INTRODUCTION

Worlding Men

Adam Jones

In the past three or four decades, an enormous literature – overwhelmingly feminist in orientation – has emerged on the subject of "gender."[1] Originally concentrated upon women of the industrialized West, it gradually expanded to recognize and include the contributions of women of the global South. In this process of "worlding women,"[2] the literature grew increasingly skeptical of generalizations about women as a global class and more attuned to how other variables (notably race and social status) shaped women's experiences worldwide.

This increasing attention to Southern women gave rise, in the early 1970s, to the study of "women in development" (WID), which aimed to counter the perceived inattention to women in development policy and discourse. Proponents of the WID approach called for specific policy initiatives aimed at women and greater female representation in the policy process. Since the early 1990s, the WID framework has gradually given way to the study of gender and development (GAD), which "call[s] for 'gender relations' (rather than women) to be adopted as the primary analytical tenet, and for the integration of a gender perspective in all development activities, and at all levels of the development planning process."[3]

In theory, GAD frameworks provide greater space for the study of "the other side" of the gender coin: that of men and masculinities. But early attempts to broach this theme aroused considerable suspicion and hostility among feminists. Sarah White recalls the response to the first paper she presented on the subject in the early 1990s:

> The first respondent liked it, but as he was the only man in the room, I feared this did not bode well. I was right. The following speakers rained a torrent of accusations on me: my talk was offensive appeasement; I was a sell-out, not a proper feminist; once we started talking about men, women would be crowded out, because men love talking about themselves; what I was suggesting was like fraternising with the bosses rather than holding the line in trades union militancy. Quietly, later, often younger women came to me to say that they had been waiting for someone to speak as I had, that they warmly welcomed this breaking of the silence on men. . . . Those early objections suggested that to talk about men and masculinity was *dangerous*, risking the hard-won gains of feminism and chronically open to co-option, since patriarchal

values and practices remain dominant in both society and development institutions, overdetermining all talk and action.

"That was seven years ago," White writes, "and a lot has changed."[4] Among the changes is the arrival in academia of the generation of "younger women" to whom White refers. The new generation appears less suspicious of, and more sympathetic to, the study of men and masculinities, as indicated by the large number of female and feminist authors represented in these pages. Such scholarship, though, seems far ahead of actual development policy and its implementation, which continues to identify "gender issues" almost exclusively with women and femininities. Even in the field of academic and activist discourse, it is debatable whether much has changed. The study of GAD, along with related subject areas like gender and conflict or gender and human rights, retains an "overwhelming preoccupation with women."[5]

A sense of the disparity in the discourse of gender is conveyed by an Internet search using the Google search engine, which allows the researcher to search for specific strings of words, within quotation marks – for example, "*gender and development*" as opposed to *gender and development*. This ensures that the results include all the words (including common words like "and" that are normally not included in searches), in the desired order.

Table The discourse of gender: a comparison of hits for search strings utilizing the Google search engine (3 January 2006)

Google search string	Hits
"gender and development"	505,000
"women and development"	189,000
"men and development"	734
"women in the developing world"	44,600
"men in the developing world"	453
"women and international development"	12,700
"men and international development"	3 [!]
"Third World women"	109,000
"Third World men"	339
"women and poverty"	72,100
"men and poverty"	175
"underprivileged women"	26,800
"underprivileged men"	314
"women and economic"	32,900
"men and economic"	274
"women and social"	207,000
"men and social"	9,610

continued

Table *continued.*

Google search string	Hits
"women and gender"	1,170,000
"men and gender"	23,100
"women and children"	17,500,000
"men and children"	534,000
"men, women and children"	3,820,000
"women, men and children"	329,000
"women and conflict"	12,100
"gender and conflict"	33,800
"men and conflict"	234
"women and human rights"	82,300
"men and human rights"	157
"women's vulnerability"	28,500
"men's vulnerability"	291

The disparities shown in the Table are striking, sometimes mind-boggling. Note, for example, that a search for "women and international development" generates *over 4,000 times* as many hits as "men and international development."[6] Clearly, the discourse of men and development is at an incipient stage of "thinkability," contrasted with the extensive attention devoted to women (or "womenandchildren").[7] This is true as well for discourses of gender and violence or gender and human rights. With reference to the latter, the hits for "women and human rights" outnumber those for "men and human rights" more than 500-fold.

Following upon feminist framings of gender, and largely derivative of them, a body of literature emerged on men and masculinities. Like the first wave of feminist writing in the 1960s and 1970s, it was overwhelmingly focused on men in the industrialized North.[8] But a few pioneers undertook the task of "worlding men," as this volume also seeks to do. Here, I want to touch briefly on a few milestones along the path to the present work.

An obscure but groundbreaking work is *Men At Risk*, by the Jamaican scholar Errol Miller, published in 1991. This may be the first systematic analysis of Southern men *by* a Southern scholar (and man). It also adopted a global–historical, richly theoretical framework that was, and is, unusual in the literature.[9] Miller offered a radical reappraisal of patriarchy as a form of social organization, an analysis of contemporary social change in the West and the former Soviet bloc, and a stimulating discussion of demographic transformations that were underway in the Caribbean. He also argued for an approach that "located social formations in the Caribbean not just in the mainstream of changes in the world but in the very forefront," and in doing so defied the "chauvinism and arrogance of the current world order." Among the most far-reaching of these changes were those in power relations between Caribbean women and men,

exemplified by women's dramatic gains in the areas of income and education. Miller explored the increasingly peripheral presence of men in "matrifocal" families, the rise of gang and random violence, male alcoholism, and Jamaican men's retreat into patriarchal Rastafarianism. "In a real sense," he wrote, "some marginalized men appear to have internalized the forces arrayed against them and have engaged in their own self-destruction, as well as turning their violence outward."

The global–historical dimension of Miller's analysis was also novel. He argued that "from antiquity," patriarchy had "had an inherent problem with men not covered by the bonds of kinship or culture and has traditionally sought to marginalize them through diverse means." He discussed institutions like the "killing [of] all male captives," the castration of men whose lives were spared, and the reduced "opportunities for manumission from slavery" offered to men. All of these, for Miller, "show[ed] that *men's domination of men outside the bonds of kinship and community has been more severe and brutal than men's domination of women within or outside the kin or ethnic group*."[10] It was not necessary to accept the author's somewhat awkward "marginalization hypothesis" (that women's increasing opportunities were intimately connected to some men's marginalization) to appreciate the scope of his interests and the sweep of his analysis.

It is not surprising that much of the best work on men and masculinities in the developing world in the last decade and a half has been done by anthropologists.[11] These investigators have always placed far greater emphasis on fieldwork and engaged understanding than have sociologists, political scientists, and theorists of international relations. One of the earliest, and still one of the most concise and stimulating, of these ethnographies is Gary Brana-Shute's *On the Corner: Male Social Life in a Paramaribo Creole Neighborhood* (1979), which claimed that studies of the West Indian Creole society had "been biased by an analytical and methodological concentration upon women and their children." Brana-Shute wrote: "Personnel, usually adult males, not regularly appearing within the boundaries of four walls and a roof are overlooked or written off as 'absent participants,' 'street corner men,' and the like."[12] He also adopted a transgressive strategy by studying Surinamese male social interaction in precisely the environment – the neighborhood drinking-spot, or *winkel* – that was much demonized in the feminist activism and scholarship of the 1980s. The result was a sensitive, wide-ranging ethnography that in retrospect seems ahead of its time. *On the Corner* has recently fallen out of print, but I am delighted to be able to reproduce an extended excerpt from the text, with the kind permission of Brana-Shute's widow, Rosemary.

In the mid-1990s, three important developing-world ethnographies joined the literature: T. Dunbar Moodie's *Going for Gold: Men, Mines, and Migration* (1994, focusing on Southern Africa); Roger N. Lancaster's *Life is Hard: Machismo, Danger, and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua* (also 1994), which sensitively explored both gender and homosexuality in a Central American context; and Matthew C. Gutmann's *The Meanings of Macho* (1996), about male lives in the working-class suburb of Santo

Photo used on the cover of Matthew C. Gutmann's book, *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (Matthew C. Gutmann)

Domingo in Mexico City. All three provided extraordinarily intimate portraits of ordinary men in their roles as fathers, laborers, and lovers. Gutmann in particular has become a central figure in the social–scientific study of men and masculinities; two excerpts from *The Meanings of Macho* appear in this volume. The book's subversive message was conveyed by its cover, a photo depicting one of Gutmann's contacts holding a baby in his arms. Gutmann's research led him to reject "widely accepted generalizations about male gender identities in Mexico [that] often seemed egregious stereotypes about machismo."[13] In a child-positive culture like Mexico's, there were few impediments to the active and multifaceted involvement of men in childrearing: "It is not the case that men are seen as necessarily less tender or caring."[14] Gutmann also devoted considerable space to the darker side of Mexican men and masculinities – domestic violence, drunkenness, promiscuity, and family abandonment. But his book, like those of Moodie and Lancaster, was a welcome tonic: a validation of aspects of male experience that had previously been ignored or derided.

Gutmann went on to co-author one of the first systematic evaluations of men's place in the development process, a 2001 working paper for Oxfam titled *Mainstreaming Men into Gender and Development.*[15] A year earlier, Frances Cleaver had gathered a diverse set of scholars for a seminar at Bradford University on "Men, Masculinities and Gender Relations in Development," papers from which were subsequently published as *Masculinities Matter!*, part of the groundbreaking Global Masculinities series from Zed Books.[16] The series also included Bob Pease and Keith Pringle's edited volume, *A Man's World? Changing Men's Practices in a Globalized World* (2001) and a collection edited by one of the trailblazing men's studies scholars in the South, Robert Morrell (*Changing Men in Southern Africa*, also 2001).[17]

Another significant work is a special issue of *Forced Migration Review* on "Gender and Displacement," edited by Judy El-Bushra and David Turton and published in 2000.[18] This included some thought-provoking meditations on the male refugee experience, with titles like "Vindicating Masculinity: The Fate of Promoting Gender Equality" (Simon Turner) and "Making Young Displaced Men Visible" (Cathrine Brun). In her introduction, El-Bushra explored the shift from the WID framework to GAD and stressed the blind spots of the latter. An aim of the special issue, she wrote, was

> to articulate, more firmly and actively than in the past, the position of men within gender-analytical frameworks. This is a reaction to GAD's almost exclusive preoccupation over the last ten years or more with women's needs, interests and rights. If "gender" [now] implies a web of relationships between women and men, old and young, powerful and powerless, should men not figure, integrally and equally, in the analysis of these relationships? . . . There may be negative consequences for both women and men if they are not. Giving preference to women in assistance programmes may contribute to eroding men's role (as protectors, providers and decision makers, for example) and hence their social position and self-esteem but still not challenge the dominant gender ideology in which men's and women's roles are both viewed as 'natural.' . . . Does the stress on women prevent us from recognizing

discrimination by men against men (older versus younger men, for example, or men from different classes or ethnicities), women against women (when women collude in promoting gender discrimination against each other) and women against men? Can women's rights be supported within a context of broader developmental and humanitarian goals or do men inevitably have to lose when women gain? In short, where do men fit within a gender approach to development?

There can be few more succinct statements of a gender-inclusive agenda for development research.

El-Bushra has also contributed to a broader trend worth citing. Over the past decade or so, scholars of international relations have detailed and problematized the analysis of gender and conflict. Once again, Zed Books has led the way, with its "Women and Violence" series, which in fact casts its net more widely than the title suggests. El-Bushra's chapter on "Transforming Conflict: Some Thoughts on a Gendered Understanding of Conflict Processes" appeared in the 2000 volume *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*.[19] Unfortunately, El-Bushra was one of the few contributors to attend to the male/masculine side of the gender coin. Slightly more open to this subject was a volume published in the following year: *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, edited by Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark.[20] This book included Cynthia Cockburn's "Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence" and Dubravka Zarkov's "The Body of the Other Man," the latter of which studied Croatian media framings of wartime sexual attacks on detained or imprisoned *men* – one of the first times the subject had been broached in the scholarly literature.[21] However, as R. Charli Carpenter pointed out in an insightful review of the Moser/Clark text, only Zarkov's chapter "chiefly concerns men and masculinity": "although 'gender' is in the title, it seems that women and women's mobilization remain the dependent variable."[22] This is true of a more recent anthology as well: *Sites of Violence*, edited by Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman.[23] Despite its subtitle, "Gender and Conflict Zones," the book actually grew out of meetings of the *Women* in Conflict Zones Network, and no chapter focuses on men and masculinities as such. Perhaps only with my own edited volume, *Gendercide and Genocide* (based on a special issue of the *Journal of Genocide Research* in 2002), have male-specific vulnerabilities and insecurities in a global context begun to receive sustained attention.[24]

The Purpose of *Men of the Global South: A Reader*

Despite the important work on gender, development, and conflict reviewed above, the lives of ordinary (and extraordinary) men in the global South have remained vaguely drawn – or invisible. The tendency has been either to ignore men as gendered subjects, through a straightforward equation of gender with women/femininities; or to consign men to stereotypical gender roles, nearly always negative ones. Men's relationships with females, in particular, are generally depicted as exploitative and aggressive. It is obvious that a more balanced and empathetic portrait of Southern men remains to be drawn.

Men of the Global South aims to help "popularize" the study of men and masculinities in the South. Geared to undergraduate and graduate students, as well as general readers, it emphasizes intimacy, accessibility, and diversity. In choosing and accepting contributions to the volume, I have been guided by one overriding consideration: does the essay or article enable the reader to truly *see* the men and boys in question? The book consists of six thematic sections, addressing major dimensions of male/masculine experience: "Family and Sexuality," "Ritual and Belief," "Work," "Governance and Conflict," "Migrations," and "Masculinities in Motion." For each section, I provide a brief framing introduction that seeks to draw out broader themes and commonalities in the selections. I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive treatment of the subject; merely that it is the most wide-ranging available so far.

Men of the Global South has been in the works for several years, during which time it underwent a significant evolution. At first, I envisaged the book mainly as a forum for previously published materials, with only a few original essays included. Some months before the original deadline, I issued another "call for contributions," to see whether a few more original essays could be found. I was rapidly inundated by an unforeseen flood of proposals, most of which I eagerly accepted. The result is that the book swelled from about half-a-dozen original pieces to over *50*. I believe these new materials represent an important and extraordinarily diverse addition to the literature on men and global masculinities.

In selecting previously published work, I have relied heavily on reporting from Western mass media (such as the UK *Guardian* and the *Washington Post*), along with more specialized publications. This reliance on Western sources may surprise some readers. But one thing that distinguishes the Western media tradition is its emphasis on "human-interest" reporting, which seeks to provide deeper insights through firsthand portraits. I believe the reporting gathered here represents some of the most vivid and insightful writing on Southern men in recent years. As to whether a man of the global North like myself has the right or ability to "represent" men of the global South, I leave it to readers to decide if the attempt is valid, and whether it succeeds.

An effort was made to draw materials from all major regions of the South, though inevitably not all are equally prominent. I have been able to sample only English-language sources and, occasionally, sources in English translation. I also chose, after careful consideration, to reject material that focused on what has been called "the Third World at home":[25] that is, the entrenching of poverty and marginalization within Northern societies themselves, particularly among ethnic minorities. With two exceptions (Dina Dahbany-Miraglia and Peter Collins), all the Northern residents in this volume are migrants from the South.[26]

The advocacy dimension of this project should be acknowledged. "Men *need* advocates," an African woman activist told me at a conference in Geneva a couple of years ago. Her words echoed in my head as I worked on the volume. *Men of the Global South* pays ample attention to the violence that men disproportionately commit – against other men and against themselves, as well as against children and women. But I hope
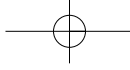
readers will also emerge with a lively sense of the challenges, vulnerabilities, and dangers that men confront in the nations of the South. Among other things, the volume devotes considerable attention to men's *positive*, *constructive*, and *honorable* contributions. There is, I think, much to commend and celebrate in this regard.

Advocacy also implies the idea of rights. While a "men's rights" component features in some literature on men and masculinities in the global North[27] – often dubiously, given the privileged status of many of the authors and their subjects – the literature on men and development contains virtually no explicit human-rights dimension. This reflects the unease that scholars and commentators have felt when engaging with feminist perspectives. Most male writers on development and related issues take pains to assert that they are pro-feminist, sometimes hinting that the *main* justification of studying men and masculinities is to bolster's women's status and opportunities.[28] Perhaps these authors accept the view of most feminists (and the wider culture) that the notion of "men's rights" is redundant or a misnomer. It is also possible that they fear a backlash from feminist ranks if they present men's situation and experience in a way that parallels feminist investigations of discrimination and victimization against women. The rights dimension of *Men of the Global South* is mostly implicit. But I hope its attention to contexts in which men are selectively victimized and exploited will prompt discussion – especially among notoriously open-minded university students – about the validity of a gendered framing of human rights for men and boys worldwide.

Notes

1 The debate over definitions of "gender" seems endless. But for present purposes, "gender" can be defined as "masculine and feminine roles and bodies alike, in all their aspects, including the (biological and cultural) structures, dynamics, roles, and scripts associated with each gender group." Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 2. This definition rejects the distinction between (biological) sex and (cultural) gender favored by many feminist scholars.

2 See Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics* (London: Routledge, 1996).

3 Sylvia Chant and Matthew C. Gutmann, *Mainstreaming Men into Gender and Development* (Oxford: Oxfam, 2000), p. 9.

4 Sarah C. White, " 'Did the Earth Move?': The Hazards of Bringing Men and Masculinities into Gender and Development," *IDS Bulletin*, 31: 2 (2000), pp. 33–41. Despite these comments, White, as the title of her article suggests, is quite skeptical of the turn towards men and masculinities in the GAD literature. She expresses sympathy for the idea that "the limited terrain which has been won for women in development will be eroded: the space itself will narrow and the landmarks subtly shift to accommodate the underlying patriarchal structures of the geomorphology below it" (p. 34). These are common concerns among feminists; I believe they deserve to be taken seriously, but also countered effectively, as Marion Birch does (see pp. 237–39).

[5] Bob Pease and Keith Pringle, "Introduction: Studying Men's Practices and Gender Relations in a Global Context," in Pease and Pringle, eds., *A Man's World? Changing Men's Practices in a Globalized World* (London: Zed, 2001), p. 7.

[6] When discourse privileges males over females, however – as it often does – the disparities are also notable. Thus, while hits for "women and children" far outweigh those for "men and children," the phrase "men, women and children," with its implicit privileging of men over women and adults over children, is far more prominent than "women, men and children" or "women, children and men."

[7] See Cynthia Enloe, " 'Womenandchildren': Propaganda Tools of Patriarchy," in Greg Bates, ed., *Mobilizing Democracy: Changing the US Role in the Middle East* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1991).

[8] Three emblematic works are Harry Brod, ed., *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987); Warren Farrell, *The Myth of Male Power: Why Men Are the Disposable Sex* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); and R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995).

[9] Errol Miller, *Men At Risk* (Kingston: Jamaica Publishing House Ltd., 1991). This discussion incorporates passages from my review of Miller's work in *Caribbean Studies*, 25: 1–2 (June–July 1992), pp. 167–72.

[10] Miller, *Men At Risk*, pp. 124–5.

[11] For an overview, see Matthew C. Gutmann, "Trafficking in Men: The Anthropology of Masculinity," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26 (1997), pp. 385–409. A seminal collection is David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990; see selections "The Wrestlers" and "The Big Man"). However, as Gutmann notes, despite some powerful work, "insufficient attention has been paid to men-as-men in anthropology . . . and much of what anthropologists have written about masculinity must be inferred from research on women and by extrapolation from studies on other topics" (pp. 386–87).

[12] Gary Brana-Shute, *On the Corner: Male Social Life in a Paramaribo Creole Neighborhood* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1979).

[13] Matthew C. Gutmann, *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), p. 12.

[14] Ibid., pp. 75–6.

[15] Chant and Gutmann, *Mainstreaming Men into Gender and Development.* See also Caroline Sweetman, ed., *Men's Involvement in Gender and Development Policy and Practice* (Oxford: Oxfam, 2001); Michael Flood, "Men, Gender, and Development," *Development Bulletin*, no. 64 (March 2004), pp. 26–30, available at http://www.xyonline.net/Mengenderdevt.shtml.

[16] Francis Cleaver, ed., *Masculinities Matter! Men, Gender and Development* (London: Zed Books, 2003).

[17] Pease and Pringle, *A Man's World?*; Robert Morrell, ed., *Changing Men in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and London: Zed Books, 2001). See also Lahoucine Ouzgane, ed., *Islamic Masculinities* (London: Zed Books, 2006); Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephan F. Miescher, *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003).

[18] The entire issue is available on the Web at http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR09/ fmr9full.pdf. *FMR* has published similar issues on child and elderly refugees.

[19] Susie Jacobs, Ruth Jacobson, and Jennifer Marchbank, eds., *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* (London: Zed Books, 2000).

[20] Caroline O.N. Moser and Fiona C. Clark, eds., *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence* (London: Zed Books, 2001).

[21] See also Augusta Del Zotto and Adam Jones, "Male-on-Male Sexual Violence in Wartime: Human Rights' Last Taboo?," Paper presented to the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA), New Orleans, LA, 23–27 March 2002; available at http://adamjones.freeservers.com/malerape.htm.

[22] R. Charli Carpenter, "Gender Theory in World Politics: Contributions of a Non-Feminist Standpoint?," *International Studies Review*, 4: 3 (2002), p. 159.

[23] Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, eds., *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).

[24] Adam Jones, ed., *Gendercide and Genocide* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004). See also the case-studies gathered on the Gendercide Watch website at http://www.gendercide.org.

[25] See, e.g., "The Third World at Home," ch. 11 in Noam Chomsky, *Year 501: The Conquest Continues* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1993).

[26] The vocabulary of "North" and "South" is inevitably problematic. This book was originally titled *Third World Men*, but I and the publisher (as well as a few contributors) came to feel that the original chronological connotation of "Third World" (i.e., the third region of the world to industrialize) had been displaced by a hierarchical connotation, making the term seem patronizing and out of date. The terminology of "North" and "South" is an imprecise substitute, since not all countries of the so-called Third World are found in the southern hemisphere, nor all "First World" countries in the northern hemisphere. "Southern men" may also be taken as a reference to men of the southern US; hence the adoption of the increasingly common term "global South."

[27] Most rigorously in Farrell, *The Myth of Male Power*; see also Adam Jones, "Of Rights and Men: Towards a Minoritarian Framing of Male Experience," *Journal of Human Rights*, 1 : 3 (September 2002), pp. 387–403, available at http://adamjones.freeservers. com/of_rights_and_men.htm.

[28] See Flood, "Men, Gender, and Development": "Including men in gender and development work is necessary because gender inequality is intimately tied to men's practices and identities, men's participation in complex and diverse gender relations, and masculine discourses and culture. Fostering gender equality requires change in these same arenas, of men's lives and relations. . . . Focusing only on women, in relation to such issues as economic participation, credit, or sexual and reproductive health for example, can leave women with yet more work to do and thus intensify gender inequalities. Women-only projects can mean that women still have to deal with unsympathetic men and patriarchal power relations, and can leave women with sole responsibility for sexual health, family nutrition, and so on." Flood does also acknowledge that "men's suffering (such as men's growing burden of illness or social and economic marginalisation among young, poor men) is worth addressing in its own right . . . ."