

**Knuttila, Murray. (2016) Paying for Masculinity: Boys, Men and the Patriarchal Dividend.
Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.**

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Murray Knuttila's book, "Paying for Masculinity: Boys, Men and the Patriarchal Dividend", is a culmination of history, theory, definition, exploration and question. This is all combined in a way that allows the audience to see and think about the concept of hegemonic masculinity and the patriarchy, but without the judgement or crusade against men themselves. Knutilla begins the book with larger concepts, such as the seemingly dichotomous sex and gender, and eloquently begins to unravel the notion that gender fluidity and the spectrum of biological sex is only understood or accepted by academics or those within the queer community.

The way that individuals perform gender is a major theme throughout the literature, both contemporarily and historically, and how that has shaped societies expectations and prescriptions of gendered roles. Knuttila also offers interesting insights into the way that the economy has played a huge role in the upkeep and disbursement of patriarchal ideals. After a thorough examination of how boys and men develop and maintain their roles in masculinity, along with all the costs of such, Knuttila offers counter arguments; acknowledging that within the sociological realm many well known concepts and well sourced ideas will remain 'theories' to the lay person or even other academics.

Often when discussing the cost of hegemonic masculinity there is an innate emphasis placed on the counterpart of such a phenomena, women. While there is an enormous cost to women

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in society when the patriarchy is perpetuated and hegemonic masculinity is accepted, we tend to forget the toll that it takes on boys and men themselves. Knuttila addresses and acknowledges the struggle and hardships that women have historically faced when battling the patriarchal ideals western society has inherited, however he also spotlights the oftentimes hidden pain that men endure in order to portray their masculinity effectively. Playing this role is dissected and conceptualized, though there is an overarching description of the male sex role summed up David and Brannon in 1976 by:

1. No Sissy Stuff: The stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities, including openness and vulnerability.
2. The Big Wheel: Success, status and the need to be looked up to.
3. The Sturdy Oak: A manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance.
4. Give 'em Hell: the aura of aggression, violence and daring. (p. 16)

This prescribed notion of how to be a man, written in 1976, still rings very true today in the way we see manhood performed within our current society. Throughout the literature Knuttila returns to this conceptualization when referring to the economic role of the man, gendered violence, the portrayal and boundaries of male friendship as well as a variety of other everyday interactions a man might have. Knuttila brings to life the loneliness and unrealistic expectations of what it means to be a man. He shows through heart-wrenching examples that men are distanced from the vulnerability that is generalizable to all human experience and how psychologically draining it must be to have a society dictate how one can be valued and important within their lives.

Knuttila chronologically lays out the foundation for which the patriarchal dividend or, “the advantage to men as a group from maintaining an unequal gender order” (p. 33) is built upon.

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Beginning back in the economic times of the 1500s, moving through industrialization then the World Wars, eventually progressing all the way through post war adjustment to the current economic system, Knuttila examines how the role of the man has changed in relation to the women and how the adjustment of the role to fit the society has not always been the smoothest of transitions, resulting in feminist revolutions and rising tensions. In starting so far back Knuttila portrays how the patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity has evolved and developed over time, changing as the zeitgeist does. He brings forth interesting arguments as to the cause of this entrenched system, not just comments on how it is portrayed currently. Commenting on the costs of a capitalist system and the innate disadvantage it gives to those not born into wealth, Knuttila describes the role of the man and how he is expected to be the 'bread-winner'. He also describes how taxing it can be on the man and his surrounding peers and family if he cannot fulfill this role.

The biological determinist approach is also highlighted within the literature in many sections. Knuttila discusses the concept of 'boys will be boys' and how oftentimes society will accept and expect young boys to be rough and tough, feminizing them when they do not fit into that mould. This is progressed into the topic of violence and the seemingly violent male. We can see through statistics and sociological research that the majority of crime and violence is committed by and onto men, Knuttila attempts to explain how, in part at least, this can be attributed to hegemonic masculinity and the expectations that befalls a man to be aggressive and when need be, violent. He ingrains in his analysis that there is little to no evidence that suggests men are inherently more aggressive or violent, but instead that society has allowed, expected even, boys and men to elucidate that type of behaviour.

We can see through all of the resources and personal testimonies that the concept of hegemonic masculinity and the empire that is the patriarchy that this research and discussion is prevalent and noteworthy. Knutilla argues and effectively explores the causes, implications, and future directions of these sociological phenomena. In his writing he implores the audience to recognize and validate the struggle of women and marginalized groups, such as the queer community, while simultaneously allowing the crisis of men within this system to be actualized. In what he describes as a 'critical realist' approach, Knutilla engages in an effective analytical dualism in the way he develops his arguments as to the cause of these issues, not simply describing them as has been done in numerous previous literatures (p. 5).

The aim of this volume is to confront readers with the notion that men are victims of the patriarchy alongside women and that it must be a collective battle against the system, not a separatist movement. In particular, this literature is a great work for men to read and reflect upon. While many men realize and advocate for the issues facing women within such a genderized system, the impact that it is having on themselves and their male comrades is being missed. Addressing the implication of the media and its inaccurate portrayal of what a 'real' man should look like is important in the sense that it highlights how problematic these things are in the perpetuation of the masculine ideals. When creating media to be consumed, or analyzing or critiquing current media, we as a society need to address the narratives and actively recognize the implications that they have on our young generations and the future generations of boys and men to come. Knutilla gives adequate credit to the researchers who have built a foundation for this

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work: sociologists and psychologists such as Freud and Anne Fausto-Sterling, economists such as Marx, writers and activists such as Jane Austen and Charlotte Perkins-Gilman. In doing so he allows the reader to see that this work has been going on for a significant amount of time and will continue to be relevant and gain credence as time goes on.

“Paying for Masculinity” was an eye-opening volume of work, with engaging theories and perspectives, that would be beneficial for any individual looking to expand their knowledge on the topic of hegemonic masculinity or the patriarchal dividend. Knuttila acknowledges in the work that there are many avenues he left unexplored and there are so many more implications of these concepts to be addressed. This acknowledgement gives current researchers the foundation to work forward, with a valuable resource as their foundation. Overall, this volume was an interesting and new take on the problems of hegemonic masculinity, that did not give the connotation of a ‘crusade against men’, but rather a guide as how to better recognize and address these issues.