

INTRODUCTION

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Over the past two decades, and especially in the aftermath of 9/11, dominant Western portrayals of the Muslim world and the men who live there have been bleak—literally filled with danger. Particularly pernicious constructions of Muslim masculinity rely heavily on stereotypes of Muslim men as patriarchal, oppressive, even brutal. In recent years, this portrayal has been fueled by Western media discourses that focus on zones of conflict in the Muslim world and visions of Muslim men as violent Islamic terrorists. Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, ISIS, the Taliban, and other jihadist groups represent potent examples of this terrorist trope. Unfortunately, numerous ISIS-inspired terrorist attacks around the world, especially in the United States and Europe, have clearly fueled these extremely negative images, leading to fear and real-world consequences.

Indeed, by 2015, in the midst of the worst European refugee crisis since World War II, many European countries began turning away Muslim refugee families, in part by claiming that Islamic terrorists were entering Europe disguised as Muslim refugees. By 2016, in the midst of one of the most contentious presidential campaigns in U.S. history, candidate Donald Trump began calling for a “Muslim ban,” thereby preventing Muslim travelers and refugees from entering the country. Upon his January 2017 inauguration as the forty-fifth U.S. president, Trump kept his promise by issuing an executive order barring admissions from seven Muslim-majority countries, mostly in the Middle East and Africa.

Clearly, dominant conceptions of Muslim men as dangerous Others—who perpetrate war, brutality, and radicalization, as well as the oppressive subjugation of women and religious minorities—are

what the Western world has come to know and to expect in the twenty-first century. Yet, these negative portrayals of Muslim men harken back to earlier times, as shown in Edward W. Said's (1978) brilliant analysis, *Orientalism*. In the Muslim Orient, men purportedly ruled over their harems with iron fists. These Orientalist discourses, in turn, reflected the violent views of masculinity described by the Western Enlightenment philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who in his book *Leviathan* (1958 [1651]) argued that the "natural state" of humankind revolved around war and strife. Men, Hobbes inveighed, were inherently aggressive and compelled toward the brutal subjugation of others.

Unfortunately, these tropes of violent Muslim masculinity persisted throughout the twentieth century, creeping into scholarly discourse. For example, in his now classic text, *Lords of the Lebanese Marches*, anthropologist Michael Gilson (1996) portrayed the Lebanese men in his study as skilled pugilists—recounting their past "dirty deeds," including violent acts committed toward others. Similarly, in "*Peaks of Yemen I Summon*": *Poetry as Cultural Practice in a North Yemeni Tribe*, anthropologist Steven C. Caton (1990) explored how tribesmen used oral poetry in their war mediations. Much recent anthropological literature on men's lives in Muslim societies continues to focus on war and violence—how men fight with words and weapons, how men are socialized into violent "warrior" and "street" masculinities, and how militarized masculinity takes its harmful toll, including on men themselves (e.g., Abufarha 2009; Al Rasheed 2013; Edwards 2002; Kanaaneh 2008; White 2014).

Anthropological studies of Muslim men that examine other facets of manhood, and that reach across a broader geography, are sorely needed. For example, we need to understand more about men who do *not* resort to violence, even when their real-life experiences might lead them to do so. The various and contrasting social roles of men; their identities as sons, husbands, fathers, and friends; the sources of and constraints on their power and control; and their access to and productive use of their own labor are all factors that figure into a fuller, more nuanced account of Muslim manhood.

As editors of this volume, we have strived in our own work to provide such nuanced accounts of Muslim masculinity. In 2012, Marcia C. Inhorn published *The New Arab Man: Emergent Masculinities, Technologies, and Islam in the Middle East* (2012), a book devoted to the lives of mostly Lebanese, but also Syrian and Palestinian men. Inhorn forwarded the trope of "emergent masculinities" to capture all that is new and transformative in these Middle Eastern Muslim

men's lives. Inspired by Marxist scholar Raymond Williams's (1978) concept of "emergence," Inhorn argued that the term "emergent masculinities"—intentionally plural—can be used to embrace historical change and new patterns of masculine practice. Emergent masculinities thus encapsulate individual change over the male life course, change across generations, and social change involving men in transformative processes (e.g., male labor migration, new forms of political protest, the harnessing of social media).

In addition, emergent masculinities highlight new forms of masculine agency that accompany these social trends. These include, for example, men's desire to enter partnerships before marriage, men's acceptance of condoms as a form of male birth control, men's desires to live in nuclear family residences with their wives and children, and men's encouragement of daughters' education and professional aspirations. All of these masculine practices are emerging in the Muslim world but are rarely noticed by scholars or media pundits. Analyzed as emergent and transformative (Inhorn and Wentzell 2011), this understanding of Muslim masculinities not only questions the patriarchal dimensions of a mode of social life but foregrounds the changing local and emotional worlds of Muslim men within larger social and kinship structures.

Similarly, in her 2015 book, *Nurturing Masculinities: Men, Food, and Family in Contemporary Egypt*, Nefissa Naguib questions the so-called public-private gender divide by exploring men's practices of food provision, nurturance, and care in the domestic realm. Egyptian men's practices of food provision are one measure of their lives as active and caring family members. Attention to individual men's aspirations as providers and ideas about masculine fulfillment capture the variety of ways in which Muslim men conduct themselves in a caring, nurturing mode as sons, husbands, fathers, friends, and community members. Such humanizing portrayals render legible the social realities of gender relations, including how the lives of Muslim men and women intersect on a much different, more humane level in relation to care, respect, love, nurturance, and intimacy in domestic life.

The ethnographic studies that make up this volume continue to challenge, in one way or another, the stereotypes of Muslim manhood as aggressive, religiously zealous, and inherently patriarchal. Instead, we see a multiplicity of masculine practices and forms, as men think and act in highly nuanced and sometimes surprising ways. The volume thus renders Muslim men's everyday lives, hopes, and dreams visible in societies ranging from the Middle East

and sub-Saharan Africa to South and Southeast Asia. The volume also addresses the lives of Muslim men in diasporic communities in the West, including as refugees. Filled with rich ethnographic portrayals of how Muslim men create romantic relationships, parent their children, and care for others in their families and communities, this volume encourages readers to ponder the plurality of Muslim men's existences, as well as the collective challenges facing them in the twenty-first century.

Our goal in this volume is thus threefold. First, we explore new forms of romantic and marital intimacy in Muslim societies, including how Muslim men themselves are contributing to globally emergent forms of conjugality. Romantically inspired, companionate "love" marriages are becoming more normative in many Muslim societies, given real demographic shifts in marriage practices. As more men and women delay marriage for economic, educational, and social reasons, dramatic declines in fertility rates are occurring across the Muslim world—a "quiet revolution" in both marriage and family life in which men are actively participating (Eberstadt and Shah 2012; Inhorn forthcoming).

Our second goal is thus to explore these new manifestations of family life across the Muslim world, including how Muslim men are rethinking patriarchy and emphasizing the care of kin, both fictive and real. Muslim men's active participation in, and positive contribution to, marriage and family life depend on a number of factors, including whether a man is able to generate a living wage for his family, whether he is forced to migrate for economic reasons, whether his country is politically unstable or torn apart by war, and whether his own religious values cultivate a sense of social and ethical responsibility.

Thus, our final goal is to examine the inexorable challenges facing Muslim men around the world, challenges that range from the political (war, genocide, political dictatorship) to the economic (structural adjustment, rising poverty, un- and underemployment) to the environmental (natural disasters, drought, chemical warfare). Given these sobering realities, we turn in the final section to Muslim men's lives in precarious times. We focus in particular on the challenges facing Muslim men in their home countries, as well as in the migrant and refugee communities in which they and their families have attempted to make new lives.

In the chapters that make up this volume, the anthropologist authors have taken care to bring forth "real" individuals, with their

particular and complex biographies. In this type of person-centered ethnographic writing (Hollan 2001), the dynamism, variation, and uniqueness of Muslim men's experiences are brought to light. Ethnographic accounts are founded on men's stories as they tell them to anthropologists. These stories reveal individual perceptions of facts; they provide knowledge of men's lives and their gendered experience of social and economic pressures; they foreground men's attempt to "do right" as sons, brothers, husbands, fathers, and members of the larger community.

In the quest to uncover Muslim men's lives as lived, these ethnographic stories contest stereotypical narratives and broaden the field to include the voices of men in mainstream society and on the margins. Such studies make the dynamism between men's creativity and agency accessible. The complexity that surrounds these stories demonstrates that among Muslim men there are no particular or formulaic templates. Contemporary gender research, as it addresses men's agency and self-reflection, conveys a sense of liveliness and contradiction in everyday life.

Part I. Muslim Men in Love and Marriage

In many global sites, new forms of masculinity and conjugality are becoming increasingly apparent and are often centered on notions of romance, love, commitment, and nurturance (e.g., Ashcraft and Flores 2003; Falabella 1997; Padilla et al. 2007; Thompson 1985; Wentzell 2013). Changing notions of masculinity and conjugality have been shaped by a number of global forces. First, women's political participation and feminist movements in many societies have encouraged more egalitarian gender relations in both the public and private spheres (Connell 1990; Gutmann 1997). The rise of companionate marriage, which privileges emotional bonds over economic and social reproduction, has been coproduced with these political shifts (Hirsch and Wardlow 2006; Padilla et al. 2007).

This companionate ideal has reached global audiences through the media (Altman 2001), as well as through the spread of global religious movements, some of which call for men to become more faithful, sober, and attentive to family life (Martin 2013; Tuzin 1997; Wentzell 2013). On a more structural level, reforms of the personal status laws governing marriage, divorce, custody, and inheritance are increasingly incorporating notions of gender equity, facilitating

the practice of these emerging ideals and linking them to popular ideas of social modernity (Aboim 2009; Charrad 2001; Esposito and DeLong-Bas 2001; Mir-Hosseini et al. 2013).

The Muslim world has not been immune to this shift toward companionate marriage. Although anthropological studies in Muslim societies have tended to divide marriage into two types, arranged versus love, this division of conjugality into oppositional types is inherently problematic, as many marriages do not easily conform to this dualism. For example, in his study “Love and Marriage in a Sri Lankan Muslim Community,” anthropologist Victor De Munck (1996: 698) noticed that “love can be accommodated to an arranged marriage model,” with many arranged marriages being, in fact, “romantically motivated.”

What might best be described as the “romantically companionate marriage”—in which marital partners look to each other for love, emotional intimacy, friendship, and sexual fulfillment—is clearly emerging as the ideal form across many parts of the Muslim world (Inhorn 1996, 2003, 2012). Scholars have found clear historical precedents for companionate marriage in Muslim societies (Musallam 2009), and the pattern appears to be intensifying over time. As shown in Lila Abu-Lughod’s (2002) path-breaking work on Egypt, the idea of companionate marriage is endorsed today by both liberal secularists and Islamists in the country, with Islamists framing companionate marriage in religious terms.

In the Islamic scriptures, marriage is considered a moral and legal mandate, and adultery is a major sin. While allowing for divorce, Islam clearly extols the virtues of marriage, regarding it as *sunna*, or the way of the Prophet Muhammad, and as the “completion of half of the religion” (Serour 1996). Thus, given the call to marriage, Muslims are among the “most married” people in the world, with more than 90 percent of adults marrying at some point over the course of their lives (Omran and Roudi 1993). Given this marriage mandate, Muslims in general take the call to marriage quite seriously. As noted by Diane Singerman and Barbara Ibrahim (2001: 80) in their study of marriage economics in Egypt:

Marriage is an event infused with multiple meanings in the lives of Egyptians. It is a civil contract between two families with legally binding conditions on both parties. Marriage is a means for consolidation of social status, and in a conservative society, it also provides the only approved access for young men and women to sexual and reproductive partners. In the Arab world in general, and in Egypt in particular,

marriage is considered a “social pinnacle and major turning point in the lives of both men and women,” heralding the transition to full-fledged adulthood.

However, Singerman (2007, 2011) was also the first to describe the significant delays in marriage in Egypt, which she called “wait-hood.” Because marriage is culturally linked to social adulthood, the emerging pattern of widespread delayed marriage—and, hence, delayed adulthood—has resulted in considerable youth frustration in Egypt and across the Middle East region. Singerman argues that in countries like Iran, Morocco, and Egypt, young people are obtaining higher levels of education than ever before; however, education is not necessarily leading to employment.

Focusing primarily on the experiences of young men, Singerman highlights the role of governments in failing to supply sufficient remunerative employment opportunities and the failure of educational systems to adequately prepare young men for the jobs that exist. High marriage and housing costs, and a cultural pattern whereby young people live at home until they marry, have led to a situation of prolonged dependence on parents, as young people are “forced to wait”—for a job, for housing, and for marriage and a family of their own.

Waithood is playing out in demographic terms across the Middle East and in many other parts of the Muslim world. Demographers Hoda Rashad, Magued Osman, and Farzaneh Roudi-Fahimi (2005) show that the average age at marriage for both men and women is generally rising across the Arab world, with more and more Arab women staying single or not marrying at all. Such shifts are also being felt across Muslim societies in South and Southeast Asia (Basu and Ramberg 2014; Jones 2004, 2005; Jones, Hull, and Mohamad 2011). This, in turn, has led to massive declines in Muslim fertility levels—a veritable sea change in family formation, but one that has gone “curiously unnoticed,” according to scholars who have called the Muslim fertility decline a “quiet revolution” (Eberstadt and Shah 2012).

These shifts in marriage and family formation in Muslim societies are, in part, a reflection of rising educational opportunities for women. That is, as education becomes more widely available in Muslim-majority countries, young women have taken advantage of these opportunities and have in many cases begun to surpass the accomplishments of their male peers. For example, anthropologist Fida Adely’s (2012) award-winning ethnography *Gendered Paradoxes*:

Educating Jordanian Women in Nation, Faith, and Progress explores how young Jordanian women are excelling in higher education, often outstripping Jordanian men in their educational achievements. However, the future remains uncertain for both men and women in Jordan, given that education does not guarantee meaningful employment.

Many of these shifts are clearly reflected in the chapters that comprise Part I, "Muslim Men in Love and Marriage." We begin in the Middle East—or, to be more exact, in the Shatila Palestinian refugee camp in the southern suburbs of Beirut, Lebanon. In Chapter 1, Gustavo Barbosa investigates how men come of age and display proper gender belonging, when they are essentially blocked from the traditional trappings of male identity. On the one hand, Lebanese legislation bars their free access to the labor market, forcing them to postpone marriage plans—and thus delaying the acquisition of an essential marker of masculine belonging—and, on the other hand, participation in the Palestinian resistance movement, at least in its military form, is no longer an option for younger generation Palestinian men. Thus, young Palestinian refugee men of marriage age create new ways of being men and forming intimate relationships, as the ethnographic stories in this initial chapter show.

Chapter 2 takes readers to Cairo, where Mari Norbakk explores how young middle-class men talk about love and marriage. On the subject of love, men link it to ideas of chastity, an attempt to transcend bodily desires and formulate love through Islamic ideals. In their expressed hopes and desires for the future, they present their ideals of femininity and womanhood, as well as manhood and masculinity, as they describe how they understand love and the type of relationships they seek. As these young men imagine their future marriages, their wives, and themselves as husbands, they share their dreams and expectations of what the modern, married, middle-class couple should look like.

Chapter 3 by Andrea Chioyenda provides an intimate view of Afghan Pashtun men's changing notions of love and intimacy. His research shows how individual Pashtun men, far from simply implementing a shared set of cultural idioms for an aggressive masculinity, respond idiosyncratically and at times reject privately those aspects that clash with a more tender and nurturing side of their own subjectivity. Through a psychodynamic, in-depth investigation of the subjective states of a select number of Pashtun men, Chioyenda shows how these individuals privately strive for a different expression and performance of their own masculinity, one that in

their wishes should, for example, leave room for a more egalitarian and loving relationship with their wives, for an understanding of romance and sexual desire more attuned to one's personal choices, and for a downplaying of cultural idioms of violence and revenge. These and other different expressions of masculinity among Pashtun men are perhaps precursors to broader social change.

Contemporary forms of Islam, masculinity, and conjugality are the topic of Nancy J. Smith-Hefner's account in Chapter 4. She examines the changing contours and dynamics of masculinity among Muslim Javanese since the fall of Indonesia's New Order government in 1998. During President Suharto's New Order (1966–1998), the figure of the firm but loving patriarch was adopted by the state with a decidedly more authoritarian emphasis. More recently, however, with the spectacular expansion in higher education and the subsequent formation of an expanded Indonesian middle class, new pressures have emerged for Javanese men to assume not only more normatively Islamic forms but also a more affectively responsive companionate intimacy. Thus, marital dynamics among the Javanese middle class are in the midst of change. Today, Indonesian husbands and fathers are trading the "soft patriarchy" of an earlier era for an increasingly central and active role in supporting their wives—even as the *wanita karier*, the "career woman" who abandons her children to the care of others, is eyed with unease and disapproval.

From the changing sociocultural landscape in Indonesia, we move in Chapter 5 to India. In Gauri Pathak's study, she develops the trope of "supportive masculinities" to explain the urban, aspirational, middle class and what women want their male partners to be. This is especially true in the face of polycystic ovary syndrome (PCOS), an infertility-producing reproductive problem that is becoming epidemic in that country. This endocrine disorder has no known cure and affects a growing number of urban middle-class Indian women. Pathak uses PCOS-related infertility issues as a lens through which to examine the gendered experiences and marital relationships of Muslim Indian couples. She shows that "good" Muslim husbands support their wives, even when infertility affects their marriages and aspirations for parenthood.

Part II. Muslim Family Life and Men as Caretakers

As shown in the ethnographic chapters in Part I, contemporary marriage across the Muslim world is moving toward a companionate

ideal—what Inhorn has characterized in her own work as “conjugal connectivity” (Inhorn 1996, 2012). This term is derived from anthropologist Suad Joseph’s (1993, 1994, 2004) groundbreaking research on patriarchal connectivity—or how patriarchy operates through both male domination and loving commitments. In an attempt to index the ongoing strength of family bonds in the Middle East, Joseph argued persuasively that love and emotional commitment exists *within* patriarchal power structures. Patriarchy is evident when senior men (i.e., fathers, uncles, older brothers) exert their dominance and authority over women (i.e., wives, sisters, nieces, daughters) as well as junior males (i.e., sons, nephews, cousins) in the extended family. However, such gendered and aged patriarchy is not antisocial.

As Joseph shows in her ethnographic research from Lebanon, men are socialized to be deeply enmeshed in family structures. Fathers love and care for their children, sons show lifelong commitment to their mothers and sisters, and men love, protect, and marry their female cousins, even if these males are also expected to demonstrate relations of dominance over the women in their lives. According to Joseph, socialization within Arab families places a premium on connectivity, or the intensive bonding of individuals through love, involvement, and commitment. As Joseph (1999: 121–22) writes:

I use connectivity to mean psychodynamic processes by which one person comes to see himself or herself as part of another. Boundaries between persons are relatively fluid so that each needs the other to complete the sense of selfhood. One’s sense of self is intimately linked with the self of another so that the security, identity, integrity, dignity, and self-worth of one is tied to the actions of the other. Connective persons are not separate or autonomous. They are open to and require the involvement of others in shaping their emotions, desires, attitudes, and identities. . . . The concept of connectivity is useful in characterizing the social production of relational selves with diffuse boundaries who require continuous interaction with significant others for a sense of completion.

Joseph notes that connectivity can exist independently of patriarchy and probably occurs in most cultures in which individualism, autonomy, and separation are not valued or supported. In such cultures, family members are generally deeply involved with each other, expecting mutual love, exerting considerable influence over each other’s lives, prioritizing family solidarity, and encouraging subordination of members’ needs to collective interests. Persons

are thus embedded in familial relational matrices that shape their deepest sense of self and serve as a source of security when the external social, economic, and political situation is uncertain (Johnson and Joseph 2009).

Numerous anthropological studies from across the Muslim world explore how deeply connected and rooted Muslim families are, not only in their everyday lives but also in their family values, goals, desires (e.g., Abusharaf 2009; Bowen and Early 2013; Chatty and Rabo 1997; Dahlgren 2010; Dickerscheid, Nawar, and Schwartz 1987; Hoodfar 1997; Jennings 2009; Moors 1995). These studies yield insight into how family members' roles are culturally constructed and how individual men and women, within the context of their families, contribute to the construction of larger social identities.

These conceptualizations of family values, traditions, and ties have led to important ethnographic portrayals of everyday family life, including lower-class families' coping strategies and solidarity in the face of harsh economic conditions (Fakhouri 1984; Ghannam 2013). Focusing on family narratives and the experiences and practices of those who share the same household, this work has shed light on how the Muslim family often serves as a sheltering foundation within which men, women, and children live and share whatever life brings their way (Delaney 1991; Hopkins 2003).

In addition, in recent years, anthropologists working in a variety of Muslim societies have focused on Islam and the family, particularly how Islamic movements mobilize participation through family networks. For example, anthropologist Jenny White (2002), in her work on Turkey, found that the key to Islamists' success lies in their ability to engage in "vernacular politics," tapping into family life within communities and creating bonds and linkages based on mutual trust and understanding. Similarly, numerous scholars demonstrate how Islamic piety and religiosity in everyday life often center on men's and women's lives in the domestic sphere (El Guindi 2008; Meneley 1996). Caring for the family—whether blood relations or religious brethren—is often invoked as a central feature of Muslim piety. Thus, studying Muslim men's religious lives can reveal a great deal about the construction of masculinity, religiosity, and Islamic ethics.

In many ways, recent ethnographies on the "Muslim family man" are a reminder of Joseph's earlier work on "connectivity," which depicted the family as a collection of lives lived *together* in dynamic and ever present *interaction*. In these "new Arab families"—as Joseph and several other anthropologists have chosen to call them (Hop-

kins 2003)—men are active agents, deeply invested in the pursuit and maintenance of a successful family life. Furthermore, *hubb*, or “love,” permeates these family relations, including between spouses, parents and children, and other close kith and kin. The fact that *hubb*—and many other affective terms derived from it—is among the most uttered phrases in everyday life in the Arabic-speaking world (Inhorn 2012; Soueif 2000) reflects the importance of love and its salience for connecting family members and other relations into deeply enmeshed relations of emotion, affection, and care.

Over the past decade, the topic of “care” has come to occupy a central space in the discipline of anthropology. Well-known medical anthropologists Arthur Kleinman and Sjaak van der Geest (2009: 159), forward this powerful definition:

The term “care” has various shades of meaning. Its two basic constituents are emotional and technical/practical. The latter refers to carrying out activities for others who may not be able to do them alone. Parents take care of their children by feeding them, providing shelter, educating and training them, and so forth. Healthy people take care of sick ones and young people of older ones. Technically, this type of care has a complementary character: one person completes another one. “Care” also has an emotional meaning; it expresses concern, dedication, and attachment. To do something with care or carefully implies that one acts with special devotion.

According to Kleinman (2012: 1550), caregiving is central to what it means to be human. “It is,” he says, “the very definition of how families and friendship networks cope.”

Unfortunately, with very few exceptions, care, caregiving, and the affective dimensions that accompany it are almost forgotten features of ethnographies on Muslim family life. At issue here is an intellectual unease about how to develop critical thinking about caring Muslim men who love their children and their wives and who demonstrate concern, caregiving, and nurturance within their families and communities (Inhorn, Chavkin, and Navarro 2014; Naguib 2015). Thus, the ethnographic studies presented in Part II, “Muslim Family Life and Men as Caretakers,” provide refreshing recognition of the ways that Muslim men, individually and collectively, carry out their caregiving roles and responsibilities. In so doing, Muslim men express their hopes, sorrows, humor, and self-reflection about why the provision of care is such an important aspect of their manhood.

To begin, Farha Ghannam in Chapter 6 draws upon ethnographic research in a low-income neighborhood in northern Cairo to look

at how young men learn early on to begin providing for their families. But, as responsible adults, they often struggle daily to provide for their families, often engaging in physically taxing, backbreaking forms of labor to do so. Focusing on two stories—one of a teen learning how to labor and the other of a man in his early thirties who attempts to secure income to adequately support his wife and two children—the chapter considers how the efforts of many men to care for their families are complicated by the challenges generated by Cairo’s rapid urbanization, neoliberal policies, and current unstable economic and political situation. Ghannam’s sensitive chapter clearly addresses masculine emotional trajectories, exposing poor Cairene men’s vulnerabilities, dependencies, and inner conflicts, particularly as they struggle to put food on the table.

In Chapter 7, a study from Iraqi Kurdistan, Diane E. King contextualizes portrayals of and questions about Kurdish masculinity within the context of patrilineal descent. In the Kurdistan region of Iraq, men are expected to support the cloistering of women, overlook intrafamilial violence, and demonstrate through stoicism or other forms of social distance that they do not fear their wives or other female relatives. However, many men depart from these expectations. Embedded as they are in a larger set of moral and legal codes and behavioral expectations, these masculine innovators may be in the process of bringing significant change to the Kurdistan political order of things, creating, in effect, a “new Kurdish man” through their nurturing efforts to build emotionally rewarding relationships with the women in their lives, to protect younger female relatives from male aggression, and to be surprisingly doting family patriarchs.

As Ainur Begim shows us in Chapter 8, experts predicted a resurgence of Islamic practice in Kazakhstan, an oil-rich state in Central Asia, after the fall of the Soviet Union. Twenty-five years later, in the post-socialist period, normative Islamic discourses and practices remain marginal. Low levels of Kazakh religiosity are frequently explained by Kazakhstan’s socialist past and years of state-sponsored atheism. But these explanations largely ignore the rich history of presocialist practices, which were heavily influenced by local pre-Islamic Tengrist beliefs and a nomadic mode of life. These explanations also fail to recognize the authenticity of specifically Kazakh ways of being a man. This chapter thus examines what it means to be a Kazakh Muslim man, particularly by focusing on one middle-aged but unmarried urban Kazakh man and his strong feelings of social responsibility for the care of his extended family members.

Begin argues that caring and providing for one's family and helping relatives and extended kin is one of the main ways in which Kazakh men assert and perform their masculinity.

Similarly, in Chapter 9, Gisele Fonseca Chagas analyzes how conceptions and practices of manhood are produced by Muslim men in Brazil, specifically Arabic-speaking immigrants from Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. Drawing on her work in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba, Chagas focuses on how Muslim men construct their male religious identities and their collective belonging as Brazilian Muslims through notions of care related to their families and their religious communities. In these Brazilian cities, Muslim men—both those raised in the Muslim tradition as well as Brazilian Muslim converts—construct their male religiosity through notions of caregiving, with care for families and communities indexing an authentic, pious masculinity.

In Chapter 10, Guillermo Martín-Sáiz forwards the concept “pious homosociality” to characterize the diverse forms of male companionship and caregiving among South Asian Muslim men of different ages living in Barcelona, Spain. He addresses how the absence of female relatives and the conditions of labor migration shape relationships of reciprocal care among these Muslim men. This includes financial support for housing and maintenance, the provision of job opportunities, and the personal and religious advice that elders usually offer to younger countrymen from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. By focusing on the pious homosociality of immigrant Muslim men engaged in these forms of friendship, caregiving, and mutual aid, Martín-Sáiz challenges images of the quintessential “violent Muslim man,” which has been reproduced over the course of Spanish history.

Part III. Muslim Men in Precarious Times

The challenges facing Muslim men around the world are plentiful. They include various forms of dislocation, uncertainty, social upheaval, and rupture. Indeed, this book comes at a time when millions of Muslim men, women, and children have been driven from their homes by conflict. In its annual reporting of “10 Conflicts to Watch,” *Foreign Policy* described 2017 as a year in which “the world is entering its most dangerous chapter in decades” (Guéhenno 2017). Of the ten most serious conflicts facing the world at the beginning of 2017, seven of them were occurring in and around Muslim-majority

countries, with the number one conflict involving both Syria and Iraq, followed in order by Turkey, Yemen, the Greater Sahel region of West Africa (Niger and Burkina Faso), South Sudan, Afghanistan, and Myanmar, where the Rohingya Muslim population is facing genocide. In reality, the majority of ongoing armed conflicts—some with cumulative casualties in the hundreds of thousands—are occurring in the Muslim world, particularly in Muslim countries of the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa.

Indeed, it is fair to say that no other region of the world has suffered so much war and population disruption due to protracted conflict. For example, by 2011, fifteen of twenty-two Arab League nations—comprising 85 percent of the region's population—had already suffered from complex emergencies due to protracted conflicts (Mowafi 2011). As a result, by 2011, the Middle East had the largest percentage of migrants in the world, the majority of whom had fled from ongoing conflict, persecution, and political instability by crossing international borders as refugees or by becoming internally displaced persons (IDPs) within their own countries.

However, in the aftermath of 2011's "failed" Arab Spring, those numbers escalated dramatically. In a grim pronouncement on World Refugee Day, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reported that 65.3 million people were now forcibly displaced in the year 2015, the majority from the Middle Eastern countries of Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan (as well as Somalia). Conflicts in those countries were responsible for a 10 percent increase in the total number of refugees and IDPs worldwide in 2015—the first year since World War II in which more than sixty million persons worldwide were forcibly displaced.

Furthermore, those men, women, and children who remain in politically tumultuous home countries face disappearing labor opportunities, high unemployment, rampant corruption, military rule, and increasing (although often internalized) rage against governing forces. For ordinary people in many Muslim societies, the certainties of daily life have diminished, as the second decade of the new millennium has brought with it unprecedented levels of economic, political, and social precarity.

How have Muslim men responded? In 2016, a gender advocacy nongovernmental organization (NGO) called Promundo partnered with UN Women (the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women) to conduct the International Men and Gender Equality Study in the Middle East and North Africa (IMAGES MENA) in collaboration with local research partners in four

MENA countries (Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine). Based on quantitative and qualitative research with nearly ten thousand men and women aged eighteen to fifty-nine, the study was the first large-scale survey of its kind to assess the lives of Middle Eastern men on a comparative basis—as sons, husbands, and fathers; at home and work; in public and private life—to better understand how men see their positions as men and to assess their attitudes and actions toward gender equality.

According to the survey, traditional attitudes about gender equality prevail, including among younger generation men. However, the study authors also stressed that at least one-quarter of Arab men surveyed held more open and equitable views, supporting women's economic, social, and political equality. Personal histories, family influence, and life circumstances were among the factors that affected men's support for gender equality. Perhaps not surprisingly, men with higher incomes, with higher education, whose mothers had more education, and whose fathers carried out traditionally feminine household tasks were more likely to hold gender-equitable attitudes. Most interestingly from the standpoint of care, the study saw cause for optimism:

On the positive side, there is also evidence for inter-generational cycles of care: although many traditional norms are reinforced at home, fathers can have a powerful role in breaking these norms. Fathers who encouraged daughters to take on non-traditional professions or to work outside the home, or who allowed daughters to choose their husbands, seemed to contribute to the emergence of more empowered women. (Promundo 2017)

Nevertheless, the study highlighted the tremendous levels of stress in Middle Eastern Muslim men's lives, particularly regarding the challenge of finding paid work and fulfilling the traditional masculine role of a provider in times of economic uncertainty. Unsurprisingly, this was particularly true in countries affected by conflict. The effects of conflict and unemployment were frequently cited as the main reasons for, or aggravating factors in, men's depressive symptoms. One-third to one-half of men in the four countries surveyed reported being ashamed to face their families, because of their lack of work or income.

Although the study report attempted to highlight positive directions and signs of hope for gender equality across the Middle Eastern region, the Western media—in typical fashion—reported the study results in highly negative terms. The British journal *The Economist*

led with this nested series of headlines in its 4 May 2017 edition: “Down and out in Cairo and Beirut,” “The sorry state of Arab men,” and “They are clinging to the patriarchy for comfort.”

Given these ongoing, stereotypical Western media portrayals, it is important to counter with ethnographic research showing how real Muslim men, under considerable stress from war, impoverishment, and flight, are responding in unexpected and surprising ways as they continue to enact their roles as father figures and nurturers. To that end, all of the chapters in the final section of this book, Part III, “Muslim Men in Precarious Times,” examine how Muslim men are living through this historical moment—worrying about the welfare of their families and communities—while attempting to maintain some semblance of their former lives and fundamental humanity.

This section of the book begins in the Central African Republic. In Chapter 11, Louisa Lombard examines the situation of young Muslim men, marginalized and stuck in place with very limited prospects. Some of these men join armed rebel groups, which offer subsistence and some measure of success where opportunities are few. Soumaine Ndodeba—also known by his *nom de guerre*, General Tarzan—is one of these men waiting in a disheartening limbo for a disarmament program that might possibly give him a job. In the meantime, he has found part-time work with a humanitarian organization, caring for children and coaching them in soccer. This rebel warrior, it turns out, is particularly good with kids and has converted his wish to care for and protect into a peaceful livelihood, albeit a temporary one. This chapter thus tempers the literature on stuck youth, and stuck members of armed paramilitary groups in particular, reminding us of behaviors that are changing, specifically the new ways of thinking and doing that, while not necessarily transforming the social status of armed group members, alter these Muslim men’s everyday lives.

In Chapter 12, Vinay R. Kamat takes readers to the coastal villages of rural Mtwara in southeastern Tanzania to examine men’s generational concerns over food insecurity and future livelihoods. There, Muslim Makonde men of different age groups index their consternation regarding the sudden loss of traditional livelihoods and lands. In this region, a transnational gas extraction project has decimated ancestral farmlands, intergenerational coconut trees, and other assets vital to these communities’ welfare. As caring fathers and grandfathers, a majority of Kamat’s interlocutors expressed their main concern that their land and coconut tree losses would affect the lives of their children and grandchildren in the future. Thus,

this chapter throws into relief the intergenerational nature of men's caring sensibilities as they attempt to secure the long-term survival of their families in communities where extractive economies have taken their economic toll.

The final three chapters of this volume zoom in on war, displacement, and resettlement. Chapter 13, by Tina Palivos, is set in the tumultuous political, cultural, and economic conditions in Greece. She describes the plight of Muslim refugee and migrant men who struggle to provide much needed care and protection for their fellow Muslims, both dead and alive. Through the stories of Muslim refugee men residing in Athens, this chapter explores how these vulnerable men confront challenging moral predicaments concerning how to best care for the most vulnerable members of refugee communities and how to prepare the bodies of those who have died for proper disposition and burial.

In Chapter 14, Nefissa Naguib explores the harrowing journey of Syrian refugees who have literally crossed the frigid Russian-Norwegian border on bicycles. She focuses on what she calls "the casualties of fatherhood"—men who are questioning the painful decisions they have made in search of security for their families, taking them to a place where they know no one, and where "we are nobody." What makes men take their wives and children—who don't even own warm clothes—to the coldest parts of the earth? How do such extraordinary journeys shape men's relationships with their children? How are notions of gender, family, and parenthood articulated, and how are notions of caring and nurturing children expressed by these men? These are the difficult questions taken up in this chapter, which focuses a harsh light on Europe's new Muslim refugee crisis.

In the final chapter, Chapter 15, Marcia C. Inhorn takes readers to the United States and to the problems faced by impoverished, infertile Iraqi refugees living in Detroit, Michigan, America's poorest big city. Tracing the history of Middle Eastern wars—especially the U.S. military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan—to the current refugee crisis, she examines how refugees fare once resettled in America. In the United States, Iraqi refugees face discrimination and vulnerability as they struggle to find employment and to rebuild their lives. Iraqi refugees who have fled from war zones also face serious reproductive health challenges requiring in vitro fertilization. Without money to afford these costly services, Iraqi refugee men are caught in a state of "reproductive exile"—unable to return to their war-torn country with its shattered healthcare system but unable to

access affordable healthcare in America. Thus, this final chapter questions America's responsibility for, and commitment to, Arab refugees, mounting a powerful call to end the violence in the Middle East.

Conclusion

Given this particular historical moment, when dangerous stereotypes of Muslim men are circulating freely around the globe, we have a special scholarly responsibility to engage with these dominant discourses and to deconstruct them. The chapters in this book do so by pointing to the myriad articulations of commitment, love, family connection, and caregiving that are manifested by Muslim men in their communities and in diasporic migrant and refugee settings in the West.

As Janice Boddy (2007: 14) writes, "Studies about women are never only about women." So it is that the accounts about men in this book are not only about men. Bringing together the spaces that Muslim men inhabit—from different classes, ages, and social locations—these chapters show that men's life concerns and struggles to fulfill their roles involve complex negotiations of gender that both underpin and undermine taken for granted social and cultural continuities.

When Muslim men are viewed *as men* in detailed ethnographic accounts, their lives are revealed to be interesting, complex, diverse, and often completely different from prevailing stereotypes. As shown in these chapters, Muslim men's articulation of masculinity in practice in a wide variety of global settings reveals their everyday efforts to be "good men," to meet their conjugal and familial commitments, while, at the same time, responding to new forms of precarity. This book's ethnographic foray into real men's lives—their hopes, dreams, and aspirations—showcases Muslim men as sons, lovers, husbands, fathers, grandfathers, neighbors, friends, and community members. It shows that marriage, family, caregiving, and the social reproduction of Muslim societies themselves are changing. Most of all, this book highlights emergent, nurturing forms of masculinity in the Muslim world—humanizing accounts that seem critical in these politically dangerous times.

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Nefissa Naguib is a professor of anthropology at the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo. Her work is motivated by a twofold interest: to understand the contemporary world and to understand the human condition. Naguib has written on the social life of food and water; dynamics of gender, culture, and identity; cosmopolitanism and the politics of memory; globalization; and humanitarianism. She is the author of *Women, Water and Memory: Recasting Lives in Palestine*, coeditor of *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*, and coproducer of the documentary *Women, War and Welfare in Jerusalem*. Her most recent monograph is *Nurturing Masculinities: Men, Food and Family in Contemporary Egypt*.

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