereotypical image of a macho man. The internal monologue of Paweł, the protagonist of the novel, deconstructs the processual nature and performativity of gender. The dilemmas of a young lawyer lead to a gender discourse, the constitutive elements of which (in the case of this specific text) include: a) the conviction that the two sexes are complementary, as conditioned by biological differences and God-ordained fate; b) attributing excessive emotionality to women, and only rational thinking to men; c) linking masculinity with public service, patriotism, power, control and politics, understood as ruthless rivalry, and linking femininity with gentleness, humility, the domestic sphere or professions connected with serving others (teacher, nurse).

Men were to conquer the world and women to fulfil the role of being decorations by their side. To feel like a real man, Paweł has to, at every step, prove to

⁴ In Sienkiewicz's *The Knights of the Cross*, Zbyszko's manliness is confirmed through contrasting him with children and women. The novel does not, however, reflect on being faithful to one's homeland in the context of gender roles (MK 2014, p. 26). Fortunately, there are also characters such as the Little Prince, the Brothers Lionheart or Kuba from *Daleki rejs* [A Far Cruise], who are sensitive and guided by emotions, although they are seen more as little boys than men.

himself that he likes rivalry, dominance, striving for success. Such masculinity calls for a complementary and contrasting figure of a passive woman and defenceless child, for whom the man should sacrifice himself and whom he should protect. Masculinity and femininity are described in the novel through opposing pairs: hard-soft. Hardness generates Pressure, or sexual drive, which comprises the foundation of masculinity:

For what rules a man is Pressure. That's the truth, Paweł. A man has the Pressure all the time, bigger or smaller. It's the Pressure that drives a man towards all action, to all he does, pushes him to life as such. If a man didn't have the Pressure, he'd lie in bed and not leave his house (Bieńkowski 2007, p. 81).

All cultural changes and the model of a so called modern man are a threat to the traditional models of masculinity. Until now, its attributes consisted of: a socially respected, responsible and profitable job (e.g. a lawyer) and things derived from it: owning an expensive car, consuming expensive spirits, living in a large and elegantly decorated apartment building. The posture of the man was to be upright and stiff. Similarly, the rules of conduct and models of emotional reactions can be reduced to being stiff and serious, regardless of the context.

The key matter in the man's life was to be that of honour, derived from the aristocratic tradition and meant to be constantly defended. An honourable man does not allow himself to be insulted, does not get sick, does not lose a job, does not admit his family problems. He is ashamed to cook a meal for himself, as he then enters an area traditionally reserved for women. It is an identity built upon negation and a sense of danger, which is described, among others, by Jackson Katz in *The Macho Paradox* (Katz 2006).

The protagonist is trying to convince himself that he is:

very, very proud that every day he comes home so late, tired, dead-beat, washed out, as this is the dedication of the Head of the Family for his family (Bieńkowski 2007, p. 22).

The whole problem is that the protagonist – while defending the traditional macho model – cannot accept the new models of masculinity, while at the same time being aware that they are becoming a part of the reality he lives in. The possibility of expressing emotions evokes a sense of panic.⁵

To the rescue comes the Grandfather-Father in one person, a phantasmal figure personifying the patriarchal moral order. He binds together Polish religiousness and patriotism from the time of the national uprisings with the paradigm of macho masculinity. The gender role models turn out to be an element of tradition inherited from generation to generation, sprinkled with sentiment and the faith that

⁵ "And, Paweł, you cannot admit that you are not and will not be a modern man, because you are simply a man. You either are a man or you aren't. And if you are a modern man that means you no longer are a man. As that is the Ancient and Natural Law, as given by the Highest Lawgiver, the Great Lawyer, that the bull snatches the cow and this cannot be changed" (Bieńkowski 2007, p. 24).

cultivating them will guarantee fulfilment in life. It is the Grandfather who accepts Paweł's dilemmas by asking:

For how can a man fight, give orders, when the soup is not waiting? Soup! [...] It always used to wait. How can a man fight when lovely nurses are not waiting with a stretcher? How can a man return, battle-weary, when the soup is not cooked? (Bieńkowski 2007, p. 53).

Soup, but also other traditional Polish meals such as bigos and żurek (written in capitals, and therefore appearing as *pars pro toto*) – which suddenly, because of a conflict with his wife, disappear from Paweł's home, symbolise the gradual downfall of the patriarchal order. The emancipation of women from the domestic realm becomes a rift in the traditional, militarised model of masculinity, where every day is a symbolic struggle for survival. The protagonist cannot come to terms with this thought:

A Polish man does not persuade, but shouts: Death, Beat, Kill! And compromise means for him treason, selling out, ultimate impotency. For a Polish man is a real Macho! (Bieńkowski 2007, p. 162)

In this model of masculinity, the woman and her life are relegated to the background. Paweł forbids his wife from doing scholarly work during pregnancy, while he himself does not involve himself in the upbringing of his son. At the same time, he feels that his marriage is falling to pieces.⁶ The traditional division of roles in the family has failed. Paweł does not even believe in the possibility of a reconciliation with his wife, as he is guided by the conviction that only men think and speak rationally. Women's emotions do not even deserve attention.

Therefore, the protagonist believes that the sex of the brain determines the differences and lack of understanding between men and women, which is his justification for the breakup of his marriage. The myth of two complementary halves is contrasted with everyday life. The dialogues perfectly illustrate the couple's inability to communicate. By implementing the traditional model of manhood, the protagonist becomes a workaholic. Something is always "eating" away at him, and he feels that he is losing strength. The stable structure of reality is dissolving. Paweł confesses:

And I can't stand such situations, such variants, where something is mixed. I can't find the right procedures, the necessary clauses and adequate guidelines (Bieńkowski 2007, p. 70).

⁶ The beginnings of the conflict are described thus: "And Majka stopped smiling on my return from work; she really became kind of grumpy. But the most important thing was that there was at least silence in the apartment, and the Kid was asleep and maybe then he woke up, but I was already asleep by then, I was so tired, so tired, as I had so many important and serious matters to take care of at the Firm, so I didn't know if she was grumpy or smiling, tired or well-rested" (Bieńkowski 2007, p. 36).

White and Red is, therefore, a grotesque image of the struggle of the sexes, at the same time amusing and upsetting. Men are both the perpetrators of violence and victims of the traditional gender model, who cannot cope with the internalised social pressure. A question remains: what is the educational value of the novel?

The most interesting aspect is the connection between gender roles and Polish patriotism. The nurturing of tradition, including traditional gender roles, is strongly linked with the gender stereotypes, which continually return in the novel. For example, the Grandfather states:

Death really suits a Polish man the most. And you have to remember this, Wiktor! And a Polish woman looks best in Tears and black. How beautiful they are then! (Bieńkowski 2007, p. 279).

However, this image is not coherent with the contemporary socio-cultural context. The models of masculinity and femininity change, as does the model of patriotism. This requires a discussion on the role of women and men, as well as transgender persons, in the contemporary society. Therefore, it would be an interesting idea to introduce Bieńkowski's novel as a school reading recommended at the secondary school level, in order to show how the cultural context inspires contemporary writers to approach the issues of gender and sexuality and how these issues can be juxtaposed with the traditional image of patriotism during the partitions of Poland and national uprisings. Essentially, it is about showing how modern cultural texts, through their specific language, refer to such values as tolerance, love, equality, and honour. Ultimately, even if we do consider these values to be universal, they can be viewed differently, based on such variables as gender.

White and Red is also worth comparing with the film *Tough Guise: Violence, Media & the Crisis in Masculinity* (directed by Sut Jhally, 1999), in which the aforementioned Katz describes how the ideal of manhood in the media influences the life of boys and men, by pressuring them to be tough and to hide their weaknesses. This fact is confirmed by the statistics gathered by the General Police Headquarters of Poland relating to domestic violence in Poland [<http://statystyka.policja.pl/st/wybrane-statystyki/przemoc-w-rodzinie/50863,Przemoc-w-rodzinie.html> (accessed on 14.10.2014)], which would definitely prove to be interesting supplementary material.

Violence begets violence – *The Hustlers* by Sylwia Chutnik

An interesting view of Polish society and its gender stereotypes can also be found in Sylwia Chutnik's *The Hustlers*. It is a story of women living in blocks of flats in Warsaw, struggling with housing problems and engaging in borderline illegal activities.

The main protagonist, Halina Żyleta, loses her husband Antek due to a feud between him and investors buying up old houses. She takes revenge, together with her friend Celina, on random men who catcall them or try to physically hurt them.

Who are these men in the eyes of the vengeful women? First and foremost, the men are the perpetrators of violence. When beating up two thugs, one of the women thinks:

For everything you have in your heads, for all you would like to do to us, and for the fact that you exist (Chutnik 2012, p. 51).

At the age of 16, Halina Żyleta was attacked by a stranger. The man was scared away by a neighbour, but the trauma of nearly being raped is soothed only through revenge fantasies. The girl cuts her wrists and is sent to a hospital, where a nurse gives her the following advice:

Revenge will set you free. Only revenge, girl. And this is the truth of life that you won't find in a newspaper. The kind of truth only handed down between those in the know (Chutnik 2012, p. 62).

Therefore, in Chutnik's novels, women appear in roles stereotypically assigned to men. Marked by their suffering, the women become active, even though they perpetuate the circle of violence. They do not receive any support from the state nor social institutions (schools, hospitals, family, the Church). Therefore, they act based on the rules of the game they recognise. The titular hustlers come from different social circles, but they are all connected by the feeling of grievance and the desire to avenge it. They invoke honour – a value conventionally ascribed to the male gender.

For example, Halina and Celina take revenge on a friend's husband, a perpetrator of domestic violence. The women kidnap him, beat him up and leave locked in the boot of a car. They justify their actions through these words:

In the name of Underground Women, beaten and tortured, we enact the sentence of revenge upon you (Chutnik 2012, p. 88).

The motif of the underground struggle and resistance returns, this time not in the face of a war between nations, but within a nation, not even between the sexes, but between the perpetrators and victims of violence. Halina explains to her mother:

I'm fighting what all those people in helmets and camouflage jackets fought for. I'm fighting for myself, for my friends, for justice (Chutnik 2012, p. 103).

Bronka, a friend of Halina and Celina, takes revenge on the men who make a row under the influence of alcohol, who dress up in SS uniforms or who "manspread" in the metro. Therefore, it is a reaction to macho masculinity, seen by the woman as appropriating the public space. The women also plan revenge on the landlord Kossakowski, a man who is dishonestly buying up old Warsaw houses and evicting families that had lived there for generations. The novel also

features the character of Jola Brzeska, an actual activist of Warsaw's tenants' rights movement, murdered by unknown perpetrators, likely connected with one of the local businessmen.

Therefore, men also appear in Chutnik's novel as the perpetrators of violence, local thugs, crooked investors. At the same time, it appears that the only rule governing urban communities is the motto "violence begets violence", regardless of gender. Therefore we have the question of the purpose of violence, justified through such circumstances as personal grievance or defending the national interest.

Can such violence, across gender borders and within them, be discussed at school? Of course, it can. For example, in the context of the well-known motif of crime and punishment. Justice is usually defined as the ability to punish the perpetrator of a crime, and actively opposing violence. The principal values are, in this context: self-determination and striving to regain the sense of dignity. But what about situations where this is hard or impossible to achieve through legal means? When family and state institutions fail? This is a question that students will surely eagerly attempt to find answers to.

Chutnik's novel, as an example of 21st century fiction, can be proposed at the expanded programme level, as an example of the way that the language of urban circles invokes certain values, as well as of what transpires in the situation where these values, such as honour, are being realised in a way that clashes with other values, such as avoiding violence.

Izabela Filipiak's short stories from the collection *The Magic Eye*

The problem of violence connected with the standard model of gender roles is also shown in short stories by Izabela Filipiak. Here in the foreground we see the relation between victim and assailant.⁷ Such a division seems to be generated by a presupposition that only the perpetrator operates actively, while the victim is always passive.

When reconstructing the system of social oppression, Filipiak usually gives the role of the victim to a woman, described through the metaphor of a doll⁸, a passive and submissive work of a man⁹. An independent woman is immediately objectified through violence (e.g. a sexual assault). A brothel and its distinctive rules begin to

⁷ "To walk about alone at night is like provoking a tragedy, like calling at people who doubt in the profits that a humble and honest life would give them and as a consequence demand an evening tribute from those who, by giving up violence, put themselves softly and naturally in the role of a victim" (Filipiak 2006, p. 12).

⁸ "The child-doll was created by an adult for a child, the woman-doll was created by a man for... a woman or for another man? [...] But it could not have been created by a woman, women and children don't come up with dolls, they just use them as mirrors" (Filipiak 2006, p. 18).

⁹ "I'm using the type of exclusivity known to you. As the doll is completely mine, I cannot allow it to be touched by anyone else" (Filipiak 2006, p. 31).

function as a metaphor of a woman's existence, one that is not her independent choice, as a woman's body is always "political" – as states one of the protagonists of the short story "Ska" (Filipiak 2006, p. 142).

Filipiak writes:

To turn a person into an object, it's enough to make her body feel afraid. There's me and my body, whose frailty allows them to blackmail me (Filipiak 2006, p. 24).

The only way of freeing oneself from the thus understood frailty of the body is, for the protagonist of the short story *Zdobycz* [The Prey], its mutilation, practiced as a form of rebellion against the stereotypical image of womanhood which makes women vulnerable to violence. Men, in the eyes of Filipiak's female protagonists, are "descendants of a carnivorous species of conquerors" (Filipiak 2006, p. 29), striving to exclusively possess women, convinced of their own infallibility, using physical and sexual violence against their wives in order to "create them anew according to their own canon" (Filipiak 2006, p. 122)¹⁰. They're:

Heroes torn between two women, the girl they fuck as if they were about to be shot, and the wife they don't fuck, and who doesn't understand them (Filipiak 2006, p. 138).

In their brutal politics, they treat Earth as a "big, colour ball they play with" (Filipiak 2006, p. 186).

But the image of men painted by Filipiak is not entirely unambiguous. And here is the distinct value of her short stories, which on one hand deconstruct cultural scripts based on categories of gender and sexuality, and on the other show people who transgress the traditional gender norms. We read, for example:

Reportedly when we assume the honourable manly role, we kill the creative part of our being. I hate the roles that the world assigned to me, I object, I reject them [...] Women are not as different from men as both sides seem to think, at least when they function within the same system [...] Only very few can afford entirely contradicting it, not letting themselves be eaten by doubts, rejecting the system in all its limits [...] You don't have to be a woman to be raped (Filipiak 2006, pp. 95, 101, 104).

Filipiak describes the story of a man – a victim of domestic violence. Fearing ridicule, he tries to convince policemen, called for by the neighbours, that his injuries are a result of an unfortunate accident. The narrator comments:

¹⁰ Much space in Filipiak's stories is dedicated to the problem of rape, especially in the short story *Magiczne oko* [The Magic Eye]. The victim, a woman, feels guilty, because she cannot find a logical justification for her situation. She is looking for it in her body and in the laws of culture. An unknown voice is telling her: "You better not think that you can just break out of the system [...] You are a victim or an aggressor. But you have the right to rebel" (Filipiak 2006, p. 197). The rebellion, however, is not easy, as it requires confronting both the stereotypical models of womanhood and manhood. Pain becomes a symptom of existence.

The version that the man assumed is the result of a choice between two different self-images that he made during the next few nights. Of himself – as the ridiculous weakling that he felt like, and the brutal nigger that he felt he would never be (Filipiak 2006, p. 165).

Biological sex, associated with masculine strength and brawn, intersects here with gender identity, as well as race and class. Another transgressive character is a gay man, who breaks the cultural norms by undermining the gender and sexual norms.

Like in the works of Bieńkowski and Chutnik, in Filipiak's short stories the model of gender roles is linked with the idea of the motherland:

Where he ends, she begins. Where Poland ends, monsters begin (Filipiak 2006, p. 152)¹¹.

Conclusions

The presented texts are neither meek nor apologetic. They excellently show how the issues of gender and sexuality are diffused with other variables: class, race, age, and ethnic and national ancestry. They link the issues of patriotism and family life with violence, calling for reflection on the traditional paradigm of masculinity, invoking honour, a fighting spirit and activity only in the public sphere.

The revaluation of the traditional model of manhood is being performed in the context of the emancipation of women and minority groups, which shines a new light on values that have long been recognised in the formal education system and mentioned in the Core Curriculum, such as love, truth, tolerance, honesty, responsibility, equality, solidarity or the homeland. Thanks to the new texts (and new ways of interpreting them, which warrants a separate article), it is possible to realise the idea of active, engaging and at the same time critical reading¹¹.

Literature

Abramowicz M. (ed.), 2011, *Wielka nieobecna – o edukacji antydyskryminacyjnej w systemie edukacji formalnej w Polsce. Raport z badań* [The Great Absence. On Anti-discriminatory Education in the Formal Education System in Poland], Anti-discrimination Education Society, Warszawa.

Bieńkowski D., 2007, *Biało-czerwony* [White and Red], WAB, Warszawa.

¹¹ The author also refers to the Polish model of a macho man, by writing: "In my country they ignored me or showed aggression, maybe not having the courage to adore me [...] They were as unreal as the world of chivalric stories [...] I noticed that seduction, which I treated as an art that should be perfected and performed often just for admiration of the art itself, for men is only a tool, the selection of which is based only on its usefulness" (Filipiak 2006, p. 22).

- Chutnik S., 2012, *Cwaniary* [The Hustlers], Świat Książki, Warszawa.
- Filipiak I., 2006, *Magiczne oko. Opowiadania zebrane* [The Magic Eye. Collected Stories], WAB, Warszawa.
- <http://statystyka.policja.pl/st/wybrane-statystyki/przemoc-w-rodzinie/50863,Przemoc-w-rodzinie.html> [accessed on: 14.10.2014].
- Katz J., 2006, *The Macho Paradox*, Sourcebooks, Naperville, USA.
- Jhally S., (dir.), 1999, *Tough Guise: Violence, Media & the Crisis in Masculinity*, USA.
- MK, 2014, *Męskość i kobiecość w lekturach szkolnych. Analiza treści lektur w szkole podstawowej i gimnazjum z perspektywy równości płci. Raport z badań* [Masculinity and Femininity in School Readings. An Analysis of the Content of the Assigned Readings in Primary and Lower Secondary Schools from the Perspective of Gender Equality], editorial team, Fundacja Punkt Widzenia, Wrocław.
- Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego dla gimnazjów i szkół ponadgimnazjalnych* [General Education Core Curriculum for Lower and Upper Secondary Schools]: http://bip.men.gov.pl/men_bip/akty_prawne/rozporzadzenie_20081223_zal_4.pdf [accessed on: 9.09.2014].

Summary

Men as Seen by Women: The Educational Potential of Contemporary Polish feminist literature

Feminist literature provides a critical analytical lens for looking at current debates around gender, sexuality and cultural change in Poland. The article presents selected findings illustrating the changing male identities as seen by feminist authors. The author discusses also the educational potential of the contemporary Polish feminist literature.

Keywords

image of men, feminist literature, emancipation, educational potential

PART II
MORAL PANIC AROUND GENDER –
RECONSTRUCTIONS

Piotr Stańczyk and Sylwester Zielka Talk with Prof. Ewa Graczyk About Search for an Enemy, Gender, and Education of Teachers

Piotr Stańczyk: We have met today to talk about the notions of “gender” and “gender ideology”. I first heard about the notion of gender when I was a university student, i.e. not so long ago.

Ewa Graczyk: So we are not yet talking about the “gender ideology”?

P.S.: No, I want us to focus on the notion of gender. Those must have been classes conducted by the former PhD, now Professor, Lucyna Kopciwicz, for the fourth and subsequently the fifth year students of philosophy. And at that time I could not imagine that the notion of gender might be used widely, and even less that it might be used by bishops, priests, or the media connected with the Catholic Church. Can you please explain how might this have happened?

E.G.: I think that it was a political decision. Certain groups and circles, not only Polish but also European ones, have been looking for ways to convince people to adopt the very traditional vision of the society and Church. They have been looking for a way involving the use of a very difficult, incomprehensible category to make it a smokescreen hiding certain processes and defending certain phenomena characteristic for a very conservative, rigid way of the understanding of the world. We can say that in the cluster “gender ideology”, “gender” is a word which is meaningless, which is not explained and which becomes a sort of a mask for the ways of thinking in which people might safely use misogyny and homophobic slogans: the ways of thinking which perceive the family as something as rigid as a product of nature. And this phrase was selected as one which is difficult and incomprehensible, as a type of mask under which certain beliefs are smuggled – beliefs which, when expressed directly, are hardly defensible for many people, since today a vast majority of society supports women’s empowerment, and neither is the entire society homophobic, it is divided in this issue. And we can explain rationally that a family is something which is historically changeable, that the vision of the nuclear family in which we live, was also changing in the history of Christianity. It has been changing not only in the history of Christian Europe, but all over the world, so if only we could speak about it in rational terms, showing the changeability, historicity of the notion of family, many people could turn to our side. However, when we use the notion of gender, when the term is unintelligible, tabooed, irrational, and if we add to it the atmosphere of fear, the climate to which the Freudian theory with its notion of “the uncanny” (Freud 1997) fits excellently, this overpowers rational thinking. And I think that it is all about this, about not thinking rationally but giving in to phobias, fears, and anxiety – and because there are many of them in our Polish society, this operation is successful. It is not a coincidence: the appearance of the problem of paedophilia in

the Polish Church followed by the eruption of the “gender scandal”. I cannot see it as accidental. Especially that this action was arranged by a few West-European journalists and what father Oko is saying is taken from their various texts.

Sylwester Zielka: We also need to say that these circles refer to scientific analyses and research, such as those carried out by Gabriele Kuby (2015), a female sociologist. Anyway, what other problems – since you are saying that the category of gender is not of much importance here as purposefully unclear and aimed at raising concern – what other problems apart from paedophilia does this mass attack try to cover?

E.G.: I am not a Catholic, I do not belong to the Church, which means that I sort of deal with other people’s business. But since the Church deals with my business, then I can deal with theirs too. I think that generally speaking, the Church really needs a debate: an internal and an external one. During the conference we attended together¹, I talked about the problems the Church still has to solve, about the problems of the East-European Church. The 19th century is still our legacy – the 19th century which was the age of the alliance of the throne and altar in the most brutal way. And the 19th century with its black pedagogy, with teaching Christians servilism, is something that is still continued. And then the very bad traditions of the Polish Church dating to the interwar period – the most famous anti-Semites were unfortunately priests, such as the famous father Stanisław Trzeciak, or the future saint Maksymilian Kolbe. And then there is the wartime attitude of the Church for which the Church has not been made accountable yet at all. And, subsequently, the defence of the Church against the communists made the Church set still, the Church failed to develop in its internal discussion. And all this is still present – and I dread to think how much work it all needs and will need, as the time of the Church’s internal settlement of accounts will come finally, be it when the war archives of the Church are opened; it may be a beginning of thinking about the Church’s decision, its actions, the actions of the particular priests, parishes, and the relation of resistance and collaboration. I dread to think, but it is permanently put off – and I think that when you put something off, things are getting worse. Therefore, I see this gender-related scandal in purely political categories.

P.S.: If these are political categories, then they must involve the issues of power, reaching for power, the maintenance of power, and control. It is very difficult for me to agree with the thesis that the notion of gender is irrelevant. Many things have happened in Poland in recent years – here, a very good category is the notion of moral panic surrounding the category of gender, but after all there has also been moral panic related to designer drugs, which did not seem to interest the Church at all, or the issues related to the limitation of freedom on the Internet to do with ACTA (which, by the way, was one of the largest social movements after 1989) – that failed to mobilise the Church. However, it was the category of gender which mobilized the Church – why?

E.G.: Again, this is about perceptions, or, to put it in another way, because the category of gender is, after all, related to what I referred to during the already mentioned conference as a “semiotic stain”, i.e. a notion which has an intention-

¹ Conference *Sexuality – masculinity – education. Moral panic 2013/2014 reconstructions*, 15–16.10.2014.

ally unclear scope. And this unclear scope is connected with bodyliness, sexuality, and family, i.e. all the most important questions of the contemporary humanities, which talk about them as categories which are constructed – changeable and historical – while the traditional, conservative Church wants to see it in essential, substantive, and unchangeable terms. In this sense, the choice of the category is not accidental, because it associates the entire sphere of corporeality, sexuality, and family – in the sense that the family changes, and in the sense that social relations are changeable and historic. Still, the Church does not have to be so, these issues just need to be worked through by the Church, but the Church perceives it in unchangeable, ahistorical, essential categories. Therefore, the attack on the notion of gender is indirectly an attack on the entire tendency concerning social change.

PS.: Going further in this direction: don't then – at least in a sense – supporters of the gender theory attack the Church?

E.G.: In a sense, yes, they do, they attack the conservative Church, the one which is “ahistorical”, which is an institution that does not want to cooperate with the world in the aspect of its change. This left-wing, modernist change which is also related to moral change, wants to enforce changes on the Church. And therefore aspects of a certain conflict are obvious, but the thing is how the Church copes with conflict – and it copes with it in such a way that this attack on gender formulates the discussion as a fight of the Good with Evil, Satan with Angels, Divine forces with the forces of Hell. We are just a step before it and it is dangerous, since when this is judged in this way – that they are on the light side of the force, and we on the side of Darth Vader – then what can we talk about? There is no conversation here, we need to be destroyed and that is it.

S.Z.: Then why do you think people who are not conservatives fail to activate in the Church, why have conservatives in the Church took the dominating position?

E.G.: I do not know why, I do not follow the Church's problems so closely, but it seems to me that non-conservatives are a small minority and that the conservative tradition is very strong – it seems that during the times of the Polish People's Republic, National Democratic forces managed to survive in the Church, and they are now contributing to a return to the interwar state of things. And this is terrifying.

PS.: And we cannot see any real danger in terms of our national identity?

E.G.: Because there are no national minorities.

PS.: “Fortunately” there are sexual minorities and there is gender...

E.G.: I see it as a desperate need of an enemy. During the interwar period that role was played by Jews and other religious minorities – but Jews above all. And now we are beginning to fit the place designed for the enemy, which is dangerous, as we know what the end of it was. Fortunately, the environment is entirely different.

PS.: It is easy to call the things taking place around the “gender ideology” as moral panic. And this moral panic, as the notion was coined², was initially used to describe hunts for social “devils” and “witches”. Isn't it too large a coincidence:

² The notion of “moral panic” was introduced to the social sciences by British sociologist Stanley Cohen (1972), who carried out research into media reactions to conflicts of youth subcultures; the reactions significantly contributed to the negative social reception of these groups

gender, feminism, women, women with scientific degrees, women who mean a lot in social life – all of a sudden become the object of attack.

E.G.: In a sense, it makes sense – various historians of feminism, researchers focusing on the history of feminism, reconstructed such a continuity from witches through suffragettes to second-wave feminism. We may say that initially witches, hysterical women (who expressed their rebellion through symptoms, as they did not yet have the language allowing the expression of resistance), suffragettes – and today “we” – are ideal candidates for new embodiments of evil. Fortunately, as I have already said, our environment is very different now and it is very difficult to set fire to these stakes. I am not sure though whether it is altogether impossible.

P.S.: In the context of the smear campaign aimed at feminism and gender I would like to ask a question to which I know the answer, but I would like to hear it from you: what good has gender theory done? Because we are dealing with a certain scholarly strategy, interpretative strategy, whose name is now dragged through the mud and mire, while perhaps people have managed to achieve something good owing to it?

S.Z.: And I would like to ask whether the gender environment has actually gained anything owing to this culture war, this moral panic?

E.G.: Let me start with the second question, it will be easier. I think that a large share of media, environments which used to think that we exaggerate, that everything really went in a good direction, now – and they are in part supporters of the Civic Platform, liberal circles – have become aware that when left alone in Polish conditions, without a certain amount of support from the left liberal wing, the environment of social and cultural change will not be able to cope, that the situation may go towards the proverbial stakes and witch-hunts. In short, they have noticed that the conservative Church exaggerates, that bishops exaggerate. I can feel it for example in the tone of the TVN programmes. What is new is a tone of laughing at some statements – and probably father Oko has become the most characteristic figure for this tone. And it is after all something good, because when we laugh at somebody, we do not treat them seriously. And I think that we have counted our forces, and the ones who previously said “I am for it and even against it” [Lech Wałęsa’s famous saying], have finally become aware that they need to make a choice. And a large share have chosen our side and accepted that women are different than men, but equal with them in terms of their value, and that homosexuals can live the way they want to. I have a feeling that the ones who tried to be somewhere in the middle in this dispute became aware that after all there is no middle here. And this without any doubt is a profit, but at the same time there is a loss which consists in the fact that we are not aware of the fact that there is religion in schools and that hundreds of thousands of children remain under the power of a catechist for a dozen or so years of their lives.

P.S.: I am smiling because after all school catechesis brings about many unintended positive effects for democratisation – these are the only classes at school during which students can have heated, serious debates with the teacher (Bagrowicz 2000).

E.G.: This however depends on the classes. I feel that it is different in various environments, various classes, and social groups.

PS.: It is also a gender issue. As results from research into the “parameters of religiosity”, it comes as a great concern that boys from environments which take a higher place in the social structure, and as a consequence also achieve better results at school, are more often sharp polemicists in relation to catechists than girl students from environments taking a lower place in the social structure; it is the question of both class and gender.

E.G.: Possibly so, as girls are still taught to be obedient. At the moment I have many groups in the second year of Polish studies and I can see this fear in their eyes that appears when I use the words “gender” or “homosexuality”, and it is much more intense than it used to be. It is probably so because we have students who are not the best achievers. Polish studies are not a top course.

PS.: Let us go back to my question concerning the positive effects of the gender theory.

E.G.: There are lots of such effects, but above all it is the awareness that – firstly – gender theory has been adapted by all the sciences: exact sciences, biological sciences, the humanities, and the social sciences. And it brings about various effects: although I do not know much about biology, I listened with great interest to a lecture by the biochemist Maria Pawłowska during the Congress of Women of Pomerania, and it turns out that the category of gender is extremely complex also in the exact sciences, i.e. our bodies are marked by a dozen or so gender determinants and they are rarely clear-cut. If we look at all the determinants, they can be inconsistent, and if I am basically a woman, some of these determinants can be male. The introduction of the category of gender made it possible to differentiate many things, which is also important in medicine, be it for the testing of medicines, largely solely on men, which was a methodological error since female bodies react to some medicines in a different way than male bodies. And there are concrete studies which show how much research on for example heart diseases in women is delayed in relation to heart diseases in men, that there are for instance symptoms of a heart attack that are entirely different in women than in men. Therefore, the differentiation into men and women, as well as seeing all this in its entire complexity, turned out to be a very significant scholarly move. Also the use of the scholarly tool with reference to the categories of rule and power, for example studying the lifestyle of various environments or families using the category, makes it possible to better manage space, towns/cities, and daily life. For the sake of an example, let us consider the location of bus stops: if in traditional families there is one car, then typically it is the man who uses it – we may not like it, but this is the way it is – which means that the bus schedule must be adjusted to women’s lifestyle. If we fight for women to be able to go out at night, then we must provide adequate lighting in streets, and parks, and make sure certain places are safe, because, as we know it, women are afraid of being mugged. And in Sweden, which is constantly an example we should follow, sensitisation to gender-related issues has led to night bus drivers being obliged to stop their bus in front of a woman passenger’s house and watch her safely enter her home. Not a taxi, but a city bus. And these are the details that we should focus on; it is women who should be asked what issues are important for them. From the point of view of gender, the construction of the gi-

gantic stadium for the EURO football championship is simply a scandal, if we take into account the sport promotion among boys and girls. In Poland, this inequality is completely invisible, whereas in literature studies the category of gender as a tool used for research in women's studies makes it possible to see the androcentricity, phallogentricity of the language of convention offered by the author, designed for men, and targeted at men; the language which disregards women's achievements. Not so long ago we organised a conference on the presence or absence of women in the literary canon³. And this is a problem of all literatures.

S.Z.: Therefore, I must ask, how is the male and heterosexual standard realised in the canon – after all, we do have women in the canon, we have Maria Kononicka, Eliza Orzeszkowa – isn't it female language?

E.G.: It is, but generally – to use a category discussed by the famous feminist researcher Nancy K. Miller (2009) – this female signature, female sign, a sign of femininity, a sign of feminine subjectivity, is under-read. And this causes, as a participant in our conference observed, something interesting: women-writers found in the canon die in it exactly because their gender signature is under-read, disregarded – they are read not as women, and that is why their works seem to be boring. Notice that for instance Orzeszkowa's works are given as examples of the most boring items on the lists of books to be read at school.

P.S.: I was dealing with boredom a little at school and I feel that whatever school touches, becomes boring.

E.G.: However, very seriously-minded people would mention Orzeszkowa as a prime example of the boring.

S.Z.: Why then is the female voice absent from the canon?

P.S.: There are no women in Władysław Tatarkiewicz's *Historia filozofii* [History of Philosophy], either. And why not work on the issue of women's literature, women authors, and female interpretation, so that there is more of them at school?

E.G.: We do work on it, the point is that there are so many ways of defence against changes. As usual, one of the aspects we are talking about is the fight for power. A sign of the high male status is the fact that men have political power, but the hierarchy of values is another important question. In the sphere of meanings and values, it is the man who is vested with the full power of creation. Women do it much worse, they are not admitted to the status of creators, and there are many ways in which they can be disregarded. Some people say for example that there are good and simply poor texts and that talking about men and women here makes no sense. It is just that it turns out that the good texts are solely men's texts, and those written by women are for some reason not good. These are the relations of power and it is difficult to break this magic circle. One of the feminist researchers said that the canon is based on male-centric values, which is why they are present in the canon. The canon is androcentric, which in turn reproduces androcentric culture.

S.Z.: So Jane Austen, who, as I see it, praises male values, is present in the canon – though not the Polish one obviously – since she adopted a male point of view.

³ A reference to the international Scientific Conference *Why There are No Great Female Writers Here and Other Questions Concerning the CANON*, Gdansk 12–13.12.2014.

E.G.: We might discuss that, there are various opinions on this, everything depends on how we read – for example, there is a famous interpretation by the feminist researchers Susan Gubar and Sandra Gilbert *The Madwoman in the Attic* (2000), and they also analyse Jane Austin, and in their interpretation she represents a female point of view.

S.Z.: Let us then call it a difference of interpretation. However, I would like to turn your attention to something else: because some time ago I was dealing with the canon, I came to a conclusion that one of the processes making an androcentric perception of the canon possible is allowing that the power to decide about the canon be transferred from applicable regulations to teachers. In other words, those who were taught androcentric literature will continue to reproduce it.

PS.: So you are a supporter of an ever greater intervention of the state into the canon.

S.Z.: I am not sure whether I would call it greater, but surely one that would promote equality.

E.G.: Or simply discussing – after all nobody wants to remove [Boleslaw Prus's] *The Doll* from the curriculum, although this text is full of misogynist and anti-Semitic content, but we need to read it in such a way as to show it. To read and teach critical reading. Here I must boast a little – one of my graduates, my former student, teaches at school and she says that when she starts teaching her pupils in the primary school, she always asks them “who talks in the text?”, “who is the narrator?”. And she said that after a couple of years one of the girls asked “why are these always boys who talk?”. The girl noticed that by herself.

S.Z.: Therefore, the lyric subject referred to all the time in textbooks, is also marked by gender.

E.G.: Of course it is.

S.Z.: Only that this gender is imperceptible.

E.G.: That is true, obviously.

S.Z.: When looking closely and critically at the protagonists from the school list of obligatory books, we know today that many of them are not clear-cut. Nevertheless, they are interpreted at school as very non-ambiguous, clear-cut, very often reflecting the masculine point of view. Let us for example look at Emilia Plater: she fought for her homeland, died for it – which is a cultural domain of men, but on the other hand, she was a woman, and the reader basically does not know how to treat her; and yes, confusion could be an excellent moment for discussion. At the same time, we hear from the teacher exactly how we should treat her, what we should think about her. I think therefore that it is largely the question of interpretation and the teacher's attitude.

E.G.: That is why it is so important how the teachers of both sexes are educated: because if they have the eye and the ear for it, then they may create such an interesting, non-clear-cut conversation. The school must use literature for ethical conversation, and at the same time must not treat literature as a simple catechism lesson: this literature is on the side of the good, and that on the side of the evil. The whole complexity should be shown and the gender-related issues we are talking about can be included in the conversation, too. Can we not, from today's perspec-

tive, see it in a different way, notice what questions and doubts come to our minds? Just as is the case with for example Judym and his relationship with Joasia – here, we can have different points of view on the relation between the public and the private, and they are different than the ones masochistically offered by Żeromski.

PS.: I also have a question concerning the way the notion of gender influences the daily life in the academic space. I have a feeling that despite everything, researchers who are close to feminism, for whom the notion of gender is important, do not have such an easy life in the academic space. You mentioned students who react with a sort of fear, and I have a feeling that some people in the academic space react allergically to the notion of gender. This is about “scientificity” because, after all, it is “ideology” – what do you think about it?

E.G.: A lot depends on the atmosphere prevailing in a given faculty, in a given environment, but I do not want to say that things are fine in my faculty – it is the other way round. I have a feeling that what we generally have here is a sort of a permissive absence of the category: “oh, they are dealing with these..., but it is not about us, we have our science». It often happens when I attend a defence of the habilitation degree at a sitting of the Faculty Board, then when I listen to some employees, I must cover my ears, because I simply... cannot be always on duty, and defend the category of gender in the company of two or three people. For example, I see that some issues should definitely take gender-related questions into account – I am not saying this is the only perspective, but it should be one of the categories considered during an analysis of a problem – but it is not, and everyone seems to think that this is ok, and that there is nothing wrong about it, and that the text is great. And from a certain point of view, I can also consider the text as good, but I still feel an absence of something there. At the same time, 95% of researchers do not feel it at all, while the difference between us and the research in the majority of Western countries is that there, the ratio is say 50:50. Still, 50% believe that gender is a category which cannot be omitted, that the minority discourse, consisting in thinking according to the classical trinity of gender, race, and class, is justified – be it that the voice does not drop from the sky, that we speak from a concrete position, and that the texts we read are texts which originate from a concrete gender, race and class context with all its historical complexity. It is much easier to think in abstract and universal terms, because we then enter the entire ocean of complications in a different way.

S.Z.: So thinking in the categories of difference is more difficult.

E.G.: Much more difficult, because everything becomes more complex, you need to follow differences, relations of power, search for it. Texts cease to be safe, because they exist in the field of power. Actions of social forces, inequalities, and what we say ceases to be innocent since we are on a certain side.

S.Z.: With such a degree of complexity or interpretations and the complexity of the world as such, school could cease to be a place in which indoctrination takes place, and could become a place of liberation, but how to achieve it?

PS.: If we want to achieve the liberalisation of something by someone, then we too are dealing with indoctrination. But let us return to the beginning of our conversation – there is moral panic around the “ideology of gender», where gender is

the incomprehensible part, and ideology the negative part of the phrase. From the point of view of Karl Mannheim's concept (1992), the ideology of gender is simply an ideology, and it would be difficult to argue with it. The concept of gender is not entirely rational.

E.G.: But this assumes that we see a single ideology of gender, but once we adopt a positive or a neutral notion of ideology, we shall see ideology among other concepts. And the ideology of gender has the right to be present among other ideologies and can present its arguments, defend them, engage in a dispute with others. Only, the problem is that the ideological nature of other standpoints is imperceptible and they present "naked truth", and it is assumed that the word ideology is used only in relation to gender, which is immediately associated with something evil, something blatantly political, most often communism.

P.S.: In the Polish language the phrase "Roman Catholic ideology" would just not sound right.

E.G.: Only we are ideological, all other people are innocent and there are no relations of power.

S.Z.: As I see it, we have come a full hermeneutic circle – we started from the ideology of gender and we have returned to it.

P.S.: The postulate of non-ideological science and academic space is the main problem of feminist researchers, and the postulate of non-ideological school is greatly ideological.

E.G.: That is why school and teacher preparation are so important: school with open people. We must begin with saying it openly that we hold such and such beliefs, but only for you to find your own beliefs and go towards your own way, which does not have to be the same as mine – what is more, it should not be my own, but your own.

S.Z.: This is related to a whole lot of other problems – be it that we do not have the right to judge somebody's beliefs, but only the ways in which they are justified.

E.G.: We can, however, show consequences of these beliefs and then – not directly, but still – we can do it. Because if we see clearly, which results from a given belief – that gender is given, biological, and natural, and usually such people also believe that women are worse than men, that they are wives and mothers because they have the maternal instinct, and as a result they have to look after children, while men have to be in the public field, as this is so natural – then we must show how these beliefs operate, and if we show their social effects, the results to which they lead, then we may ask our interlocutor: do you want to adopt it? Do you know what it leads to? This means that there is evaluation, but it is not done in a "hammer home" way.

P.S.: I have recalled what I owe to gender – for instance the fact that I no longer have to open jars without prying their lids open. What I mean is that men are also the beneficiaries of feminism.

E.G.: They can also cry or tell their wives that they are unable to win the bread for the entire family. And that they cannot adopt the role of a sole provider.

S.Z.: One of the threads of playful quarrels with my wife is that in the case of divorce she will take the child and no court will decide to give the child to me. We

obviously joke, but we know Polish statistics. This socially prevalent way of thinking is, in my opinion, a certain trap for both women and men; it is the absence of thinking in gender terms, it is based on the category of the maternal instinct that you mentioned, which pushes women into the role of unreflective child minders, the thinking that children are what they should get.

E.G.: It is an example of the discrimination against men, because family courts belong to women. And in many situations women are not good caregivers for their children – just as the public issues are not masculine, so the family-related ones are not feminine.

S.Z.: Let us then conclude that the introduction of this category to our daily functioning will help us better understand the multi-layered nature of our relations with the world, and ourselves, and maybe even change something in this world. Thank you very much for talking to us.

Literature

- Bagrowicz J., 2000, *Edukacja religijna współczesnej młodzieży. Źródła i cele* [Religious Education of the Contemporary Youth. Sources and Aims], Wydawnictwo UMK, Toruń.
- Cohen S., 1972, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, MacGibbon and Kee, London.
- Freud Z., 1997, *Niesamowite* [The Uncanny], [in:] Z. Freud, *Pisma psychologiczne* [Psychological Writings], vol. 3, KR, Warszawa.
- Gilbert S., Gubar S., 2000, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, Yale University Press, Yale.
- Kuby G., 2015, *The Global Sexual Revolution: Destruction of Freedom in the Name of Freedom*, Angelico Press, Kettering.
- Mannheim K., 2000, *Ideology and Utopia*, [in:] *Collected Works of Karl Mannheim*, vol. III, Routledge, Oxon – New York.
- Miller N. K., 1986, *Arachnologies. The Woman, the Text, and the Critic*, [in:] N. K. Miller (ed.), *The Poetics of Gender*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Lucyna Kopciwicz
University of Gdansk

Nature and Equality – Moral Panic Around Boys Failing at School in the 1990s in the Perspective of Feminism- and Posthumanism-related Concerns in the 21st Century

Until recently, the notion of moral panic has functioned in the Western social sciences. Today, due to the atmosphere of concern created by the media in relation to equality-related phenomena, this notion starts to be used in Poland as well. This paper aims to have a closer look at one of the earlier examples of moral panic in the Western world (Great Britain, United States of America, and Australia), i.e. the one concerning the discovery of the phenomenon of boys failing at school. I shall discuss its essence and the most important topics that shook the public opinion in relation to the recently announced “crisis of masculinity”. I shall then sketch the basic parameters of two contemporary varieties of moral panic: the identity crisis related to the progress of the gender equality discourse, and the concerns related to problems discussed on posthumanist grounds. However, the essence of this text is not related to the practice of archiving social anxieties of the past or present. I suggest that the examples of moral panic under analysis be treated as types of provoked anxiety reactions in connection with social changes and the progressing equality. Some commentators of the contemporaneity closely connect the attempt at halting these changes with the notion of “nature”, which they perceive as a guarantor of the unchangeability of the old social order. They thus clearly antagonise nature and the equality discourse.

The interest in the phenomenon of social anxiety (moral panic) has been observed since the 1970s. The theory of moral panic was developed in 1972 by Stanley Cohen, who analysed the media reactions to riots caused by youth gangs. The manner in which the media reported on the riots triggered a reaction in the form of an increased anxiety among the youth themselves. Cohen defined moral panic as the activation of the so-called moral stereotypes by the media in relation to the phenomenon they describe, resulting in the specific magnification of the phenomenon’s scale (presenting it as more dangerous, having more extensive effects, greater power, etc.). The author argues that moral panic leaves certain long-last-

ing institutional traces in the form of new institutions, and provisions of the law (Zielińska 2004, p. 161). According to Maciej Soin, moral panic is an effect of the activity of the dominating social structures able to impose norms of social order, through which an event which initiates it may – due to its processing by the mass media – take an unreal, magnified size, and function as a threat to recognised social values (Soin 2011, p. 154).

Scholars researching the phenomenon of moral panic indicate that it has the structure of a wave – which grows in strength, reaches its culmination, and dies (disappears). However, its effects do not vanish – as a result of moral panic, the society's moral boundaries are set up (and strengthened). The setting up and strengthening take place through numerous stigmatising actions and the branding of the social groups that the media present as morally evil.

Moral panic around boys' school failures

In the 1990s, West European, American and Australian educational research was dominated by the problems of the social, cultural, school-related, economic, and political marginalisation of girls (women). The problem of the functioning of girls at school was shown as one of the main causes behind the maintenance of an unequal status of men and women in present-day Western societies. For this reason, schools in these societies became the area of educational and emancipatory actions undertaken for the benefit of girls (Arnot, Gubb 2001). Feminist researchers managed to identify and describe many unfavourable phenomena, processes and mechanisms functioning in the school space that result in the replication of the structure of social inequalities (the unequal status of men and women). Feminist studies diagnosing the reasons for the above, including educational ones, turned out to be very helpful in designing many “corrective actions” and educational initiatives such as: inclusive curricula, anti-discriminatory programmes, and programmes supporting non-stereotypical school interests of girls in such fields as mathematics, physics, and computer science (Rogers, Kaiser 1995). Feminist works also contributed to placing in the centre of public debate problems related to the emancipation of marginalised social groups, equal opportunities, justice, and social concern for the weakest groups (in cultural and political understanding). All the actions in question created the ground for a substantial change of the functioning of girls at school – their school success (Marry 2007) – and changes in the work-related functioning of women in Western Europe: maintaining the continuity of employment despite maternity (Maruani 2007). At the same time, as a sideline of the debate on the school functioning of girls, grows a belief that it is necessary to focus more research attention on issues related to masculinity and men in educational references (Kimmel 2000; Mac an Ghail 1996; Weaver-Hightower 2003): the functioning of boys at school, their achievements, school failures, violence and aggression, destructive behaviour, and school consequences of the socialisation training of masculinity. In many countries, in particular Great Britain, the United

States, and Australia, the “problem of boys” appeared in the mass media in an atmosphere of moral panic (Kopciwicz 2012, p. 55). Participants of debate on the functioning of boys at school and their school failures included the environment of teachers, educational activists, parent associations, politicians, religious activists, as well as activists of the sexual minorities movements and other associations of men, psychologists, and therapists. The increased interest of the mass media in the topic of “boys” gave fruit in the form of a large number of pop-sociological and pop-psychological publications. They shared an alarmist tone and a belief in a social catastrophe caused by boys failing at school.

“The problem of boys” soon emerged also as a subject of scientific reflections. These resulted in publications: theoretical ones diagnosing the situation of this group of students, and practical ones – designing many corrective actions. However, it is worth underlining that the research environment studying problems related to masculinity and education is divided by one basic question: their attitude to feminism, and in particular the degree of acceptance for the backlash rhetoric. Backlash relates to the wave of right-wing blows to feminism and its achievements in education, and in social, cultural, and political spheres that took place in the 1980s and 1990s. The backlash rhetoric included slogans postulating a return to the natural order of things, recovery of the disturbed balance, and withdrawal of cultural achievements of progressive social movements (including the feminist movement) as artificial supports of falsely understood equality (Faludi 1991). An educational side of the backlash in the United States, Australia or Great Britain was the debate which experts on the subject labelled a debate around the question: “What about the boys?” (Kimmel 2000). Its gist boiled down to “regaining the field” and recovery of the boys’ advantage in the educational sphere – the advantage that was reduced as a result of the war declared on boys (Sommers 2000). At the same time, opponents of the *backlash* who undertook research on the problems of masculinity and education, guided by concern for democratic values and the inclusion of the “problems of boys” in the debate on gender equality, are referred to as participants of “the boys turn” (Mac an Ghail 1996; Weaver-Hightower 2003).

Michael S. Kimmel and Marcus Weaver-Hightower indicate that the source of the increased interest of the scientific environment studying gender-related problems in education was the appearance of pop-psychological and pop-sociological publications devoted to boys. The publications reflected a moral panic and announced a “crisis of masculinity” as one of the symptoms of a social crisis – a crisis that has a clear cause and, hence, the belief that there are persons who are guilty and socially responsible for it who need to be made accountable. Martin Mills, when describing the atmosphere of a backlash, uses a phrase *backlash blockbusters*, turning attention to revanchism, the climate of settlements, and tension around feminism (Mills 2000). Another popular science work was authored by William Pollack and entitled *Real Boys* (Pollack 1998). The author indicated the mental injuries sustained by boys and young men living in the contemporary Western societies in the age of late capitalism. According to him, the “castrating” potentials of mod-

ern culture are reflected in the increasing number of suicides committed by boys and young men, depression, addictions to psychoactive substances, acts of violence, and the rapidly growing wave of this group's school failures. A similar pop-psychological analysis was developed by Christina Hoff Sommers in her broadly commented upon book *The War Against Boys*. The author focused on a number of adverse phenomena related to the functioning of boys at school – their failures, school leaving, rejections from school on disciplinary grounds, aggression, and violence. Christina Hoff Sommers identified the source of these failures in feminism, which – according to her – in the educational sphere placed the issue of the school success of girls to the fore, thus leading to the “pathologisation” of the male nature of boys (Sommers 2000). Very similar reflections were presented by the guru of the so-called single-sex education¹ Michael Gurian. He demanded that the American educational system be tailored to reflect the differentiation between female and male brains, as well as the gender-differentiated educational needs and possibilities of the particular groups. He argues that in its current shape, the feminised school is detrimental to the male nature of boys, leads to their “girlification” and strips them of everything that is masculine. These “silent murders” take place on a daily basis in the school space and are committed by crypto- or openly feminist teachers (Gurian 2001). The same type of school critique was developed by Steve Biddulph in Australia. The author's arguments are based on an essentialist conception of gender (testosterone and the related natural developmental needs of boys) and the conservative, revanchist concept of educational policy (Biddulph 1998). Works by Biddulph, just like those authored by Gurian, Sommers, and Pollack, reflect the rhetoric of the “war of the sexes”, “settling accounts”, and “showing feminists their place”, and proclaim a return to “the natural order of the sexes” along with the biological determinism, divine plan, and other arguments marked by a clearly extrasocial nature.

Some grounds for the intensified interest in the problems surrounding the functioning of boys at school was also prepared by feminist researchers who have explored the problem of gender roles incessantly since the 1970s. Feminist studies showed the way in which gender roles are shaped and the manner in which modification and substantial reconstruction of feminine roles, the emancipation of women, becomes a fact in contemporary societies. For this reason, many researchers studying issues related to masculinity (even those openly antifeminist ones) referred to the feminist theory of gender roles with a view to carrying out an analysis of family-related, economic, social and physical aspects of men's life in the context of work, emotions, health, body image, divorce, childcare, violence, and many other areas (Farrell 1993). Many of these works maintain the specific rhetoric layer of the radical feminist theory of the 1970s, where the position of the woman

¹ The concept of the segregation of the sexes in education is grounded in the belief on respect for natural differences between them. According to supporters of single-sex education, differences between genders have significant educational consequences in the form of sex-typified strategies of learning, knowledge creation, and – generally speaking – they concern all cognitive processes.

as a victim of the patriarchal society is taken by the man – a victim of oppressive socialisation (Kindlon, Thompson 2000). Jane Kenway and Sue Willis argue that the reasons behind this increased interest in boys as the “great losers” of the school race include the reckless and non-critical use of indicators of gender equality in education, in particular the results of school achievement tests, and indicators of the male representation in the population of learners/students. The uncritical belief in these two indicators led to a premature proclamation of the “school success of girls”, and even the announcement of the end of gender inequality in education by some sociologists (Kenway, Willis 1998). What is more, due to the wide dissemination of the belief in the environment of sociologists of education, a “crisis of masculinity” was hastily announced when girls in the United States, Australia and Great Britain began to reach higher scores than boys in school mathematical tests.

Another important factor intensifying the research interest in the topics related to masculinity and education was the neoliberal educational reforms (undertaken in the 1980s in Great Britain by Margaret Thatcher’s government and in the USA during Ronald Reagan’s presidency). This is not only about a stark anti-feminist meaning of the undertaken reforms, but most of all about their structural aspect – the related processes of privatisation, competition supported with objectifying procedures in the form of standardised tests of school achievement and the construction of the educational market. Neoliberal educational reforms in Great Britain had significant consequences from the point of view of gender-related problems (and, even more, ethnicity). Since boys definitely endured the poorest school achievements, they started to be perceived as a danger to the local school policy of “quality management” (the improvement of the school scores in the ratings of schools). This new manner of the treatment of boys made many British educational activists undertake issues related to the equality of the sexes with boys – the new victims of the oppressive educational market – in mind (Lingard, Douglas 1999).

As aforementioned, many researchers exploring masculinity-related problems in education treat the backlash as one of the most important factors intensifying the research interest in boys. The backlash rhetoric discussed the school functioning of girls in terms of a race and rivalry finishing with success – a victory over boys. Such a feel to the debate resulted in many open attacks on feminism and its impact on the school reality through postulates announcing the necessity of a change of the “female nature” of the contemporary school. The most important works analysing the backlash phenomenon include one by R. Lingard and P. Douglas (1999), who analysed the backlash acting in the form of educational policy. Important also here is the work authored by Kenway and Willis (1998), who performed an analysis of the backlash from the bottom-up school perspective – from the point of view of local “resistance” actions undertaken by teachers, school coordinators of equality programmes, as well as students of both sexes in the context of right-wing educational reforms.

Economic changes leading to deep changes in the field of work and employment introduced a lot of modifications in the identity policy, including the gen-

der policy. The authors of many works argue that late-capitalist societies and the model of the post-Fordian workforce led to a substantial turn towards the feminization of employment (Maruani 2007). Additionally, the culture of the place of work in “new capitalism” to a large extent values “female” ways of action such as cooperation networks, distancing itself to the model of action based on individual competition and individual achievements as economically ineffective. As Madeleine Arnot rightly points out, the contemporary school is entirely unable to find its own place in this new context, since it does not prepare the contemporary men even in the smallest degree to cope with these changes, especially changes in the area of professional identities and the crumbling conception of the dominating patriarch (Arnot, Gubb 2001, p. 125). The cultural redundancy of the hegemonic conception of masculinity is sometimes described in relevant sources as a global crisis of masculinity caused by macrosocial factors (Melosik 2006; Mac an Ghail 1996). Susan Faludi very insightfully described the crisis of American masculinity as a broken promise related to the “patriarchal dividend” guaranteeing men, over a considerably long period of time, superiority over women in every sphere of social life (especially professional life and politics). The breaking of the promise of this superiority resulted – according to Faludi – in a wave of masculine violence in the family, school, and the social dimension (Faludi 1999). The scale of the crisis, which mainly affected young men experiencing economic and civic exclusion, keeps growing. Judith Butler and Susan Sontag argued that exceptionally brutal symptoms of the crisis include ritualised attempts at the restitution of “real masculinity” that may have been followed in the mass media giving coverage to American military operations, and in particular scandals related to the torturing of prisoners of war (Abu Ghraib), attacks of the US army on civilians (including children) and the broadly commented wave of violence in the US army that was motivated by homophobia (Sontag 2010; Butler 2011).

Guidance literature concerning the problems of boys and young men and directed towards practical goals deserves separate discussion. Together with the mass media, the literature became one of the tools used for stirring moral panic around the school failures of this group of students and for consolidating beliefs on a crisis of masculinity. The most numerous group of publications focused on the problem of boys’ aggression at school: ways in which it can be pacified and channelled, and ways in which the school, family, and society may cope with it in their daily work. Another strongly represented thread in the guidance literature is the therapeutic aspect of working with boys and young men, concerning two interweaving dimensions: learning and its results (with the marked problem of boys failing at school), and the psychological and social consequences of the boys’ failure. According to the authors, effective prevention and decrease of the size of boys’ failures would have beneficial effects for stopping the crisis of masculinity, limiting the increasing aggression at school that takes on new, previously unknown or described forms such as shootings at school, for eliminating the problem of violence on the grounds of gender, sexuality and ethnic origin, and for the alleviation of cyberbullying (Martio, Berrill 2003). The authors of many publications

offer preventive and therapeutic programmes related to anti-sexist education. The most important works representing this trend include *Challenging Macho Values* (Salisbury, Jackson 1996) and many books by Jackson Katz, including *The Macho Paradox* (Katz 2012). These works offer teachers many valuable strategies and solutions to be used in their daily practice, many organisational suggestions, as well as guidelines for school psychologists aimed at minimising boys' aggression.

In literature oriented towards effective actions aimed at solving the problem of school failures, the authors most often suggest that isolated school topics should be replaced with block topics, special attention should be paid to the selection of the appropriate teaching staff (as far as possible increasing male representation), the training of future teachers should involve gender-related problems, effective motivation for change should be introduced, and manners of working with boys that do not infringe their dignity and do not make them guilty of failures should be developed, along with the competence of critical reading of meanings of masculinity in culture-based texts (Mills 2000).

An increased interest in boys' school problems has also been reflected in the feminist research – mainly in view of the rhetoric of the backlash and the gender revanchism inscribed in it, which could be noticed in many works written as a part of the debate “what about the boys?”. The most interesting aspect of feminist works devoted to boys is related to the question of boys as victims of the repressive action of school. This question not only opened the debate on the real dimensions of school oppression of this group of students, but it was also a voice in the discussion concerning the financing of educational (anti-discriminatory and equality) programmes addressed to boys as “new victims” of school oppression. The question did not contain any suggestions related to undermining the validity of the thesis on the oppressive training of masculinity. It was motivated by an attempt to assess which groups of boys really most need school support and whether the status of the “new oppressed” was not granted to some of them prematurely, which was important in the perspective of serious reductions of financial resources for education and social actions in many countries suffering from economic crises (Arnot, Gubb 2001; Yates 2000).

Apart from the above topics, many feminist publications also discussed the question of the social price of the moral panic related to the functioning of boys at school. The main point was the social anxiety verbalized in public discourse that resulted from the girls' school successes (making them explain their success, or even apologizing for it), as well as public announcements of politicians and educational activists concerning the “prevention” of girls' success in future, since – as indicated by many defenders of the new oppressed – girls' successes victimise boys (Epstein et al. 1998). Another type of feminist criticism was related to the postulated corrective measures aimed at the strengthening of boys: in particular the proposed remedy in the form of single-sex classes/schools. As Kenway and Willis pointed out, the social consequences of segregation at school may be a lot different than expected. Instead of an improvement in the boys' successes at school (as was the case with girls), we should expect even poorer achievements due to discipli-

nary problems, including intensified violence on racist and homophobic grounds. The authors argue that the school problems of boys and girls are marked by different historic and social conditions, different dynamics, and a different course both in the quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Apart from this, educational movements supporting single-sex education carry an antidemocratic message: the need to separate, the impossibility to be together, ghettoization, and a closed, divided society. Such a message needs to be carefully analysed in modern societies committed to democratic values (Kenway, Willis 1998).

The common denominator for feminist works and works for which the feminist critique was one of the theoretic sources was the belief concerning the fatal practice of the "economisation" of school achievements in the gender aspect: girls should lose so that boys might win. Their joint message is a democratic concern in the search for new ways and manners of the achievement of social equality and justice that would be beneficial to everyone.

The reconstruction of the problem field of the debate concerning the functioning of boys at school which swept the societies of the West more than a decade ago, is very significant in the Polish socio-cultural and educational context. Firstly, we are witnessing a significant change in gender-related models of school success to the disadvantage of boys. Secondly, since the end of 2013 a moral panic around the so-called gender ideology and genderism can be clearly observed in Poland². What is the cause of the conservative, anti-equality attitudes manifesting themselves after twenty five years of Polish transformation? What is the genesis of this anti-modernisation turn towards "nature"? Is it only rooted locally?

Crisis of equality and a return of naturalism

Thirty years ago, equal division of labour and power was a great hope for women's emancipatory social movements. Equality-related hopes were included in the formula: a half of the world (for women) in exchange for a half of the house (for men). It might seem that the political, social, and cultural work (education, socialisation) brings women closer to the goal, and that we are certainly on the home run to achieving it. Since the beginning of the 1990s, Europe, the USA, and Australia have been witnessing a growing belief in a serious crisis of equality that has a fundamental significance in connection with a series of economic crises. As it turns out, their consequences (mainly the uncertainty on the labour market and the exclusion of women from the labour market, especially those with the lowest educational and economic capital) seriously halted the emancipatory endeavours observable in the last decades. Elisabeth Badinter indicates that the subsequent economic crises promote the intensification of psychological discourses that are protectionist in relation to men (e.g. highlighting the significance and value of work for the identity of men, showing the father's joblessness as more destruc-

² These notions were not defined as a part of this debate; they have an empty meaning.

tive for the family than the mother's unemployment, etc.), and discourses unveiling new obligations of women who are mothers towards children (Badinter 2013, p. 11). Such a discursive entanglement only strengthens men's resistance against the introduction of equality.

Statistical data show that women in Europe continue to carry out 3/4 of the household chores. Nevertheless, the economic crisis is not the only reason behind the persistence of inequality. A more serious cause is the identity crisis – one, which – as Badinter pointed out – is unprecedented in the history of mankind (Badinter 2013, p. 35). Its essence is the belief on the non-existence of traditional “dogmatic” boundaries and divisions, which protected the sense of men and women's identity. What, one may ask, has been left of these dogmatised differences, since men and women may perform the same roles and tasks in the public and private space?

Due to the subsequent economic crises, the forgotten idea of naturalism reappeared: we are increasingly reminded of women's special bond with nature, about the maternal instinct as the essence of femininity, etc.. This time, however, naturalism emerges as a discourse of progress and modernity: ecology (including the ecological model of motherhood rejecting everything that is artificial in the child's world: cosmetics, hygienic personal care products, washing powders, processed foods for children, and disposable nappies for the benefit of natural products), ethology reintroducing the question of the maternal instinct to the sphere of science, and essentialist feminism describing the gist of femininity (e.g. women's ethics of care thoroughly analysed by Carol Gilligan (2015)). Today, what is at stake in naturalistic discourses are children's welfare and the future social balance.

The discourse of science is currently additionally surrounded by the aura of the contemporary spirit and ethics. As was the case in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's times, there are attempts to convince women (and not only them) that they should renew their contact with nature and return to their roots – the natural role of the mother. Nature becomes here the guarantor of the past division of power and labour. It is tantamount to a certain order of things which belongs to the past, but gives hope for being refreshed – it is enough to reach for the source. Therefore, women are now encouraged to give back a half of the world in exchange for getting back the entire home.

Nature and posthumanism

The 21st century was announced the age of biotechnology, which in the context of social theory brought about many significant changes in our thinking of who we are in relation to non-human forms of life and technologies (Bakke 2010, p. 7).

The dynamically developing posthumanism adopts an unmasking trait of critical-emancipatory social theories, indicating the necessity to detoxicate Western thought from the idea of nature. Among the functions fulfilled by nature, Bru-

no Latour places to the forefront its ideological functions – the validation of the idea of social order and its antagonistic placement in relation to the social sphere, which subsequently enables the emergence of many false dichotomous divisions, such as divisions into active subjects (people) and passive object (things), and many other ones. “Westerners were the ones who turned nature into a big deal, an immense political diorama, a formidable moral gigantomachy and who constantly brought nature into the definition of their social order” (Latour 2009, p. 43). Posthumanists, however, deal in a much more intensified way with the problems of the construction of boundaries dividing nature and culture – problems of division and the foundation of two fundamentally different zones, under which people were placed on the one side with their interests, power, and politics, and non-people and objects were placed on the other side. Latour indicated that modernity was considered the beginning and triumph of humanism, the “birth of man” and subject. However, he maintains that one aspect of this process was overlooked – “the birth of non-humanity”, i.e. objects, i.e. things and animals considered to be fundamentally different than people (Latour 2011, p. 13). The gist of the posthumanistic project can be understood as an attempt at searching for interrelations, continuities, and cooperation between various types of beings and artefacts outside the cognitive framework determined by this fundamental division.

The year 2000 was announced as a breakthrough year in view of the degree of progress of research on the genome (the code of codes of human nature), allowing effective sequencing of genetic code, its modification and synthesizing (generation); in consequence, this allows the creation of minimal viable genomes fulfilling the function of “spare parts” (DNA components), and the construction of entirely new cells and synthetic biomolecules. In 2010, Craig Venter (a representative of the so-called synthetic biology) created the first self-replicating synthetic bacterium, thus successfully carrying out an operation of creating life from non-living elements. The progress of biotechnology, genetic engineering and nanotechnology is related to bringing to life beings with an unclear status: transgenic organisms, hybrids, organs and tissues raised for transplants, cell lines, stem cells, frozen embryos, chimeras, and *semi-living* beings sustained solely owing to modern technologies (Catts, Zurr) as biomass – a kind of “extended body” used in laboratories. As far as a body cannot function without tissues and cells, today, owing to developments in biotechnology, cells and tissues can freely live without bodies. Naturally, these developments are heavily criticized by bioconservatists fearing their consequences (their greatest fears are related to the image of “raising humans” with specific qualities). Regardless of these concerns, we can still witness an increased interest in problems related to liminal life that challenge the boundaries between individual human and nonhuman bodies and elements (Bakke 2010, p. 76), as far as the spheres of science, artistic practice, and popular culture are concerned. Liminal lives test the boundaries of the functioning taxonomies: social, ethical, biological, species-related and economical ones. Since medical interventions change our ways of insemination, birth, growth, ageing

and dying, liminal lives surround us in our schools, families, professional and institutional life, and representations – in all the areas where the form or course of life change under the impact of biomedicine.

Nikolas Rose, when describing modernity, turns attention to the view that we are in the centre of a significant cultural process which imperceptibly leads to many transfigurations owing to which we begin to notice numerous interrelations, dependencies and continuity in the places in which we previously saw only boundaries (Rose 2011). The most significant consequences related directly to the existence of posthumanism include a set of questions concerning the status of man in relation to nonhuman forms of life and artefacts. As far as there is a consent concerning man's losing his exclusive (special or superior) status, individual authors vary as to the interpretation of the fact. Some of them announce the "end of man", relating it to the dynamic progress of biotechnology and digital technologies, indicating that a cyborg (technologically improved man-machine) or post-human will become a new normative "target point" of the technicised development (More 2014). In turn, others maintain the conception of a "decentred human" (developed outside the conceptual framework of anthropocentrism) – an organism located in a network of vital interdependencies with nonhuman forms of life and technologies (Bakke 2010, p. 8). However, it is important to note that man as such does not vanish from the horizon of social or philosophical reflection, but that what vanishes without any doubt is the human privileged position resulting from man's species. The intensification of posthumanist discourse progressing along with the dynamic development of biotechnology and digital technologies has an important influence on the way in which life and its course are interpreted. Digital technologies, and the development of pharmacology, genetic engineering, and molecular biology clearly promote the division into what has sprang up by itself (nature) and what has been made (culture). At the same time, many biotransfigurations (such as actions related to the modification of genomes resulting in the existence of transgenic organisms) and technological hopes vested in the construction of a better human embodiment – the "blending in" of people with the world of things (*life in silico*) – promote the introduction of nonhumans (animals and objects) into the domain of agency (social action) and the domain of ethics. I have already pointed out that posthumanism in its many orientations (bioconservative or transhumanistic) and interpretations (optimistic and pessimistic), questions the dogmatic divisions functioning within the Western social thought concerning actively operating subjects (people) and passive objects, complicating the notion of agency and extending it to include subjects other than people. One of the most interesting examples of such an understanding is the actor-network theory. Latour's theory is relatively well described in Polish literature – therefore, I shall only refer to its most important elements. Its most significant posthumanistic property is the acknowledgement of the relational nature of beings, their existence in relations, and defining their properties, attributes, or features not in essences ("stable natures") but in synergy – the adoption of various properties (attributes or features) in heterogenic networks connecting various

types of materials and beings. Latour points out that reality cannot be found in essences, but in connections and mixtures, in rhizomes of culture and nature, where humans and nonhumans remain in close cooperation. Hence, properties, attributes and essences result only from the fact of inclusion into a definite network, from where they affect its other elements (Latour 2011). The neomaterialistic tone of Latour's theories is also manifested in the assumptions concerning social action: both things and nonhumans can be causative actors and actants. Latour therefore sketches a radically new democratic order that does not omit anyone in the networks of social agency, and that does not exclude anyone and anything, since everything is a part of a network and everything is included in a concrete programme of action. In this sense, posthumanism, and neomaterialism as a part of it, can be called a new political theory, the gist of which is an extended conception of democracy covering nonhuman subjects (Olsen 2003).

Posthumanistic questions of life, interpreted outside the framework of the positions the West considers dogmatic, such as nature-culture, human-nonhuman, living-dead, relate to ethical traditions superseded by the traditional humanities. Posthumanism is therefore also an attempt at sketching an ethical proposal omitting anthropocentrism. What is particularly worthy of attention in this perspective is Rosi Braidotti's conception affirming *zoe* – a generative vitality of extrahuman and prehuman life carrying on independently of and regardless of rational control (Braidotti 2006, p. 37). Braidotti's conception reflects the neomaterialist spirit: it is vitalistic and egalitarian. It is not a type of relativist or nihilist ethical conception. Its gist lies in the materialistic interpretation of the foundations of life, which is embodied and symbolically linked with other bodies (Bakke 2010, p. 88). Life in the egalitarian sense (every life) goes on regardless of individual deaths, and multiplies everywhere in the intensity and diversity of forms. It is not free from violence, but it is also deeply sympathetic. Therefore, it always goes on at the boundary between life and death. Although concrete individual organisms die, life (*zoe*) continues to exist. Together with its dynamics of multiplication, nourishment, merger, infectiveness, dying and killing, *zoe* takes place outside moral choices and individuals' decisions. Therefore, the author argues that there are no significant differences between the malicious multiplication of cancer cells and the gentle multiplication of cells during pregnancy. Life is unavoidably accompanied by death and immortality (Braidotti 2006, p. 223).

Analyses of the ways of the construction of nature and its functions fulfilled in relation to the social gave fruit in the form of the development of nonanthropocentric conceptions of politics and ethics, the gist of which (in the area of social theory and practice) lies in the search for positive, productive ways of sustainable coexistence, cooperation and exchange taking place between nonhumans, humans and objects. Posthumanism was also the ground on which political theories of radical democracy, justice, and equality extended to include nonhuman subjects were formed. On the one hand, we therefore have the action of the language of a moral panic, which is a symptom of the contemporary societies failing to cope with the problems related to the difference and cultural diversity within a com-

munity, a language in which we can hear an announcement of the elimination of differences in the name of “nature”, while on the other hand we are confronted with a huge challenge in the form of the blending of “nature” and technology – a relation which strongly transforms phantasies about the “purity of [our] species”. In coming years, this process will bring about significant consequences for social theory, and in particular for the possibilities of the theorisation of the difference, subjectivity, and emancipatory theories.

Literature

- Arnot M., Gubb J., 2001, *Adding Value to Boys' and Girls' Education, A Gender and Achievement Project in West Sussex*, West Sussex Country Council.
- Badinter E., 2013, *Konflikt: kobieta i matka [The Conflict. Woman and Mother]*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Bakke M., 2010, *Bio-transfiguracje, Sztuka i estetyka posthumanizmu [Bio-transfigurations. Art and Aesthetics of Posthumanism]*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań.
- Biddulph S., 1998, *Raising Boys: Why Boys are Different and How to Help Them Become Happy and Well-balanced Men*, Finch, Sydney.
- Braidotti R., 2006, *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Butler J., 2009, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*, Verso, London.
- Catts O., Zurr I., *Towards a New Class of Being: The Extended Body*, <http://www.tca.uwa.edu.au/atGlance/pubMainFrames.html> [accessed on 30.12.2014].
- Epstein D., Elwood J., Hay V., Maw J., 1998, *Failing boys? Issues in Gender and Achievement*, Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Faludi S., 1991, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*, Anchor Books, New York.
- Faludi S., 1999, *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*, William Morrow, New York.
- Farrell W., 1993, *The Myth of Male Power: Why Men are the Disposable Sex*, Simon and Schuster, New York.
- Gilligan C., 2003, *In a Different Voice. Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England.
- Gurian M., 2001, *Boys and Girls Learn Differently! A Guide for Teachers and Parents*, Jossey Bass, San Francisco.
- Katz J., 2006, *The Macho Paradox. Why Some Men Hurt Women and How All Men Can Help*, Sourcebooks Inc., Naperville, Illinois.
- Kenway J., Willis S., 1998, *Answering Back: Girls, Boys and Feminism in Schools*, Routledge, London.
- Kimmel M. S., 2000, *What about the Boys?*, WEEA, No. 1–2.
- Kindlon D., Thompson M., 2000, *Raising Cain: Protecting the Emotional Life of Boys*, Ballantine Books, New York.
- Kopciwicz L., 2012, *Matematyka, władza i pole wytwarzania kultury [Mathematics, Power, and Culture-Generation Field]*, Difin, Warszawa.
- Latour B., 2004, *Politics of Nature. How to Bring Science into Democracy*, Porter C. (transl.), Harvard University Press, Cambridge – London.
- Latour B., 1993, *We Have Never Been Modern*, Porter C. (transl.), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

- Lingard R., Douglas P., 1999, *Men Engaging Feminisms: Pro-feminism, Backlashes and Schooling*, Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Mac an Ghaill M., 1996, "What about the Boys?", *Schooling, Class and Crisis Masculinity*, "Sociological Review", Vol. 44.
- Marry C., 2007, *Edukacja dziewcząt w Europie – niedokończona rewolucja* [Education of Girls in Europe – Unfinished Revolution], [in:] Ch. Ockrent (ed.), *Czarna księga kobiet* [The Black Book of Women's Condition], Wydawnictwo WAB, Warszawa.
- Martino W., Berrill D., 2003, *Boys, Schooling and Masculinities: Interrogating the "Right" Way to Educate Boys*, "Educational Review", Vol. 2.
- Maruani M., 2007, *Zycie zawodowe: parytet bez równości* [Professional Life: Parity Without Equality], [in:] Ch. Ockrent (ed.), *Czarna księga kobiet* [The Black Book of Women's Condition], Wydawnictwo WAB, Warszawa.
- Melosik Z., 2006, *Kryzys męskości w kulturze współczesnej* [Crisis of Masculinity in Modern Culture], Oficyna Wydawnicza Impuls, Kraków.
- Mills M., 2000, *Issues in Implementing Boys' Programmes in Schools: Male Teachers and Empowerment*, "Gender and Education", Vol. 2.
- More M., 2014, *The Extropian Principles. A Transhumanist Declaration*, <http://vency.com/EXTropian3.htm> [accessed on 30.12.2014].
- Olsen B., 2003, *Material Culture After Text: Re-Membering Things*, [in:] "Norwegian Archaeological Review", 36 (2): 87–104.
- Pollack W., 1998, *Real Boys: Rescuing Our Sons from the Myths of Boyhood*, Random House, New York.
- Rogers P., Kaiser G., 1995, *Equity in Mathematics Education. Influences of Feminism and Culture*, London and New York.
- Rose N., 2007, *The Politics of Life Itself*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford.
- Salisbury J., Jackson D., 1996, *Challenging Macho Values: Practical Ways of Working with Adolescent Boys*, Falmer, London.
- Soin M., 2011, *Fakty, wartości i panika moralna*, "Studia Socjologiczne", No. 2.
- Sommers C.H., 2000, *The War Against Boys: How Misguided Feminism is Harming our Young Men*, Simon and Schuster, New York.
- Sontag S., 2003, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, Picador/Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York.
- Weaver-Hightower M., 2003, *The "Boy Turn" in Research on Gender and Education*, "Review of Educational Research", Vol. 4.
- Yates L., 2000, *The "Facts of the Case": Gender Equity for Boys as a Public Policy Issue*, [in:] Lesko N. (ed.), *Masculinities at School*, Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Zielińska I., 2004, *Media, interes i panika moralna. Nowa kategoria socjologiczna i jej implikacje* [Media, Interest, and Moral Panic. A New Sociology Category and its Implications], "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" No. 4.

Summary

Nature and Equality – Moral Panic Around Boys Failing at School in the 1990s in the Perspective of Feminism- and Posthumanism-related Concerns in the 21st Century

The article explores 'failing boys' discourses that circulate in the Western media and how this relates to policy and practice, ultimately shaping the gender politics of schooling.

It explores what crisis of masculinity means, what gender politics are and why the idea of (there being) a moral panic provides a critical analytical tool for looking at current debates around gender, democracy, equality, sexuality, and education in Poland.

Keywords

nature, equality, feminism, masculinity crisis, posthumanism

Agnieszka Kościańska

University of Warsaw

Gender Panic – a Red Herring or a Dispute Around Cultural Citizenship?¹

On 29 December 2013, i.e. on the day on which Catholics celebrate Sunday of the Holy Family, a letter prepared on the occasion by bishops was read out in Polish churches. The pastoral ministers of the Catholic Church in Poland, as the bishops refer to themselves, commenced their message by quoting the Polish pope:

Blessed John Paul II [...] recalls that the truth about the institution of marriage “is above the will of individuals, the whims of particular marriages, as well as decisions of social and government bodies” [...]. This truth comes from God, for “God himself is the author of marriage” [...]. God created the human being as a man and a woman and made the existence – in flesh and in spirit – of a man “for” a woman and a woman “for” a man a great and irreplaceable gift and task of married life. God based the family on the foundation of marriage joined for life by the unbreakable and exclusive bond of love. He decided that such a family will be a suitable environment for bringing up children that the family gives life to and ensures their material and spiritual development. (Episcopate 2013)

The bishops subsequently underlined that the Christian understanding of marriage originates from nature and that it should be protected. Hence a question arises: Is marriage, understood as a union between a man and a woman and enjoying special constitutional protection², under threat in the country in which a vast

¹ The development of ideas presented in this article was influenced by: a panel discussion entitled *Revolucja seksualna – była, jest czy będzie?* [Sexual Revolution – a Thing of the Past, Present, or Future?], which took place as a part of the *Festiwal Równe Prawa do Miłości* [Festival of Equal Rights for Love] (Warsaw, 10.02.2014) – I wish to sincerely thank Agnieszka Weseli for an invitation and an inspiring conversation; my work on the lecture *Seksualność w PRL i dziś. Temat zastępczy czy spór o obywatelstwo kulturowe?* [Sexuality in the Polish People’s Republic and Today. A Red Herring or a Dispute Around Cultural Citizenship?] given during the National Interdisciplinary Scientific Conference *Seksualność, męskość, edukacja. Panika moralna 2013/2014 – rekonstrukcje* [Sexuality, Masculinity, Education. Moral Panic 2013/2014 – Reconstructions] (Social Sciences Faculty, University of Gdansk, 15–16.10.2014) – I am greatly indebted to Prof. Lucyna Kopciwicz for her invitation and encouragement; the article *Who Can Be a True Pole? On Gender Panic* was published in “V4 Revue” (<http://visegradrevue.eu/?p=2934>) – I am grateful to Partycja Bukalska from “V4 Revue” for triggering me to work and to Michał Petryk for his help with the translation of the thoughts presented therein into Polish. Last, but not least, I would not have written this paper if it was not for my long-term conversations with Prof. Hadley Renkin, a CEU homophobia researcher in Hungary.

² “Marriage, being a union of a man and a woman, as well as the family, motherhood and parenthood, shall be placed under the protection and care of the Republic of Poland”, Art. 18 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997.

majority of citizens identify themselves with Catholicism, and in which a marriage performed in church has the same importance as a civil marriage owing to the concordat? According to the pastoral ministers – yes, it is; this vision is being destroyed by “supporters of gender ideology”.

“Gender ideology” is a notion which emerged in the Polish media in summer 2013 and soon became widely discussed by, initially, Catholic priests and lay Catholic journalists, and, subsequently, by feminist researchers, who tried to explain that gender is not an ideology, but an analytical term largely facilitating the understanding of cultural and social sources of the discrimination against women, of domestic violence, of the social roles of men and women, and sexual identities. After several months, everyone discussed gender, and, unexpectedly, this academic notion became the main subject of Polish public debate. The pastoral letter was read out when the debate became very heated. The bishops decided to explain what it is all about and to defend Catholic values:

Confronted with increasing attacks against different aspects of family and social life coming from this ideology, we are compelled to speak out clearly in defence of the Christian family and the fundamental values that support it, on the one hand, and, on the other, to warn against threats stemming from propagating new forms of family life. (Episcopate 2013)

The pastoral ministers accordingly presented a definition of the “gender ideology”. According to them:

The gender ideology is the product of many decades of ideological and cultural changes that are deeply rooted in Marxism and neo-Marxism, endorsed by some feminist movements and the sexual revolution. This ideology promotes principles that are totally contrary to reality and an integral understanding of human nature. It maintains that biological sex is not socially significant and that cultural sex which humans can freely develop and determine irrespective of biological conditions is most important. According to this ideology, humans can freely determine whether they want to be men or women and freely choose their sexual orientation. This voluntary self-determination, not necessarily life-long, is to make the society accept the right to set up new types of families, for instance, families built on homosexual relations. (Episcopate 2013)

It is worth highlighting here that the bishops, just like other critics of gender, define the term in a very broad manner – to include not only the socially-developed sexual role, but also homo- and trans-sexuality, with all the categories treated as fluid and easily changeable at the individual level. One would look for such a broad and voluntary approach in feminist and queer literature in vain³.

However, let us go back to the letter. Its authors then proceed to the dangers related to gender ideology. According to the bishops, it is destructive both to individuals, and the entire society:

³ A polemic with the bishops’ definition of the term “gender” goes beyond the scope of this paper. However, there are many critiques of the thus-understood notion, and it was already many years ago that Carole Vance dealt with it as well (2007, pp. 15–31).

Humans unsure of their sexual identity are not capable of discovering and fulfilling tasks that they face in their marital, family, social and professional lives. Attempts to form different types of relations *de facto* seriously weaken marriage as a community created by a man and a woman and the family built on marriage. (Episcopate 2013)

Finally, they indicate that the gender ideology can be found everywhere:

A decisive majority has no idea what this ideology is about and consequently does not feel threatened by it. A small group of people, particularly teachers and educators, as well as catechists and pastoral ministers, tries to find their own constructive ways to counter this ideology. Finally there are those who, seeing the absurdity of this ideology, believe that Poles will reject the utopian visions they are presented with. Meanwhile, without public knowledge or Poles' consent for many months now the gender ideology has been slowly introduced into different structures of social life: education, the health service, cultural and education centres and non-governmental organisations. Some media portray this ideology in a positive way: as a means to counteract violence and to aim for equality. (Episcopate 2013)

The bishops then go on to discuss the problem of discrimination and its sources. This applies to discrimination on the grounds of sex: "The Church unequivocally opposes discrimination on the grounds of sex, but at the same time recognises the danger of eliminating the differences existing in the sexes. The fact that there exist two sexes is not the source of discrimination; it is the lack of a spiritual reference, human selfishness and pride that need to be continually overcome" (Episcopate 2013) and on the grounds of sexuality: "The Church will never agree to debasing persons with a homosexual inclination, but at the same time it strongly underscores that homosexual activity is profoundly disorderly and that marriage as a community of a man and a woman as a social phenomenon cannot be put on a par with a homosexual relationship" (Episcopate 2013).

Finally, the pastoral ministers urge Catholics to actively join measures against the development of the "gender ideology". The call is addressed not only to individuals, but also institutions controlled by the state:

We also appeal to institutions responsible for Polish education not to yield under pressure from the few but very loud groups with not inconsiderable financial resources, which in the name of modern education carry out experiments on children and young people. We call on educational institutions to engage in the promotion of an integral vision of man. (Episcopate 2013)

These "experiments" include, according to the pastoral ministers, sexual education consistent with the standards of the World Health Organisation, and antidiscrimination classes carried out in some Polish schools by non-governmental organisations originating from feminist and LGBT communities.

Although the bishops' letter sounds very radical, it seems relatively moderate in comparison with some other Catholic statements on the topic. For example, father Dariusz Oko, Professor of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Cracow, a philosopher, and the leading gender critic in Poland, compares the gender ideology to 20th century totalitarian regimes and is convinced that the "gender

ideology” and the “homolobby” (as he calls the LGBT movement) are products of evil origin. For instance, he turns attention to the fact that the basic problem of the “gender ideology” is its relation with atheism. In one of his interviews, he discussed “spiritual attitudes of the creators of the gender ideology”:

They are primarily leftist atheists. Atheism builds on fundamentally false assumption of the non-existence of God and therefore, by necessity, misunderstands the human being and the world. [...] Since it is a huge mistake, it also has hugely bad consequences. The greatest cultural and economic mistakes, and at the same time the greatest crimes in human history, were committed by atheists, simultaneously being (mortal) foes of Christianity, who never publicly expressed their regret or apologies for it. Nazism is responsible for about 50 million victims of the Second World War, while communism for at least 150 million victims of all its revolutions, cleansings, and other social “experiments”. [...] The people who are the most bitter foes of God, necessarily become the most devout servants of Satan. We need to remember that it is him who becomes the fundamental source of their thinking (Cichobłazińska 2013).

When reading bishops or other Catholic authors, it would be useful to reflect on why it is at this particular moment that Polish Catholics are so fervently fighting over gender. Feminists, LGBT activists, lay intellectuals, and leftist journalists usually offer two interpretations: under the first one, which is the most popular, Catholics started to discuss gender to divert the attention of the public opinion from paedophile scandals in the Polish church. To back up this interpretation, we may cite for instance a statement by Archbishop Józef Michalik, who openly said that “gender ideology” is the source of paedophilia (Stanisz 2013). According to the second interpretation, the interest in “gender ideology” is the Church’s reaction to the crisis of faith – Poles participate in Catholic rituals and follow Catholic ways less and less frequently. Social research shows for example that only a minority (less than 15%) of Poles are faithful to Catholic standards as far as contraception is concerned (Izdebski 2012, p. 253). There are no doubts that both interpretations contain a grain of truth, but, formulated in this way, fail to explain everything. I would like to offer here a systemic explanation taking into account both global and local/historical conditions.

First of all, we should not perceive the gender debate as limited solely to Poland. Similar discussions have been taking place in almost all the countries of the former Eastern bloc, also wherever the Catholic Church is not the main actor (see Shirinian 2014; Renkin 2009, pp. 20–37). Conservatives and nationalists in the entire region are increasingly interested in the gender issues and exchange thoughts, often stepping beyond the post-communist world. Similar debates have been conducted for some time now for example in the United States, Germany, and France and, as demonstrated by Elżbieta Korolczuk, they co-shape our national situation (Korolczuk 2014, p. 3; Herzog 2008). Translations of flagship anti-gender publications are available in Poland, including *Die Gender–Revolution: Relativismus in Aktion* [The Gender Revolution: Relativism in Action] by the German sociologist Gabriele Kuby, which was published as early as in 2007; a Catholic magazine for the youth entitled “Miłujcie Sie!” [Love Each Other] has for years been acquainting its readers with the Western, conservative approach to changes concerning gender

roles and sexuality⁴; in turn, Polish critics made sure they are heard all over the world – *Pastoral Letter to Be Used on the Sunday of the Holy Family 2013* is the only such document we can find on the Episcopate's official website in the English version.

However, a statement providing that the gender hysteria in Poland is only an element of a global panic does not answer the question about the reasons why this issue has become a hot potato in Poland today – after all, Kuby's book was available in Polish as far back as 2007, and in 2006 the LGBT movement was called "a new form of totalitarianism" in the „Miłujcie Sie!" magazine (Bilewicz 2006, pp. 45–48); similar comparisons are now made in relation to "gender ideology" (which contains, as pointed out, the issues of LGBT rights), as can be seen for example in the above-quoted interview with father Oko.

The local context is taken into account in an analysis of the gender panic by Magdalena Grabowska who indicates not only the global, but also the historical roots of today's situation referred to as a backlash (Grabowska 2014). The author, referring to works by Małgorzata Fidelis and Shana Penn, demonstrates that it was the Polish road to socialism started by Gomułka, and followed by the transformation of the political system, which contributed to the domination of the Catholic Church in the contemporary Polish public sphere (Grabowska 2014, pp. 8–9).

It is hard not to agree with Korolczuk and Grabowska. However, in my opinion, one other element is missing in this local/global jigsaw puzzle. I believe that the gender-centred debate is a part of a larger fight for what social researchers understand by cultural citizenship⁵. It is something more than just the possession of a passport of a given country, and something more than a set of citizen's rights and obligations. It is about the sense of belonging and identity. Hence, who is a real Pole? Can feminists, gays, transgender persons, or men and women who do not follow the model of traditional gender roles, fully belong to the Polish nation? Can gays, lesbians, and feminists identify themselves as real Poles? Can they call themselves Polish patriots? Can they be national heroes/heroines?

Today's debate on cultural citizenship began around 1989. The fall of communism started the fight around gender and sexuality. In Poland, just like in other countries of the region, the beginning of the 1990s was marked by a significant change, a transformation from an economy controlled by the state to one utilising the free market, from socialism to neoliberalism, from a totalitarian regime to democracy. After years of fighting, Poles could finally freely express their beliefs. What was the first great public debate in Poland? Did it concern the economy? Was it about the state? About the Church? No – about abortion. During communist times, in Poland, just like in other Central European countries, abortion was legal and easily available. The abortion debate that took place at the beginning of the 1990s largely concerned the role of women. Can they pursue a career outside their households or should they rather focus on having babies? The Church, an important actor in the debate, argued that Polish women should devote themselves to rebuilding the Polish nation

⁴ Compare for example: (Oko 2009, pp. 40–43; Kościańska 2012a, pp. 145–146; 2013, pp. 427–439).

⁵ Citizenship in the context of gender and sexuality is discussed in more detail in: Lister 2002, pp. 191–208; Renkin 2012, pp. 367–382; Rofel 2012, pp. 412–435.

after socialism; abortion was perceived as a threat to the nation (it decreased the number of Poles). The hot debate was finished with an almost total ban on abortion introduced in 1993⁶. The discussion was not the only one at the time, and the ban on abortion is not the only change in Polish law, which took place in the times of the transformation and concerned gender and sexuality. Sex reassignment surgeries and the accompanying psychological treatment used to be entirely financed by the state – but since the 1990s, patients themselves have to pay for them. The legal procedure accompanying the change of one's sex was bureaucratic and far from pleasant in the period of the Polish People's Republic, but since 1989 it has become even more complex and requires a court procedure against one of the parents (Dębińska 2013, pp. 221–224). Contraception and in vitro fertilisation used to be subsidised by the state⁷. This was also changed in the early 1990s. Apart from the abortion debate in 1993, the beginning of the 1990s was also the time of other public discussions on gender and sexuality, for instance masturbation, as a part of which Catholic intellectuals claimed that autoerotic sex constitutes a threat to the Polish nation, while the other side supported a greater sexual diversity (Kościańska 2012b). The 1990s were also the time of work on the constitution. As the political analyst Solongo Wandan (2004, pp. 171–181) recently reminded, it was the time of lively discussions on the introduction of a ban on discrimination on the grounds of sexuality to the constitution. Ultimately, the ban was not introduced, which was largely due to the activity of the Catholic Church. Subjects such as abortion and in vitro returned as topics of heated debates many times. Each time the Church used gender and sexuality to strengthen its role.

Simultaneously, the period from the onset of the 1990s until today is marked by the formation and the increasing visibility of dynamically developing feminist and LGBT movements. In recent years, activists of both sexes have been demanding not only their rights, but also citizenship in the cultural sense, i.e. the possibility to belong to the national community. *We are Poles too, We also co-create the national community* – one could read during marches and parades when Polish flags were seen next to the rainbow-coloured ones, and when they accompanied the *Manifa* feminist demonstrations. Agnieszka Graff, one of the most recognisable figures of the Polish feminism, said openly in the “Gazeta Wyborcza” newspaper that she is a patriot and that it is worth fighting for Polishness with conservatives. She wrote as follows in the Adersonian spirit:

The category of nationality remains one of the key elements of contemporary sensitivity, the main determinant of collective identity, a system organizing our orientation in the world. [...] Nationalities however can be “imagined” under different principles – as a community of blood, as a beleaguered castle, as a common mission to be fulfilled – and these principles are negotiable. Today, there is a dispute in Poland concerning whether to “imagine” our homeland in keeping with the dictates of the supporters of the national democracy or according to some other, more open and democratic rules. The stake is huge (Graff 2007).

⁶ The abortion debate of that time has been subject to many analyses – see for example: Graff 2001; Szpakowska 2003.

⁷ Since that time in vitro fertilisation became a topic of heated debates – see: Radkowska-Walkowicz 2012, pp. 30–37; 2013.

Her ideas are put into effect in many statements of feminist and queer historians and literary critics, providing that some figures who are significant for Polish literature and history stepped beyond traditional gender roles and sexual identities. For example, Krzysztof Tomasiak told stories of Polish writers of both sexes who crossed the borderlines of heteronormativity. Maria Konopnicka, the author of one of Poland's most important patriotic songs, *Rota* [The Oath], was described as a partner of Maria Dulębianka, one of the first Polish feminists (Tomasik 2008; Renkin 2009). Both of them also became patrons of postgraduate *gender studies* in the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. In Elżbieta Janicka's work, the heroes of the myth-creating novel by Aleksander Kamiński *Kamienie na szaniec* [Stones for the Rampart] were pictured as non-heteronormative persons, which stirred a national debate and the indignation of conservative circles (Pazeda 2013). All these measures are aimed at constructing a new model of Poles of both sexes, one exceeding the cluster of Pole-Catholic, attachment to "traditional" family and "traditional" gender roles, as well as inscribing non-normativity into the history of Poland – in particular its most important, identity-creating moments, such as the 19th-century fight with the partitioners and the resistance movement during the Second World War. It is all about redefining the Polish cultural citizenship. If the debate concerning "gender ideology" is placed in this context, it becomes clear that it is an answer to the increasingly intense actions of feminists and LGBT activists, who want to tell the history of Poland anew and build a new Polish national identity. It is a continuation of the previous discussions concerning cultural citizenship (ones related to abortion, in vitro, sexual orientation in the constitution or masturbation), owing to which the Polish national identity is more and more frequently defined as diverse and not necessarily Catholic, and in which Poles do not necessarily follow a Catholic or a conservative lifestyle.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, many analysts have maintained that the 1993 abortion debate, as well as other discussions concerning sexuality and gender, are only red herrings meant to distract attention from important issues such as the economy. For example Marcin Król, a philosopher and an anti-communist opposition activist, in a very interesting interview given to "Gazeta Wyborcza", criticises Polish elites for their excessive focusing on gender, morality, and discrimination on the grounds of gender and sexuality; he maintains that this diverts attention from social and economic inequalities, and in consequence causes a development of right-wing politics. He was rather blunt about this:

All the debates that are currently firing us, are about – pardon me – the arse and its surroundings. They are related to issues concerning sexual morality. This is not the pivotal point of social life, including the very serious issue of abortion. The progressive elites concentrated on gender and sexual inequalities, entirely losing from sight simple economic inequalities that are a scandal. Why should we tackle some 19th-century social categories, when we have new ones, and they are much more interesting? We have thus left ordinary people with their ordinary problems to the mercy of the crackbrained right-wing politics that will promise everything to them. (Sroczyński 2014)

However, when we look at these debates bearing in mind the category of cultural citizenship, we will see that sexuality and gender are the essence of the national identity and nationalism (see Mosse 1985; Graff 2008). Belonging to the national community and the acquisition of cultural citizenship depend on the appropriate behaviours, and gender and sexual identities (which consequently translates into economic issues such as the Foucauldian biopolitics of population) (Foucault 1995). The Church and feminist/LGBT activists have different views on the Polish national identity. The fight continues. A brief look at today's Polish public debate, as a part of which feminists must explain that feminism does not cause paedophilia, as the Church maintains, may lead to a conclusion that it is the Church – using its historically-shaped strong position, strengthened with arguments developed by the anti-gender international – who wins. But a deeper analysis of Poles' lifestyle and beliefs shows that they are not so much Catholic (Borowik, Doktor 2001; Izdebski 2012), and that the equality-related ideals are increasingly closer to them – after all, Poland is now the only country in the world in which a trans woman was a member of Parliament; it is here that a leading feminist was the Vice-Speaker of the Polish Parliament, and a gay openly admitting his sexual orientation scored more votes during local government elections than the political establishment – and the Church and conservatives again use gender and sexuality for political fights, defence of their own interests, and shaping a specific vision of the nation.

Literature

- Bilewicz J., 2006, *O wolności, równości, tolerancji, Sodomie i Godomie* [On Freedom, Equality, Tolerance, Sodom, and Gomorrah], „Miłujcie Się!”, nr 2.
- Borowik I., Doktor T., 2001, *Pluralizm religijny i moralny w Polsce. Raport z badań* [Religious and Moral Pluralism in Poland. Research Report], Zakład Wydawniczy “Nomos”, Kraków.
- Cichobłazińska A., 2013, *Gender – ideologia totalna* (wywiad z ojcem Dariuszem Oko) [Gender – A Totalitarian Ideology (an interview with Father Dariusz Oko)], <http://www.niedziela.pl/arttykul/106423/nd/>.
- Dębińska M., 2013, *Natura, kultura i hybrydy. Prawne konstrukcje transseksualizmu* [Nature, Culture, and Hybrids. Legal Constructions of Transsexualism], “Lud”, vol. 97.
- Grabowska M., 2014, *Cultural War or “Business as Usual”? Recent Instances, and the Historical Origins of a “Backlash” against Women’s and Sexual Rights in Poland*, https://pl.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2014/10/cultural_war_or_grabowska.pdf [accessed on 26.12.2014].
- Foucault M., 1978, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: *The Will to Knowledge*, transl. R. Hurley, Pantheon Books, New York.
- Graff A., 2001, *Świat bez kobiet. Płeć w polskim życiu publicznym* [The World without Women. Gender in Polish Public Life], WAB, Warszawa.
- Graff A., 2007, *Polskość nie jest własnością endeków* [Polishness Does not Belong Solely to National Democrats], “Gazeta Wyborcza”, 23.08.2007, p. 16, also <http://www.gazeta.pl/gazeta/1,10303,1117606,00.html> [accessed on 28.12.2014].
- Graff A., 2008, *Rykoszetem. Rzecz o płci, seksualności i narodzie* [Ricochet. About Gender, Sexuality, and the Nation], WAB, Warszawa.
- Herzog D., 2008, *Sex in Crisis: The New Sexual Revolution and the Future of American Politics*, Basic Books, New York.
- Izdebski Z., 2012, *Seksualność Polaków na początku XXI wieku. Studium badawcze* [Sexuality of Poles at the Beginning of the 21st Century. A Study], Wydawnictwo UJ, Kraków.

- Korolczuk E., 2014, "The War on Gender" from a Transnational Perspective – Lessons for Feminist Strategising, p. 3, http://pLboell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2014/10/war_on_genderkorolczuk.pdf [accessed on 24.12.2014].
- Kościańska A., 2012a, *Kościoty i związki wyznaniowe w Polsce wobec osób LGBT* [Churches and Religious Associations in Poland in Relation to LGBT Persons], [in:] *Sytuacja społeczna osób LGBT. Raport za lata 2010–2011* [Social Situation of LGBT Persons. A Report for 2010–2011], M. Makuchowska, M. Pawłęga (eds.), http://www.kph.org.pl/publikacje/Raport_badania_LGBT_do_netu.pdf [accessed on 28.12.2014].
- Kościańska A., 2012b, *Czy onanista to też Polak? Debata o masturbacji 1993–1994* [Is an Onanist a Pole, Too? The 1993–1994 Masturbation Debate], "InterAlia", No. 7, http://www.interalia.org.pl/pl/artykuly/aktualny_numer_2012_7/12_czy_onanista_to_tez_polak_debata_o_masturbacji_19931994.htm [accessed on 26.12.2014].
- Kościańska A., 2013, *Jak uchronić polskie dzieci przed demoralizacją? Dyskurs medycyny i psychologii w pewnym młodzieżowym piśmie katolickim* [How to Protect Polish Children Against Demoralisation? Discourse of Medicine and Psychology in a Catholic Magazine for the Youth], [in:] *Etnograficzne wędrówki po obszarach antropologii. Tom w darze dla Profesora Lecha Mroza* [Ethnographic Wanderings Through Anthropology. A Volume Dedicated to Prof. Lech Mróz], Ł. Smyrski, K. Waszczyńska (eds.), Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa.
- Kuby G., 2006, *Die Gender–Revolution: Relativismus in Aktion* [The Gender Revolution: Relativism in Action], Fe-Medienverlags GmbH, Kißlegg.
- List pasterski na Niedzielę Świętej Rodziny 2013 roku [A Pastoral Letter to Be Used on the Sunday of the Holy Family 2013], <https://episkopat.pl/list-pasterski-na-niedziele-swietej-rodziny-2013-roku/> [accessed on 24.12.2014]
- Lister R., 2002, *Sexual Citizenship*, [in:] *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, E. F. Isin, B.S. Turner (eds.), SAGE Publications: London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Mosse G.L., 1985, *Nationalism and Sexuality. Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*, Fertig, New York.
- Oko D., 2009, *Kościół wobec homoideologii* [The Church in the Face of Homoideology], "Miłujcie Się!", nr 1.
- Pezda A., 2014, *Byli żołnierze Szarych Szeregów zszokowani wywiadem na temat „Kamieni na szaniec”* [Former "Grey Ranks" Soldiers Shocked by an Interview Concerning "Stones for the Rampart"], "Gazeta Wyborcza", http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,13679057,Byli_zolnierze_Szarych_Szeregow_zszokowani_wywiadem.html [accessed on 28.12.2014].
- Radkowska-Walkowicz M., 2012, *The Creation of 'Monsters': the Discourse of Opposition to In Vitro Fertilization in Poland*, "Reproductive Health Matters", Vol. 20, No. 40.
- Radkowska-Walkowicz M., 2013, *Doświadczenie in vitro. Niepłodność i nowe technologie reprodukcyjne w perspektywie antropologicznej* [The Experience of In Vitro. Infertility and New Reproduction Technologies in the Anthropological Perspective], Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa.
- Renkin H., 2009, *Homophobia and Queer Belonging in Hungary*, "Focaal – European Journal of Anthropology", No. 53.
- Renkin H.Z., 2007, *Predecessors and Pilgrims: Lesbian History-making and Belonging in Post-socialist Hungary*, [in:] Takács J., Kuhar R. (eds.), *Beyond the Pink Curtain: the Everyday Life of LGBTs in Eastern and Central Europe*, pp. 269–286, Peace Institute, Ljubljana.
- Rofel L., 1999, *Qualities of Desire: Imagining Gay Identities in China*, "GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies", Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 451–474.
- Shirinian T., 2014, *Gender Hysteria: the Dangers of the Emigration of the Family and the Immigration of Homosexuality in Post-Soviet Armenia*, a lecture given as a part of the session Innovation and Continuity in the Anthropology of Gender and Sexuality during

- a congress of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Tallinn, 31.07–3.08.2014.
- Sroczyński G., 2014, *Byliśmy głupi* [We Were Stupid], an interview with Marcin Król, http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,136528,15414610,Bylismy_glupi.html?piano_d=1 [accessed on 26.12.2014].
- Stanisz B., 2013, *Winni rodzice, feministki i... Abp Michalik znów o pedofilii* [The Blame Goes to Parents, Feminists, and... Archbishop Michalik Discusses Paedophilia Again], http://wroclaw.gazeta.pl/wroclaw/1,35771,14788274,Winni_rodzicefeministki_i_Abp_Michalik_znow_o.html.
- Szpakowska M., 2003, *Chcieć i mieć. Samowiedza obyczajowa w Polsce czasu przemian* [To Want and to Have. Moral Self-knowledge in Poland in the Times of the Transformation], WAB, Warszawa.
- Tomasik K., 2008, *Homobiografie. Pisarki i pisarze polscy XIX i XX wieku* [Homobiographies. Polish Writers of Both Sexes in the 19th and 20th Centuries], Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warszawa.
- Vance C., 1989, *Social Construction Theory: Problems in the History of Sexuality*, [in:] Altman D. et al. (eds.), *Homosexuality, Which Homosexuality?*, pp. 13–33, Uitgeverij An Dekker/Schorer, Amsterdam.
- Wandan S., 2004, *Making New Rights: Constitutional Agenda-Setting in the Transitions of Poland (1989–1997) and South Africa (1990–1994 (1996))*, doctoral thesis, Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science of the New School.

Summary

Gender Panic: a red herring or a dispute around cultural citizenship?

The article explores gender discourses that circulate in the media, popular culture and the Catholic Church in Poland, and how this relates to policy and practice, ultimately shaping sexual politics. It explores what cultural citizenship is, what sexual politics are, and why the idea of a moral panic provides a useful analytical lens for looking at current debates around gender, sexuality, education and the social role of the religion in Poland.

Keywords

gender, Catholic church, ideology, culture, citizenship

Paweł Kozielski
University of Gdansk

Pro-pornographic Sex Education as an Ailment of the Polish Republic¹: an Analysis of the Press Discourse of “Gazeta Polska”

This paper provides an analysis of selected elements of the press discourse of the “Gazeta Polska” weekly. It is demonstrative and concerns solely articles related to the so-called “gender ideology”.

Using Alvin Toffler’s ideology (1996), I can say that my interests have been focused on articles published in the mouthpiece of the so-called second-wave ideology (i.e. “Gazeta Polska”). The beginning of the third millennium is the time of a clash between supporters of two subsequent waves of ideology. On one side, there are representatives of the second wave together with the idea of a national state, which through a number of institutions (starting with school and ending with the army) provides conditions facilitating the development of the basic unit, i.e. the traditionally-understood family. Here, social relations are controlled not only by the legislator, but also traditionally-understood morality. On the other side, we can see the third wave approaching with its new idea of an open European society, in which the free flow of information replaces the traditional sources of knowledge and authorities. The axiology of the new society is based on entirely new foundations.

Publications of “Gazeta Polska” provide a testimony to the clash of these two systems. An analysis of selected articles will allow not only a determination of the used discourse strategies, but also a reconstruction of the vision of the society promoted by the weekly “on the advent of the apocalypse”.

“Gazeta Polska”

This weekly has functioned in the Polish market since 1993, with Tomasz Sakiewicz as the editor-in-chief since 2005. The programme policy of the weekly clearly corresponds to the political programme of the main opposition party – Prawo i Sprawiedliwość [Law and Justice]. As one may read on the website of the “Gazeta Polska” Clubs, this policy is expressed through:

¹ The title refers to *The Eight Sermons Before the Sejm* [Parliament] by Piotr Skarga, a Polish Jesuit, published in 1597 and discussing the major ailments of the Polish Republic.

Care for the national interest, sovereignty of the state, and the promotion of patriotism; construction of the state and society on the basis of traditional values originating from Christian culture; opposition against all forms of totalitarianism in public life, in particular communism and fascism; active fight against political censorship; promotion of behaviours fostering the development of free debate (“Gazeta Polska” Clubs Card).

The thus-formulated mission (this word seems to be the most appropriate here) determines the persuasive nature of the magazine. There is no mention of the provision of information. This (perhaps excessively passive) activity vanishes behind the screen of actions that are to change the status quo. The editors promote, build, oppose, and fight actively.

The Smolensk disaster was a breaking point for the magazine, as was its editors’ involvement in the debate on the form of the commemoration of its victims. In July 2010, the circulation was 88,000, and in September it rose to 110,800 copies. In March 2012, the circulation was 139,000. However, latest analyses show a decline of the popularity of the weekly. In 2013, the average single circulation was 134,832, while the average number of sales was 46,840 copies. In 2014, the respective data were 117,985 (circulation), and 36,177 (sales) (wirtualnemedia.pl).

The reasons behind this state of affairs may include an enlargement of the offer of publications addressed to the same group of recipients (2013 saw the establishment of the “Do Rzeczy” weekly, and “W Sieci” was established in 2012). On the other hand, we may presume that the previous formula of the magazine, fuelled by the aforementioned Smolensk disaster, reached its limits.

Being a conservative, politically engaged magazine (some of the editors include politicians from the Law and Justice party), “Gazeta Polska” mainly focuses on the critique of the currently ruling authority. Poland has been gradually losing its independence to become a “condominium” (also the name of a regular column). On the one hand, the decisive impact is attributed to Russia, and on the other – to the demoralized West, led by the European Union. According to the weekly, the negative impact, in particular of the latter, is especially prominent in the field of social and moral norms, which are increasingly discussed by the magazine, gradually becoming its *idée fixe*.

Counter-revolution or death

The evil, just like in the times of the Polish Baroque, affects the society and originates from the West. The ailment Poland suffers from is now called the “gender ideology”, while the “Pro-pornographic sex education” featured in the title (Paliwoda 2011) is both an etiological factor and its symptom.

It was as early as in 2011 that Tomasz Terlikowski, noticing the demoralisation of the Western society, warned the readers of “Gazeta Polska”: *Counter-revolution or death!*

They want to legalise incest in Switzerland, and polygamy in Canada, and homosexual relations have been “equalised” in many countries. Let us not live under an illusion that this is going to be the last word of sexual revolutionists. To stop them, we need

more indignation. We need counter-revolution. [...] We are still before debates on the "equalisation" of certain forms of paedophilia, zoophilia, dendrophilia, etc. They will arrive here – and sooner rather than later [...] (Terlikowski 2011)

In the period under analysis, i.e. from 1 January 2013 until 10 April 2014, the magazine published more than 50 texts relating to issues connected with the so-called gender ideology. To say that they were polemical would definitely be too gentle. However, without any doubt their overall expression fits the phrase "moral panic".

Every month there is at least one text in which the authors express their attitude to the topic under analysis. Taking into account the target of the magazine, we need to reflect on the purposefulness of such a high concentration. The editors of the weekly in question are very careful to avoid any logical argumentation that could convince the readers or strengthen their beliefs. Mr Terlikowski is a specific exception here, as he consistently discusses selected issues, supplementing them with the official doctrine of the Church. However, it is not his goal, either, to prove any truths, because these truths, according to the authors, are obvious and result from the referred-to categories of natural law, Christian principles or simply from common sense. Poland faces a moral havoc. Like Tyrtaeus's poetry, the texts published by "Gazeta Polska" are to encourage rebellion and fighting.

An ailment to be ashamed of

In this war – to continue the classical rhetoric – the notion of "gender" fulfils the function of a topos. Very often journalistic commentaries take the form of a single- or two-sentence long inserts placed between the readers' statements devoted to some other topic. In such cases, it is the alleged indignation of the readers' which becomes the connecting element for the contents, and journalists become the readers' advocates. The *vox populi*, marked for example by using personal pronouns in the first person plural, expresses fears related to the dramatic condition of the Polish state. Gender complements this topic – it is a ready argument activating primarily emotions. The ideology described in the weekly appears to be a plague, and, similarly to other diseases attacking broadly-understood intimacy, it has come from the West (let us only mention the etymology of the word "franca" [Polish for "French disease" or syphilis]). Interestingly, as such it is not only alien to us, but also anti-Polish.

Genderism is non-patriotic

It is an opening of the road to depriving our social reality of its rooting in tradition and values building the national community, as well as the will to direct our country towards being a society of ruling moral relativism and hedonistic life without any ideals (Łebkowski 2013).

Journalists do not need any arguments, as gender is like biological warfare used against Poles. It initially attacked the healthy tissue, and now permeates

the body further, poisoning the nation's soul. The attack is aimed at the existing healthy social cells and young tissue (schoolchildren).

It is hard not to be under an impression that the purpose of the pushy promotion of the leader of transsexuals – an MP from the party Ruch Palikota – is exactly the same as the one Satanist Nergal was the subject of at some point. It is about making Poles get used to the most radical negation of the universally shared value system (Gójska-Hejke 2013a).

The polarisation of attitudes is an indispensable element of this rhetoric. In line with the principle: “who is not with us is against us”, all intermediate forms are impossible. Here, it is worth turning attention to an apparently unclear construction of the other extreme. The journalists do not say who leads the country towards moral relativism, who makes transsexuals trendy, who promotes a Satanist. It is not us – the readers of “Gazeta Polska” i.e. the peoples. “They” are external (models from Western Europe), “they” are a part of the society (not the nation) (Kozielski 2011, pp. 29–48), but almost all the institutions of authority and media are subordinate to them. There are no mentions of the concrete officials. Actions, although they are conducted on a mass scale and lead to social changes at all levels, resemble a conspiracy – the real goal is to weaken the country.

[...] Today's school (at least in the decisive majority) withdrew from childrearing, and limited its activity to the provision of care. This absolutely fundamental change of an attitude to the pupils is an excellent ground for gender revolution. [...] Fighting for the patriotic school is fighting for a strong Poland (Gójska-Hejke 2013b).

Sexual revolution turns out to be a revolt against patriotic values. A false correlation allows to justify objection. As if this was not enough, against the opinion promoted in the so-called progressive media, it turns out to be a form of discrimination. In his article *Tolerancyjna Polska* [Tolerant Poland], Filip Rdesiński in a slightly convoluted way uses *retorsio argumenti*, trying to demonstrate that the equalisation of sexual minority rights is an assassination of the Polish tolerance.

Poland treats homosexuals just like other citizens. She has not fell victim to the fashion of calling the discrimination of the majority by the minority “tolerance”. [...] making the family equal to homosexual relations creates such discrimination. Let us not allow it and let us defend the tolerant Poland (Rdesiński 2013).

Who “they” are

The gender ideology, similarly to the aforementioned French disease, is one of the consequences of progress. A “progress” in quotation marks, whose promoters, also called leftists, “Gazeta Polska” portrays as resembling the Stalinist promoters of communism, to the point of confusion. And a certain ambivalence can be spotted here – on the one hand, there is danger and the war rhetoric, while on the other – we have got sarcasm and the sense of absurdity in relation to the deficient ad-

versary – “sodomites”, “masturbation minister”, or “non-fondled and oftentimes utterly ugly hags”. However, the editors argue that the conflict is global and poses a threat to millions of beings.

One of the greatest dangers to the future of the world is – as warns Pope Benedict XVI – the gender ideology. Its acceptance is tantamount to the end of the family, marriage, and social life. And although the ideology has no chance to win (as the reality is stronger than it is), its testing will claim millions of victims, just like the testing of Communism did (Terlikowski 2013).

The aforementioned ambivalence is expressed in the titles of articles discussing gender ideology.

In 2013, they were: *Złodzieje dzieci* [Thieves of Children]; *Myslałam, że pęknę ze śmiechu* [I Thought I Would Burst Out Laughing]; *Rewolucjoniści gotowi do walki z narkofobią* [Revolutionists Ready to Fight Narcophobia]; *Tęczowa tolerancja* [Rainbow Tolerance]; *Szmatą być nie jest już wstyd* [It Is No Longer a Shame to Be a Slut]; *Homokultura atakuje dzieci* [Homoculture Attacks Children]; *Europa budzi się z lewackiego letargu* [Europe Wakes up From Leftist Lethargy]; *Ma być głupio, goło, ale wesolo* [Let’s Be Stupid, Naked, and Jolly]; *Uczmy się od Cristeros* [Let us Learn from Cristeros]; *Pętla na szyi konserwatystów* [A Nook Round the Neck of Conservatives]; *Świat po upadku bomby obyczajowej* [The World After the Explosion of the Moral Bomb]; *Czy możliwy jest konsensus w sprawach oświaty* [Is Consensus Concerning Education Possible?]; *Zieloni zboczeńcy* [Green Perverts]; *Perwersyjny świat odwróconych pojęć* [Perverse World of Turned Values]; *Tolerancyjna Polska* [Tolerant Poland]; *Uczniowie w roli transseksualistów* [Pupils in the Role of Transsexuals]; *Cała prawda o życiu gejów* [The Whole Truth about Gay Life]; *Ministra od masturbacji* [Masturbation Minister]; *Anal, oral i vaginal w liceum* [Anal, Oral, and Vaginal in the Upper Secondary School]; *Czas na naszą cristiadę* [Time for Our Cristiada]; *Dziennikarze pedofile* [Journalists Paedophiles]; *Przedszkole zrobi Ci dziecko na tęczowo* [Kindergarten Will Make Your Child Rainbow-Coloured]; *Gdy chłopiec chce być dziewczynką* [When a Boy Wants to Be a Girl]; *Homoherezja dzieli Kościół* [Homoheresy Divides the Church]; *Teraz czas na zoofilię* [Time for Zoophilia]; *Wybierz sobie płeć – masz kwadrans na zastanowienie* [Choose Your Gender – You Have a Quarter of an Hour to Think]; *Platforma na rozdrożu między kościołem i burdelem* [Platform at the Crossroads between Church and Brothel]; *Cóż za niewiasta* [What a Woman]; *Kłapa lewicowej krucjaty Tuska* [Failure of Tusk’s Leftist Crusade]; *Poligamia na sztandary* [Polygamy to the Flags]; *Czasy ostatecznie ostateczne* [Ultimately Ultimate Times]; *Wstyd nie jest trendy* [Shame is Not Trendy]; *Niebezpieczne związki* [Dangerous Liaisons]; *Grodzka jak Nergal* [Grodzka Like Nergal]; *Homo małżeństwa – arogancja brytyjskiego rządu* [Same-sex Marriages – the Arrogance of the British Government]; *Ideologia gender jest jak marksizm* [Gender Ideology is Like Marxism].

In 2014 (until 10.01.2014), they included: *Saturnalia 2014* [Saturnalia 2014]; *Homoszczęście raportowane i faktyczne* [Reported and Actual Homohappiness]; *List do genderystek, gejów i tęczowego towarzystwa* [A Letter to Female Genderists, Gays, and the Rainbow Gang]; *Polacy kontra gender* [Poles vs Gender]; *Transrewolucja nadchodzi*

[A Trans-revolution Is Coming]; *Dzieci potrzebują miłości, nie seksu* [Children Need Love, Not Sex]; *Warto interweniować* [It is Worth Intervening]; *Dzieci jak z taśmy produkcyjnej* [Children Like from a Production Line]; *Homodyktatura nabiera rozpędu* [Homodictatorship Gains Momentum]; *Postępowe kola czyli kwadraty* [Progressive Circles or Squares]; *Genderowa rewolucja i pożyteczni idioci* [Gender Revolution and Useful Idiots], *Żyjemy w kulturze upadłej* [We Live in Fallen Culture], *Dominikanin, gender i rozmywanie doktryny* [A Dominican Monk, Gender, and the Dilution of the Doctrine]; *Dyktatura gender* [Gender Dictatorship]; *Resortowe feministki* [Ministerial Feminists]; *Genderman; Daddy, papa and me; Tampon wam w ucho* [Tampon up Yours]; *Młot na feministki* [A Hammer for Feminists].

The battle for language

The above review allows to some extent to understand the discourse strategies used by the editorial team. Going back to the already quoted article by Tomasz Terlikowski (2013) entitled *Ideologia Gender jest jak marksizm* [Gender Ideology is Like Marxism], it is worth focusing on a semantic aspect of its content. This is because the journalist consciously manipulates the meaning of words, ideologically changing both their emotional feel, and the semantic field – sometimes this takes place even in contrast to the original meaning.

[...] abortion (also after-birth abortion, which until recently was simply referred to as murder) became the woman's right to become free of the unwanted offspring; and it is possible to be sued for questioning whether a guy stuffed with female hormones and (not always) castrated can become a woman... [...] And this is why it would be worthwhile to [...] start to fight genderism. We need anti-genderism now just like several dozen years ago we needed anti-communism (Terlikowski 2013).

What is particularly interesting here is the incorrect use of the word “genderism”. The essence lies in the play with words, or, to be more precise, the sounds of words such as genderism, Marxism, communism, ant-genderism, and anti-communism. The journalist, thus exposing the stylistic quality of otherness, simultaneously adds the issue to the category of hateful notions. The mastery of using linguistic eristic strategies is truly impressive. Mister Terlikowski readily resorts to hyperbolism and sarcasm.

Another journalist of “Gazeta Polska”, Tomasz Łysiak, is sorry about some changed linguistic customs:

The equally “obsolete” pederasty is slowly becoming a word of the past. The change of linguistic awareness achieved after much battling by the corrupt global lobby now dictates us to call sodomites gays! (Łysiak)

And again there is a mention of the not entirely identified “them” in the form of a corrupt global lobby. It is not significant who its members are. What is important is the fact that they are not Polish.

Another favourite discourse strategy is an excessive use of neologisms created on the basis of word formations – examples include compound words such as “trans-revolution”, “genderwoman” and “genderman”. The distinguishing sign of Terlikowski’s articles are neologisms created as compounds including the morpheme “homo-”: “homomarriages”, “homolobby”, “homorelation”, “homohappiness”, “homoactivist”, “homodicatorship”, and “homoterrorists”.

The author of the above clusters consciously multiplies and displays them in titles and sub-headings, because he believes that we are in the middle of a war of words. The addition of the prefix “homo” tears out the added word from its standard use, changing the specific object into a deficient, illegal being. Homohappiness is not only quasi-happiness, it is also a parody of happiness.

Mister Terlikowski writes (2014a): “The language war is of key importance in the debate concerning the future of Europe”. The article entitled *Transrewolucja nadchodzi* [A Transrevolution is Coming] has five sub-headings. They are subsequently: *Lingwistyczna rewolucja* [Linguistic Revolution]; *Eunuch nie jest kobietą!* [A Eunuch is Not a Woman!]; *Sztuczne pochwy, penisy na pompkę* [Artificial Vaginas, Pumped Penises]; *Coraz młodszy pacjenci* [Ever Younger Patients]; *A to tylko początek* [And This is Just a Beginning] (Terlikowski 2014a).

What is clearly visible here is the rhetorical conception showing the total nature of changes – from linguistic customs to the children’s gender reassignment. This sense is intensified by the selection of emotionally-marked words: strong, shocking images are contrasted with the care for the youngest ones. The context always includes the category of the so-called natural law, which the editorial team of the weekly identifies with the teaching of the Church.

An attempt at or even an objection to stepping beyond this established order produces aggression. The questioning of gender roles must end with sarcasm – the word “eunuch” closes the discussion. And at the same time, aggression must be demonstrated on the other side, at least theoretically.

Rainbow Armies

In February 2013, “Gazeta Polska” published an article entitled *Szafa pełna trupów* [A Wardrobe Full of Skeletons]. While criticizing the PO [Civic Platform] government, Mister Ziemkiewicz wrote: “how the homoleftist gang, attacking professor Zawadzki, refreshes the tradition of their predecessors from ZMP [the communist Union of Polish Youth], who in the Stalinist times hounded “reactionary elements” out of their professorship, enjoying the blessing of the centrist media – just like today” (Ziemkiewicz 2013).

Obviously, such a construction of the text implies not only the alleged relations between leftist environments and the communist authority apparatus. The former, being successors of ZMP, become rhetorically co-responsible for the malpractices of their predecessors. This phraseology very clearly takes us to the field of battle. The already quoted Tomasz Łysiak writes in a similar spirit:

“Rainbow armies” and the “real Europeans” who support them, brought up on political correctness, started to call the public via the internet to boycott Ciechan beer and pour it out in front of cameras. The manufacturer himself was almost lynched with words. This is nothing else but masked aggression, a kind of virtual attack, which is to trample and destroy all the people who do not agree with perverts. This is a terror of political correctness (Łysiak 2014).

Terlikowski writes openly about homoterrorists and homodictatorship (Terlikowski 2014b). Symptoms of aggression are also enumerated by another journalist, Robert Tekieli:

A rainbow in Warsaw, a bearded man in a dress in Europe – these are not only tools of appropriation of the public space by moral revolutionists – this is an introduction to the intimidation of ordinary people by LGBT environments. This is serious. It is an onset of violence (Tekieli 2014).

A list of acts of violence allegedly committed by LGBT activists in Western Europe follows. The article ends with a provocative statement: “Homosexuals are straight about it: your children will be ours” (Tekieli 2014).

It is no longer a shame to be a slut, i.e. feminism *ad personam*

The title of this sub-chapter refers to Krystyna Grzybowska’s column of November 2013. The author, using a provocative word with reference to protests against the justification of sexual violence against women, uses rough words to attack feminist circles. While the message of the protests was entirely omitted, the article set together the word “slut” with the activity of feminists – “non-fondled and oftentimes utterly ugly hags”, who “fight for their position and their grants generously paid by ‘elites’ of political correctness” (Grzybowska 2013a).

It is no longer a shame to be a slut, so the copycats of the top sluts earn using nakedness – their own, their daughters’ and their granddaughters’ (Grzybowska 2013a).

In December 2013, another column by the same author, entitled *Myslałam, że pęknie ze śmiechu* [I Thought I Would Burst Out Laughing] was published. Filled with poison, the text is also a blunt attack without any logical argumentation – just like its predecessor. The author assumed in advance that feminism fights *a priori* with the Church, promotes paedophilia, and is responsible for “trampling the moral norms contained in the Ten Commandments” and for “reducing women to the role of an instrument satisfying men’s sexual needs”.

Polish women will make do without the Congress of Women, a clique of cunning dames benefiting (also financially) from being feminists. They would do much better to take care of themselves, take a bath, and go to a hair-stylist, so as to make themselves resemble women – representatives of the fair sex (Grzybowska 2013b).

Travestying a quotation from the film *Sexmission* – the feminists are responsible for everything other than hailstorms, earthquakes, and whooping cough.

In Poland, the dangerous transformations are caused by, as aforementioned, the heirs of the communist regime. In January 2014, the main article was the text *Resortowe Feministki* [Ministerial Feminists] (Marosz 2014). It is yet another attack *ad personam*. This time, it was aimed at concrete activists of the feminist movement – their names were mentioned. Here, the anti-Polish origin of the gender ideology is to be proved by the origin of the activists, whose fathers were supposedly dignitaries during the times of the Polish People's Republic.

The world is staring into an abyss

The above fragments of articles document one of the main journalistic directions taken by "Gazeta Polska". The world presented in the weekly is staring into an abyss. The authors consciously amplify the sense of danger. Poland has become the centre of a moral war, a war in which there are no ceasefires or compromises. Every campaign requires the appropriate means of rhetoric, but in this case it is not logical persuasion which counts. The fight with the disease threatening the nation allows all means, so moral panic is not only justified but also desirable here. No justification is necessary – the truth results from tradition and common sense. An eristic bent is fully admissible, taking into account that the adversary is contemptible. The authors use non-substantive arguments without any limitation. The range of their arguments includes arguments *ad personam*, *ad fidem*, *ad ridiculum* and *ad populum*.

Gender and feminism are ready-made labels – topoi which are to bring about associations with decay and moral corruption. They constitute one of the basic ideographs of the magazine and elements of its constitutive rhetoric. The category of an external enemy is indispensable for the existence of the weekly. The not entirely identified "global lobbies" and the "gender ideology" suit this role to a T.

Literature

- Gójska-Hejke K., 2013a, *Grodzka jak Nergal* [Grodzka like Nergal], „Gazeta Polska” nr 6, 06.02.2013.
- Gójska-Hejke K., 2013b, *Wybierz sobie pleć, masz kwadrans na zastanowienie* [Choose Your Gender – You Have a Quarter of an Hour to Think], „Gazeta Polska” nr 17, 24.04.2013.
- Karta Klubów „Gazeta Polska” [„Gazeta Polska” Clubs Card] http://www.klubygp.pl/arch/2010/2010_11_25.html (08.02.2011)
- Grzybowska K., 2013a, *Szmatą być nie jest już wstyd* [It is No Longer a Shame to Be a Slut], „Gazeta Polska” nr 46, 13.11.2013.
- Grzybowska K., 2013b, *Myslałam, że pęknę ze śmiechu* [I Thought I Would Burst Out Laughing], „Gazeta Polska” nr 49, 04.12.2013.
- Kozielski P., 2011, *Casus krzyża na krakowskim przedmieściu...* [The Case of the Cross at Krakowskie Przedmieście...], [in:] *Transformacja polskiego systemu medialnego* [Transformation of the Polish Media System], Sokołowski M. (ed.), Toruń 2011.

- Łebkowski A., 2013, *Niebezpieczne związki* [Dangerous Liaisons], „Gazeta Polska” nr 6, 06.02.2013.
- Łysiak T., 2014, *Saturnalia 2014. Od Walezego do “Ciechana”* [Saturnalia 2014. From Walezey to “Ciechan”], „Gazeta Polska” nr 40, 01.10.2014.
- Marosz M., 2014, *Resortowe feministki* [Ministerial Feminists], „Gazeta Polska” nr 3, 15.01.2014.
- Paliwoda P., 2011, *Ideologia zamiast edukacji* [Ideology Instead of Education], „Gazeta Polska” nr 49, 07.12.2011.
- Rdesiński F., 2013, *Tolerancyjna Polska* [Tolerant Poland], „Gazeta Polska” nr 32, 07.08.2013.
- Tekieli R., 2014, *Dzieci potrzebują miłości, a nie seksu!* [Children Need Love, Not Sex!], „Gazeta Polska” nr 21, 21.05.2014.
- Terlikowski T., 2011, *Kontrrewolucja albo śmierć* [Counterrevolution or Death], „Gazeta Polska” nr 1, 05.01.2011.
- Terlikowski T., 2013, *Ideologia Gender jest jak marksizm* [Gender Ideology is Like Marxism], „Gazeta Polska” nr 4, 23.01.2013.
- Terlikowski T., 2014a, *Transrewolucja nadchodzi* [A Transrevolution is Coming], „Gazeta Polska” nr 24, 11.06.2014.
- Terlikowski T., 2014b, *Homodyktatura nabiera rozpędu* [Homodictatorship is Gaining Momentum], „Gazeta Polska” nr 15, 09.10.2014.
- Toffler A., Toffler H., 1995, *Creating a new civilization. The Politics of the Third Wave*, Atlanta. Wirtualnemedi.pl, <http://www.wirtualnemedi.pl/artykul/do-rzeczy-i-gazeta-polska-z-najwiekszymi-spadkami-wprost-sprzedaje-juz-tylko-42-tys-egz> (01.10.2014).
- Ziemkiewicz R., 2013, *Szafa pełna trupów* [Wardrobe Full of Skeletons], „Gazeta Polska” nr 7, 13.02.2013.

Summary

Pro-pornographic Sex Education as an Ailment of the Polish Republic: an Analysis of the Press Discourse of “Gazeta Polska”

The article explores gender discourses that circulate in the selected media in Poland and how this relates to the cultural sexual politics. It explores how feminism and sexual education are perceived and understood, what sexual politics are and why the idea of sexual discourses provides a useful analytical lens for looking at current debates around gender, equality and education in Poland.

Keywords

gender, discourse, press, feminism, sexual education

Iza Desperak
University of Lodz

Boys Dressed Up as Girls, or the Creation Myth of the Polish Anti-Gender Crusade

Introduction

This text refers to the anti-gender crusade which began in Poland in the autumn of 2013, and which since then has been the subject of numerous analyses. In such a seemingly short time, I even managed to supervise a master's thesis devoted to this subject (Felczak 2014). However, it should be noted right at the outset that this phenomenon was not limited to Poland; it appears in many countries of both eastern and western Europe, as well as on other continents, so it is not enough to look at it only from the local perspective. Reports on boys forced to wear dresses appeared in France, Ukraine held a conference on gender and anti-gender, and the President of Ecuador Rafael Corraza (2014) devoted his New Year's address to the threats posed by the alleged "gender ideology".

Meanwhile in Poland "gender" was chosen the word of 2013, which caused mixed feelings among researchers who had been using the word in the discourse for the last decade or so. The National Library search engine provided over 160 results for this keyword at the time. Unfortunately, The Encyclopaedia of Gender, which had been prepared for several years, was published only in 2014, after this media buzz had abated. Would a slightly larger number of widely available publications explaining what the term gender refers to have changed anything about the sensational media reception that has come to accompany it, and which is responsible for the extraordinary career of this concept?

The phenomenon of the "gender dispute" in Poland

The phenomenon of the sudden popularity of the word "gender" in the media and the campaign against the alleged "gender ideology" practiced by "genderists" has had many explanations in Poland. Most often it was pointed out that the crusade against gender was initiated by the Catholic Church just after the disclosure of paedophile scandals, and it was supposed to distract public attention from the uncomfortable circumstances.

While analysing this phenomenon, we can also refer to the dispute between conservatism and liberalism and to previous attacks of conservatives on other groups which stood for modernity and progressiveness. Any liberal action would therefore be criticized by the conservatives, and equality education would be the next target of their attack. In addition, many conservative crusades are characterized by fears related to sex and sexuality, and gender education is associated with this sphere. Since the beginning of the transformation [of Poland in 1989 – translator’s note], we have been observing gender-related issues divide the public. In particular the far right, supported by radical nationalist movements, keeps redefining the shape of the collective enemy and the scapegoat at the same time (Girard 1991). Until World War II, the role of the scapegoat was meant for Jews. But the reviving anti-Semitic discourse has taken on new forms, similarly to the homophobic debate, as pointed out by Adam Ostolski (2005). A strong movement against integration with the European Union, which appeared in Poland in the first decade of the 21st century, used a rhetoric in which contraception and abortion outline the framework of the civilization of death, which in turn is embodied by the EU. Thus, sexual minorities and movements for their equal rights become the new scapegoats. This role is also given to the equality concepts of women and men, simplistically reduced to the struggle for reproductive rights or gender parity.

In the period preceding Poland’s accession to the EU we could observe how sceptics and open enemies of EU integration developed a phraseology identifying EU-enthusiasts with the “civilization of death”, which manifested itself in contraception, abortion, euthanasia and same-sex relationships (Desperak 2003). Initially, the EU-sceptics were identified with the Catholic Church, so the success of the Polish government in executing European integration was based on an agreement in which the government promised to maintain the so-called abortion compromise in exchange for the Church’s support of the EU project. This alliance of throne and altar was opposed by the signatories of the “100 Women Letter”, issued in 2002 by women’s organizations to the European Parliament (100 Women Letter, 2002). The uncompromising and unchallenged stance of the Church allowed to extend the list of these “enemies” to include in vitro fertilization, and then gender.

The Polish anti-gender campaign is often explained referring to the theory of a moral panic which mobilizes a society against alleged threats jeopardizing its fundamental values. In this case the alleged gender ideology encouraging boys to put on dresses threatens to entail a forced sex change of these small defenceless boys. The moral panic in Poland Anno Domini 2013, refers to *Sexmission*, a film from 1983, which to this date organizes a discourse on gender based on the fear of feminism and the castration complex. This film has a larger audience today than in the 1980s, and perhaps for the majority of the public it still is the only message concerning gender relations in society.

The phenomenon of the Polish crusade against gender has also been explained in many other ways. The term “crusade”, that I have been consistently using, draws attention to the main actor of this phenomenon, namely the Catholic Church. In the case of the Polish campaign against gender, the Church was the initiator, and priests and bishops were the main playmates. On Sunday, 30 December

2013, a pastoral letter against the gender issue was read out in all Catholic churches (Episkopat 2013). A priest who used to share his opinion against gender in the media frequently was Father Dariusz Oko, who at the same time published a book on the subject (Oko 2014). However, it was not only the Church functionaries who participated in the anti-gender campaign. The gender dispute took place not just in the Catholic media but also in the mainstream and public ones.

Global anti-gender campaign

As Judith Butler argues, the Catholic Church has not only reasons to attack the so-called “gender ideology”, but even a plan in this respect. In *The End of Sex Distinction*, she describes, among other things, a dispute between participants of the Fourth World Conference on Women, which was held under the aegis of the UN in Beijing in 1995. The debate concerned the use of certain wording in the final document, and it resulted in an agreement to use the term “gender” in the meaning of “cultural sex”, and omit the word “lesbian” (Butler 2012). Perhaps representatives of the invited countries, including delegations representing the alliance of throne with altar, interpreted the discussions of the conference as an introduction of the lesbian rights issue to the official language of the United Nations under the guise of an incomprehensible gender slogan. The Vatican would then have to take a negative stance towards this phenomenon and give appropriate instructions to the national levels, and the position of Polish bishops would be the result of such a course of events/. The Church crusade against gender would therefore be the result of some misunderstanding, and in fact it would be directed against LGBT movements, and its Polish version would only be part of a wider, virtually global, Vatican plan. Although it is hard to believe that events from 18 years before can account for what happened in 2013 in Poland, it is the Catholic Church rather than other institutions that can afford to act at such a pace. There are also many indications that fear of the alleged gender threat is linked with homophobia and transphobia.

A more universal dimension of this phenomenon was shown at a conference on pro-gender and anti-gender movements in Kiev¹. The Vatican’s influence does not reach Ukraine, but this country has also experienced a war over gender. Perhaps in this respect, the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches get along quite well. In neighbouring Russia, it is the Orthodox Church that seems to play a similar role in political discourse.

On the other hand, Butler’s thesis about the Vatican thread in the crusade against gender is confirmed by reports from the recent Vatican synod devoted to the family. One of its statements declared that “gender ideology aims to make homosexual marriages legal” (Bielecki 2014).

¹ Publications from this conference can be found in the thematic issue of “Гендер й анти-гендер” – Гендърный Журнал “Я” 2013, No. 4 [http://ua.boell.org/uk/2013/12/30/gender-i-antigender-genderniy-zhurnal-ya-no4-34-2013].

The purpose of this text, however, is not to analyse the whole phenomenon of the anti-gender crusade, but only some of its elements. Let us remind you that in Poland everything started from reports about a kindergarten where European Union money was reportedly being used to force boys to change into dresses. These reports triggered a wave of controversy, where one side was accused of the corruption of minors, and the other cautiously denied it. Admittedly as it turned out, the boys were not really made to wear dresses, but this creation myth of the anti-gender crusade was out into the world. Similar news popped up also in France. Protests in that country, however, rather concerned equality initiatives in education, and they were responded to by male students wilfully wearing skirts in protest against gender discrimination (*'Boys in Skirts' Plan Sparks Standoff at French School*). Reports on the alleged abuses of gender supporters are still appearing here and there: in 2014 the pages of "Nasz Dziennik" revealed another scandal (*Nasz Dziennik: Best Grades for Gender*). We seem to be dealing with a repetitive pattern.

What the Polish gender dispute was all about

Two sides can be distinguished in the gender dispute. On one side there are opponents of the alleged "gender ideology", with the Catholic Church at the helm. The supposed pro-gender activists are on the other. This division, recorded in all analyses of this dispute, does not really work when regarded from the perspective of this founding myth about boys forced to wear dresses. Although gender opponents claim that the incriminated event has occurred, and the supporters endeavour to disprove this myth, they do not differ in one aspect: for both sides boys forced to wear dresses are an utter abomination. Whatever happened around the gender issue in 2013 was hardly a debate. On one side there were irrational and hateful messages, possibly lined with fear, and certainly referring to fears – to the fear of sexual and gender otherness embodied by kindergarten boys forced to wear dresses, as well as to the fear of changing what seems natural and eternal: the traditional definition of masculinity and femininity. According to anti-gender activists, the equality education against which they are trying to turn the public, is a threat because it challenges the traditional division of roles. According to Catholic priests, it challenges God's law, similarly like the *in vitro* fertilization procedure. Following the conservative thought, it is the national tradition that specifies the definition of a family and the roles of its members, and it should not be interfered with, even when the prevention of domestic violence is at stake. In this debate gender activists used a different, rational language, avoided hate speech, and patiently explained that it happened in a different kindergarten, that the boys were not made to change into dresses, and that this was not done by force. Having adopted this rational strategy in the face of a sudden outbreak of anti-gender campaigning, they lost, because they opposed the vision of boys in dresses as strongly as their opponents. Although they did not advocate for maintaining the traditional division of roles, they (we) tried to abate emotions, convincing others that they (we) would never conceive such an idea.

And what would happen if it turned out that somewhere boys do wear dresses? After all, one of the kindergartens had discussed Scots wearing kilts, and boys in yet another kindergarten had dressed up as stylists as a part of their play and put on aprons. Two decades ago such aprons were worn by boys and girls in kindergarten, and no one was making an issue of it. The memes published by internet users with baby Karol Wojtyła wearing a kind of dress reminded us that in the past a dress was an appropriate outfit for babies regardless of sex. In the meantime, the image of a boy wearing a dress has become a formidable weapon.

The fear of boys wearing dresses is best represented by Father Dariusz Oko. During an extended interview, he shared his traumatic childhood experience: he had to wear his older sisters' hand-me-down clothes (Varga 2014). However, the part of Polish society that did not suffer such a trauma should be less sensitive to reports of boys wearing dresses.

The act of making boys wear dresses does not only raise homophobic and trans-phobic fears. It hits one of the last bastions of the social definition of masculinity and femininity through outfits, as does the queer theory and practice (which should by no means lead to equating both forms of attack). While considering the issue of equality between women and men, we need to see one of the important dimensions of inequality that concerns men.

Whilst women (for several decades now) have been able to choose between dresses, skirts and trousers, men are still denied this choice. Men opting for a different outfit than trousers are almost always classified as non-normative, although the dimensions of this non-normativeness vary. They are the ethnic Others, with both Scots and Asians wearing traditional clothing or even the inhabitants of southern Europe. Because only the central-European tradition of men's attire refers to trousers. Besides, for a long time trousers had been worn underneath proper clothes, treated as intimate garments, and they only stuck out from under long gowns or a peasant's tunic. The Polish nobility costume was adapted from Turkey and comprised baggy salwar trousers worn also by women in the Balkans. Furthermore, the German male costume required "stockings", associated today with women's attire, and an English Renaissance gentleman wore trousers that had little in common with the modern definition. At the time when "the Spanish queen had no legs", the English King Henry the Eighth was portrayed by Hans Holbein in an outfit that today's gender slayers would definitely frown upon.

Likewise, south-eastern Europe still cultivates the tradition of men's "skirts" in the most masculine sort of outfit, that is the uniform of the honour guard keeping watch over the tomb of the unknown soldier in Athens.

Men and boys today are doomed to wear trousers, and we do not allow thoughts that it could ever be otherwise. Similarly women and girls were denied the right to wear trousers just a few generations ago. Our mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers still remember what kind of troubles women in trousers had to face. Women, however, have obtained the right to choose their attire, and men will most likely be able to decide on their clothing freely as well. And it does not have to entail a free choice of biological sex, which the anti-gender crusaders warn us against. These two issues should be considered separately. It should be

clearly declared that in a democratic society there is also room for transgender people, who have served as an evil element in tales about “pro-gender kindergartens”. And there is room for various alternative gender identities, such as transgender or cross-dressers as well.

The opponents of gender warn us about the threat it poses to traditional masculinity, the traditional division of roles and the traditional definition of sexuality which is becoming blurred. Well, these processes are currently in progress. Women work in men’s professions, men take paternity leaves, heterosexual couples use medical technologies to become parents, and single-sex couples bring up children in families of choice (Mizelińska, Abramowicz, Stasińska 2014).

The gender equality revolution, a process described by leading sociologists like Manuel Castells (2009), Anthony Giddens (2006), Roland Inglehart and Pippa Norris (2009), applies to both women and men. According to these researchers, we are witnessing the end of society based on the patriarchy principle, mainly due to the shift in the position of women, but also thanks to their takeover of reproduction control, the feminist movement and LGBT rights activism.

The social definitions of a man and masculinity were the foundation of patriarchy, with the machismo ideology and the image of a “real man” personified in mass culture by the “Marlboro Man”. It was the mass culture that responded to the change and contributed to it proposing the figure of a “new man” (Melosik 1996; Dzido 2003), then there was the metrosexual man, whose next incarnation could be a “lumbersexual” man². Another alternative to the traditional model of masculinity is a cross-dresser: a man dressed in a manner contrary to social expectations, and a drag queen queer. None of them wears trousers. And according to anti-gender activists a dress on a man is reserved for only one model of masculinity: men vowing celibacy in the Catholic Church.

Everything is not about a dress, however – the dress is merely a symbol. It is about a model of masculinity transmitted in the course of socialization, a model that requires more from boys than from girls. Girls are socialized in accordance with the femininity that surrounds them in childhood; socialization of boys, however, requires separation from this femininity (Bardwick, Douvan 1982). When a girl starts using her mum’s clothes and cosmetics, it constitutes an accepted model of entering femininity, although until recently teenagers’ makeup was socially unacceptable. When a boy tries the same, he is often discouraged because the socialisation of a boy consists in not only denying a child, but also, according to Elisabeth Badinter (1993), denying a woman and a homosexual. And a female outfit

² Polish media have dubbed the local equivalent of “lumbersexual” as “drwaloseksualny” – compare the TV feature: <http://dziendobry.tvn.pl/wideo,2064,n/mezczyzna-drwaloseksualny-marzenie-nejednej-kobiety,149727.html> [*Lumbersexual Man – Many Women’s Dream*], article: <http://natemat.pl/124099,zapomnij-o-metroseksualnych-chlopakach-nowy-trend-to-lumbersexual> [*Forget about Metrosexual Boys – Lumbersexual is Another Trend*]; this trend can also be found on men’s blogs devoted to fashion and facial hair care: <http://www.ekskluzywnymenel.com/> [*An Exclusive Bum*], <http://www.facetemjestem.pl/kosmetyki-do-pielegnacji-brody/> [*Beard Care Cosmetics*], <http://casualism.pl/broda-zarost-czym-mity-fakty/> [*Beard, Facial Hair – What With? Myths and Facts*].

represents both these dangers. What should really induce the fear of remodelling masculinity is Marta Frey's artwork, depicting two very manly men, definitely not wearing dresses, but in the most masculine poses in the gym, in the roles of "new men" who after their workout must "do the shopping and make dinner before Sandra returns from work".

When I first heard about the "pro-gender" kindergarten where boys were made to wear dresses, I panicked. As an equality coach/educator I imagined a similar negative campaign in connection with my own activity and began to develop scenarios of potential defence. I also imagined a situation in which those accusations would not be so unfounded: in my classes with young people we draw male and female figures and then exchange the attributes of sex and, more commonly, gender roles. At least once in such classes I happened to meet a person whose gender was not obvious, and I have probably missed similar cases a few times. And what if a boy in a dress should have come? And in a pink dress? Or a boy interested in playing dolls? This catalogue of educator's fears only shows how much we are afraid of the unknown and how little we are prepared for the authentic gender-related stories in the real world, and not in political discourse.

An equality kindergarten

My perspective has been completely changed by the documentary: *The Third Gender Encounter* (http://www.planetepius.pl/dokument-rownosc-plci-po-szwedzku_42499), aired by the TV channel Planete. It presents a kindergarten in Sweden, whose mission is education for equality. The teachers emphasize that they are referring to gender, and not to biological sex, and that they are not planning to change the sexual orientation of the children. Would this kind of a declaration stop Polish anti-gender activists from attack if they found out about such a venture?

In the Swedish kindergarten, which bears the significant name *Egalia*, parents and teachers discuss how to implement the idea of education for equality. Children learn to use a new gender-neutral pronoun *hen*³, previously unused in Swedish as a personal pronoun. One of the kindergarten children, a boy named Justus, sends his holiday photo in which he is wearing a dress, and the teachers take up the subject. We learn that at home Justus sometimes also puts on his older sister's dress. Another boy likes the colours pink and purple, although it is more important for him to put on two different socks, and for his parents to determine which socks he prefers. The parents of this boy turn out to be two mums, but it does not seem to impress him much. We meet another child, in his father's arms and with a pacifier in his mouth, in a toy store where his dad is buying him a doll. The local equality counsellor visits the kindergarten and to his surprise more attention is paid to respect the subjectivity of a child than to the issue of equality.

³ The original French title of this documentary refers to this in the title: *Ille, el, hen* (<http://www.arte.tv/guide/fr/048395-000/il-ene-hen>).

In comparison with this equality kindergarten, the Polish panic concerning equality education programs in kindergartens seems to be inaccurately addressed. On the other hand, it was not only the opponents of gender education who refrained from the idea of making boys wear dresses. Having acquainted ourselves with the Swedish example of best practice in this area, we should take a moment to reflect on whether it is something to be afraid of.

Literature

- 'Boys in skirts' plan sparks standoff at French school, program of France24: <http://www.France24.com/en/20140515-boys-skirts-plan-sparks-standoff-french-school-sexism-gender-protest/>
- Гендер й анти-гендер – Гендъерный Журнал “Я” 2013, No. 4, <http://ua.boell.org/uk/2013/12/30/gender-i-antigender-genderniy-zhurnal-ya-no4-34-2013>.
- Badinter E., 1993, *XY, tożsamość męczyzny* [XY: On Masculine Identity], WAB, Warszawa.
- Bardwick A. E., Douvan E., 1972, *Ambivalence: The Socialization of Women*. [in:] J.M. Bardwick, *Readings on the Psychology of Women*, Harper and Row, New York.
- Bielecki T., *Homodylemat synodu w Watykanie* [The Homo-dilemma of the Synod in Vatican], *Gazeta Wyborcza* accessed on 14.10.2014, http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,16798666,Homodylemat_synodu_w_Watykanie.html.
- Butler J., 2004, *The End of Sexual Difference?*, [in:] J. Butler, *Undoing Gender*, Routledge, New York and London.
- Castells M., 2010, *End of Millenium*, second edition, Woley-Blackwell, Chichester.
- Desperak I., 2003, *Antykoncepcja, aborcja i... eutanazja. O upolitycznieniu praw reprodukcyjnych w Polsce* [Contraception, Abortion and... Euthanasia. The politicization of Reproductive Rights in Poland], *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis, Folia Sociologica* vol. 30.
- Dzido D., 2003, *Męczyzna do oglądania* [A Man for Watching], "Artmix" no 5, <http://free.art.pl/artmix>.
- Felczak A., 2014, *Analiza zjawiska w dyskursie publicznym – funkcjonalna dyskusja wokół gender, która przykuła uwagę odbiorców mediów, na podstawie analizy treści przekazów masowych wybranego portalu internetowego* [Analysis of a Phenomenon in Public Discourse – a Functional Debate About Gender, Which Has Caught the Attention of the Media Recipients, Based on the Analysis of the Mass Media Content of She Selected Internet Portal], master's thesis under supervision of I. Desperak, Łódź.
- Giddens A., 2006, *Przemiany intymności. Seksualność, miłość i erotyzm we współczesnych społeczeństwach* [The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies], Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
- Girard R., 1991, *Kozioł ofiarny* [The Scapegoat], Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź.
- Inglehart R., Norris P., 2003, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- List pasterski na Niedzielę Świętej Rodziny* [Pastoral Letter for the Holy Family Sunday], http://episkopat.pl/dokumenty/5545.1,List_pasterski_na_Niedziele_Swietej_Rodziny_2013_roku.html.
- List Stu Kobiet* [100 Women Letter], http://www.zgapa.pl/zgapedia/List_Stu_Kobiet.html.
- Melosik Z., 1996, *Tożsamość, ciało i władza: teksty kulturowe, jako (kon)teksty pedagogiczne* [Identity, Body and Power: Cultural Texts, as Pedagogical (Con)texts], Wydawnictwo Edytor, Poznań.

- Mizielińska J., Abramowicz M., Stasińska A., 2014, *Rodziny z wyboru w Polsce, Życie rodzinne osób nieheteroseksualnych* [Families of Choice in Poland. Family Life of Non-heterosexual People], Instytut Psychologii PAN, Warszawa.
- Nasz Dziennik: Szóstka za gender [Nasz Dziennik: Best Grades for Gender], http://wyborcza.pl/1,91446,17080675,_Nasz_DziennikSzostka_za_gender.html.
- Oko D. (ed.), 2014, *Dyktatura gender* [The Gender Dictatorship], Wydawnictwo Biały Kruk, Cracow.
- Ostolski A., *Żydzi, geje i wojna Cywilizacji* [Jews, Gays and the War of Civilization], op.cit, no 23 (2/2005): http://www.opcit.art.pl/cms/index.php?p=text23_01.
- Rafael Correa rechaza la absurda y peligrosísima ideología, de genero, infobae, 3 January 2014, <http://www.infobae.com/2014/01/03/1534727-rafael-correa-rechaza-la-absurda-y-peligrosísima-ideología-genero> presentation broadcast: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KtA6VUQD4Js> [accessed on: 27.12.2014].
- Varga K., *Łaska pychy, czyli Oko kocha, Oko walczy* [The Grace of Pride, or Oko loves, Oko fights], <http://m.wyborcza.pl/wyborcza/1,132748,15809621.html>.

Summary

Boys Dressed Up as Girls, or the Creation Myth of the Polish Anti-Gender Crusade

This paper recollects the beginning of the Polish anti-gender crusade, started in 2013 with the story about boys pressed to wear dresses in one of the kindergartens/in a kindergarten. It presents various approaches to the phenomenon of public debate on gender, and various interpretations, on both the local and global levels, including Judith Butler's theory of a reaction of the Vatican to the Fourth World Conference in Beijing in 1995. It focuses on the analysis of a primary [faked] story and its significance and puts it in the context of redefining masculinity patterns. It also points out how the traditional definition of masculinity is mixed with heteronormativity, and how both of them seem to be dangerous to the opponents of gender education.

Keywords

gender, anti-gender, education, kindergartens, masculinity, trousers

Przemysław Szczygiel

Associacio Cultural Catalano Polonesa

Barcelona, Catalonia

The School Apparatus and the Exclusion of Women During the Dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain

The social function of women is to serve the household
in those functions that cannot be realised by men,
as men have other duties¹ (1961, Spain)

The goal of the paper is to show the mechanisms of the exclusion of women through the use of the school apparatus during Franco's dictatorship in Spain. School was the key institution taking part in the process of creating the typical capitals associated with the traditional gender order, and at the same time in the exclusion of women from the public sphere. The analysis which I will be undertaking in this text is connected with pointing at the dominant discourses serving the construction and the maintenance of the traditional model of femininity with the associated stereotypical gender roles.

I am discussing the exclusion of women because, as Adela Sempere Donet says, "even today, in the current society, one may observe a deep internalisation of those roles in the generation mentality and among the generations of Spanish women who were educated at that period" (Sempere Donet 2012, p. 1). This means that the gender-context beliefs, formed and reconstructed during the Franco period, are transmitted from one generation to another and may preserve the current specific place (*situs*) of a woman in the social structure. The social processes are associated with what Pierre Bourdieu calls the embodiment of masculine domination and the submission of women (Bourdieu 2011).

The embodiment of masculine domination is one of the forms of symbolic violence which is based on assigning meanings and values to masculine and feminine bodies in accordance with the rules of androcentrism. In this process, biological differences become the basis for the gender differentiation. A vision of the world where we face two differing genders translates to e.g. the organisation of the di-

¹ This text is based on the Author's translations of excerpts from Castilian (Spanish).

vision of work, which in practice is tantamount to assigning different tasks, roles, and professions to men and women, as well as differing the appraisal of these. The positions of men and women are of a hierarchical character – in the social field, masculinity and all things masculine are highly valued, while femininity and all things feminine are devalued. Masculinity is associated with domination, while femininity – with submission. The domination relation is a naturalised social construct. In the process of implementing domination, the creation of a social artefact takes place – that of a masculine man and a feminine woman, all related to the ways of using the body, and thus the creation of specific identities (Bourdieu 2011, pp. 22–23). Bourdieu claims that “it is only after a formidable collective labour of diffuse and continuous socialization that the distinctive identities instituted by the cultural arbitrary are embodied in habitus that are clearly differentiated according to the dominant principle of division and capable of perceiving the world according to this principle” (Bourdieu 2011, p. 23).

The masculine domination is supported by the social and cultural conditions in which it operates. It is confirmed by the objective social constructs as well as activities within production and reproduction, founded on the gender division of roles, as well as patterns of habitus which had been shaped by the objective conditions. The habitus function as matrices of thinking, perception, and action, and are universally assigned to all the members of the community, as well as falling under the objectivity of sense. The created patterns of thinking are used to perceive as well as describe the reality and the relation of power, despite the fact that they “are the product of embodiment of those power relations and [...] are expressed in the founding oppositions of the symbolic order” (Bourdieu 2011, p. 34).

Bourdieu refers to the culturally- and socially-created gender-related oppositions, the most important of which, in my opinion, is the public-private distinction. It is related to assigning to men those roles which are considered public and thus to a specific exclusion of men from the private space. On the other hand, the process assumes assigning the playing of private roles to women and thus excluding them from the public space. This is accompanied by a hierarchisation where all matters public are valued higher, while private matters are of a lower value.

The categories of masculinity and femininity as well as assigning the public- and private-space tasks to them is part of what Bourdieu calls the historical process of dehistoricization, based on the recreation of objective and subjective structures of masculine domination, with the exclusion of women. The structures cause the masculine order to be recreated for years. The process of solidifying this order saw the participation of such institutions as the family, the Catholic Church, schools, and the state (Bourdieu 2011, p. 83). Therefore, according to Bourdieu, femininity was, and is, subordinated and excluded through these institutions and is geared into the structures of male domination. The subordination of women is visible both upon the inclusion of women into the job market as well as in pre-industrial societies. It was also present in the situation of the separation of the two spheres: work and home, where the exclusion of women representing the bourgeoisie from professional activity occurred (Bourdieu 2011, pp. 83–84). The dehistoricization

process is accompanied by the differentiation process, to which men and women are subjected during their socialisation towards masculinity or femininity. The process of reproduction with the use of the abovementioned institutions affects the structures of unconsciousness, which makes the actions of symbolic violence so much more efficient.

The family defines the quality of experience related to the gender division of labour as well as its legal understanding. The Catholic Church shows all the feminine “deficiencies” and demands the so-called decency, through e.g. clothes, recreates the pessimist image of femininity, imposes the patriarchal family morality, and the dogma of female inferiority. What is more, the Church as an institution affects the historical structures of unconsciousness indirectly, through Biblical symbols, space, and time, as well as the liturgy. The school “continued to transmit the presuppositions of the patriarchal representation (based on the grounded on the homology between the man/woman relationship and the adult/child relationship), and, perhaps most importantly, those that are inscribed in its own hierarchical structures, all sexually characterized, between the various schools or faculties, between the disciplines [...], between specialisms that is, between ways of being and ways of seeing, or seeing *oneself* [...]” (Bourdieu 2011, p. 86). The school is therefore an intermediary in the imprinting of the representation of one’s own capabilities in the patterns of thinking of men and women, which encompasses all the elements which make the defined image of oneself and the social destiny of the self. According to Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, school reproduces the ways of seeing, through situating individuals at defined social positions (Bourdieu, Passeron 1990). The modern state succeeded in introducing the androcentric rules into family law, as well as into the rules that define the civil state of the citizen. Bourdieu points to, among others, the opposition of the state’s “right”, fiscal, side, and its “left” – social, one. This opposition is based on the male/female division. Moreover, in a social state, women are associated with the area of social policies, being the functionaries and the privileged recipients of these policies (Bourdieu 2011, pp. 87–88). One of the most important areas in the state, also filled with the rules of masculine domination and the subordination of women, is the educational policy, which is the area of focus of the remaining part of this paper.

One can therefore say that women are excluded, among others, through the four main institutions listed by Bourdieu. This type of problem is especially visible in a conservative country, which Spain at the times of the rule of General Franco most definitely was. The heroine of this text, therefore, will be the Francoist school.

Spanish school as a gender order-confirming institution

Bourdieu suggests an analysis in which the revealing of the mechanisms for the embodiment of the male domination and subordination of women through

the family, the Catholic Church, the school, and the state will be revealed. This paper will focus on the school, as in Francoist Spain it was an institution striving hard to realise the national and Catholic goals associated with the reproduction of the traditional model of masculinity and femininity.

The key institution this paper will analyse is the school apparatus as an instrument imposing the gender model which was accordant with the national-Catholic ideology of Francoist Spain. I will start by characterising Spain's education policy during Francisco Franco's dictatorship, especially in the period 1938–1953.

Francisco Franco's dictatorship was the consequence of a military uprising dating from 18 July 1936, and the resultant civil war (*Guerra Civil*) in 1936–1939. Franco's regime lasted from 1939 to 1975 and concluded with the death of the dictator. Jordi Roca i Girona points at the division of this period into two stages:

- 1) post-war (1939–1959), characterised by international isolation, strict social repressions, and the introduction of national-Catholic ideology in order to build the new Spanish society;
- 2) economic development (1959–1975), characterised by the adoption of the market economy in Spain, opening of the international relations, and the emergence of the opposition to Franco (Roca i Girona, p. 69).

The key period from the perspective of this paper is the first stage of Francoism, as the mechanisms of oppression (exclusion) were the strongest at that time. Thus, the period from the end of the civil war to 1953, the onset of Franco's dictatorship, was the most important from the perspective of the exclusion of women through education policies. It was then that the Spanish public school system was reorganised in the most radical way and was subject to the national-Catholic ideology.

As early as between 1936 and 1943, an ongoing destruction of the Republican education system progressed – teachers from all levels of education were dismissed, with the main goal being the elimination of progress and democratic values which were dominant at the time of the Second Republic. National-Catholic values started to be imposed then, both in the area of formal and informal education. As of 1938, the formal education was dependant on the Ministry of National Education (*Ministerio de Educación Nacional*), led by ministers who aligned with the Francoist regime, and the informal education was associated with the Falange (*Falange Española de las JONS*) and such groups as the Front of the Falangx Youth (*Frente de Juventudes de Falange*) and its Women's Section (*Sección Feminina de Falange*). These will be discussed further on.

When describing the exclusion of women through the educational apparatus, we need to analyse the most important documents which were of major importance to the shaping of the Francoist school in the context of gender. These are: the 8 March 1938 circular, and the Act of National Education of July 17, 1945. Below, I will quote excerpts from these texts.

The 8 March 1938 circular stated that the main function of the so-called "new" Spanish school is the mass political indoctrination of children to national-Catholic

values. It was addressed to elementary school teachers and inspectors and included the fundamental orientations related to elementary schools:

Education is made for future generations [...] and it should take a decided direction towards future perfection, preparing our children in the national direction ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, pp. 6154–6155).

School, the creator of future generations [...] needs to take a decided direction towards future glories, preparing our children in the national direction. Our beautiful history, our elevated tradition, designed for the future, are to form the delicate network of the school space, while providing a tender shelter for the spirit of Spanish children ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, pp. 6154–6155).

The circular's recommendations were related to education in the following four major areas:

- religious,
- patriotic,
- civil,
- physical.

Education in religion (*Educación religiosa*) practically meant teachers conducting weekly catechism sessions and teaching about the Holy Family; the crucifix was reintroduced into the school space, and education contents had religious and moral motives intertwined with other material. The course in religion was to form Christian children with clearly-defined norms for their current and future activities as citizens. It was also associated with compulsory participation in the Holy Mass and the reading of the Gospel ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, p. 6155). Religious education was a priority for the education system in Francoist Spain.

Patriotic education (*educación patriótica*) was based on the assumption that "school where no love for Spain is taught, cannot exist. It should be closed down" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, p. 6155). The most important school subject was history, treated as the medium for the cultivation of patriotism. The singing of popular patriotic songs and the national anthem were important education practices. During lessons, biographies of Spanish authority figures were read, together with the newspapers and commentary relevant from the nation's perspective: "School subjects, school, and teachers need to embrace Spain in every moment" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, p. 6155).

Civil education (*educación cívica*) entailed the activity of an individual in all kinds of youth organisations which, naturally, represented national and Christian (Catholic) values. A child was to perceive life as a service, i.e. through discipline, fighting, dedication, and simplicity. Fighting in the name of the crucial values was to be done in the spirit of brotherhood of all Spaniards. Teachers were also requested to involve parents in civil education classes, including during evening activities. In schools for girls, civil education was associated with the teaching of household

activities, as women, according to the creators of the regime, were designated for household tasks only, in the private sphere. Therefore, they were excluded from the public area and political decisions.

The foundation of physical education (*educación física*) was local children's games, which needed to be restored and ennobled. Instead of exotics in games, pure national motives (*puras corrientes nacionales*) needed to be explored. Games and exercises were to be done during breaks, under the careful supervision of a teacher. Physical education was also accompanied by eurhythmics, introduced in all schools and used in school parades every Thursday.

The new Spanish school was therefore supposed to be Catholic and nationalist, and the 8 March 1938 document shows that teachers were expected to "serve Spain by combining the cult of God and the Homeland, and be strong associates of the perfection of the Homeland" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1938, p. 6156). All four areas, combined to constitute Spanish education, were therefore associated with the implementation of national and Christian values, which was very important in the context of gender education.

The 17 July 1945 Act of Elementary Education ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945) was the next crucial document which defined the functioning of the "new" school and legitimised the exclusion of women from the public sphere.

One of the main institutions which influenced the shaping of the functioning of elementary education was the Catholic Church. The Act gave the Church the right to set up elementary schools and teachers' colleges as well as to assign titles according to a defined norm. The Church institution also had the right to supervise and inspect the teaching in private and public education centres if they were in any way associated with faith and customs ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 387). In elementary education, religious education was to play a significant role:

Elementary education, inspired by the Catholic direction, together with Spanish educational tradition, will be aligned with the fundamentals of Catholic dogma and morality as well as the instructions of the current Canonical Law ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 388).

One of the most important changes to the education system introduced in the 1945 act was the gender separation in schools:

The state, for moral reasons as well as pedagogical efficiency, recommends the separation of genders and the independent schooling of boys and girls in elementary schools ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 389).

Regarding gender-based recruitment, schools for the youngest children were supposed to accept boys and girls alike, equally, in situations where the pupil list did not allow for gender separation. At the beginning of the second education level, schools were supposed to be boys- and girls-only, be located in different buildings and under the supervision of female or male teachers ("Boletín Oficial del Estado"

1945, p. 390). In the case of mixed-gender schools, which were founded in special conditions only, the tutor was always a woman, which was associated with the profession of a teacher being of a custodial nature in the service of the national and Catholic ideology.

Gender separation meant the education of boys and girls according to the traditional roles assigned to men and women in the society. The 1945 Act's Article 11 said: "Elementary education of women will be preparing them, above all, for home life, handcrafts, and the home industry" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 388).

The "new" school therefore created the differentiation of gender roles. As Sempere Donet points out: "for boys, life meant military service, while girls were delegated to learn household duties, and thus were entrusted with the home space and rejected from public life at the same time" (Sempere Donet 2012, pp. 33–34). According to this narration, women were to be subject to the rule of their husbands and the functions reserved for them were those of upbringing and custody, as well as the preservation of the men-created social order. This meant that women were entrusted with a kind of mission to reproduce the "proper" social order. Thus, a series of attitudes which were typical of traditional machismo were enforced, reducing femininity to the playing out of the traditional roles of a housewife and a mother, with the woman assigned to the household and subject to her husband. The model of femininity was strictly defined: a woman "ought to be and should educate herself to be: silent, modest, dedicated, and obedient, according to the national-Catholic canons. Moreover: according to the Church, she ought to possess sensitivity and strong altruism, while the man embodied wits and intelligence; these were divine-originated differences which could supplement each other only through the marriage of both genders" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945, p. 39).

The Francoist Spain's model of femininity was described by, among others, Roca i Girona. According to the researcher, the prevalent model was a Christian-Catholic one, which resulted in two types of femininity:

- 1) Eve, as a *femme fatale*, portraying the woman as a deceptive character, whose goal is to "leave the darkness". A woman is therefore tempted by knowledge, which in turn is identified with power. The Biblical act of seduction became transgressive and potentially dangerous to the traditional gender order as well as the nominated powers. Considering the education of women in Francoist Spain, Roca i Girona remarked that during the first stage of the reign, the dominant feeling was that of fear and a sense of danger among men, caused by women having access to knowledge. The reaction to this fear was the limited means assigned for education, as well as the lowering of the prestige of the teachers' profession (Roca i Girona 2001, pp. 70–71).
- 2) Virgin Mary, representing a serving, passive woman, as an "angel of the household" (Roca i Girona 2001, pp. 71–72; Sempere Donet 2012, p. 37).

According to Roca i Girona, the stereotypes of the then Spanish femininity were formed by the most conservative stream and were inspired by the most tra-

ditional Catholicism. This was associated with the defined role of women in Francoist Spain.

Teresa Gonzáles Pérez writes that during Franco's dictatorship "women formed a key part in the consolidation of the system on the social and economic level. They were used to reproduce and solidify the regime's values in the area of what is private. They worked in social reproduction, in the household, under ideological control and repressions from the patriarchal order" (Gonzáles Pérez 2012, p. 338). The researcher claims that the ideal of women's education was focused on the trilogy of God, the Homeland, and the Household. It needs stressing that in each of these areas women were excluded, which was legitimised by the values of the regimes. A model of a Catholic woman assumed the mission of women to be focused on the household and maternity. A woman was subject to a man who was on a higher position within the hierarchy of the household. In practice, this meant total obedience to the man (marriage as one of the most important values) in respect to administering funds, making any monetary transactions, as well as doing specific types of work – a woman could not undertake paid work outside the home without the consent of her husband. In the later period, women doing paid work outside the home were punished (Gonzáles Pérez 2012, p. 348).

Women were therefore excluded from the public space. As aforementioned, a major part was played here by the school. The school curricula and the transmission of typical roles during Franco's dictatorship were analysed by Gonzáles Pérez, who claims that in the education of women "through formal teaching, subjects and contents were introduced which oriented the girls towards their future lives, and forced their upbringing for home life and maternity in order to popularize motherly care and the instrumentation of childcare" (Gonzáles Pérez 2009, p. 97). In Franco's Spain it was claimed that thanks to the schools, girls were prepared for maternity. At the same time, a number of publications existed which printed girl-related texts. School subjects related to housekeeping were compulsory at all levels of education, i.e. in primary and secondary schools as well as in teacher training colleges.

Traditional educational methods were used, with the dominant model being transmissive, with the absolute power of the teacher. Values represented by the Francoist schools were transmitted through such methods as content memorisation (treated as the right medium of ideas and values), with the use of schoolbooks. Individualism in the delivery of school work was introduced, at the cost of group, collective, activities. Additionally, the teacher had the right to introduce disciplinary and corrective methods if the students failed to comply with the expectations of the system (Sempere Donet 2012, p. 34). This was related also to the role of women and their place in the society.

Knowledge transmitted in Francoist schools was controlled by a few institutions simultaneously. In the process of excluding women through the use of the school apparatus, the key controlling role was played by the Phalanx Front of the Youth, Women's Section, and the abovementioned Catholic Church.

The Spanish Falanx was a political group established in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera. In 1937–1966 it was transformed into the Spanish Traditionalist Falanx and JONS and was the only party to rule Spain in the timespan covered by this paper. Its assumptions and goals were consistent with the views of Francisco Franco. From the viewpoint of the exclusion of women and education, a major part was played at the time by the Youth Front and Women's Section.

The Youth Front ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1940) was divided into two separate sections: men's and women's, and oversaw the realisation of tasks related to the indoctrination of Spain's youth. The Women's Section of the front was of key importance to the education of Spanish girls and also was to serve to restore the traditional feminine role in the household and thus to exclude women from public areas – their only designated area of activity was the household and the parish (Sempere Donet 2012, p. 35).

As Jose Manuel Diez Fuentes writes, the Women's Section was instructed to form and mobilise (socially and politically) all Spanish women, of any age. The organisation's represented values were of the traditional type. The Women's Section was the only official women's organisation in the then Spain (Diez Fuentes, pp. 35–36). Its discourse was anti-feminist, it elevated the traditional values of the family, maternity, the household, Catholicism, and since its early days – service, dedication, obedience, and devotion, so that women's unconditional acceptance of Franco's regime was assured. The Falanx presented itself as an institution which freed women from oppression that they allegedly experienced during the times of the Second Republic, and especially during the civil war. Its main task was the moral reconstruction of Spain. González Pérez writes about the inspectors of elementary education who were convinced of the importance of educating girls according to the Francoist thinking. In 1943, Alfonso Iniesta wrote in the National Education journal: "From the first to the last steps, our girls are educated for the household and to become mothers and wives" (in: González Pérez 2009, p. 98).

Through these activities, the philosophy of the Falanx and the Women's Section made an impact on the shape of the Francoist school in reference to women. At the time of Franco's dictatorship, the goal of educating girls was to prepare them for the role of mothers, wives, closed within the family, as well as removed from paid work, which was the domain of men (Sempere Donet 2012, p. 42). Therefore, this is the symptom of the process excluding women from the public sphere.

The exclusion of women was also associated with repressions in the sexual sphere. In the Francoist times, there existed the so-called "double morality", typical of the traditional systems, delineating the rules of behaviour for women and men, and therefore creating gender inequality. Femininity meant belonging to a man, and required the maintaining of virginity until the wedding day. It was also associated with maternity and the need to procreate. At the same time, the social activity of women was located in the private area – in the household, which

means it was focused on bringing up children and doing housework (Regueillet 2004, pp. 1030–1031).

Remaining a virgin until the wedding day was one of the reasons boys were separated from girls in schools. The coeducational model, practiced in the period of the Second Republic, was abolished by Franco's regime. The July 1945 elementary education act prohibited coeducation until the age of twelve: "The state, for moral reasons as well as pedagogical efficiency, recommends the separation of genders and the independent schooling of boys and girls in elementary schools" ("Boletín Oficial del Estado" 1945).

According to the official discourse, the age of twelve was associated with the development of the sexual instinct and the onset of sexual activity. It was a critical period in which – according to the representatives of the regime – boys needed to be separated from girls in order to avoid temptation. If a sexual act emerged, the girl would be considered guilty and punished. Boys having sex before wedding were not guilty but they rather confirmed their vigour and masculinity (Regueillet 2004, p. 1034).

All sexual behaviours deviating from the legal models, such as homosexuality, masturbation or pre-marital sex, were forbidden. Rules established by men in the public sphere and the representations of the deviations from the norm that accompanied the narration were transmitted also into the private sphere, which – according to the dominant ideology – was that of women.

Dominant discourses of women's exclusion in the Francoist education

After analysing education in the Francoist Spain, we may proceed to order and isolate the discourses which legitimised the exclusion of women from the public sphere (the mechanisms of exclusion played out also in the private sphere) – and these were Catholicism and nationalism.

In the Catholic discourse, according to its Francoist model, the dominant view was that of the natural differences between the representatives of the individual genders, where, from the viewpoint of education, a strong element in the discourse was the conviction of the lower intellectual capabilities of women and the resultant deprivation of access to secondary and higher education (Roca i Girona 2001, p. 71). In this narration, there was no place for the recognition of gender as a social-cultural construct, as the differences are allegedly inscribed in the nature of genders, and thus women and men ought to play different roles in the society. The destiny of women was maternity, marriage, and obedience towards the man, their husband. This was also relevant to the sexual area, where the sexual activities served only and exclusively to procreate within the marriage (Regueillet 2004, p. 1030). Female homosexuality was therefore excluded from the definition and severely punished.

Within this discourse, a defined model of femininity is constituted, and hence I am treating gender as a specific figment of the imagination, a performative being, which is in accordance with Judith Butler's performative theory of genders; the author claims that genders "are fabrications manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means" (Butler 2006, p. 173). The body has a performative character, which means it is devoid of any other ontological status, apart from those acts that constitute its reality. Since the reality itself is fabricated as an internal being, the interior is therefore the effect and the function of the public social discourse. This interior is the effect and the function of the "public regulation of fantasy through the surface politics of the body, the gender border control that differentiates inner from outer, and so institutes the "integrity" of the subject" (Butler 2006, p. 173). The dominant institution which created and supported the discourse was the Catholic Church.

In the nationalist discourse, the position of women and men as well as their causality were associated with separate spheres – private and public, where the public sphere was the most highly valued. Within the system, women were assigned to the private sphere, with only one exception – acting in the structures of the Women's Section of the Phalanx (the only female organisation in Francoist Spain) which was supposed to nurture the "true" Spanish female citizens. A Spanish female citizen was supposed to fill the traditional roles and to raise her children towards, among others, patriotism. The institution of the Women's Section can be treated as an extension of the household environment, therefore making it a quasi-private sphere. According to the ideology, women in Francoist Spain on one hand served the role of those who bring the offspring to this world, and on the other – they conveyed the values which were approved by the dictator. Women were educated to transmit the national (and Catholic) values onto their children and to reproduce the system of domination. The most important thing was the Homeland, and men were those who were supposed to rule it. The public sphere belonged to men, as well as deciding about the country's citizens. Therefore, the dominant institution which created the nationalist discourse was the Spanish Phalanx.

The Catholic Church and the Phalanx were the strongest institutions that had an impact on schools in the times of Franco. The role of the school was the intensified implementation of the Catholic and nationalist discourse. In this process, the ideological character of the school apparatus is revealed. Roca i Girona writes that "school does not represent anything more than the extension and the privileged channel – through its institutional character – of the transmission and consolidation of the contents of the dominant discourse" (Roca i Girona 2001, p. 72). Since one element of the ideology was the conviction of the specific position of women within society, it was the school's task to make this vision real.

The school was entangled in the traditional order of genders and controlled by the state's most important institutions so it was capable of delivering the set goals. It played a part in the lowered presence of women in middle and higher

education. According to Bourdieu's theory, people with an unfavourable cultural capital that could be provided by, for example, schools, have more difficulties in accessing the sphere of power and emancipation. The Catholic and nationalist discourses in Francoist Spain definitely influenced the shaping of specific feminine identities, as confirmed by e.g. Adela Sempere Donet. I think that the analysis of past events, especially with the use of modern research methods, will allow us to understand the current social processes and social changes. This type of analysis provides a wider view on the social phenomena, particularly in the area of education, and the undertaking of proper actions that would eliminate or at least reduce the impact of "detrimental" discourses and ideologies.

Literature

- Bourdieu P., 2001, *Masculine Domination*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
- Bourdieu P., Passeron J.-C., 1990, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (Theory, Culture & Society)*, Sage Publications Ltd, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Butler J., 2011, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge, New York and London.
- Diego Perez C., 1999, *Intervención del primer Ministerio de Educación Nacional del franquismo sobre los libros escolares*, "Revista Complutense de Educación" Vol. 10, No. 2, http://www.represa.es/represa_3_mayo_2007_articulo5.html.
- Diez Fuentes J.M., *Republica y primer franquismo: la mujer española entre el esplendor y la miseria, 1930–1950*, http://rua.ua.es/dspace/bitstream/10045/5845/1/ALT_03_03.pdf.
- González Pérez T., 2014, *Dios, Patria y Hogar. La trilogía en la educación de las mujeres*, "Hispania Sacra", LXVI.
- González Pérez T., 2009, *Los programas escolares y la transmisión de roles en el franquismo: la educación para la maternidad*, "Bordón", Vol. 61 (3).
- Ley de 6 de diciembre de 1940 instituyendo el Frente de Juventudes*, 1940, "Boletín Oficial del Estado" No. 342.
- Ley de Educación Primaria de 17 de julio de 1945*, 1945, "Boletín Oficial del Estado" No. 199, <http://legislacion.educa-alv.es/archivos/b2/b2.358.pdf> [accessed on 28.06.2014].
- Orden 5 marzo 1938. Circular a la Inspección de Primera Enseñanza y Maestros Nacionales, Municipales y Privados de la Espada Nacional*, "Boletín Oficial del Estado" No. 503.
- Regueillet A.-G., 2004, *Norma sexual y comportamientos cotidianos en los diez primeros años del franquismo: Noviazgo y sexualidad*, "Hispania" No. 218.
- Roca i Girona J., 2001, *Entre la instrumentalización y el recelo: género y educación bajo el franquismo*, "Nómadas (Col)" No. 14, <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/1051/105115268006.pdf>.
- Sempere Donet A., *Identidades de género y escuela franquista. Discursos y prácticas nacional-católicas*, www.academia.edu [accessed on 22.06.2014].
- Sevillano Calero F., 1998, *Propaganda y medios de comunicación en el franquismo*, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante.

Summary

The School Apparatus and the Exclusion of Women During the Dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain

The article explores gender discourses that circulate in the culture and how this relates to policy and practice, ultimately shaping the sexual policies of schooling in Spain. It explores what sexual policies are and why the idea of gender discourses provides a useful analytical lens for looking at past and current debates around femininity, gender, sexuality, education, and schooling.

Keywords

school, church, dictatorship, gender, Spain

Wojciech Sitarz
University of Wrocław

“Western Degeneration” versus “Native Normality”: Moral Panic in the Russian Media Regarding Homosexuality

Panic in the Russian media is marked by the limited pluralism of the content providers and opinions, which is a direct result of the media ownership structure. The most popular news channels¹ are directly controlled by bodies of the authorities or their subsidiaries. The situation is slightly more diversified in the printed media. However, their owners, guided by concern for business success, often resign from discussing uncomfortable topics or adjust their description of reality to the narration determined by the national channels. What is more, incomplete transparency makes it difficult to follow behind-the-scenes associations between the oligarchs who control the media and the authorities. The few exceptions to this rule include the opinion-forming television *Dozhd* and the newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, which despite a relatively low number of recipients have a high citation index (Medialogia 2014).

The media seriously influence the formation of the public opinion, in particular by directing the viewers' attention to the most important events and evaluating them in a specific way. As shown by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw's research, the process of the media agenda setting is accompanied by the transfer of importance also to the public agenda and the personal hierarchy individually established by readers/viewers (McCombs 2008). This phenomenon is especially strongly observable in relation to unobtrusive issues, i.e. ones with which the reader does not have any daily contact. An example of an unobtrusive issue in Russian reality can be the phenomenon of homosexuality, since only 7% of respondents declare that they have a gay or a lesbian individual among their acquaintances

¹ At the turn of December 2014, the most frequently watched channels in Russia were Russia-1 and Channel One, which were each watched by 14.3% of viewers, and NTV with a market share of 9.9% (TNS 2014a). The first of these is entirely controlled by the government, the share of the state in the second one is 51%, and the third one belongs to the Gazprom-Media holding, a subsidiary of a state-owned gas extraction company.

(Lewada 2014). Taking the above into account, it seems justified to undertake an analysis of the way in which the Russian media present the issue of homosexuality in their content.

The analysis covered one hundred textual, audio and audiovisual materials from the period between 30 October and 10 December 2014, which focused on Tim Cook's statement on his homosexual orientation and the consequences this information had in Russia. The content under analysis originated from 16 content providers, including three news agencies (*RIA Novosti*, *TASS*, *Interfax*), three TV channels (*Russia*, *NTV*, *Dozhd*), two radio stations (*Ekho Moskvy* and *Russkaya Sluzhba Novostej*) as well as eight newspapers (*Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, *Kommersant*, *Vedomosti*, *Izvestia*, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, *Novaya Gazeta*, *Moskovskij Komsomolets*, and *Komsomolskaya Pravda*). The selection of the content providers was based on the criteria of the readership and citation index prepared by the research companies TNS (2014) and Medialogia (2014).

Tim Cook has been Chief Executive Officer of Apple Inc. since 24 August 2011. In an article published in the *Bloomberg Businessweek* magazine on 30 October 2014, he publicly admitted to his homosexuality. Referring to the idea of gay pride, he wrote that he was proud of his orientation. He also called it one of God's greatest gifts and showed many advantages resulting from belonging to a sexual minority. Cook also referred to the situation of LGBT persons in the USA and in the world, and announced his intention to assist in the fight against discrimination of non-heterosexual people (Cook 2014).

Judgement in news content

As many as 12 of the analysed media considered it important to promptly inform their readers/viewers of Tim Cook's statement. Only *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, *Vedomosti*, *Izvestia* and *Novaya Gazeta* did not provide the news to their readers on 30 October. The significance of this issue in the eyes of Russian journalists was also testified to by the fact that Tim Cook took the ninth place among the most often cited persons in the Russian media ranking. In October, the media provided information on Apple's head 506 times (*Dozhd* 2014a). This may be a sign of the breaking of the taboo concerning the description of homosexuality. However, it is worth pointing out that journalists did not attempt to localise the event. Only in two cases, was a representative of the Russian homosexual movements asked for a comment. Firstly, the broadcast material of the *Ekho Moskvy* station featured Igor Kochetkov, head of the Petersburg-based organisation Russian LGBT Network, who declared that Tim Cook's coming out should not affect Apple's position in Russia, but may help the local homosexuals (*Ekho* 2014a) who perceived his move as "an important step for gays confronted with the problem of identity" (*Ekho* 2014b). The second person commenting on the situation was a Moscow activist, Nikolay Alexeyev. Announced as the leader of the LGBT community, the head of

the organisation GayRussia did not, however, refer in his comment to the situation in Russia (or this part of his statement was not cited), but only described Apple’s attitude to sexual minorities (RSN 2014a). Therefore, we can presume that there is still a rather strong taboo in the Russian media concerning the news regarding the situation of the Russian LGBT community.

A hypothesis that could explain the breaking of the taboo, to which I shall return further on, would be describing Tim Cook’s statement as an element of narration on the evil West. It could be justified by a noticeable disproportion of the number of articles on the topic in the media dependent on the authorities and in the independent media. *Kommersant* devoted only a two-sentence-long note to the issue, while *Vedomosti* and *Novaya Gazeta* did not inform about it at all, referring only to the later Russian reactions. At the same time, the topic was covered twelve times by the Russian News Service², nine times by the NTV channel, and seven times by the national TASS agency. We cannot exclude either that such a broad coverage of Tim Cook’s actions was to be a red herring covering problems of the Russian economy. If we assume that the anti-Westernism hypothesis was right, then the breaking of the taboo by the media close to the authorities could have been an implementation of the principle, noticed by Foucault, under which a description of a subject may be aimed at its masking by pushing narration into a framework comfortable for the bodies of power/knowledge (Foucault 2002).

Although the Russian media gave a considerably broad coverage to Tim Cook’s coming out, the very English phrase – “coming out” – was used by only three content providers³. This testifies to either a poor dissemination of the phrase in the Russian language or the journalists’ belief that it has a non-official feel to it. The information much more often included the word “confessed” (признал) or, more rarely, “declared” (объявил), or “announced” (заявил).

As far as the absence of an English-language phrase can be understood, the almost total lack of the word “gay” that was used by only three content providers⁴ in their descriptions, is more puzzling. The word “homosexual” is just as unpopular. In exchange, almost all the analyzed media used a euphemistic phrase “non-traditional sexual orientation” (нетрадиционная сексуальная ориентация). The only exception here is the *Dozhd* TV, which did not use it in its coverage, as well as, to a smaller extent, the *Ekho Moskvy* radio station, which more or less consistently avoided the phrase in some of its later information. Language is not neutral or transparent and the very choice of vocabulary may bring about specific connotations and interpretations. It is not difficult to notice a discriminating judgement in

² Being a part of the National Media Group, the shareholders of which are state-owned companies and companies which are close to authorities.

³ *Dozhd*, *Ekho Moskvy* and NTV. In the last case, the “so-called coming out” was mentioned, while *Dozhd* TV placed a Russified version of the phrase “coming out” in its news title.

⁴ In a further five media, the word gay was used as a citation from Tim Cook’s statement.

the word “non-traditional”, which, regardless of the content providers’ intentions, is transmitted to their readers/viewers. Such a frequent use of this phrase in the media, independently of their worldview line and degree of independence, leads to a conclusion that the phrase is considered neutral by the majority of journalists. However, it does not change at all its discriminatory feel or the judgement contained in the language that implies, even if subconsciously, an association of homosexuality with something different, improper, and inconsistent with tradition. It is, however, worthwhile to note that there are some journalists who are better acquainted with the discourse of equality, such as Olga Bychkova, who instructed a co-host of the *Skaner* programme that the form homosexuality is inappropriate due to its connotations dating to the period of penalization, and that it should be replaced with the neutral word “homosexuality”, (*Ekho* 2014c), and who consistently avoided the phrase “non-traditional orientation” in all her programmes.

Almost as frequently as the form “non-traditional sexual orientation”, the media content included a reference to Tim Cook’s words concerning his pride of being a homosexual. This is in particular interesting, as the subversive idea of gay pride that developed in the US is little known in Russia. In my opinion, such frequent citations concerning the pride, even in titles, should be treated as the taking of the most unusual and controversial elements from Cook’s article with a view to attracting the readers. The effectiveness of this strategy can be testified to by the fact that the information went from the media to the public and political agenda, as shown by the frequent references to the “pride” in opinions under articles, and in comments made by public personages.

Cook’s potentially equally controversial words that homosexuality is for him one of God’s greatest gifts were cited surprisingly rarely though. Such citations appeared in the media content of only seven of the media under analysis.

Milonov – critic on duty

The person who frequently appears in the media whenever morality-related questions are discussed, is a local deputy from Petersburg – Vitaly Milonov⁵. He was one of the initiators of the adoption of a regional ban on homosexual propaganda among minors in 2012. He also protested against Madonna’s and Conchita Wurst’s shows in Russia, and stood up against hookahs due to the apparent easiness of replacing their use with drugs.

It was not any different in the case of the information on the Apple head’s statement. It is an exception worthy of mention, since normally such pieces of news were not accompanied by experts’ comments. Market analysts were several

⁵ In 2016, he was elected deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation.

times asked for their opinion concerning the potential impact of the coming out on the sale of electronic products branded with an apple, and so were the above-mentioned LGBT activists.

Milonov granted himself a presence in almost all the media under analysis owing to the controversial interview he gave to the Russian News Service in the programme *Всё главное сейчас* (*The Current Most Important News*) broadcast on 30 October, just after 3:00 a.m., while the first information on the coming out had been provided in the Russian media barely half an hour earlier.

The statements of the MP are rich in colourful metaphors permeated with homophobia. We learn from them that Cook should have left his worldview to the Americans. This is because for Cook "there is something good in running without his trousers on, but for Russians this only underlines the absurdity of his statements, because no person in their right mind would do something like that. One more mental case in the business". Milonov simultaneously tried to discredit the importance of the event, explaining that against the background of the "degeneration" that flourishes in the US and that of Barack Obama, he feared no Cooks (*RSN 2014b*).

However, the statement that granted Milonov the greatest presence in the media was his postulate of the establishment of a ban on Cook's entry to Russia, since in his statement, he lowered the level of "aversion to sin", which is an intended strategy of the gay lobby that managed to convince him to come out (*RSN 2014b*).

Even stronger words can be found in Milonov's statement for the *FlashNord* agency, in which he continued his homophobic narration, asking: "what can he [Tim Cook] bring us? The Ebola virus, AIDS, gonorrhoea? Over there, everyone engages in chaotic intercourses. Ban his visits for ever" (*FlashNord 2014*).

What is noteworthy is the attitude of the media staff who in no way countered the homophobic statements in the interview, and when citing them in articles, did not place them next to other beliefs. Thus, Vitaly Milonov's homophobic beliefs seem to be the only correct opinions of an external commentator, since a more tolerant narration is almost entirely absent.

The politician is described as "an avid fighter for morality and Orthodox values, known for eccentric initiatives and famous for scandals". However, the form in which his words are cited makes it doubtful whether these words are ironically tinted. Only a couple of times did journalists demonstrate their distance to Milonov, writing that "he could not miss such a high-profile statement and he used it as a pretext for self-promotion" (*MK 2014a*), or stating that "Milonov would not be Milonov if he had not said so" (*Ekho 2014d*).

Differing opinions

As far as differences between the particular media at the level of the news texts were quantitative rather than qualitative, there is a clear difference between the

content providers in terms of their commentaries. The manner of commenting on topics related to homosexuality is correlated with the degree of independence from the authorities. The more independent the medium, the closer it is to the standards set by the Western discourse of equality.

A particularly positive approach was presented by journalists from *Dozhd* TV and *Ekho Moskvy* radio⁶. As mentioned above, *Dozhd* was the only medium avoiding the use of the phrase “non-traditional sexual orientation” in their information, while a journalist from *Ekho* instructed her co-host about the negative connotations of the word “homosexuality”. This discourse of correctness was also presented in the programme *Гананольское. Имоги* in which the journalist asked everyone not to confuse sexual orientation with paedophilia (*Ekho* 2014e). This is particularly important as these two phenomena are often combined in Russian discourse and legislation, so as to subsequently build the atmosphere of fear for children on these grounds. In other programmes, journalists tried to distance themselves from homophobic activists and their statements. In *Ekho Moskvy*'s programmes, one could also feel an ironical tone with reference to the ban on the propaganda of non-traditional sexual intercourse adopted in 2013, and LGBT activists were given a chance to speak. Worth a mention too is also the strategy of the *Vedomosti* newspaper, which, as a part of a commentary, only published Michael Skapiner's text from the *Financial Times* on tolerance in company management. Thus, the editors entirely ignored all manner of the Russian discussions on the topic and distanced themselves from them, devoting only one article to the local situation, which was published as late as on 1 December on the basis of the *TASS* coverage.

The media dependent on the authorities and tabloids, approached the topic of Tim Cook's coming out in an entirely different way. In contrast to the liberal media, the blade of irony was aimed at Tim Cook himself and his statement. In her column published in the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* newspaper, Olga Tukhanina compared persons who come out to a child saying “mum, I did a poo”. She called one's revealing of one's homosexual orientation infantile and vile, and suggested that it resulted from an overindulgence with life and boredom caused by the lack of attention from others. Tukhanina ironically pointed out that there must be no problems left on earth other than the disadvantageous situation of gay people – “Ebola has been dealt with, hunger has been beaten”, and asked “not to place anyone's drawers under her nose” (*KP* 2014a).

The ironical tone can also be found in TV programmes. In the *Anatomia Dna* show on *NTV*, jokes that were supposed to flood the internet in reaction to Tom Cook's statement were given priority. The viewers heard that Steve Jobs turned in his grave, and that the Internet users joked about being willing to sell their

⁶ Although formally the radio's majority shareholder is the state-dependent Gazprom-Media holding, heads of the broadcasting station managed to achieve a far-fetched autonomy, as expressed in its programme policy. For this reason I consider it justified to classify *Ekho Moskvy* as an independent broadcasting station, although there is a hypothetical possibility of the owner's pressure.

Apple products. Although the host of the programme each time denied responsibility – presenting mocking comments solely as citations of Internet users’ statements – she in no way distanced herself from the irreverent tone. We might also learn from the programme that “according to many, the loud coming out is just another promotional move aimed at the increase in the sale of fashionable gadgets” (NTV 2014a).

From words to actions

Broad discussions on Tim Cook’s coming out and the fact that the tone of the media narration was dominated by conservative circles resulted in a fast reaction in the extra-media space. The radical statements of Vitaly Milonov, who from the very beginning appropriated the role of the chief critic of homosexuality, were followed by the appearance of further persons announcing that words shall be changed into actions.

The Orthodox blogger Dmitry Enteo called for a boycott of Apple products and informed about an action of destroying them by members of his movement *Gods’ Will*. “Since the head of the Apple company admitted homosexuality, we call upon everyone to boycott their products, so as not to promote sin. Our movement calls upon the citizens of Russia to protect themselves from Apple products, burn them and upload videos undersigned #AppleGo2Hell to the internet”, Enteo wrote in his microblog (Enteo 2014).

A very bizarre reaction to Tim Cook’s words was a Twitter entry by the Russian businessman Oleg Tinkov: “Ok, it is my turn to come out after my friend Tim. I am gay and I am proud of it” (Tinkov 2014a). The information was immediately disseminated in many media under analysis; however, very soon the spokesman for the bank belonging to the businessman, and then Tinkov himself, explained that it was only a joke. In the following days, Tinkov presented his dubious sense of humour a number of times, e.g. joking that he became gay after colonoscopy or demanding that Tim Cook displays full transparency and declares whether he is “a gay she or a gay he” (Tinkov 2014b).

However, it was the reaction of Maxim Dolgoplov, head of the West European Financial Union company, which was followed by the broadest reaction in media. It was out of his initiative that on 3 November Steve Jobs’s monument that his company put up a year and a half earlier in the courtyard of the State University of Information Technology, Mechanics, and Optics in Petersburg, was dismantled. The majority of media under analysis began to broadly discuss whether or not the removal of the monument was justified. As many as several pieces of news a day were devoted to the subsequent events and comments on its fate. First, the rector explained that the monument in the shape of a two-metre high iPhone was dismantled to be repaired. However, the company’s press service argued that the reason was Tim Cook’s words. Dolgoplov himself admitted that he personally

took the decision to dismantle the monument in reaction to the head of Apple's statement. "I think that this is sheer promotion of sodomy, which is against the law in Russia. I have children, you have children, and I do not want it all to be so paraded about", the businessman told the journalist of TV Russia (*Vesti* 2014a). Additionally, some media informed that one of the elements which contributed to the dismantling of the monument was Edward Snowden's information that Apple allegedly provided data of their users to US special services.

In the days that followed, the readers/viewers were informed that the further fate of the monument would be decided by a vote on the internet, although the company itself was prone to opt for a public destruction of the monument being a symbol of "blind faith in the legend of Steve Job's genius" (*NTV* 2014d). Finally, it was decided that the monument be put up for an internet auction. According to Dolgopolov, 60% of respondents voted for this solution, although some media noticed that 54% of respondents participating in the internet voting opted in favour of bringing the monument back to its original place (*TASS* 2014a). The starting price was established at 5 million roubles, and one of the conditions was taking the monument outside Russia. Profits from the sale were to be used as grants for young computer scientists and the purchase of 100 Russian smartphones to be given to persons deciding to resign from Apple products. Dolgopolov's actions were negatively assessed by liberal commentators, and Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev also expressed his opinion on the issue, calling the dismantling of the monument "complete stupidity" (*NTV* 2014b).

Evil West

I have already indicated that the explanation of the disproportion in the amount of texts concerning Tim Cook's coming out and the differences in the comments concerning the related events in the media marked by a different degree of dependence on the authorities may be sought in the national anti-Westernism.

Its echoes can be found in many of the materials under analysis. Examples include the programme *Без вопросов* (*Without Questions*) in the authorities-dependent broadcasting station *Russian News Service*. Invited to the studio, Alexandr Prokhanov complained that the West "does not offer Russia Shakespeare, Hemingway, or Steinbeck. The West offers her filth – everything you can find below the bellybutton [is] for us, barbarians from Russia, and they will savour exquisite and refined music in Covent Garden. This is worse than any sanctions. They are pouring hogwash on us". Commenting on Tim Cook's coming out, he added: "I think that they will soon understand what Sodom is and how God dealt with it, pouring his chalice of wrath over it" (*RSN* 2014c).

Along with Tim Cook's words, in the period under analysis, a similar statement by Edgars Rinkēvičs played an important role in the anti-Western and anti-gay narration of the Russian media. Latvia's Minister of Foreign Affairs admitted

being gay a week after Apple’s head, when the dismantling of the Petersburg monument was still being vividly discussed in the Russian media. As far as the comments concerning Cook might be considered restrained, we witnessed a veritable festival of homophobic statements in the case of the news on the orientation of the Latvian politician. Such a strong reaction was caused by a combination of factors, including the geographical and sentimental proximity of Latvia, as expressed in numerous media publications concerning the Baltic States. The mentions very often concerned negative events, since the public discourse was filled with a bitterness resulting from the non-acceptation and non-understanding of the way the former Russian republics chose their futures in the 1990s. All the above elements are correlated with highly tense political relations, in which Rinkēvičs plays an important part. The Russian public opinion cannot forgive him the ban he imposed on concerts of Russian artists actively supporting the annexation of Crimea.

It was perhaps due to their dislike of Rinkēvičs himself that also high-ranking politicians contributed their comments. A lot of publicity in the media was earned by a short comment published on Twitter by the Deputy Prime Minister of Russia, Dmitry Rogozin: “so he has found something to be proud of. Although if you have nothing to be proud of, then you come to take pride in such things”. In turn, Vitaly Milonov shared an opinion that “in Russia there can be no question of officials’ come outs, since no decent, normal, adequate and mentally sound person would write about it on Twitter while holding such a position” (NTV 2014b).

The most glaring example of anti-Western narration in the period under analysis was possibly the programme *Бести недели* (*News of the Week*) broadcast on 9 November by the Russia-1 channel. This weekly programme is a subjective summary of the most important events from the previous recent days, and is hosted by Dmitry Kiselyov – one of the Kremlin’s most trusted people in the media space and the head of the *Rossiya Segodnya* state-owned news agency that was established by the authorities in December 2013 to promote the Russian version of events internationally.

The said programme focused on the West’s alleged intention to “recode” the consciousness of the societies of many countries of the world. The very title of the film available on the channel’s website speaks volumes about the narration present in the material: *The West will Recode the World: Gays, Porn, and Hatred*. The process is to involve the “rewriting of history” and adjusting it to “geopolitical interests”. “Recoding is tantamount to changing the cultural code and reversing people’s understanding of goodness and evil, beauty and horror, the due and the banned, noble and vicious, heroic deed and treason”. As the narration progresses, the references to coming outs and homosexuality as such become increasingly stronger. “Whatever we were ashamed of, will now be highlighted and will become a reason to be proud. There was sin earlier – there will be no more sin – either such or any other”. Kiselyov not only reconstructed the alleged way in which the West acts, but also clearly determined the purpose of such behaviours. “Recoding social values – this is the load of the new programme that will allow to rule people,

countries, and the world. This is not a tale from horrors or anti-utopias. This process has already begun" (*Vesti* 2014b).

An antidote to the evil actions of the West is to be Russia and the precious few politicians who are her friends, such as Viktor Orbán and Miloš Zeman. They continue to rely on the classical European culture "based on honesty and respect for Christian values" that have become less fashionable due to recoding. According to Kiselyov, examples of unfavourable changes include the statement by Latvia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, which the employee of the most popular TV channel in Russia commented on with a rhetorical question: "who needs your intimate orientation? All in all, you offer the society your services as a politician, not as a gay. Or did you want to advertise your intimate services?" (*Vesti* 2014b).

Such comments concerning one of the most prominent politicians of a neighbouring country are not only Kiselyov's specialty. A similar narration can be found for instance in Elena Kriwyakina's column in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. The tabloid journalist called upon the ministers of foreign affairs of Latvia and Germany⁷, as well as the mayor of Berlin, to button up their short trousers. She called openness about one's sexual orientation "a peculiar side-effect of democracy and transparency" and she shared her homophobic association of coming outs with "an exhibitionist jumping out of the bushes". She then concluded: "nobody asked to come to minister Rinkēvičs's bedroom, so he invited witnesses himself. And the witnesses very much want a shower after that" (*KP* 2014b).

Word of conclusion

On the basis of the analysis, we can divide the Russian media on the basis of the way in which they describe homosexual persons. Certain differences are noticeable already at the stage of the short news texts. They are primarily quantitative differences – slightly paradoxically, the more tolerant media devoted less attention to the topic, while the content providers presenting a more conservative worldview line explored the issues related to non-normative homosexuality very strongly. In my opinion, this can be explained by the anti-West narration observed in the media dependent on the state authorities and in the tabloids. The need to present evidence of the deprivation of Western societies is stronger than the homosexuality-related taboo.

However, it seems that a certain taboo is still present and covers comments concerning the Russian LGBT movement. Although this hypothesis requires further analyses of other cases, it is a fact that in the case of Tim Cooks' coming out, the Russian context was showed solely in the materials broadcast by the *Ekho Moskvy* radio.

⁷ The columnist seems not to be aware of the fact that as of December 2013, Guido Westerwelle was no longer a minister.

The analysis also showed far-fetched correlations between the ownership structure of the media and their attitude to the topic of homosexuality. The narration of the state-owned media and media dependent on state-owned companies was marked by a much smaller degree of correctness (and many a time an entire absence of correctness) than that of the independent media. The only exception to the above rule was radio *Ekho Moskvy*, which despite its formal dependence on the Gazprom-Media concern holding its majority shares, is marked by a pluralism of opinion and high journalism standards. The Moscow broadcasting station should, however, be treated as a rarity resulting from its position which was won in the 1990's and has been skilfully maintained by its staff, headed by Alexei Venediktov.

It should, however, be pointed out that also some media with a more liberal attitude to homosexuality-related topics failed to avoid stumbles in the form of the broadly used judgemental phrase “non-traditional sexual orientation”. The terseness of informing and commenting on the events makes one wonder whether it does not result from the unwillingness to discuss controversial topics for fear of sanctions under the law on the “ban of homosexual propaganda among minors”. Since the performed analysis does not provide grounds for a clear diagnosis, it seems justified to leave the issue as a research question for further analyses.

The greatest differences in the way of describing homosexuality-related topics can be observed in the area of the commentaries. Some materials published and broadcast in state-dependent media should be considered clearly and extremely homophobic. Homosexuality is presented in them as the object of exhibitionist propaganda. Abnormal inclinations are imposed on the society, which believes in traditional values. Additionally, the discriminating statements are not in any way countered, since the materials are not aimed at the presentation of the standpoints of both sides. Only very few media, headed by *Dozhd* TV and *Ekho Moskvy* radio, aim to stick to the standards determined by the equality media discourse in their content.

Literature

- Cook T., 2014, *Tim Cook Speaks Up*, Bloomberg Businessweek, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/FqnzOf>.
- Dozhd, 2014, *Благодаря заявлению о своей нетрадиционной сексуальной ориентации Тим Кук попал в топ рейтинга цитируемости*, 31.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/5WdT5o>.
- Ekho, 2014a, *Глава Apple Тим Кук заявил, что гордится, что он гей*, Ekho Moskvy, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/Gtt47>.
- Ekho, 2014b, *Глава корпорации Apple Тим Кук объявил о своей нетрадиционной ориентации*. Ekho Moskvy, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/WkmU2X>.
- Ekho, 2014c, *Компания недели: «Роснефть» Персона недели: Тим Кукю*, Ekho Moskvy, 31.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/xcZ6KI>.
- Ekho, 2014d, *Особое мнение*. Ekho Moskvy, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/UPxb6l>.

- Ekho, 2014e, *Гананольское. Итоги*, Ekho Moskvу, 2.11.2014, <http://goo.gl/Um9GEb>.
- Enteo, 2014, Twitter, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/IwDTsp>.
- FlashNord, 2014 *Милонов предлагает запретить главе Apple въезд в РФ*, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/aV6H1M>.
- Foucault M., 2002, *Porządek dyskursu* [The Order of Discourse], słowo/obraz terytoria, Gdańsk.
- KP, 2014a, Tukhanina O., *В том, что взрослые мужчины устраивают каминг-ауты, есть что-то от детского «мама, я покакал!»*, Komsomolskaya Pravda, 31.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/a5IVuH>.
- KP, 2014b, Krivyakina E., *Застегните шорты, эге-гей, министры!*, Komsomolskaya Pravda, 7.11.2014, <http://goo.gl/quGtz9>.
- Lewada, 2013, *Страх другого. Проблема гомофобии в России*, 12.03.2013, <http://goo.gl/bvx-CBZ>.
- McCombs M., 2008, *Setting the Agenda: the Mass Media and Public Opinion*, Polity Press, Cambridge 2004.
- Medialogia, 2014, *Рейтинг самых цитируемых СМИ за ноябрь 2014 года*, <http://goo.gl/5wMyu6>.
- MK, 2014, *Виталий Милонов не расстанется с iPhone*, Moskovskij Komsomolets, 31.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/RkOxsg>,
- NTV, 2014a, *В скандальном признании главы Apple усмотрели четко спланированную пиар-акцию*, NTV, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/qR4gTc>.
- NTV, 2014b, *Медведев назвал полной глупостью снос памятника Стиву Джобсу*, NTV, 10.12.2014, <http://goo.gl/pE7UFM>.
- NTV, 2014c, *«Нашел чем гордиться»: Рогозин отреагировал на каминг-аут главы МИД Латвии*, NTV, 7.11.2014, <http://goo.gl/xOpGEs>.
- NTV, 2014d, *Памятник Стиву Джобсу в Петербурге хотят уничтожить публично*, NTV, 4.11.2014, <http://goo.gl/qXIow1>.
- RSN, 2014a, *Лидер ЛГБТ-сообщества: Геи предпочитали Apple и до признания Кука*, Russkaya Sluzhba Novostej, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/QBBhRN>.
- RSN, 2014b, *Всё главное сейчас*. Russkaya Sluzhba Novostej, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/tjBu24>.
- RSN, 2014c, *Без вопросов*, Russkaya Sluzhba Novostej, 10.11.2014, <http://goo.gl/haPaAB>.
- TASS, 2014a, *Петербургский университет ИТМО найдет замену памятнику Джобса с помощью конкурса*, TASS, 1.12.2014, <http://goo.gl/ap5MaI>.
- Tinkov, Oleg, 2014a, Twitter, 30.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/cqM8Wh>.
- Tinkov, Oleg, 2014b, Facebook, 31.10.2014, <http://goo.gl/fggaUk>.
- TNS, 2014, *Данные по аудитории*, <http://goo.gl/GeV3AC>.
- Vesti, 2014a, *Руководство «ВКонтакте» решило спасти памятник Стиву Джобсу*, Vesti.ru, 5.11.2014, <http://goo.gl/sBHtzN>.
- Vesti, 2014b, *Запад перекодирует мир: геи, порно, ненависть*, Russia-1, 9.11.2014, <http://goo.gl/Txi5IL>.
- Vedomosti, 2014. Skapinker M., *Поступок Тима Кука немного изменит в отношениях компаний к гомосексуалистам, считают эксперты*, Vedomosti, 19.11.2014, <http://goo.gl/6VL0Ln>.

Summary

*"Western Degeneration" versus "Native Normality":
Moral Panic in the Russian Media Regarding Homosexuality*

The article explores sexual and gender discourses that circulate in the Russian media and their relationship to the sexual politics of the country. It explores what sexual deviation means, what sexual politics are and why the idea of moral panic provides a critical analytical tool for looking at the current Russian debates around normality, nation, gender and sexuality.

Keywords

normality, homosexuality, the media, Russia