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INTERSECTIONS IN LOCAL AND TRANSNATIONAL SPACES

NAVJOTPAL KAUR

Hegemonic Masculinity, Caste, and the Body

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Hegemonic Masculinity, Caste, and the Body: Intersections in Local and Transnational Spaces

BY

NAVJOTPAL KAUR

*Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of
Sciences, Poland*



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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

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Foreword

“Identity” has emerged as one of the most important categories in social science analyses. The category has moved much beyond its early usage by social psychologists referring to micro-processes of the making of the human “self” through relational dynamics with relevant “others”. Over the years, “identity” has come to be invoked as a useful category for analyzing and understanding questions of power relations in a much broader sense. These range from the spatial contexts of neighborhoods, rural and urban settlements, to the larger collectives of political regions and nation-states.

Identity has also come to be seen as an important axis in popular narratives of everyday social life, particularly in the discussions on relational structures of caste, race, religion, ethnicity, or gender. A focus on identity enables us to look at such collectives as fluid and internally diverse, constituted by power and agency. Speaking about the South Asian contexts, for example, categories such as caste and gender are not merely concrete or objective realities, independent of one another. They actively interact and intersect with each other. It is hard to make sense of one without thinking about the other. In other words, though categories such as caste and gender tend to be popularly viewed as sui generis social facts, in reality, they are socially and contextually constituted.

The novelty of Navjotpal Kaur’s research, presented in this book, lies in her ability to weave together a narrative that successfully works through the complex interplay of identities in the given empirical context. She does this through skillful combination of extensive readings of the relevant texts, a self-reflexive methodological strategy, and a deep empirical engagement with the field.

The operative categories of her research are caste, gender, and spatiality. While a large volume of social science research is available on each of these processes and some scholars have also often pointed to their obvious intersectionalities, they have rarely been studied in conjunction with one another. Navjotpal Kaur’s book attempts this. She brings them together in an innovative way by empirically focusing on Sikh men of the Jatt caste in two very different spatial settings, rural Punjab and urban Canada.

Her method is qualitative, involving mostly interviews and field observations. Most qualitative field studies are carried out in one micro-location. Navjotpal Kaur had her field spread across two very different countries located across two continents. And although her focus was on Jatt Sikh men in both settings, carrying out fieldwork in such diverse settings would have surely been methodologically very daunting. It would have been much easier for her to present a reasonably

convincing image of Jatt Sikh masculinity simply by focusing on the rural and agrarian contexts of their life in the Indian Punjab or by looking at their lives in the diaspora. However, that would not have provided her with the empirical evidence to look at the various aspects of the question and enable her to see its fluidities. Most importantly, it is also a study of “men” conducted by a woman!

Given that identities are always relational and context-specific, how do the identities of Jatt men change when they move from a village in Punjab to a city in Canada? Moving to a foreign land would also imply going away from one’s comfort zone of relationships and the status of being from a family of landowning farmers. What does this do to their identities as men from the dominant caste when they no longer have the privilege of being “dominant” and, in fact, end up being placed at the margins of the local power structure upon moving to Canada?

The new technology and a near-complete shift to commercialized cropping patterns have also changed farming practices and the spatial character of the farm. A new site emerges on the Punjabi farms, the tube-well room. Away from the home and the village, this room is not merely a place from where Jatt men coordinate their work on the farm; it also became a male-exclusive site for recreation where they socialize with other Jatt men, sharing gossip, drinks, and much more. For a desperately indebted male Jatt farmer, sometimes this could also be the place from where he could visualize escape from a life of persistent humiliation, by resorting to suicide. Thus, the pride and privilege of being a man from a locally dominant and hegemonic caste group is also circumscribed by the realities of class and the brutal undercurrents of the market economy.

What about their notions of masculinity? Jatt masculinity is not simply a matter of men exercising power over their women. It is also about their self-image and self-representation, the identities they acquire while growing up in rural Punjab, and the negotiations they have to make when they move out of the rural context. Rural Punjab too has seen many changes. The coming of new technology, the growing popularity of formal education, and the increasing integration of the village with the larger world have changed the aspirations of the younger generation and the very idea of agriculture, turning it into a specialized masculine occupation of the Jatt men. Their women, who used to be actively involved with farming in the past, have come to be confined to their homes, becoming “housewives”. Visualizing masculinity would, therefore, also require simultaneously envisioning the relational identities of femininity. When the Jatt men migrate to Canada, many become dependent on their spouses for their livelihoods and for acquiring citizenship in their new country. How does this change interpersonal dynamics?

Indeed, intercontinental mobility poses many new challenges to the masculinity and caste identities of Jatt men. As is well-known, Jatt Sikhs have been among the most mobile communities of the South Asian region. Unlike many other regions and communities, their migrations were not caused by economic distress. Being the preferred soldiers of the British colonizers, who also classified them as a martial community, Jatt Sikhs traveled with the British army, fighting their wars across the World. While most came back to their native place after the wars, some chose to stay back in the far-off lands. In due course, they also invited

members of their families and kin group to join them for a better quality of life. The success of these initial migrants attracted others from their homelands. Over the years, they have continued to migrate, using every opportunity that came their way, both legal and illegal. Though Sikhs are not a large community in absolute numbers, their settlements have become commonplace across many countries of the world, with Great Britain, Canada, the United States, Australia, and Italy emerging as their favorite destinations.

Life in foreign lands is never easy. Navjotpal Kaur's book provides a fascinating and innovative account of the struggles that the new migrants encounter upon arrival in their new country. With her focus on Canada, she shows how, when the Jatt men travel from rural Punjab to foreign lands, they do not leave their identities of caste and gender behind. But their self-image soon clashes with the realities of life in Canada that they encounter. From positions of privilege, they suddenly find themselves in situations of marginality. Even those of their own caste and religion do not treat them with dignity. Their rural rusticity and masculine disposition become a liability. The new context thus works to alter their notions of the self. Masculine identities of the young Jatt men thus undergo many changes. Even when they continue to see themselves with a sense of pride, in their everyday relationships, they learn to adapt and thus become very different from their brethren in rural Punjab. As she argues in this book, "Jatt men occupy different positions in different aspects of their life", as a result of which "the Jatt male power is contextually evoked, enacted, and contested".

Surinder S. Jodhka
Professor of Sociology
Centre for the Study of Social Systems
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi 110067

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Chapter 1

Placing Myself – Introduction

Identity construction is a complex notion and process. Even though a substantial amount of research conducted over the course of the last few decades has demonstrated that masculinity is not a singular concept or construct – masculinities are plural – the constructions and performances of masculine identities are still heavily influenced by social categorizations. Before I started working in the field of Jat men and masculinities, I did not anticipate discovering a diverse array of Jat masculinity. Here, I make a point of saying “masculinity” rather than “masculinities” since, at the time, I was completely oblivious to the plurality of Jat masculinities. Due to the fact that Jat masculinity has been stereotyped in popular culture and historical traditions in such a way that it is portrayed as an unchanging form of hypermasculinity, one is conditioned to view Jat masculinity through these uncritical lenses solely. This is not to imply that I am ignoring the excellent scholarly scholarship that has proven otherwise – that has shown that Jat masculinity is dynamic as opposed to stagnant and stubborn (Gill, 2012; Kalra, 2009; Mooney, 2011; Roy, 2017).

In my research I found that most Jat men occupied different positions in different aspects of their life – the “Jat male power” was contextually evoked, enacted, and contested. In my search for the Jat masculinity, I have made an effort to combine both the results and the difficulties I encountered while conducting fieldwork into this book. This work attempts a deeper understanding of the heterogeneity and situatedness of modern Jat masculinities in local and transnational contexts. It does so by drawing advice from the previous research that has been done on the topic of hegemony masculinity(ies). In spite of the fact that it has been demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt that masculinities and gender relations are multifarious, the notion that there is one type of (hegemonic) masculinity that predominates over others may appear to be incongruous. According to my understanding of the hegemonization of gender relations, I realize that any type of masculinity has plurality as one of its fundamental characteristics. There is not a single hegemonic masculinity, but rather a number of different hegemonic masculinities. Even if a specific expression of masculinity is regarded as hegemonic within a given spatio-temporal context, it is always internally determined by fragility, tension, and struggle. The present work highlights the tension that exists between the social and historical construction of

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Jat-Sikh masculinities as warrior and hypermasculine; the vulnerabilities and challenges associated with Jat men being farmers, migrants, and transnationals; and the contemporary, neoliberal redefining of them as conspicuous consumers, transnational migrants, among other things (see, for example, Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Walker & Roberts, 2018). What I saw in my work, on the one hand, was the consistent tension between these two constructions and the self-responsibilization of most men to keep enacting variations of these constructions simultaneously – that is, performing contemporary (monologic) masculinities while keeping up with the historical expectations or mutations of those expectations associated with landowners, warriors, and hypermasculine men. On the other hand, there are men who are willing to let go of past conceptions and adapt themselves to the expectations of the modern era by engaging the notion of alternative or dialogic masculinities. Additionally, and importantly, I observed that spatial contexts are influential in determining the construction and performance of masculinity. In the process of understanding where Jat masculinities stand in these contexts, I investigate the intertwined functions of gender, caste, and spatiality.

At the outset, I want to make it abundantly clear that the topic of this book is not the caste system and how it functions as an oppressive system. Neither is it about the agency (or lack thereof) of those who are oppressed; there are already many excellent examples of such scholarly works (if interested, see Gupta, 2004; Jodhka, 2015; Natrajan, 2005; Yengde, 2019). Rather, the goal of this project is to investigate the way in which the ostensibly privileged, more specifically the Jat Sikhs of Indian Punjab, co-construct their sense of space and (masculine) identity with one another. Through the framework of hegemonic masculinity and the Bourdieusian lens of habitus, I am attempting, as part of this project, to capture the performance of, and evolution of, Jat masculinities in the context of the tensions and conflicts described above. I also incorporate theories from the field of transnational masculinities, vulnerabilities, and marginalization to gain a comprehensive understanding of the development and expression of Punjabi/Jat masculinities in both Punjab and Canada.

Placing Myself: My Positionality

Academic researchers play a crucial role in the co-construction of data. Researchers exert significant influence over the expression of gender (and other aspects of their identities) among participants, as evidenced by their involvement in tasks such as designing the study's scope, formulating interview questions, and introducing key language and unspoken norms. This phenomenon has been explored in numerous studies, most notably, by Enosh and Buchbinder (2005), Egeberg Holmgren (2011), and Mac an Ghaill et al. (2013). A significant challenge in research lies in the infeasibility of anticipating or duplicating the interactions between researchers and participants as both entities are required to navigate through social conventions, personal dynamics, and aligned or conflicting objectives within the study's framework. The intricacies inherent in conducting fieldwork and interviews pose a formidable obstacle for researchers when attempting to document actual events. Academic writing conventions often lead

researchers to sacrifice the tone, context, and emotional content of their research narratives, including those of their participants. Female academics encounter an added difficulty of recognizing their gendered identities and experiences in their research without compromising their credibility, thoroughness, and research soundness. This section delves into the predicaments that female researchers, who examine masculinities, may encounter when it comes to portraying themselves, their subjects, and their fieldwork.

I come from a Jat community in the Indian state of Punjab that is primarily rural and patriarchal.¹ As a member of the community, I was deeply ingrained in the gender relations, as well as how masculinities and femininities were performed, and I lacked any critical perspective regarding these topics. On the other hand, as a female member, I frequently experienced feelings of marginalization and found myself in a position that was substantially less advantageous. However, I did not start taking a critical look at the striking contrast between the constructions of masculinities and femininities within the Jat community until after my life experienced a rather dramatic and traumatic event. At that point, I started looking at the Jat community through a critical lens. It is interesting that my first instinct was to grasp the power and privilege connected with Jat men and masculinity, rather than the marginalized position of women (though I do not deny that the two are interdependent on one another). I was interested in looking into the genesis of the much-touted notion of “Jat male power,” including the underlying incentives and contextual factors that contributed to its origins. However, contrary to my expectation of finding a static narrative of the Jat man as hypermasculine, as I progressed in my knowledge acquisition of Jat Sikh masculinity, I discovered the plurality of the Jat identity, such as the Jat man as a farmer, as a soldier, as an emigrant, and as a breadwinner. Not only that, but the multiplicity of the Jat identity in its many forms, particularly in its relation to gender, caste, and spatiality, also emerged as significant components in the equation. I make the conscious decision to employ the term multiplicity rather than intersectionality as [Hames-García \(2011\)](#) argues that multiplicity “understands social identities as *mutually constitutive* (rather than as discrete and separate)” (p. xi; original emphasis). Intersectionality, as a theoretical concept, is a critique of the institutions that generate, allow for, and continue to maintain oppressions and exclusions ([Crenshaw, 2013](#)). When applied to privileged situations, the tools of intersectionality, according to [Hames-García \(2011\)](#), lose their distinctiveness and become less useful. In addition, in the instance of my research into the lives of Jat men, there are, without a doubt, discriminations and oppressions; but there are also all the hallmarks of privilege. Therefore, in the case of Jat men, I use the concept of multiplicity in conjunction with masculinity theories to understand how gender, caste, and spatiality are co-constituted, as well

¹The term “Jat” (alternatively spelled as “Jatt” to emphasize the Punjabi pronunciation) is commonly used to refer to all individuals belonging to the Punjabi farming caste. However, in this context, the term “Jat” specifically pertains to Jat Sikhs. This usage is consistent with local customs, which prioritize an individual’s caste identity as Jat over their religious affiliation as Sikhs.

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as how power and privilege translate into vulnerabilities and challenges in various geographical contexts.

Study Sites and Methods

My participants hailed from the state of Indian Punjab as well as Canada (the Greater Toronto Area, more specifically Brampton). At present, Sikhs make up 57.9% of Punjab's population ([Census of India, 2011](#)). Although caste-based data is no longer collected in the census, except for scheduled castes, it is estimated that Sikh Jats account for approximately 30% of Punjab's total population. This estimation is based on extrapolation from the 1931 census, which was the last time caste-based data was collected. Therefore, studying Jat Sikh masculinities seemed to naturally gravitate toward this particular region. Regarding Canada as a location for research, it should be noted that Canada is considered one of the most desirable places for Punjabis to settle after migrating due to the country's comparatively lax immigration policies and its sizable Punjabi population (see [Walton-Roberts, 2004](#); [George & Chaze, 2016](#)). According to the 2016 Census of Canada, the two cities in Canada with the highest Punjabi populations are Brampton, located in the province of Ontario, and Surrey, located in the province of British Columbia. Due to the large population of Punjabis, most of whom are Sikhs, Brampton is sometimes referred to as "Browntown" or "Singhdale." This is done both in a pejorative manner by those from outside the community and with a sense of pride inside the community itself ([Ahmed-Ullah, 2016](#)). According to [George and Chaze \(2016\)](#), Brampton is also the epicenter of various transnational activities, including but not limited to the presence of international news networks, Punjabi pop culture, and personal or familial transnational links. Brampton's rise to prominence in Punjabi pop culture may be traced, in large part, to the introduction of the Hip Hop and Gangsta Rap musical subgenres to Punjabi music by the late Canadian-Punjabi musician Sidhu Moosewala.² He highlights the life of Jat males in Brampton and their proud, hypermasculine demeanor despite their (perhaps precarious) status as student-migrants in Canada in one of his songs called "B-Town," which has over 40 million views on YouTube ([Patahak & Bhardwaj, 2019](#)). As a result of the major role that Brampton plays for Punjabi men in Canada, which I was able to deduce from the cultural resources I had, I decided to do my research there and in the communities immediately surrounding it. I used interviews with a semi-structured format as the primary approach to collect data, while observation served as a supporting method (refer to the interview guide provided in the appendix).

²Sidhu Moosewala was shot dead by unknown assailants in May 2022 in Indian Punjab. Moosewala was hugely popular among Punjabi youth internationally. His rap music, inspired by gangsta rap, portrays a stereotypical Punjabi (Jat) masculine idol that encompasses hypermasculinity – aggression, violence, conspicuous consumption, nihilism, and a fixation on "thug life" ([Mateen, 2022](#)).

Using a semi-grounded methodology to analyze the data (interview transcripts), I was able to identify core conceptual themes by using open and axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In the process of drafting research questions, I also drew from a past stock-of-knowledge. In addition, I was only semi-guided by the cultural, historical, and theoretical framework of hegemonic masculinities, embodiment, and feminist political ecology. As a result, my method of data analysis was not completely grounded. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory is a type of inductive research process in which a theory is created from a corpus of data in which themes have been uncovered. I considered myself to be an insider because I belonged to the same (Jat) caste as my participants and was therefore conversant with the dynamics and goings-on related with the particular caste group. At other times, I was aware that being a woman in a male-dominated environment made me an outsider. As I reflexively navigated the dichotomy of my positionality, these moments caused a shift in my subject position, which sometimes was a cause of discomfort for me. During the open coding phase, I looked through the interview transcripts to identify any emerging patterns. After reading and rereading the transcripts and continually evaluating the content of the ongoing interviews, I was able to ensure theme saturation (Creswell, 1998). This was accomplished until there was no new information obtained that provided additional insight into the categories. During the phase of axial coding, I mapped, connected, and integrated the emergent themes and theoretical constructs from the data sources into various categories and sub-categories. I did this so that I could better understand the relationships between these elements. I was able to accomplish this by selecting a single concept from the open coding list to serve as the primary focus of my investigation. After doing so, I went back to the interview transcripts to gain an understanding of the text as well as the categories that were associated with the primary focus (Creswell, 1998). To put it another way, I sought out other particular coding categories that were connected to or described the primary phenomenon. The aforementioned procedure was carried out in order to analyze each theme discovered in the open-coding phase.

When conducting qualitative research, it is essential to take into account the researcher's positionality because this determines how the study is designed, carried out, and the findings that are obtained. For example Macbeth (2001), Bhattacharya (2007, 2016), Adu-Ampong and Adams (2020) all refer to reflexivity as an exercise for analyzing and deconstructing the researchers' positionality as well as their personal traits and the intersubjective components that inform and impact the research process. The researcher is prompted to be aware of, and critical of, the context, epistemology, and methodology of the research process when they are required to engage in reflexivity. For example, the researcher can employ a reflective approach to research by thinking on how seemingly unimportant decisions, such as what clothes to wear, what phrases to use, what body language to adopt, and so on, may affect the process. This can be done in order to gain a better understanding of how these decisions may influence the outcome of the study. When a researcher is conscious of the epistemic authority she wields, it instills in the research process a feeling of accountability and transparency. The

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practice of reflexivity is deemed essential for researchers to acknowledge their roles in qualitative research projects and the wider power dynamics that are in operation. The purpose of this reflective analysis is to scrutinize the inquiries that emerge for the researcher in their capacity as an investigator, as well as in pertinent scholarly works, concerning the interplay between female researchers and male participants in qualitative investigations. The objective is to confront the erroneous presumptions about gender that underlie the inquiries and reproaches aimed at the researchers through a critical lens, rather than perpetuating them. The focus of this reflection is to cultivate confidence in personal experiences while simultaneously upholding a degree of skepticism toward the interpretation, appraisal, and application of experiences (see [Jacobs, 2008](#)).

The extant corpus of scholarly literature suggests that male participants employ diverse tactics to assert their dominance during their interactions with female researchers (for example, [Grenz, 2005](#); [Lefkowich, 2019](#); [Yassour-Borochowitz, 2012](#)). Nevertheless, it would be overly simplistic to presume that power dynamics in such situations remain static. Conversely, the power dynamics that are present between the researcher and participant are often intricate and fluctuating. As previously mentioned, my research was conducted from a unique perspective due to my dual positionality. My affiliation with the Jat community provided me with an advantageous vantage point, however, my gender rendered me an outsider in the male-dominated sphere that constituted my research subject. A researcher who is part of the group under investigation possesses an insider's viewpoint and a comprehensive acquaintance with the group members, which can be advantageous in terms of familiarity with the research community. On the other hand, an external researcher may possess the capacity to observe certain aspects of everyday life that may elude internal researchers throughout the investigative process, as well as during the interpretation and analysis of data. The conventional binary classification of insiders and outsiders is limiting, and scholars commonly find themselves in a hybrid position that lies somewhere in between. Both of my roles had advantages and disadvantages at different points in time. As an individual with insider status, it was perceived that certain participants held the expectation that I possessed inherent knowledge about the caste dynamics and, potentially on a subconscious level, refrained from disclosing pertinent information. Due to my gender, certain men refrained from discussing sensitive topics such as sexuality with me, as they experienced discomfort in engaging in such conversations in my presence. Despite facing initial challenges, I was able to engage in reflexive exploration of my positionality and establish trust with the participants. The participants' trust is evidenced by the smoothness of the conversations and interviews, as well as the candid nature of their responses. These responses will be subject to analysis in subsequent chapters.

Organization of the Book

Chapter 2: Are Jat Masculinities Hegemonic?

This chapter explores the theoretical framework of hegemonic masculinity and endeavors to contextualize and comprehend Jat masculinities within this framework. The present study begins by examining the influence of various

socio-historical factors on the formation, enactment, and endurance of Punjabi/Jat/Sikh masculinity. This analysis commences with the colonial period of the British Raj in India, during which Jat Sikh soldiers were classified as martial races, thereby reinforcing the hypermasculine character of Jat masculinity. Subsequently, the focus shifts toward the rural Punjab's post-independence village economy, with an emphasis on the influence of the Green Revolution. This period saw the construction of Jat masculinity as farmers and diligent laborers. Finally, the contemporary migration and transnationalist dimension of present-day Jat masculinity is examined, with a focus on its perceived significance in shaping masculine subjectivities. The present discourse also briefly addresses the embodiment and material culture of Jat masculinity, highlighting the significance of various physical markers that are conventionally associated with the male Jat physique, and are perceived as emblematic of Jat caste. By expounding upon these occurrences and utilizing the framework of hegemonic masculinity theory, I delineate the primary characteristics of present-day Punjabi/Jat masculinity.

Chapter 3: Punjab's Villages as Men's Spaces

This chapter delves into the complex correlation between masculinities and spatiality, with a particular focus on rural areas in the villages of Punjab. This study examines the transformation of the agrarian landscape in Punjab over the last few decades, with a particular focus on the displacement of lower castes and women from this sector. The present analysis identifies various factors that contributed to the transformation of Punjab's agriculture into a male-dominated domain. These factors include alterations in agrarian practices due to the introduction of mechanization, the decline of the *jajmani* system, and shifts in gender and caste relations. This chapter also delves into the contemporary phenomenon of masculinization of spaces in Punjab, with a particular focus on the exclusive reservation of motors (tube wells) for men. Utilizing qualitative data, this study examines the intricate relationship between land and man, specifically with regards to the construction and manifestation of the modern Jat farmer's masculine identity. Ultimately, the present study examines the challenges that farmers encounter in relation to their masculine identity in light of the vulnerabilities that have arisen as a result of the ongoing agrarian crisis in Punjab. The discourse culminates with the illustration of a woman agriculturist in Punjab who was designated as a "farmer" consequent to her husband's demise and the nonexistence of a son. The present discourse expounds upon the strategies employed by the woman farmer in navigating the predominantly male-dominated sphere of agriculture.

Chapter 4: Jat Caste Embodiment

The present chapter elucidates the significance of corporeal customs in maintaining caste affiliations among men of the Jat caste. The utilization of Bourdieu's habitus concept in conjunction with the hegemonic masculinity framework is

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employed to investigate the inscription of Jat caste on men's bodies. This paper examines the importance of investigating the embodiment of caste among Jat men, given their distinctive positionality in relation to their multifaceted identities. Specifically, Jat men occupy a complex intersectional space as a hypermasculine warrior, diligent farmer, and socially privileged upper-caste men. I also utilize Howson's theoretical framework on hegemonic masculinity to comprehend the interplay more carefully between caste and embodiment among Jat men. This chapter employs qualitative data obtained from participants in Punjab and Canada. As such, it presents a transnationalist viewpoint on the manifestation and perception of caste status through embodiment and visibility.

Chapter 5: Agrarian Crisis and Masculinity

This chapter delves into the delicate topic of farmers' suicides in the context of the ongoing agrarian crisis in Punjab, which is said to have been caused by the exploitative and profit-driven agricultural practices that were promoted during the Green Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. The Green Revolution initiative in Punjab can be deemed unsuccessful as it resulted in adverse environmental and societal consequences that outweighed its advantages. The attempt to elevate the social standing of Jat farmers had unintended consequences, as it inadvertently incorporated neoliberal and commercial elements into the subjective masculinities of Jat men. This led to a state of extreme indebtedness and despair within the agricultural sector. As a result, the agricultural predicament was transformed into a crisis of masculinity. This chapter aims to extend the current body of literature on gender and suicide by examining the potential impact of hegemonic masculine principles linked to Jat masculinity on the prevalence of farmer suicides. The present discourse also addresses the phenomenon of youth migration abroad as a means of escaping the agrarian crisis, with particular emphasis on the Jat community. Ultimately, the present study examines the emergence of a novel matrimonial custom that is contingent upon an individual's migratory capacity, in light of the prevailing migration patterns. This phenomenon has led to a slight reversal of gender roles within the Punjabi community, whereby women have become the primary providers for migration, and men have become dependent on them.

Chapter 6: Transnational Masculinities and Migration

This chapter endeavors to expound upon the vulnerabilities that are linked to migration and transnationalism. Drawing upon Wortley's strain model and incorporating bell hooks' conceptualization of patriarchal masculinity, this study examines the factors that contribute to the involvement of Indian youth, particularly second-generation Indo-Canadians, in gang-related activities in Canada. The objective of this study is to contextualize the experiences of student migrants from Punjab within the broader framework of prevalent negative perceptions toward Punjabi youth. This study employs the theoretical construct of "intra-ethnic othering" to examine the perception of Punjabi international students as