Notes

Introduction

7 Kimmel, Manhood.
10 I loosely follow the approach in R. W. Connell, Masculinities (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), as I have done previously (see Scott Melzer, Gun Crusaders: The NRA’s Culture War [New York: New York University Press, 2009]).
13 There is overlap between these last two groups. A diverse set of circumstances and choices caused these men to be non-breadwinners: some were forced to be the primary caretakers of their children after losing their jobs.

15 Thomas J. Gerschick and Adam S. Miller found that men came to terms with their physical disabilities three ways: they continued to rely on hegemonic (dominant) masculine body ideals, which stigmatize physically dependent men as unmanly, and therefore they attempted to do everything for themselves; they reformulated the ideals to match their physical limitations while still fulfilling generic masculine ideals (e.g., they framed their ability to provide instructions to their caretakers as masculine displays of independence and decision-making power); and they rejected hegemonic body ideals, embracing identities and subcultures that value intellect and humanity above physical control and dominance. Thomas J. Gerschick and Adam S. Miller, “Coming to Terms: Masculinity and Physical Disability,” Masculinities 2 (1994): 262–275.


18 The terms compensating, overcompensating, and compensatory masculinity have been used inconsistently in the psychological and sociological literatures. The concept arises from psychoanalytic theory, especially the work of Alfred Adler and Sigmund Freud (for a brief summary, see Robb Willer, Christabel L. Rogalin, Bridget Conlon, and Michael T. Wojnowicz, “Overdoing Gender: A Test of the Masculine Overcompensation Thesis,” American Journal of Sociology 118.4 [2013]: 980–1022). According to this approach, men judged to possess a feminine trait will register their protest by immoderately and indiscreetly demonstrating its masculine counterpart. Psychoanalytic theories make the mistake of attributing behavior to innate traits or inaccurately assumed universal experiences (such as all boys being raised by mothers), ignoring social influences or diverse childrearing arrangements. More contemporarily, the term overcompensation is widely used popularly and by scholars, yet “over” seems an unnecessary addition given that compensatory acts also arise from reactions to failure and their ubiquity isn’t disputed. Also, the term rings more of judgment than analysis.


20 Schwalbe, Manhood Acts.


24 West and Zimmerman, “Doing Gender,” 146.


29 Willer, Rogalin, Conlon, and Wojnowicz, “Overdoing.”
39 Sabo, “Masculinities.”
41 Halberstam, Female Masculinity; C. J. Pascoe, Dude, You’re a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Schippers, “Recovering the Feminine Other.”
42 Schrock and Schwalbe, “Men, Masculinity, Manhood Acts.”


Shippers, “Recovering the Feminine Other.”


Connell and Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity.”

West and Zimmerman, “Doing Gender,” 126.


Schrock and Schwalbe, “Men, Masculinity, Manhood Acts,” 278. Importantly, males must “signify possession of a masculine self” to be deemed legitimate men and gain access to manhood’s privileges (280).

Schrock and Schwalbe, 281.


63 Messerschmidt, *Nine Lives*.

64 Along these lines, I argue that if hegemony requires both dominant and subordinate groups, as well as the mix of domination and consent that is built into our institutions, then there cannot be various local *hegemonic* masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity must exist at no smaller than a societal or national cultural level (or “regional,” per Connell, *Masculinities*). I am not suggesting there aren’t different local or situational expectations for how to do masculinity appropriately—there are—but they should be thought of as locally dominant masculinities rather than hegemonic. They must, by definition, not be hegemonic if they do not conform to the current American patriarchal system of gender relations.

65 Not all culturally dominant versions of manhood must be hegemonic. A new, gender egalitarian standard of masculinity would not be hegemonic in the Gramscian sense because it would not involve the domination and control of a subordinate group. It would not legitimize men’s power and might not entail the pursuit of power and control at all.


67 Nanda, *Gender Diversity*.


**Chapter 1  Ritual Violence in a Two-Car Garage**


Notes to Pages 37–53


4 Because most know each other and they received widespread media coverage, I more closely guard GFC fighters’ identities than I do men in the other three groups I study.


14 Kimmel, *Manhood*.


18 Hoffman, “How to Punch Someone.”


Chapter 2 Fighting Back

12 Garbarino, 63.
18 Schrock and Schwalbe, “Men, Masculinity, Manhood Acts.”
20 Anderson, *Code of the Street*.


26 Kimmel, *Manhood*.


Chapter 3 Seeking Growth


5 Luciano, *Looking Good*.


10 The Penis Health Club is the name I have chosen to represent the pair of online forums I studied. To maintain their anonymity, I use pseudonyms for all members, including forum posters who almost universally have pseudonymous usernames, and I have altered quotes taken from forum posts. Pseudonyms of forum posters (but not interview participants) are italicized.

11 No one mentioned the sight of their father’s penis causing any psychological harm, although Freud would argue those experiences precede our conscious recollections; in other words, his thesis is essentially untestable.


18 Pascoe, *Dude*.


21 Lever, Frederick, and Peplau, “Does Size Matter?”


29 Lever, Frederick, and Peplau, “Does Size Matter?”

30 Kimmel, *Guyland*.

31 Bordo, *The Male Body*.


35 Loe.

36 The high proportion of “big gainer” is almost certainly due to this subset of Club members being more willing to speak with me.

Chapter 4 Compensating for Body Failures


5 One member of GFC, with his wife’s approval, doesn’t hold her hand in public so his hands are free to quickly take action against any threats. He acknowledges that this is highly unlikely given his class and location privileges.

These behaviors have also been documented in experimental research. For example, see Sapna Cheryan, Jessica Schwartz Cameron, Zach Katagiri, and Benoît Monin, “Manning Up: Threatened Men Compensate by Disavowing Feminine Preferences and Embracing Masculine Attributes,” *Social Psychology* 46 (2015): 218–227.


The Butch Factor, directed by Christopher Hines (Los Angeles: Rogue Culture Productions, 2009).


Perry, 42.


Margaret Atwood, “Ch. 50—Writing the Male Character,” in *Second Words: Selected Critical Prose* (Toronto, Canada: O. W. Toad, 2004), 412–432 (413).


30 Near the end, he wrote about refusing to take an antipsychotic drug his psychiatrist prescribed following a night of drunken violence (most of which Rodger was on the receiving end of). The drug is prescribed for treatment of schizophrenia, symptoms of bipolar disorder, and people with autism suffering from irritability. It is important to note that people with mental health disorders are not more likely to engage in violence, including mass shootings; quite the opposite, those with serious disorders are more likely to be targets of other people’s violence. See Gilligan, *Violence*; James Garbarino, *Lost Boys: Why Our Sons Turn Violent and How We Can Save Them* (New York: Free Press, 1999).


Chapter 5 Non-breadwinners


11 Schulte, “Mothers Are Now the Family Breadwinners.”


15 Parker and Wang, “Modern Parenthood.”


17 Collecting job fair data from three states in three U.S. regions furthered my goal of studying American manhood’s general features, as did interviewing a fairly diverse group of men dispersed throughout the country. However, this predictably resulted in research sites and samples that are non-representative (they were chosen in part out of convenience), and data and analyses that do not exhaustively include some important contextual factors (e.g., local job markets, subcultural norms).


Chapter 6 Unemployment Blues and Backlash


7 Komarovsky, The Unemployed Man, 27.

8 Komarovsky, 81.

9 Komarovsky, 23.

10 Komarovsky, 119.


17 Luo et al., “Impact of Business Cycles.”


22 Tavernise, “U.S. Suicide Rate Surges.”


24 In Kimmel’s *Guyland*, he suggests that today, a large swath of boys and young men escape the elusive and tenuous chase of manhood by avoiding relationships altogether, as well immersing themselves in fantasies via video games and porn. Barbara Ehrenreich documents men’s rebellious flights from family commitments and breadwinner responsibilities beginning in the 1950s. Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (New York: Anchor Books, 1983).


28 Kimmel, *Manhood*.


43 Fox and Levin, *Extreme Killing*.


46 Stern, *Terror*.

47 See Kimmel, *Misframing Men*.

Chapter 7 Redefining Manhood

1 However, upper-class men continued to hold those orthodox views and stigmatize men who did childcare. See Matthew C. Gutmann, *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).


5 Coontz, 31.
7 Coontz, *The Way We Never Were*.
8 Compared to single mothers, single fathers are two and a half times as likely to cohabitate with a partner, many of whom are likely to be doing some or even most of the domestic work. Gretchen Livingston, “The Rise of Single Fathers: A Nine-fold Increase since 1960,” Washington, D.C., Pew Research Center, July 2, 2013, http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/07/02/the-rise-of-single-fathers/.
10 Debated criteria include whether a stay-at-home dad should be counted if he is unmarried, works some or not at all, works from home, cohabitates with someone other than his child/children’s other biological parent, and actually identifies as a stay-at-home father. See Noelle Chesley, “Stay-at-Home Fathers and Breadwinning Mothers: Gender, Couple Dynamics, and Social Change,” *Gender & Society* 25.5 (2011): 642–664; Livingston, “Dads Home with the Kids.”
15 Livingston, “Dads Home with the Kids.”
21 Livingston, “Dads Home with the Kids.”

25 Michael Armato, private communication.


30 Williams, “Just Wait until Your Mother Gets Home.”

31 Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*.


34 Harrington, Deusen, and Mazar, “The New Dad.”


**Conclusion**


4 Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman, “The End of the Gender Revolution?”


20 Kimmel.
21 Kimmel.
22 Lorber, Breaking the Bowls, 165.


31 Gerson, “Different Ways of Not Having It All,” 173.

**Appendix**


4 Schrock and Schwalbe.


6 For the Gentlemen’s Fighting Club, I have assigned pseudonyms that do not always reflect their cultural heritage. I do so because of the small, tight-knit nature of the group, which would allow some members to easily identify others if they knew their ethnicity and other identifying information.