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Introduction

Unsustainable Institutions of Men: Immanent Contradictions and Transnational Dispersed Centres

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Men, masculinities and gender relations exist locally, but are not only local – as if they ever were. In the scholarly, political and policy communities engaged in critical discussions on men and masculinities there has been a gradual move from talking about the local to a much broader view. This latter take goes under various labels, for example, the global, transnational, postcolonial, decolonial(izing), as well as often addressing what come to called global North-South or more accurately metropole/centre-semiperiphery-periphery dynamics (Blagojević 2009). In this book we build on and add to these moves through a focus on what men and masculinities do in the basic functioning, and indeed changing, of the institutions that support and enact multiple transnational processes. As such, we are indebted to the growing scholarship that engages explicitly with the relations between men, masculinities, gender, intersectionality, globalization, and transnationalizations.[1] We interrogate those connections, and wish to contribute to thinking and reflection on institutional alternatives which could contribute to more inclusive, democratic, decolonializing and feminist transnational dialogues and futures.[2]

While there are many insightful and important debates on globalization that provide keen insights on political economies, they still often do not explicitly address gender relations, let alone men and masculinities. We draw attention to the ways men and masculinities are shifting within the contemporary political and economic climate and current phase of globalization. This includes how elite men are taking over institutions that are themselves becoming multiple dispersed centres of power, and yet which often continue to bear the facade of being 'democratic'. New institutions and paradigms are

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changing the contours of men's power, especially within what we refer to as dispersed centres of transnational change, which have their local, regional and global materializations. The concept of institutions is used here, rather than simply organizations, as the former is a more open-ended, culturally sensitive concept that stretches across and between particular organizations and specific ways of organizing resources, power, technologies, and people.

THE FIFAIZATION OF INSTITUTIONS

The uneven, changing, and sometimes unpredictable, global and transnational processes and institutions have been examined by many scholars through contrasting and sometimes incommensurate paradigms, both historically and in the contemporary period. The historicity, temporality and often temporariness of such institutions have been taken up in very many ways, ranging across the political and analytical spectra.

One major line of critique emphasizes the instability of institutions under capitalism. Marx and Engels (1848/2010) wrote in *The Communist Manifesto* that "all that is solid melts into air", as echoed by Marshall Berman's thus named book (1982). That capitalism destroys social values has been recognized by various conservative and reactionary commentators, but both Marx and Berman, among many others, saw the radical and liberatory potential of the insight.[3] There have been innumerable studies of capitalist crisis, boom and slumps, the global falling rate of profit (Carchedi and Roberts 2018), economic "contagion" effects from imperialist centre(s) to peripheries (Ba 2017), and shifting of crisis from economic to financial to fiscal to political (Walby 2015).

Meanwhile, within the mainstream, in *The Great Degeneration: How Institutions Decay and Economies Die*, the historian Niall Ferguson (2012)[4] examined the degeneration of the institutions that were once considered the "pillars" of Western society: representative government, the free market, the rule of law, and civil society. In *The Origins of Political Order* and *Political Order and Political Decay*, Francis

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Fukuyama (2011, 2014) pointed to the fragility of liberal national democracy in the emerging global world order, and the specific risks of "repatrimonialization": favouring family or friends with whom reciprocal favours are exchanged as a "natural form" of sociability. More critically, the feminist commentator, Naomi Klein (2007), in *Shock Doctrine* and other books, has examined degeneration and fragility in a different way by delving deeply into the murky waters of disaster capitalism.

Another a rather different line of analysis tends towards emphasis on social and institutional progress, linearity of modernity, continuity and convergence. Thus, even with the recognition of the many kinds and analyses of change, a widely used model of the effects of globalization on institutions has been that of "McDonaldization", a supposed worldwide homogenization and rationalization of societies and contingent control and centralization of institutions (Ritzer 1983, 1993/2011).

We suggest that both these tendencies do not capture the complexity of the current situation of global and transnational institutions that we see as changing, even transforming, in the contemporary era, facilitated by financialization and digitalization of political economy. The model for many transnational institutions is now more like a FIFAization of cultures and institutions, that is, one of *transnational dispersed centres*, of several different forms, in which, centring, dispersal and the transnational are in triangular tension.

While McDonaldization is a form of globalization based on replication and franchising on a small scale, albeit ubiquitously, FIFAization, in contrast, is based on contracting and dispersal of finance, media, and visuals often from a single or main location, to the level of subsuming national democratic institutions or local business, and transforming them in accordance to its corporation-like set goals. Another important difference is that FiFAization is connected to a more intense level of "immaterial" digitalization and virtualization, as opposed to McDonaldization, which is based on a

more material and tangible service-oriented economy. Hunger is a real need, which can be satisfied in different ways, but the "need" for a football game on a screen is heavily produced and dependent on information and communication technologies (ICTs), digitalization and virtualization more generally. So, those two models represent different types of production, consumption, and financial growth. These conditions facilitate further financialization, contracting out and outsourcing, as opposed to repetition and decentralization in previous phases of capitalist development.

Thus, with this book we challenge some (dominant) paradigmatic understandings of globalization, and even some approaches to gendered transnational change, with both multiple dispersed centres of men's power, and dispersion within those centres. We interpret those transnational entities, as well as the present dominant type of globalization, through a critical focus on men and masculinities dominating (in) the transnational centres of power. The contributions explore the links between domination as exercised by men throughout historical and present-day manifestations in national and transnational realms. Historical continuity pertains in some of these developments, but now the stakes are even higher, with transnationalizations set up to control spaces beyond their coordinates. In other words, there is no escape, no exit back to the small-scale. Contemporary domination is based on all previously lessons learnt on domination, and has severely constrained or closed down, if not totally eliminated, step by step, alternative spaces, exits and strategies.

The overall embracing and publicizations of all aspects of public and private lives, and public and private patriarchies, with increasing surveillance and concentration of technological power is deeply redefining everything that was once known as "society", "individual", "privacy" or "freedom". Conceptual vagueness corresponds to a growing cacophony produced by and within decentralized social networks, which additionally strengthens the centres controlling, centralizing and dominant power. However, although it is difficult at the moment to clearly see where and how the new alternatives can

emerge, it is in the very nature of the "new" to be unpredictable. This condition is no more clear than in the deep unpredictability or "fluidity" of #45, the current President of the USA, in a global ultraconservative alliance, "whose defining characteristics are kleptocracy and dominating masculinity, with the likes of Putin (Russia), el-Sisi (Egypt), Erdogan (Turkey), Salman (Saudi Arabia), Duterte (Philippines) among others." (Messerschmidt and Bridges 2017), and perhaps Kim Jong-un (North Korea). Arguably, such fluidity is enhanced in creations of "alternatives facts", and technologies for visual "deepfakes". Therefore, "it is not over until it's over".

Such contemporary transnational changes are best seen as significant developments in the near totalization of transnational patriarchal processes and other forms of domination, if not strictly a historical paradigm shift. To develop this approach is not to dismiss the potential of the "local" to mutate, ameliorate and transform such transnational developments. Nor is it to understate the potential for resistance and positive change in relation to transnational dominance, as might be emphasized in, for instance, in a Foucauldian perspective relations of power that are always to some extent dispersed, and always with possibilities for manifestations of counter-power. These dispersals also raise the question of the unsustainability of many of the transnational developments. The potential impacts of the local and/or the possibilities for resistance and positive change offer some ways towards analysis of how positive resistance to these totalizing processes – in addition to their unsustainability – might be envisaged.

TRANSNATIONAL CENTRES: FORMS AND CONTRADICTIONS
The book *Rethinking Transnational Men: Beyond, Between and Within Nations*, edited by Hearn, Blagojević[5] and Harrison (2013) considered transnational men and masculinities from the perspectives of social processes of transnational men *within, across, and beyond nations*. This perspective is our first dimension of analysis. As discussed previously, 'the transnational' invokes two elements: the *nation* or *national boundaries*, and '*trans*' (across) relations, as opposed to 'inter' relations or 'intra'

relations (Hearn 2004). This raises a paradox: *the nation is simultaneously affirmed and deconstructed.* This is partly a question of what is meant by the 'trans' in 'the transnational'. In short, the element of 'trans' refers to three basically different notions, as well as more subtle distinctions between and beyond that:

> *moving across* something or *between* two or more somethings, in this case, across national boundaries or between nations …;

> *metamorphosing*, problematizing, blurring, transgressing, breaking down, even dissolving something(s), in this case, nations or national boundaries – in the most extreme case, leading to the demise of the nation or national boundaries …;

> *creating new configurations*, intensified transnational, supranational, or to different degrees, deterritorialized, dematerialized or virtual entities: structures, institutions, organizations, classes, groups, social movements, capital flows, networks, communities, supra-identities, cultural and public spaces, involving two or more nations, or more often different actors there interacting across national borders. (Hearn and Blagojević 2013: 9).

From these previous analyses, our primary concern is with the question of multiple *transnational centres* across such multiple transnational sites as: business and finance; militarism; international sport; sex trade, and sexualization in the global mass media; ICTs and other socio-technologies; transportation, environment, energy; migration; social movements; and knowledge, scientific and medical production.

The notion of transnational centres conveys seemingly opposing and contradictory meanings. On one hand, it connotes the concentration of power, not necessarily materialized, while in some cases quite physical and material, as in global cities or global metropoles. These are not necessarily bounded geographical sites or places, but may well be. Some of these different forms of transnational centres concern the direct and hierarchical *concentration and accumulation* of resources, financial,

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business and political. Classic concentrations of resources occur in supranational organizations bounded in particular times and spaces. They seek to control beyond their boundaries, with imperialist and colonial interests, while being situated in global centres, peripheries and semiperipheries. They often reflect dynamics of the global city, and are dominated by men at the top, but they are also intertwined with the local men's elites. The fact that men are dominating centres of power is both the cause and the consequence of long established patriarchal patterns of men and masculinity, expressed in hierarchies, competitions, and exclusions (Connell 2014, 2016). These power dynamics of men and masculinity are especially focused on elite practices in elite settings. Examples here might include: big business, multinational corporations, financial organizations, sport organizations, political organizations, legal organizations, multilateral organizations (for example, UN, EU, OSCE, OECD), and militaries.

On the other hand, the concept of transnational centres explicitly conveys how such centres are also transnational, albeit in diverse ways. Transnational centres may also be spread, in a dispersed way, across locations and borders, horizontally and vertically, rather than centred at or restricted to one particular point in time and space, as literal or metaphorical headquarters. Transnational centres may build their concentrated power from the fact that they operate in supranational spaces "above", often in a constant flow and processuality, and that therefore they are not affected, controlled or influenced by localized centres of power. Their domination is closely linked to their illusion of immateriality and independence from the material and tangible world "below". Hence, we talk of transnational centres to capture this present state of high invisibility of the *modus operandi* of those centres in connection to men and masculinities, and the apparent contradiction between their physical locatedness and transnational flows, with both physical-material and virtual *dispersions*.

Thus many transnational centres are what we call *transnational dispersed centres*, albeit of several different forms. As such, the book engages with the immanent

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contradictions of transnational processes, of spatialization (centralization and dispersal), of structural institutionalization and apparent transience, of gender power, and of men and masculinities. With transnational dispersed centres, the power of men is drawn together in a rather different way, with different spatial and social arrangements, from the examples of classic centres of top-down domination above. With transnational dispersed centres, the "centres" are multiple or networked rather than simply tangibly concentrated. These institutions are also generally dominated by men at the top, but are polycentric, and as such they reflect ethnically and nationally diverse and connected mini-patriarchies and gendered hierarchies. Such forms occur across all the sectors of concentrated centres noted above, and also include: science and technology institutions (both state and corporate), virtual and online activities, ICTs, media, advertizing organizations and campaigns, cultural industries, and the film industry, with the specific forms and impacts of Hollywood and Bollywood, and their products, as forms of soft invasion.

A key issue in analyzing transnational dispersed centres is the transfer and deployment of a variety of both material resources – finance, people, and things – and virtual resources. In the latter case, dispersion is often reproduced symbolically, and operates through and in the contexts of ICTs, with complex and evolving forms of technocratic virtualization (Hearn et al. 2013; Poster 2013). Mobility and migration with patterns of movements of both rich and poor, are undoubtedly fundamental aspects of transnational dispersed centres. Some privileged men's power is thus extended materially and virtually – for global elites, managers of large multinationals and their foreign assignments, and military and governmental leaders; but for others such transnational processes mean temporary or permanent displacement, whether they are dispossessed, forced, relocated, disentitled or partially sought (Donaldson et al. 2009; Vasquez del Aguila 2014). There are also, through transnational processes, growing numbers of dispersed students, researchers and technicians, sometimes in precarious forms of labour.

Some transnational dispersed centres are based in supranational institutional structures and formalized networks; others are more emergent; some centre around specific activities or events, for example, public gatherings and major sports events; some are more stabilized; others are *ad hoc* and temporary. Some dispersed centres like famous universities and elite schools and their emerging campuses dispersed across continents successfully use established networks and well-established infrastructure and motifs, while others build power on their supposed newness, innovativeness and uniqueness.

With activities and events, the institutions concerned may seem temporary, short-term or spectacular. They take the form of apparently informal and often massive gatherings that are often organized formally, and sometimes repeated as if having a life of their own. They can leave a mark afterwards. We are referring here to trends towards "mega" events in which people come together from many nations across so-called global North and South, itself another convenient but sometimes damaging construct. This involves wide public participation and suggests a different kind of transnational centre, which incorporates multiple constituencies of men. These often include large numbers of men as spectators, users of substances such as drugs and alcohol, and viewers and consumers of prostitution. Men who participate in those events reconstruct and reproduce their patriarchal masculinities through and by those events, while at the same time they reconstruct and reproduce the patriarchal nature of those events. Examples include: large sporting events like the Olympics, various World Cups, business fairs, marriage fairs, mega-churches, global evangelism, pilgrimages, and beauty contests. While those events are often, perhaps typically, both men-centred and patriarchal, they also consume the space of possible non-patriarchal parallels.

Finally, it is important to note that transnational dispersed centres, however, are located on both sides of the globalized political power structure: in the power concentration and consolidation of the new transnational predatory (male) elites, as well as transformative, disruptive counter-power centres, embodied in transnational networks,

organizations and individual leaders. Due to the intentional designs of dominant political elites, their rate of concentration at the moment is faster, but new modes of counter-power and transnational dispersed centres are already happening.

THE (UN)SUSTAINABILITY OF INSTITUTIONS

The example of FIFA and FIFAization has already been introduced. FIFA has become organized as a global institution combining many national associations, and it operates through leadership that is sometimes autocratic (and even perhaps corrupt) by certain elite men. In this example, concentrations of power are polycentric. FIFA is centralized – numerous resources and people *feed into* the main event, and then *feed out* in terms of commodification, images, values, and refashioned and appropriated urban spaces. FIFA is responsible for producing one of the largest and most powerful mega-events – financially, visually, consumer-speaking, and media-wise – not to mention through the building of massive urban infrastructures. Business masculinity in FIFA is apparent in the egregious links of global sports to corporate sponsorship and media broadcasting, both direct consumption in real time and post-event packages. Masculinity or masculinism also pervade the performance and spectacle of manhood on the field, and the creation of male elite millionaire athletes.

Furthermore, big sporting events are associated with sexual violence of many kinds, as evidenced in the increases in abuse of women by fans in the aftermath of games. The whole setting of football events is visually created along the lines of rigid gender roles and positionings. Even women's football does not effectively change the pattern, but instead this rather easily becomes incorporated into the already defined masculinity-based game and business. The impact analysis of young men's socialization through and by trans/national elites gathered around football is still missing. What such dynamics mean for men and masculinity is only starting to be explored.

A rather different set of examples of transnational dispersed centres concern engagement with natural resources and the environment more generally. The centres may be dispersed, but they are marked and restricted by the physical environment and finite sets of resources. Men in these institutions are in control of, or seek to control, geographies for their industries which may draw directly from nature. As the environment is beyond national borders, institutions are precariously situated. Often they are organized regionally, or focused on one natural resource or area. Examples might be: organizations and institutions which address environmental issues, globally, regionally, or locally, in general, or specifically transport, water management, oil production, waste industries, space research, NASA, and similar institutions in the EU and elsewhere.

An even more complex example of this changing paradigm for transnational centres of men and masculinities is that of the United Nations. The UN has shifted its governing agenda from the 2000 "Millennium Goals" to that of "Sustainability", in the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This latter process of specification is more wide-ranging in terms of the involvement and incorporation of the views of more political actors than national governments alone, notably business and some kinds of NGOs. The UN is shifting to a more diffuse, dispersed agglomeration than simply an international cooperation of nation-states.

At the same time, sustainability can be understood as representing a new way of looking at globalization that also warrants a reconsideration of the critical analysis of men, masculinities and gender power relations. The prior focus was on ending poverty, in classic modernization view of "development," as Liz Ford (2015) explains:

> The eight MDGs [Millennium Development Goals] – reduce poverty and hunger; achieve universal education; promote gender equality; reduce child and maternal deaths; combat HIV, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; develop global partnerships – failed to consider the root causes of

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poverty, or gender inequality, or the holistic nature of development. The goals made no mention of human rights, nor specifically addressed economic development.

However, the new agenda expands from eight to seventeen goals. Variable, often loaded, and sometimes ideological, notions of resilience and endurance pervade most of these categories. Another implication is the striking and repeated emphasis on the environment: this realm is listed in five of the new goals, from sustainable use of oceans and ecosystems, to management of water and sanitation, to energy and climates. Critically, sustainability applies to so much more: cities (goal 11), consumption and production (goal 12), infrastructure, industrialization and innovation (goal 9), and economic growth and employment (goal 8). Indeed, the very economic substructure and foundation of global societies are now seen through the concern for livable and lasting institutions.

Human society is once again being subjugated to "higher goals", which in reality can easily turn into the new totalitarianisms. In fact, the sense of "urgency" to take a global coordinated action, which is constantly being nourished by fears related to environmental disasters and terrorism, is a fertile ground for growth of both an old and a new type of absolutism, as a form of political governance in the growing number of countries with "facade democracies". Transnational fear of disasters and terrorism, translated into mandates of supranational entities, can feed local autocrats, most often being men and belonging to men's transnational elites. They increasingly draw their local political power from transnational realms, which are beyond democratic control from "below".

This kind of thinking is also increasingly in play in education, research, research funding and publication, for example, the European Commission Horizon2020 research programme. It surfaces in what may seem surprising places, such as some business schools, and the desire to create 'responsible leaders' of global capitalism. The language

in use is that of "leverage", "capacity building", "incentivizing", "scaling up", "robustness", and the positive relation of "business" and "societal relevance". What is on offer is sustainable capitalism, with the SDGs its ideology or ideological banners.

What is perhaps most interesting here is that at the same time as equality is promoted and inequality opposed by the SDGs, inequality seems to increase inexorably and human rights seem widely under threat. Across the global economy, "(a)lmost half of the world's wealth is owned by one percent of the population. … The bottom half of the world's population owns same as richest 85 people in the world" (Fuentes-Nieva and Galasso 2014: 2-3; also see Credit Suisse 2016; Hardoon et al. 2016; Oxfam 2017). Latest projections from the UK House of Commons suggest that this figure may reach two-thirds of global wealth by 2030 (Savage 2018). In particular, Pogge and Sengupta (2016) make three critical arguments on SDGs in relation to human rights:

> "I. The SDGs promote a false sense of success and make it easy for governments to go slow on the realization of human rights …
> II. The SDGs fail to specify what a human-rights-based duty
> or genuine goal to eradicate severe poverty requires: a clear division of labour …
> III. The full realization of human rights requires a massive roll-back of international and intra-national inequalities, which the SDGs fail to demand."

In essence, then, this UN agenda articulates the locations and issues where inequality is playing out through global North-South imbalances of power. The ambition of the UN is highlighted at a time of increasing authoritarianism in government and politics, and when its impact is very limited against nationalistic, protectionist and authoritarian tendencies. Instead of dealing with the root causes of global and local inequalities throughout the world, a sustainability agenda is presented both as an "urgency" and "emergency" which can justify subordination of humans, their societies and their rights. It is these sites – and their current state of unsustainability – that we seek to interrogate. This entails addressing

in what ways are certain men and certain kinds of masculinity at the core of the barriers to safe, inclusive, and thriving global institutions? This is especially urgent with the current combination of global crises, including: environmental, fuel, food, water; economic and financial; war and refugees; political and the explicit claiming of authoritarianism as virtue; convergence of economy, business, politics, entertainment; and indeed "truth decay" (Kavanagh and Rich 2018).

Also, the issue is how the practices of masculinities within the global centres of power immanently and uncritically change local institutions and threaten their democratic control, producing an elite beyond the reach of ordinary citizens and an ever-growing 'democratic deficit'. What we claim is that dominant masculinity-based practices in transnational centres of power have essential impact on quality and goals of global development, therefore they need to be scrutinized, examined and theorized through the lenses of global/gender inequalities.

WHERE DOES THIS BOOK COME FROM?

Before continuing further, it may be of interest to outline where this book comes from. Most importantly, it builds on extensive previous international cooperation, in particular through the Swedish Research Council (*Vetenskapsrådet*) joint Örebro and Linköping Universities' GEXcel Gender Centre of Excellence, and now the three-university GEXcel International Collegium for Advanced Transdisciplinary Gender Studies. GEXcel has involved a number of research themes, including on Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities (CSMM),[6] that have gathered together scholars, ranging across doctoral students, postdoctoral researchers and professors, to work on common research interests.

In framing this book, and exploring several social locations where gender power is organized in the current global political economy, some of the conceptualization presented in the previous book, *Rethinking Transnational Men: Beyond, Between and Within Nations* – that developed from the GEXcel Centre of Excellence research theme

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on "Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities".[7] The subsequent GEXcel theme "Gendered Sexualed Transnationalizations, Deconstructing the Dominant: Transforming Men, "Centres" and Knowledge/policy/practice",[8] focused on three overlapping sub-themes:

(i) *the impact of transnationalizations in changing, critiquing and deconstructing privileged "centres", including the hegemony of men* (Hearn 2004). It addresses the contradictory implications of transnationalizations for new patriarchal forms ("transnational patriarchies" or "transpatriarchies") (Hearn 2009) and the (de)construction of the hegemony of men and other privileged "centres", such as "Europe", "the North", "white people". This may include the interplay of men's transnational privilege and transnational threat to (some aspects of) men, or other parallel processes.

(ii) *transnationalizations of knowledge, knowledge production and knowledge communities, including virtual knowledge communities*. This includes deconstructing dominant hierarchies of knowledge, representation and different sensory media, for example, changes in the relative valuing of the written word, spoken word, and the visual. This is important for the marginalization, probably increasing marginalization, of certain social groups in multicultural contexts of knowledge. The transnationalization of knowledge production also has repercussions for both everyday 'lived realities' and the political development of global or transnational (pro)feminism more generally.

(iii) *new developments in deconstructing the hegemony of men and masculinities in terms of age/ageing, embodiment, virtuality and transnationalizations.* This sub-theme is a development of work in GEXcel Theme, 'Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities'. It addresses new developments in both substantive studies and theorizations on men and masculinities, and the sub-field of critical studies on men and masculinities. In both cases major emphasis is placed on positive critiques of existing frameworks, and of possible separations between this sub-field and feminist, queer and other critical gender and sexuality scholarship more generally. In this analyses, men may be subject to undoing, Othering and potential abolition as a powerful social category.

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Selected senior scholars and competitive applications from doctoral and postdoctoral scholars, were invited to become part of the research theme and research environment,[9] in turn leading onto many publications, co-operations, and friendships. Together, this group, along with many connected researchers, make a transnational network on CSMM. This book derives from this collective work.

KEY AIMS AND FEATURES

This book is directed to students and researchers in gender studies, feminist studies, critical studies on men and masculinities, globalization studies, political economy, intersectionality studies, organization studies, international relations, migration studies, and studies of (un)sustainability, as well as social scientists more generally.

The book has five themes that contribute to its specific profile. First, we consider *institutions* as material and ideological power centres and sites, which design and control transnational change in a manner performed mostly by men and closely related to their masculinities.

Second, we trace the dynamics of global institutions in their fluid and evolving gendered forms, specifically various forms of *transnational dispersed centres* – and their (un)sustainability. We examine the variety of institutions, and how men and masculinities are differently configured and reconnected, how they produce and conflict with each other. Men have to negotiate and reconfigure their identities and practices of "proper" masculinity under unstable institutions.

Third, we attend to the multiple contradictions of transnational dispersed institutional centres, their forms, and men's place within and across them, between: the nation and the transnational; centres and dispersals; spatiality and sociality; materiality and ideology/discourse; the physical and the virtual; institutional structures and events.

Fourth, we explore whether those institutions are *sustainable* – economically, socially, environmentally – in the long term and what creates the limits of their sustainability. In exploring "unsustainable institutions," we look at different dislocations and displacements in the lives of men who live in a world impacted by global exchanges, increasing polarization, inequality, and neoliberalism. These suggest such questions: are they going to collapse, or produce terrible outcomes, or destroy human societies and the environment? We examine how the very notion of sustainability is situated within the gender power im/balance, locally and globally. We also introduce a time-frame into our analysis, showing that sustainability as such is overdue, and that if it is temporary and short-term it is questionable. We raise the issues of who (agents) can define sustainability, how (methods) that is to be done, under the present obvious horizontal and vertical imbalances of power, and also the ethical aspects of technological and scientific development and the responsibility of different knowledge production agents.

Fifth, we seek to unpack *the ideology of the sustainability paradigm itself*, and problematize the paradigm: how does it highlight certain agendas (as in the recently proposed UN goals), and how does it neglect other agendas? We argue that what is being downplayed in the sustainability paradigm is actually men's power, and certain forms of masculinity, as well as questions of empire, colonialism, racism, sexuality, changing geo-politics (for example, changing relations of BRICs), religion and post-secularism. It is a *pars pro toto* logical mistake, but, in terms of ideology, it is a game of inversion, where legitimate goals, for which high mobilization of populations can be achieved, are often and perpetually undermined by the very mechanisms of "implementation" and absence of democratic control over national and supranational institutions.

Finally, we also offer *methodological contributions* to critical studies of men and masculinities through innovative, multi-method approaches that expand the scope of empirical research. While the transnational processes interrogated are broad in scope, and may even appear abstract, our contributors examine them through a range of focused,

grounded research, including on everyday practices. Our contributors live or have worked in diverse parts of the world, including Australia, Barbados, Czech Republic, Finland, Hungary, India, Mozambique, the Netherlands, Peru, the Philippines., Portugal, Serbia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, and USA, which assists in decentring knowledge production on multiple versions of being men across the globe. Reflexivity and positionality in conducting research with men are explored, as well as the awareness of avoiding the reification of cultures, practices, and identities. The book engages in intersectional (pro)feminist analysis of the geographies of men, masculinities and institutions that shape men's, women's and further genders' lives.

STRUCTURE AND SUMMARY OF THE BOOK

The cross-cutting themes and issues outlined above recur in the chapters, and with the complexities outlined, and contradictions of various forms of transnational dispersed centres. *The crux of our analysis is on: how are different locations of men and different versions of men and masculinity distributed in various institutions transnationalized to various degrees, which then transform to a new type of organizations, transnational dispersed centres, and how that process contributes to the dynamics of (un)sustainability?*

We organize the book across four broad arenas, and thus four sections: economy, politics, technologies, bodies. Transnational men and transnational dispersed centres work both *within* and *through* each of these domains. In each section, the chapters examine how both transnationalization and men are taking over or re-taking over these arenas, how their influence is mutually increasing their power, and how transnationalization and patriarchies work together. Moreover, these four domains – economy, politics, technologies, bodies – are not only themselves sites of dynamic transnational changes and flows, but also operate through a multitude of interconnections between each other. Thus, for example, transnational dispersed centres in and through the economy – whether in the City of London, other global finance centres, newly

established innovation ecosystems or FIFA – also involve and implicate politics, technologies and bodies; and comparable interconnections occur for and with the other domains.

In Part One, four chapters address transnational men and transnational dispersed centres through a focus on economy. We begin in the heart of what has been a, if not now the, centre of financial capitalism, the City of London. Helen Longlands and Richard Collier's chapter, *Interrogating Transnational Masculinities, Fatherhood and the Institutions of Men,* brings together studies of City (of London) male bankers and their partners, all women and the mothers of their children, and male solicitors and three Human Resource managers (the latter all female) based in large City of London transnational corporate law firms. The focus is on everyday practices and processes in doing the relations of this form of work, fatherhood, family, and transnational masculinities. The high earnings, long hours worked, and high level of organizational commitment, in both City sectors, were mediated by experiences of fathering in particular often absent ways, as an inevitable "trade-off". These configurations sustain the gendered hegemony of elite men in transnational financial and legal institutions, and in turn the broader global financial system.

In Chapter 2, the hegemony of men raised in the first chapter is in some ways reaffirmed, and in other ways reconfigured within new, more diffuse transnationalized economies. In *The Innovation Ecosystem: Interrogating [Trans]national Gender [Un]sustainability in the New Business Centre*, Richard Howson and Greg Kerr move focus from a well-established, UK-located, yet transnational, financial centre to the contrasting context of high-tech innovation ecosystems in Australia and the United Arab Emirates. In these latter areas, the economic base formerly provided by oil, mining and heavy industry and manufacturing is no longer secure. Accordingly, new forms of innovation and business incubation are facilitated by these governments in [trans]national innovation ecosystems. Moreover, non-gendered policies and practices obfuscate the

masculine as hegemonic and institutionalize the hegemonic nature of masculinity as the expression of the hegemony of men within these [trans]national ecosystems, whilst operating at the local level. The authors conclude: "It will be a slow and long road to producing equity and thereby, a sustainable innovation ecosystem."

The following chapter, *Transnational Football's Male Elite: The Unsustainability of FIFA?,* by John Hughson and Marina Hughson takes a third perspective on transnational dispersed economic centres and another kind of transnational male elite, through the case of FIFA. While there are many gendered aspects here, some obvious, some less so, to the development and operation, the authors attend to the question of the (un)sustainability of the institution through the prism of its presidents and other leaders. The case is fascinating in bringing together many features, all gendered, for example: nation, nationalism and transnational processes; organizational centres and dispersions; key elite individuals and the masses and mass sporting appeal; privatization and public goods; capitalism, corruption (alleged, institutional or otherwise) and complex governance; and not least individual masculinities and structural gender hegemonies.

The final chapter in this section by Anita Thym, *Hegemony Self-critique: How Men in Finance Question Aspects of Masculine and Economic Hegemony from Within,* provides a further perspective on economy. In some ways, it takes us back to the concerns of the first chapter, the global financial sector, but now through the analysis of autobiographical accounts of men in leading positions in finance in the English- and German-speaking worlds who in some way question aspects of the system and sector. Critique takes various forms: their subjection to the requirements of masculinity; their contribution to increasing economic inequalities; the new male mode of domination; sexism in the sector. The key conceptual frame of analysis is men's hegemony self-critique, a notion that when practiced by those in or formerly in power positions may be ambiguous and contradictory, but may open up some emancipatory possibilities through coalitions or other political shifts.

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Part Two on transnational men and dispersed centres in and through politics, comprises three chapters related to three different parts of the world, and bringing three different perspectives on the (un)sustainability of institutions operating within the rule of transnational patriarchies. The chapters explore the connections of globalization, politics and masculinities in India, the post-socialist European semiperiphery, and the Caribbean, thus representing very different locations in terms of colonial/neo-colonial transnational dynamics and historicities. Those territories are to different degrees and in different modalities embraced by contradictory and ambiguous processes of transnationalizations, while meanwhile subject to similar patterns of deep re-structuring of political institutions and the wider political field. With neoliberal globalization, political power is not only imposing itself as pervasive, but is also becoming de-regulated and increasingly performed outside of democratic control, often in the name of regulation and democracy. Under such circumstances, political institutions are liable to capture by political power holders, who may appropriate ever more power by redirecting public demands, some legitimate, some populist, towards concentrations of power, wealth and control. In these conditions, deception, manipulation and inversion can become a *modus operandi* of new political elites, even in the name of human rights, sustainability, and social justice.

In chapter five, *The Ends of Imagination: Hindu Nationalism, Masculine Networks and Political Transformation,* Vijayan analyzes the connection between the strengthening of technologies and their growing convergence (mobile telephony, information and communication technology with film and media technologies) and progression of 'Hindutva' Hindu nationalism. The expansion of imaginary Hindu nationalism and its strong revival, although grounded in deep layers of history of the country, would not have been possible without the speedy technological developments leading to consequent transformations of social spaces and the emergence of a 'virtual public sphere', which transcends the more conventional boundaries of 'public' and 'private', as well as of 'nation'. However, still vast parts of the population are excluded

from this dominant discourse because they are not the beneficiaries of technological development, due to poverty and lack of education. This exclusion is the clearest indicator of the power of Brahminical masculine hegemony, as a deeply entrenched system of social exclusion and negation.

In chapter six, *Intentional Impossibility: Sustainable Transnational (Male) Clientelism Versus an Unsustainable Environment*, Marina Hughson explores the vertical dimension of transnationalizations and the workings of transpatriarchies, from the level of a major UN agency to the concrete state level, and further down to the level of local communities, and even individuals living in those communities, at the semiperiphery of Europe, in Serbia. The case study analyses mechanisms which enable transnational clientelism, which functions as a network of 'dispersed centres', to create conditions for the profound inversion of official aims of a "sustainability" related project into a direction which supports land grabbing and the silencing of the voices of the disempowered and impoverished. 'Sustainability' projects, defined within the context of neoliberal globalization and de-development of the semiperiphery, are usually advocated, managed and executed in line with financialization, commodification of human and natural resources, privatization and corporatization, and more likely to be supportive not to the environment, but overall to the transnational patriarchies, horizontally and vertically.

In chapter seven, *Contradictory Consciousness: Men and Feminist Activism in the Caribbean,* Tonya Haynes examines deep contradictions which shape men's inclusions into the gender equality project, from the perspective of the "Global South". Using the narratives of activist men from Caribbean countries, the author shows how complicated and multilayered are discussions on men as partners for gender equality when applied to different societal contexts and different cultures. Men's presence in gender and development policy and programming is often not in line with the real challenging of masculinist relations of power, as much with instrumentality of their inclusion to fit to

'donor's agendas'. However, even within the limited space of true feminist engagement some activist men exhibit a *contradictory consciousness*, which could be seen as an emerging polyvocality of the men's narratives, which eventually will allow for their further and more sincere engagement towards gender-just futures.

While the question of changing technologies and their multiple evolving affordances pervade many chapters, Part Three focuses specifically on transnational men and dispersed centres as seen in and through technologies. It ranges widely across national boundaries in Asia, Europe, North America and beyond through examination of technologies in the diverse sectors of transportation, pornography, military intelligence, and the music industry. The section begins with Balkmar and Hearn's chapter, *Men, Automobility, Movements, and the Environment*, as a major example of dispersed transnational centres of power. They focus on the impact of (un)sustainable institutions of men in the dispersed transnational field of transportation on environmental and other (un)sustainabilities, through the case of automobility: the privileging of cars and car users. This is elaborated through discussion of how self-driving cars and other vehicles may make for possible, imagined and imaginable, (un)sustainable, automated, and gendered transport futures.

The next chapter is de Boise's broad critical review entitled *'The Performing Rights of Man': The Global Music Industries and Transnational Hegemonies of Men*. This is presented as a wide-ranging and multi-faceted case of the hegemony or hegemonies of men, in which the industry could be said to be dominated by men in production increasingly though the gendered impacts of digitalization, and gendered consumption practices are implicated in sustaining geopolitically unequal relations between men. The chapter also shows how the dissemination of various cultural tropes about men, through aesthetic representations in music, feed into neocolonial narratives. In particular, notions of 'softening masculinity', especially of young, middle-class Caucasian or East-Asian men/male bodies contrast with those of black bodies, coded as

threatening, hypersexualized and desirable by white male consumers and producers. This discussion thus provides a key link with the following section on bodies.

The following chapter by Gabriel on *Electronic Pornography and the Transnational Assemblage of Sexuality* interrogates another major site of technological change in one of the most persistent of men's institutions: the historically huge growth of digitalized, online pornographic production and "its dispersal of sexuality into exponentially increasing images, clips and films, as well as into remote geographies via internet access." Based in research in India and more globally, it examines how apparent dispersal and diversity of sexual pleasures offered constitute an assembling of specific understandings of sexuality into the single transnationally available pornographic centre. Eroticization is accomplished by its production processes and sexual economies, not only representational economics, being invisibilized, contradicting claims of some transnational liberal egalitarian ideologies. Transnationalization and digitalization may disperse production and male use-consumption of pornography, yet reinforce insidious homogenization and centralization of gender/sexual hierarchies and inequalities; through immersive powers, institutionalization of (men's) power gains new life.

Technology is changing the nature of war, for example, with intelligence gathering in virtual spaces. The final contribution on technologies, by Poster, *Gender Trouble in Cyberwar: Multiple Masculinities and Femininities of a Cyberspy in the War on Terror*, moves to what may seem a unique study of masculinities, femininities and technology in the world of military intelligence. It investigates the case of Shannen Rossmiller, a female former municipal judge from rural Montana in the US, who has adopted multiple personas, online and offline, masculine and feminine. Most notably Rossmiller "is" Abu Zeida, a male Al-Qaeda affiliate from Afghanistan and Pakistan, who hangs out in militant chat rooms for recruiting and training, and who has participated in attacks on churches, consulates, and UN headquarters. In the internet age, looks can be deceiving. Rossmiller has made a career for the US state out of posing as male militants

online from Afghanistan and Iraq. Digitalization and virtualization enable a proliferation and hybridization of identities, and further forms of dispersal and transnational dispersed centres, analyzed here by Poster in multiple, contradictory and gendered ways.

Part Four on transnational dispersed centres in and through bodies presents empirical data from two semiperipheral countries – Czech Republic and Portugal – and a central one – USA. The flow of male bodies through immigration, and from a communist to a democratic regime, shows the fragility and (in)stability of certain institutions, whilst reinforcing the power of the hegemony of men in domestic, public and transational patriarchies. These processes challenge universal and hegemonic approaches to modernity, migration and globalization by showing the plurality of masculinities, and the role of global capitalism and postcolonialism in reproducing power structures and inequalities. Marginalized and subordinated men negotiate their patriarchal dividend and incorporate notions of modernity and certain practices and narratives of gender equality. However, the embodiment of modernity by "new" or "modern" men may represent a deployment of "progressive hegemony" rather than real transformations in men's lives.

In Chapter 12, *Diasporic Masculinities between Margins and Centres*, Aboim and Vasconcelos illustrate the plurality of masculinities through their analysis of empirical data on immigrant men from Brazil, Mozambique and Cape Verde in Portugal. The authors use the notion of diasporic masculinities to analyse how immigrant men revisit and reconsider local and global gender imaginaries in the context of unstable globalization, postcolonialism and changing notions of modernity. Immigrant men navigate between different positions of power and vulnerability, showing the plurality of hegemonic masculinities and challenging dichotomous views between peripheries and colonial centres. Immigrant men deploy complex and contradictory strategies in order to empower themselves and question the hegemony of the white former colonizer. The chapter shows colonial and postcolonial relations of power and shows the hybridity and plurality of masculinities and the different ways in which transnationalization is embedded in the everyday lives of immigrant men.

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In following chapter, *Transnational "Winner" Masculinities: Modernity and the Transformation of Intimacy*, Vasquez del Aguila analyzes changes in the sexual lives, intimacy and gender ideologies of Latino immigrants in the United States. The notion of transnational "winner" masculinities elucidates the plurality and intersectionality of masculinity. Immigrant men revisit their notions of economic success, "macho" and "modern" masculinities. These men build different masculine trajectories and deploy their masculine capital navigating between "winner", "failed" and "good enough" masculinities. Migration and globalization show the inequality of transnational mobility. The new place of residence is a field of tensions and negotiations for transnational sexual markets. It can be the new sexual playground for some or the site of dislocations and loneliness for others. Ideas of modernity and gender ideologies are revised and contested, from the heteroflexibility of some heterosexual men with homoerotic practices to notions of "moderno" (versatility) among gay men.

Finally, with *Men and Masculinities Offside? The [un]sustainability of the Power of Men*, Šmídová discusses several empirical studies from the Czech Republic. The author analyses the masculinities of men in the environmental movement, fathers as primary caregivers, and health professionals. Czech men struggle to maintain their positions of power while at the same time question narratives of traditional manhood. They feel themselves in an "offside" position due to that their supposed privileges which are not translated into their lived individual experiences. Ideas of proper manhood are framed under the umbrella of local and global changes in the region and the transition from a communist regime to a member of the European Union and emerging populism in the region. Czech men negotiate ideas of modernity, care and equality while struggling to engage in social change for minorities. Existing hegemonic institutions are changed, modified and maintained, while domestic and public patriarchies question these men's sense of privilege and inadequacy regarding established gender ideologies.

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NOTES

1. For example, Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Zalewski and Parpart 1998; Cleaver 2002; Pease and Pringle 2002; Connell 2008; Esplen and Greig 2008; Parpart and Zalewski 2008; Ruspini et al. 2011; Cornwall et al. 2011, 2016.

2. See, for example, Segal 1987; Haraway 1988; Mohanty, 2003; Lugones, 2010; Walby 2011; Santos, 2014.

3. Equally poetically, W.B. Yeats in 'The Second Coming' wrote of "Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold", lines taken up by Zygmunt Bauman (1995).

4. Ferguson, a self-declared neo-imperialist and at times anti-feminist bemoaned that "girls no longer play with dolls" and feminists have forced Europe into demographic decline.
https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/mar/17/the-crisis-in-modern-masculinity

5. The co-editor of that volume, Marina Blagojević, is the same person as Marina Hughson, the co-editor of this volume.

6. http://gexcel.org/critical_studies_on_men_and_masculinities.html

7. http://gexcel.org/genderexcel/indexb43c.html?q=node/101

8. http://gexcel.org/genderexcel/index9e04.html?q=node/211

9. Both GEXcel themes were led by Jeff Hearn, and in both Raewyn Connell was immensely helpful in reviewing applications and general support. The selected Theme 9 Visiting Scholars, with their institutions as then, were:

J. Hearn, M. Hughson and E. Vasquez del Aguila 'Introduction: Unsustainable institutions of men: transnational dispersed centres and immanent contradictions', in J. Hearn, E. Vasquez del Aguila and M. Hughson (eds.) *Unsustainable Institutions of Men: Transnational Dispersed Centres, Gender Power, Contradictions*, Routledge, London, 2018.

Sofia Aboim, Lisbon University, Portugal; Chris Beasley, University of Adelaide, Australia; Marina Blagojević, Altera AB, Hungary, and Institute of Criminological Research, Serbia; Richard Collier, Newcastle University, UK; Karen Gabriel, Delhi University, India; Tonya Haynes, University of the West Indies; Helen Longlands, Institute of Education, London University, UK; Nil Mutluer, Central European University, Hungary, and Fatih University, Turkey; Marie Nordberg, Karlstad University, Sweden; Winifred Poster, Washington University, St Louis, USA; Iva Šmídová, Brno University, Czech Republic; and Ernesto Vasquez del Aguila, University College Dublin, Ireland. Open Position Scholars were: Tetyana Bureychak, Lviv University, Ukraine; and Richard Howson, University of Wollongong, Australia. All but one of the chapter authors derive from this group or those who attended theme events or have visited Gender Studies at Örebro since.

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