In my book *Female Masculinity* (Duke UP, 1998), I found that I had little if nothing to say about the various dominant and subversive forms taken by male masculinity. My resistance to engaging the topic of male masculinities certainly left my project open to questions about the vagueness of the term masculinity itself and possibly created historical problems by failing to develop a model of the production of manliness. However, I argued in *Female Masculinity* that if what we call "dominant masculinity" appears to be a naturalized relation between maleness and power, then it makes little sense to examine men for the contours of its social construction. Male masculinity figured in my project as a hermeneutic, and as a counter example to the kinds of masculinity which seem most informative about gender relations and most generative of social change.

In this essay on "post-imperial" masculinities, I would like to use some of the paradigms generated by my earlier work to examine the impact of other minority models of masculinity upon dominant conceptions of manhood and manliness. I also want to situate the discussion of female masculinity alongside a whole array of alternative masculinities within postmodernity which, when taken together, launch a powerful critique of mod-
ernist or what can be called imperialist masculinity. I raise the question here of whether new and recent representations of British masculinity in contemporary film and literature are capable of generating different models of masculinity, models which address the specificities of working class, black and queer masculinities rather than just absorbing minority masculinity into the ignominy of otherness. I will be ranging back and forth between very different sites of cultural production in a British context all of which seem to point to a contemporary crisis in masculine identity. I start with an example of an imperialist ethnographic narrative about the phenomenon of the football hooligan in Bill Buford's social narrative Among the Thugs and then I turn to a post-imperialist counter-narrative about the same phenomenon in Irvine Welsh's notorious Scottish novel Trainspotting; the last part of my paper considers a recent British comic film about masculinity and class identities - The Full Monty and, finally, I turn to drag king performances in London's Club Geezer. All of these representations of working class masculinities are situated in 1990's Britain but all also reflect upon a fascinating history of British manhood, a history that links colonialism and empire to gender ideologies.

In her ground-breaking book Manliness and Civilization, Gail Bederman has described the rise of middle-class white masculinity in America as the careful deployment of discourses of racial dominance and civilization. A turn of the century boxing match between black fighter Jack Johnson and white fighter Jim Jeffries, she points out, became a racialized contest of virility which, she states, was an example of the "multitude of ways middle-class Americans found to explain male supremacy in terms of white racial dominance and conversely to explain white supremacy in terms of male power." White middle class men aspired to a morally sanctioned model of manhood in the Progressive Era in America while keeping at bay competing...
ците од средната класа се стремат кон етички санкциониран модел на колективитет, додека ги држат на отстојание другите форми на моќна мажественост, какви што се црнечката мажественост, агилноста на работничката класа, дури и женската мажественост како инверзивна форма (иако Бедермен не го истражува последново). Во контекст на Англија, историјата на мажеството различно се внесува преку дискурси, не само за расната доминација, туку и за британскиот колонијализам и империјата, како што би можеле да очекуваме. Натаму, при преминот во новиот век, дебатите за мажественоста во Англија барем делумно биле придружени од општите страхови за дегенерацијата на западната цивилизација и падот на империјата и од специфичната вознемиреност поради ранливоста на мажите од владејачката класа. Судењето на Оскар Вајлд, во овој контекст, повеќе отколку боксерскиот меч, станува символ на британската мажественост која е загрозена и е навистина фрагилна.

Како што покажа делото на историчарот Мриналини Сина, подемот на сексолошкиот дискурс за хомосексуалноста во Британија во 1890-те конинцидира со ориенталистичката категоризација на Индийците како „феминизиран“. Таа во Колонијална мажественост тврди: "Една од придобивките на Колонијална мажественост е да покаже дека претставата од доцниот деветнаесетти век за англиската/британската мажественост или за бенгалската/индиската феминизираност, не може да биде разбрана од рамката на дискретните „национални” култури; наместо тоа, тие треба да бидат разбрани преку односот што го имаат еден спрема друг и како конституенти." Сина корисно го истакнува и тоа дека скорашните дела за британската мажественост „не успеале да ја ословат целосната импликација за империјалната заснованост на британската мажественост“ (10). "Британската" мажественост, на крајот, никогаш не е само или дискретно британска; таа е повеќе резултат на потпорни компаративи, за силување, подмолности и преговори меѓу мажките субјекти и моќните колонијални системи. Работата врз пост-империјалните мажествености мора да ја земе предвид историјата на англиската мажественост од дванесеттиот forms of powerful masculinity in the form of black masculinity, working class virility and even (although Bederman does not explore this) female masculinity in the form of inversion. In an English context, the history of manliness has been differently inflected through discourses of not simply racial dominance but also British colonialism and empire as we might expect. Furthermore, turn of the century debates about masculinity were mobilized in England at least in part by general fears about the degeneration of Western civilization and the decline of empire, and specific anxieties about the vulnerability of ruling class masculinity. The trial of Oscar Wilde, in this context, rather than a boxing match became a symbol of a threatened and indeed fragile British masculinity.

As the work of historian Mrinalini Sinha has shown, the rise of a sexological discourse on homosexuality in Britain coincided in the 1890’s with the Orientalist characterization of Indian men as “effeminate.” She argues in Colonial Masculinity: “One of the contributions of Colonial Masculinity is to demonstrate that late nineteenth century notions of English/British masculinity or Bengali/Indian effeminacy cannot be understood from the framework of discrete “national” cultures; instead, they must be understood in relation to one another, and as constitutive of each other.” Sinha also usefully points out that recent work on British masculinity has “failed to address the full implication of the imperial constitution of British masculinity” (10). “British” masculinity, in the end, is never simply nor discretely British; rather it is the result of sustained comparisons, enforcements, abjections and negotiations between and among masculine subjects within colonial networks of power. Work on post-imperial masculinities must acknowledge the twentieth century history of English masculinity as precisely this history of overlapping national and colonial agendas; but, it also requires a shift in focus to the contemporary period where we have seen, in recent years, an efflorescence of representations of reinvigorated masculinities. These representations fall into two different categories: nar-
1. Among the Thugs: Imperial Masculinities

Between 1890 and 1920 in England, notions of both working class and ruling class masculinity underwent huge shifts and changes. As Seth Koven shows in an essay on "Boy Life, National Culture and Social Reform," the category of the "rough lad" during this period was transformed into the category of the "hooligan" and, he writes, "boy life became a convenient shorthand for the assumption that working class, adolescent, urban male behavior was necessarily a social problem."6

While working class masculinity presented one kind of social problem, homosexual masculinity was another; and as Koven signals in his essay, growing fears of sexual perversion created new forms of surveillance of the relations between men and boys. New laws prohibiting male homosexuality were instituted at the turn of the century even as sexological studies struggled to articulate the naturalness of homosexual instinct. These new social, legal and medical definitions of normative and non-normative masculine expressions of desire coincided furthermore with the ravages of the First World War and a noticeable decline in British colonial power. Large scale shifts in demographics, in immigration, in national discourse and in sexuality and gender definitions brought to visibility diverse expressions of minority male masculinities. Sexological discourses of inversion even allowed for the possibility of non-male masculinity by attributing the cause of same-sex desire to a congenital gender disorder. Female homosexuals, therefore, were those women who felt themselves to be essentially and even physi-
и ја допуштаат можното за немашика мажественост, со тоа што причината за желбата спрема истои пол му ја припишуваат на вродено родово нарушување. Оттука, женските хомосексуалци биле онее жени кои за себе сметале дека се во сушина, дури и психолошки, мажествени, а машките хомосексуалци биле онее мажи кои за себе сметале дека во сушина се женствени. Инверзивните дискурси имаат контрадикторни ефекти врз родовата идеологија: од една страна, тие ги стабилизирале машката женственост и женската мажественост како главни означувачи на хомосексуалноста, а го натурализирале хетеросексуалниот желбен модел; а од друга страна, ги одвоиле женственоста од жените, а мажественоста од мажите, па допуштиле природно да се појави родова варијантност.

За време на Првата светска војна, сознанијата за сексологијата имале длабоки импликации за стотици војници кои од фронтот се вратиле боледувајќи од различни форми на исцрпувачка хистерия, а во исто време, стотици жени, или ги презеле машките работи на домашниот фронт, или баране да возат амбулантни возила на фронтот. Со оглед на тоа дека машката женственост дефинитивно била врзана со хомосексуалноста, машката хистерия била особено вознемирувачка невроза, а биле идни женските мажествености биле дефинитивно врзана со женската хомосексуалност, партиципацијата на жените во машките задолженија била причина за грижа околу влијанието на новиве задолженија врз "женскиот карактер". Би можеле да кажеме дека импотентниот и хистеричен маж (на пример Септимус Смит во Госпојата Деловеј на Вирџинија Вулф, Профрок на Т.С. Елиот и Ралф Сајн во Мимичарот на Вирџинија Вулф) го прогонуваат модернизмот кај него како што вамирите и духовите го прогонуваат претходната генерација. Т.С. Елиот му даде единствен израз на очакувањот на белешката мажественост во опаѓање: „Ние сме шупливите мажи, маса без облик/ Парализирана сила, гест без движење”.

DURING WORLD WAR 1, THE INSIGHTS OF SEXOLOGY HAD PROFOUND IMPLICATIONS AS HUNDREDS OF MALE SOLDIERS RETURNING FROM THE FRONT SUFFERED FROM VARIOUS FORMS OF A DEBILITATING Hysteria AND, AT THE SAME TIME, HUNDREDS OF WOMEN EITHER TOOK OVER MASCULINe JOBS ON THE HOME FRONT OR PETITIONED TO DRIVE AMBULANCES AT THE FRONT. SINCE MALE FEMININITY HAD BEEN TIED SO DEFINITIVELY TO HOMOSEXUALITY, MALE HYSTERIA WAS A PARTICULARLY TROUBLING NEUROSIS AND SINCE FEMALE MASCULINITY HAD BEEN TIED SO DEFINITIVELY TO FEMALE HOMOSEXUALITY, THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN MASCULINE OCCUPATIONS GAVE CAUSE FOR CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPACT OF THESE NEW OCCUPATIONS ON "FEMALE CHARACTER." WE COULD SAY THAT THE IMPOTENT AND HYSTERICAL MAN (VIRGINIA WOOLF'S SEPTIMUS SMITH IN MRS DALLOWAY, T.S. ELIOT'S PRUFROCK AND V.S. NAIPAUL'S RALPH SINGH IN MIMIC MEN FOR EXAMPLE) AND THE VIRILE WOMAN (RADCYFFE HALL'S STEPHEN GORDON IN THE WELL OF LONELINESS, WOOLF'S ORLANDO) HAUNT MODERNISM ALMOST AS VAMPIRES AND GHOSTS HAD HAUNTED AN EARLIER GENERATION. T.S. ELIOT GAVE SINGULAR EXPRESSION TO THE DESPERATION OF A WHITE MASCULINITY IN DECLINE: "WE ARE THE HOLLOW MEN, SHAPE WITHOUT FORM, SHADE WITHOUT COLOR/PARALYSED FORCE, GESTURE WITHOUT MOTION." ELIOT MAY HAVE INTENDED HIS PRUFROCKS AND HOLLOW MEN TO WARN SOCIETY OF THE RUINOUS EFFECTS OF A DECLINE IN TRADITIONAL STANDARDS OF MANLINESS, INDEED TO RING IN A NEW ORDER OF MALE POWER, BUT IN FACT, ELIOT'S WORK ACTUALLY CREATED A VAST LEXICON OF MALE CRISIS, A RESERVOIR OF IMAGES AND METAPHORS, PHRASES AND DESCRIPTIONS OF MASCULINE FALLIBILITY WHICH WE STILL DRAW UPON AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.
Rosemary M. George, in a very important discussion of the relationship between modernism and the emergence of global literatures comments precisely upon this trope of masculine crisis as absence or a hollow center; in both colonial and postcolonial works, she argues, “masculine failure is endemic to the very colonial situation.”. And George turns to the work of Joseph Conrad to demonstrate the reach of even the most colonial records of male fragility. Eliot’s poem, “The Hollow Men,” borrows the image of the empty male self, of course, from Conrad’s paradigmatic record of colonial and imperial fears of impotence, *Heart of Darkness* and a quote from the novel frames the poem: “Mistah Kurtz, he dead.” Conrad’s novel about the brutality of the civilizing mission has been both critiqued and imitated many times over the last 80 years, and it still retains its power as both a paradigmatic expression of Western superiority and a scathing attack on modern methods of colonial governance. George situates Conrad helpfully as “an important starting point for a non-western understanding of the west” (89) and as “the fictional originary for a whole genre of international twentieth century writing in the English language” (90). Indeed, George argues that Conrad’s texts remain “alive” as both colonial and postcolonial documents in “their “reincarnations,” that is, in the novels and films they have engendered” (90). For example, in a cinematic remake of *Heart of Darkness*, *Apocalypse Now* uses the narrative of the lone male navigating his way into chaos and nightmare to recast the English and Belgian colonial occupation of the Congo as the American neo-colonial occupation of Vietnam. In *Apocalypse Now*, we find the lingering remains of the colonial mindset that informed Conrad and Francis Ford Coppola deploys a system of imperial logic within which “order” and “bureaucracy” are established as representative of civilized rule and “disorder” and “chaos” are marked as the primitive terrain of the other.
Додека Џорџиното дело се обидуваше да ги содржава придонесите на Конрадовото дело за современата литература, _Срцето на темината_, се разбира, почесто е читано како канонска артикулација на империјалната жестокост, во која империјалистичкиот мажки субјект изискува друга, подмолна жестокост, за да се оправда колонијалната интервенција. Токму ваквата артикулација на империјалистичката жестокост во _Срцето на темината_ ја наведува Чинуа Ачиби да тврди за Конрад: "Никој не може да ја види во тоа апсурдна и перверзна арогантност, улогата на Африка да се редуцира на потпора за кршењето на един малко Европски ум?"10 Читајќи друга преработа на _Срцето на темината_, сакам да ја проследам Џорџината идеја дека Конрадовиот текст ја овозможува современата интернационална литература, но имајќи во видот фактот дека тие, ако не и повеќе, би можеле да произведат современ жанр кој само ќе ја репродуцира колонијалната логика што Конрад ја исцртува во својот роман.

While George's work tried to recognize the contributions of Conrad's oeuvre to the development of world literature, _Heart of Darkness_ is, of course, more often read as the canonical articulation of imperial masculinity within which the imperialist masculine subject requires an other, abject masculinity to justify colonial intervention. It is precisely this articulation of imperialist masculinity in _Heart of Darkness_ that leads Chinua Achebe to assert about Conrad: "Can nobody see the preposterous and perverse arrogance in thus reducing Africa to the role of props for the break-up of one petty European mind?"10

In a reading of another contemporary rewriting of _Heart of Darkness_, I want to pursue George’s idea that Conrad’s texts enable a contemporary international literature but also keep in mind the fact that they are equally, if not more, likely to generate a contemporary masculinist genre which simply reproduces the colonial logics that Conrad maps out in his novel.

Prвиот говор на Марлоу во _Срцето на темината_ го опишува Лондон обвиткан од магла и заглавен во историјата. "И тоа," рече Марлоу, "беше едно од мрачните места на земјата."11 Прогонувачките зборови на Марлоу, кои како да се излезат од многото претходни конверзации и други нарации, лесно би можеле да бидат почетни во прочутата книга на Бил Бафорд од 1990 _Меѓу силеџи_. Бафорд, уредникот на англиското литературно списание ГРАНТА, ја напишал _Меѓу силеџи_ како наративен резултат од времето што го поминелмеѓу фудбалските навивачи во Англија. Сепак, наместо да го цитира Конрад во почетокот на својата нарација, тој го цитира лорд Баден-Пауел, основачот на извидниците, кој го оплакува опаѓањето на англиската жестокост во 1908 поради трансформацијата на атлетите во спортски навивачи. Откако ќе го опише феноменот на раниот дванесетти век, кога потрошувачки толпи сочинети од "бледи, тесногради, подгрбавени, ми-

Marlowe's first speech in _Heart of Darkness_ describes a London shrouded in fog and stymied in history: "And this also," said Marlowe, "has been one of the dark places of the earth."11 Marlowe's haunting words which seem to spill from a multitude of prior conversations and other narratives could as easily open Bill Buford's celebrated 1990 book _Among the Thugs_. Buford, the editor of an English literary magazine GRANTA, wrote _Among the Thugs_ as a narrative account of his time spent among football fans in England. Rather than citing Conrad at the opening of his narrative, however, Buford cites Lord Baden-Powell, the founder of the boy scouts, lamenting the decline of English masculinity in 1908 on account of the transformation of the athlete into the sports fan. After describing the early twentieth century phenomenon of paying crowds made up of "pale, narrow chested, hunched up, miserable specimens" flocking to watch football matches, Baden-Powell demands: "Get the lads away from this--teach them to be manly."12 Obviously, Baden-Powell's
words are cited by Buford as an ironic reminder of the history of masculinity and its imbrication in sports and football in particular; however, as his narrative unfolds and as Buford descends into England's present heart of darkness—the world of the football thug—it becomes more and more obvious that Buford shares Baden-Powell's imperial conception of manliness as the civilized's man's compulsion towards order, vigor, activity, rugged individualism and self-restraint.

On the back cover blurb to Among the Thugs, Bill Buford is credited as a brave explorer who "enters an alternate society" of soccer hooligans "and records both its savageries and its social allure..." Buford himself describes his English encounters very much in terms of a descent into a savage territory peopled by bestial characters with names like Mutton Chops, Barmie Bernie, Daft Donald and Steamin' Sammy. These football fans are variously described as "fat," "bloated," "puffy and bloodshot." His first encounter is with a Manchester United fan called Mick whom he describes in the following terms:

He had a fat, flat bulldog face and was extremely large. His t-shirt had inched its way up his belly and was discolored by something sticky and dark. The belly itself was a tub of sorts, swirling, I would discover, with liters and liters of lager, partly chewed chunks of fried potato, and moist, undigested balls of over-processed carbohydrate. His arms—puffy, doughy things, were stained with tattoos (26).

Mick, in this description, defines excess. He has too much flesh, unmoving and doughy flesh at that; he is an indiscriminate consumer of bad food which then marks the body as un-nourished and unhealthful. Mick is also reduced to his un-sighty body parts as Buford moves from describing his "fat flat face" to commenting upon "the belly" as if it existed separate
from Mick himself. Similarly, Mick's arms are barely recognized as attached to Mick, they are instead “puffy, doughy things” which like his t-shirt have become “stained.” Mick in this description is not much different from the “black shapes,” the shadowy native figures which people Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*.

Buford presents his book to the reader, and indeed it is generally received as, an account football hooliganism which forms an alternative to the moralistic social science literature (of which there is a vast archive) which diagnoses the ills of British society through the figure of its most spectacular failure: the lager lout. Buford claims that his use of a set of personal voice narratives, as opposed to a sociological objective account, is best suited to represent the mercurial and explosive nature of “the crowd” in relation to the phenomenon of soccer hooliganism. He further argues that the social science literature views crowd violence in reductive ways as either “symptomatic of the rot of our times” or else “fundamentally no different from what it was yesterday.” Buford then goes on to distinguish his narrative from these accounts by apparently rejecting the notion that crowd violence always represents the violence of the other, instead, he claims, “the crowd is in all of us” (249). In one passionate passage Buford asks us to contemplate why we always think the crowd is elsewhere:

It is easy to dismiss an incident of crowd violence in South Africa or India, countries that removed in both geography and culture, are manifestly not us; it makes sense--does it not?-- that there, among the 'underdeveloped,' the 'underprivileged,' the 'uncivilized,' the primitive (our nineteenth century metaphors reemerge) there would be mob violence. But it is as easy to dismiss the violence outside the doors of our homes. Here, now, in England, in London, down a side street, not far from the center, there is a crowd assembling, but that crowd, we will insist, is not us (186).
This is a complicated passage if only because Buford seems to be completely aware of the nineteenth century logics of civilization and development which sub tend the characterization of working class youth in England. But when push comes to shove, literally, when the violence, in the thug slang, “goes off,” Buford finds himself on quite the other side of this critique arguing over and over that though he may be among the thugs, he definitely is not one of them; though the crowd ultimately may be in them, it is not and never has been in him. Buford’s flight of lyricism, moreover, echoes an Eliot poem, one of his Four Quartets, “Little Gidding,” where Eliot writes about the bombed out England of World War 2 and finds that England has been transformed from the seat of empire to the world’s end:

There are other places
Which also are the world’s end, some at the sea jaws,
Or over a dark lake, in a desert or a city—
But this is the nearest, in place and time,
Now and in England.13

“Here, now in England,” writes Buford, “in London, down a side street, not far from the center...” we will find a crowd, a mob, an insensible mass of otherness. “Now and in England,” writes Eliot, we will arrive at the end of the world, we will arrive “where we started/And know the place for the first time.” While Eliot, at least, acknowledges the end of empire, the end of exploration, the end of the search for the world’s dark places and while he at least recognizes, like Conrad, that this too “has been one of the dark places of the earth,” Buford seems shocked some forty years later to find that England is not the land of sweetness and light but a home to random violence, thug community and the ignominy of the crowd.

Among the Thugs is a compelling and compulsive read which moves to the rhythm of the football crowd and is punctuated by its continuous cycle of drinking, singing, fighting and puking. The narrative, as I have suggested, presents itself as an important record of one particularly repulsive form of nationalist skin head masculinity embodied in those figures variously referred to as “lads,” “hooligans” and “thugs.” The real agenda of
the narrative however is a spirited defense of another form of masculinity that we can call imperialist masculinity and that functions precisely by drawing essential and definitive distinctions between the "bloated code of maleness" inherent to working class masculinities and the writerly and civilized codes inherent to middle-class masculinity however it may be defined. The book is rife with images that will the reader to recognize, notice and approve the shape and force of Buford's difference from the "miserable specimens" that surround him. Throughout the narrative Buford depicts himself as simultaneously repulsed, fascinated and contaminated by the violence he witnesses; but, ultimately, he fears that he will be drawn over the brink into complete dissolution. In the book's closing pages, he recoils from the violence and the horror of yet another crowd scene in which rabid English lads tear through the streets of Sardinia during a World Cup match, chased by the Italian police. In this brutal denouement, Buford finds himself curled up on the streets being beaten by Italian officers with truncheons and wondering why they have not recognized him as clearly not a thug. As he records the memory of each blow to his kidneys and head, he also recalls the thought that comforted him in the middle of the trauma of being beaten: "All of this was exceptionally painful, as would be expected, but my experience of it was different from that of the others who were being beaten up. Their experience was one of simply pain. For me, it was more complicated, because I knew that I would be writing about it" (307).
The practice of the thugs was considered by the English in India to be an elaborate kind of conspiracy since it combined quasi-religious secret fraternities with elaborate religious ritual and a hereditary system of membership; indeed, English men were so fascinated by thuggee that a number of novels appeared fantasizing about the life and times of the thug: and the best known of these is the supposedly ethnographic narrative Confessions of a Thug inscribed by Philip Meadows Taylor.\(^{15}\) In all of these accounts, as Parama Roy comments, few attempts were made to provide thuggee with political or economic motivations. However, as Roy adds, “twentieth century scholars of colonial history have sought to posit alternative, more materialist histories of the phenomenon” (123). These other more materialist explanations see the thugs as either people working

normative and non-normative masculinities; and third Buford’s uninformed deployment of the term “thug,” an appellation with its own imperial history.

Dejstvuvaneto na indiskite sileci, Anglikanite vo Indija go smetalе za usovrшен vid zagovor, biddeki gi kombinirali kvazireligiosnite tajni bratstva so usovrsheniот religiosen ritual i nasleden sistem na chlenstvo; navistina, angliskite majki bile tolku fасцинирани od indiskoto razbojnistvo, што se pojaviле mnogo roman sе fantazirane zaживотite i vremeto na ovite sileci: najpoznata meju niv e bojemno etnografskata naracija Исповеди на разбоиникот, zapisana od Filip Medouz Tejlor.\(^ {15}\) Во сиве овие записи, коментира Parama Roj, биле napraveni malku obidi na indiskoto razbojnistvo da mu se dadat politichki ili ekojsonski motivacija. Sepak, kako se dodava Roj, “современите ученици на колонијалната история сакале да дадат алтернативен, поматеријализ-
againt colonial rule who had been displaced as rulers by the colonial powers, or as local groups, almost mercenaries, hired by neighborhoods for protection. What these accounts stress is that the English conceived of Thuggee as irrational, brutal and essentially criminal because such a depiction contributed to, as Roy puts it, “the still emerging project of discovering India.” Because thugs were secretive and difficult to track down, English colonial police solicited confessions from informers and then used their accounts to establish the “truth” of the thugs, to identify potential thugs but also to justify the project of colonial rule.

What are the implications of this colonial history for the contemporary phenomenon of documenting the football thug? First, in both contexts thug violence is essentialized to particular bodies, families and regions. Second, in both cases, thugs are used to justify extreme police violence but also to test drive certain policing techniques. Third, in both cases, the favored policing technique is that of ethnography. Thus, we can talk about a Thuggee archive in India made up of colonial accounts and novels about thugs and confessions by thugs; but we can also think in contemporary terms of a social science soccer “thug archive” in England made up of texts, narratives, security plans and police documents. Finally, the use of the term thug in relation to both the young soccer fan in England and the Indian bandit maps a particular colonial history of the relations between outlaw and dominant masculinities. The term “thug” maps a racialized and colonial plan of governance developed in India and then brought home to rule the dangerous lower classes. In a post-colonial England, the thug is no longer over there, he is here and the techniques for controlling and knowing him developed in India are deployed at home.
Buford's narrative, particularly since he is not English but an outsider, an American, contributes to the thug archive, an archive which produces the caricature of the dumb, bestial and savage football fan in order to glorify and reinvigorate middle-class masculinities after the decline of empire. While the crowd, for Buford, represents a herd mentality rather than anything as dignified as a political collectivity, his own individualist rejection of the crowd signifies to him not as an elite act of differentiation, but as a heroic gesture which confirms the essentially civilized and orderly nature of the middle-class man who writes rather than fights. No longer the hollow man, “shape without form, shade without color/Paralysed force, gesture without motion,” the imperial masculinity recorded by Buford revels in its proximity to but separation from what he calls the “anticivilized” excitement of “being in a crowd in an act of violence” (193). Buford thrills to the manly vigor of the crowd but simultaneously insists that the thrill is borrowed, a flair of obsession that confirms his masculinity and yet threatens to obliterate him. Ultimately he runs back to what he calls “this state of being a citizen, of being civilized.” And he continues: “I see it as a net that holds me in place, keeps me from falling” (193). As he peers into the void—violence, the crowd, the toothless mouth of a thug—Buford knows that he has arrived deep in the heart of darkness and that he will survive to tell the tale.

2. Trainspotting and The Full Monty: Post-Imperial Masculinities

In this next section of my paper, I want to look at a different narrative of British masculinity, one told not by a subject desperately holding on to his place in an ordered universe but by male narrators who make impotence, humility and the loss of masculine authority into the very essence of their stories about late twentieth century masculinity. Recent scholarship in several different disciplines has tried to address the possibility of a new politics of manhood but all too often these new and
именуваат можностите за нова политика на човештвото, но многу често овие нови и различни концепти за мажите и мажественоста ја наметнуваат идејата за решавање на „кризата” на мажественоста. Филип Брајан Харпер во својата влијателна книга за црнечката мажественост, Не сме ли мажи, за цел го има токму овој метод на дијагностицирање на болестите на машиот род: „кога пошироката култура смета дека во африканско-американското општество има перманентна „криза” на црнечката мажественост, заелипеното решение секогаш е вистинска афирмација на авторитетот на мажот - црнец.”17 Ова сфакање дека дестабилизацијата на мажественоста резултира со криза и дека кризата изискува моментна консолидација на машиот авторитет, го поткрепува она што јас го нарекувам империјална мажественост. Од друга страна, постимперијалните мажествености одбиваат да му се потчинат на сфакањето за кризата на мажественоста и намерно одбиваат да го зацврстахт машиот авторитет; наместо тоа, тие активно придонесуваат за него разјаснување.

Given the serious, dark, dire and moralistic tone of Buford's modernist account of the white working class punks and thugs in England, who threaten to push the nation to the brink of anarchy, it is interesting to note that the sites I have chosen to represent post-imperial masculinities all happen to be comic. These wickedly parodic refusals of male authority contrast depressing and earnest tales of middle-class white manhood to irreverent, self-deprecating, foul-mouthed and humorous stories of post-imperialist masculinities. For example, Irvine Welch's notorious punk classic novel Trainspotting (also made into a film in 1996) depicts the trials and tribulations of unemployed Scottish youth seeking some escape from Thatcher's Britain, (unemployment and blistering poverty) with ferocious humor and wit.18 Renton, the novel's anti-hero and one of about five narrators in the text, refuses the usual developmental trajectory of narrative progression and spends his time shuttling back and forth between the ecstasy of drugs and the agony of boredom. He undergoes no period of maturation, he makes no progress, neither he nor his mates learn any lessons, no one quits the bad life and ultimately many of them die from drugs, HIV, violence, neglect. Renton explicitly acknowledges his re-
fusal of a normative model of self-development and turns this refusal into a bitter critique of the liberal concept of choice:

"Suppose that ah ken aw the pros and cons, know that ah'm gaunnae huv a short life, am ay sound mind etcetera, etcetera, but still want tae use smack? They won't let ye dae it. They won't let ye dae it, because it's seen as a sign of thir ain failure. The fact that ye jist simply choose tae reject whit they huv tae offer. Choose us. Choose life. Choose mortgage payments; choose washing machines; choose cars; choose sitting oan a couch watching mind-numbing and spirit-crushing game shows; stuffing fuckin junk food intae yir mouth. Choose rotting away, pishing and shit-eing yersel in a home, a total fuckin embarrassment tae the selfish, fucking-up brats ye've produced. Choose life. Well, ah choose not tae choose life. If the cunts cannae handle that, it's thair fuckin problem. As Harry Lauder sais, ah jist intend tae keep right on to the end of the road..."

Renton’s choice to not choose “life” situates him in radical opposition to modes of masculine respectability but also gives him space to expose the contradictory logic of health, happiness and justice within the post-welfare state. In this brilliantly wicked speech, Renton justifies his choice of drugs over health as a choice “not to choose life,” where “life” signifies in his words: “mortgage payments, washing machines, cars, sitting on the couch watching mind numbing and spirit crushing game shows, stuffing junk food into your mouth, rotting away in domesticity.” Society, he tells us, “invents a spurious convoluted logic to absorb people whose behavior is outside its mainstream” (187); within this logic “life,” a numbing mode of domestic passivity constitutes a better moral “choice” than a life of drugs and drink; this same logic offers the armed forces to young men over street gangs and marriage over sexual promiscuity.
Even in his intellectual moments, Renton’s theorizing is driven by a deliberate refusal of masculine authority, a self-conscious rejection of the logic of methodical argumentation; Renton selects the curse rather than rational thought as his analytic tool. For example in a scathing diatribe against the English for colonizing Scotland and the Scottish for letting them, he rants: “Begbie and the like are fucking failures in a country ay failures. It’s no good blaming it on the English for colonizing us. Ah don’t hate the English, they’re just wankers. We are colonised by wankers. We can’t even pick decent, vibrant, healthy culture to be colonized by. No. We’re ruled by effete arseholes. What does that make us? The lowest of the low, the scum of the earth. The most wretched, servile, miserable, pathetic trash that was ever shut into creation. I don’t hate the English. They just get on with the shit they’ve got. I hate the Scots” (78). Renton’s diatribe may not win points for its inspirational qualities; however, it is a mean and potent critique of British colonialism on the one hand and of the falsely optimistic rhetoric of anti-colonial nationalism on the other. In a very different context, Lisa Lowe has called writing which refuses the binary of colonialism versus nationalism as “decolonizing writing” which she calls “an ongoing disruption of the colonial mode of production.”

Trainspotting, a Scottish decolonizing novel, envisions drugs, theft and violence as the only tools left to the colonized and working-class males of Edinburgh’s slums.

This novel, unlike novels aimed at fortifying imperial masculinities, reveals an increasing dissatisfaction with the conventional plotting of both the present and the future in terms of either utopia or dystopia and Welch forces us to come up with other more complex mappings of space and time. Michel Foucault in an article called “Of Other Spaces” develops the notion
нечент „За другите простори” го развива концептот за „хетеротопија” како альтернативна историја на просторот. Фуко искртува конвенционален модел на историја во која минатото го претставува просторот на мртвите, а иднината, просторот на можносците. Сепак, тој тврди дека веќе не можеме да ставиме јасни граници меѓу минатото, сегашноста и иднината - живееме во време на симултаноста - „во епоха на јукстапозицијата, епоха на блиското и далечното, на едно-до-друго, на распрснатото.”20 Животот, во овој модел, не е едноставно пат што се протега во иднината, туку мрежа од односи, точки, крстосници - овој концепт на времето и местото е произведен од различни идеологии и различни сфакања на субјективноста, во која единствениот поим за индивидуата и нејзините слободи нема смисла, билејќи слободата на едно место предизвика неслобода на друго. Рентоновото легендарно отфрлање на малограѓанскиот живот во претходно цитираниот говор, на пример, изразува таков модел на време и место, избор и угнетеност. Тој го препознава лажното ветување за индивидуално здравје и среќа на начин на кој индивидуалните слободи покриваат многу систематски начини на угнетување.

Foucault defines heterotopia with reference to certain special spaces that “have the curious property of being in relation with all other sites.” Such heterotopic sites function “either in order to contradict, neutralize, mirror or invert” the sites they juxtapose. And he lists as examples: mirrors (a place that neither simply reflects, represents nor refracts); boarding schools (a place where crisis and transition is managed through disciplinary regimes); asylums/prisons (places to separate out deviant individuals from the normative population).21 In other words, heterotopia are either illusionary spaces that expose “real” spaces as even more illusionary (the brothel exposes the unreality of heterosexual marriage; the asylum reveals the failures of civil society); or peripheral places which function as compensatory sites which accommodate the failures of “normative” space (the colony as compensatory site for the nation state; the prison as compensatory site for the criminal justice system).
Interestingly enough for our purposes, Foucault also describes the train as a heterotopic space. He writes: "a train is an extraordinary bundle of relations because it is something through which one goes, it is also something by means of which one can go from one point to another, and then it is also something that goes by..." In *Trainspotting*, the train between London and Edinburgh is a heterotopic space which connects two sites, two capitals, two tourist havens but which also stops along the way and maps a relations between London, Edinburgh and all the places in between. Begbie and Renton take the train together and with disastrous results in a chapter called "Inter Shitty." This title makes a joke out of the relations between time, space and transport by folding city into "shitty" which makes an external journey across the country into an internal journey through the bowels.

Welch repeatedly refers to the "internal" in *Trainspotting* as not psychic but intestinal; and all the discourse on inner life in this novel revolves around the body as a heterotopic space for consumption and production of shit and "pish" and vomit.

"Inter Shitty" is told through the rabid consciousness of Begbie who constitutes the voice of outrage and raw violence in the novel as well as what gets called "fascism" in the book. His nicknames, "Franco" and "Generalissimo" pointedly link him with the violence of authoritarian rule. As Renton and Begbie sit on the train drinking, Begbie comments that the train should not stop anywhere between Edinburgh and London: "it should jist be Edinburgh to London, end ay fucking story" (113). Within his authoritarian framework, only two places exist for him - where he is and where he is going, all other places are useless "shitties." Begbie, as usual, begins a fight on the train. He becomes enraged by the fact that many empty seats cannot be occupied by him or his mates because they are reserved for other travelers due to board the train in other cities. Begbie calls the reservation system a "fucking liberty" (114) and continues in his own unique and horrifying voice about the class politics of the train:
"Aw they booked seats. Fuckin liberty, so it is. It should be first fuckin come, first fuckin served. Aw this bookin seats shite...ah'll give the cunts bookin fuckin seats" (114). Here Begbie is marked as both a particularly vicious bully and as a harsh but relevant critic of bourgeois respectability. His analysis actually reveals the privilege of a bourgeois sense of entitlement whereby one can take up space without even being in it.

The novel's title, *Trainspotting*, takes its name from the harmless boyhood occupation of watching for trains in small towns across Great Britain. Freud writes about the fascination that trains hold for boys as a sexual fascination with the particular motion and "sensations of movement" brought on by the train ride. Freud writes: "It is a puzzling fact that boys take such an extraordinarily intense interest in all things connected with railways, and at the age at which the production of phantasies is most active (shortly before puberty), use those things as the nucleus of a symbolism which is particularly sexual."22 For boys, according to Freud, the train represents both a phallic symbol and the motion of sexual activity itself. The activity of "trainspotting" then becomes less of an asexual hobby and more of an autoerotic or homoerotic activity. An encounter between Begbie and his father at the site where the old "Central Station" of Leith used to be, becomes all the more relevant then, when the old man says to Begbie and his mates: "What yis up tae lads? Trainspotting, eh?" Begbie rejects his drunken and down and out father here at the site of male sexual awakening calling him a "fucking auld cunt" and striding away. The rejection of the father is more than simply the resolution of an oedipal complex; in many ways, it represents the rejection of male sexuality itself. Few of the Skag Lads in the novel engage in any form of "successful" sexual interaction and most of the time they are more interested in drinking of doing drugs than in sex. The deserted station at Leith, haunted as it is by the ghost of Begbie's father and the lost past of male sexual promise, represents now the break down of male lines of authority and inheritance; the disintegration of phallic power and the end of trainspotting.
"Trainspotting" is just one of a handful of new British films and novels which inhabit the consciousness of the thug in order to allow the "empire to speak back." We should not be surprised, moreover, that when the empire does reply it is in the form of Caliban's curse: filthy and slang-laden, colored by spite and rage. While *Trainspotting* takes aim at respectable masculinity by refusing domestic manhood and bitterly critiquing the dominant forms of masculinity embodied in the soldier, the police man, the business man and the father, it still anchors its new forms of masculinity to violent and unruly males, schooled in homophobia, racism and sexism and licensed to kill. *Trainspotting* ultimately, articulates a minority masculinity that is bound to dominant masculinity by virtue of representing its opposite; this counter-masculinity still cannot acknowledge the possibility of a masculinity forged from gay and female bodies. Another post-imperial masculinity text, however, *The Full Monty*, directed by Peter Cattaneo, fully explores the possibility of depicting male humiliation and humility without blaming women and without representing a decline of masculine strength as the result of the rise of a corrosive and castrating form of feminine power.

*The Full Monty*, starring Robert Carlyle (who played the terrifying but humorous Begbie in *Trainspotting*) takes place in the aftermath of the decline of Sheffield’s steel industry. The film opens with a short documentary, a public service film, which recounts the glory of Sheffield's steel works in the early 1970's. The film begins some 20 years later when the steel works have closed and thousands of steel workers are unemployed. Steel, in this film, work as a metaphor for past models of masculinity,
masculinities dependent upon “hard bodies” to use Susan Jefford’s term but, the decline of the steel works also serves as a grim reminder of the ravages of Thatcherism on British nationalized industry.23 Many men in Sheffield are out of work while their girlfriends, wives and mothers who work in the service industry still have jobs. The economic disparities between the blue collar men who are now unemployed and the blue collar women who retain their service jobs shifts significantly and irrevocably the coordinates and meanings of gender and sexuality. When a Chippendale’s show comes to town, some of the local lads decide that they should try and make some money by stripping and erotic dancing. Amazingly, the process of developing a show throws the men into a series of dilemmas which we almost never associate with masculinity but which have come to define femininity: the men worry about their bodies, their clothes, their ability to dance, their desirability.

The film opens with a series of assaults upon male privilege: the film’s protagonist, Gaz, is unemployed and struggling to make custody payments to his ex-wife in order to maintain a relationship with his son. Dave, his mate, has, in the words of his wife, “given up” and resigned himself to redundancy at work and at home. Gerald, the former boss of Gaz and Dave, cannot bring himself to tell his wife that he is out of work, so he leaves for work every morning and heads to the job center, desperately hoping to find work before she finds out that their money has run out. The conventional masculine roles of father, husband and breadwinner are all under serious pressure as the film begins and masculinity is defined from the outset as a category threatened on all sides by redundancy.

As Gaz and Dave return home one day after a hard day of stealing scrap metal from the old factory, they encounter a long line of women waiting to be admitted to the Working Men’s Club where the Chippendale dancers are performing. Gaz slips into the men’s bathroom through a window to survey
se vovira vo maslickot toalet za ottram da ja gleda scenata nameneta „samo za jeni“. No, pred da dobime vistsinska shansa da ja gleda veličestvenata scena vo koja stotifici jeni vikaat i skokaat po striipzerot, tri jeni odat kon maslickot toalet za da ja izbegat redicata pred jen- skiot. Gaz se protnuva vo edna pregrada i gleda niz dupleka od vratata. Dodeka Gaz tuka e vo pozicija chto se cini deka e tradicionalno maska, pozicija na vojaer, ona chto go gleda radikalno gi menuva rodicite ulogi na gla- dacite. Gaz najprvin e zadovolen od toa chto gi gleda jenite kako maslickot toalet go pretvoraat vo jen- skipostavki shinka pred ogladaloto. Gi gleda niv kako se gledaat себеси. Sepak, pred negovi очи, scenata naglo se menuva od jeniska scenata na izlozenost, kon maska scenata na aktivnost, koga edna od jenite go podignuva zdolnishesh- tetot i stojejki urinira vo pisodorot na zadovolstvo na prijatelkite. Mesto da se ograni奇i jednostavno na psiko- analitichkiot model na kastraциja ili jenски фалицизам, ovaa scenata, spored mane, registrira otfrlanje na nekolku sfakaša za rodicite: prvo, odbiра da ja obelежi maska- kostata kako mesto na seksualiziran vojaerizam, a vtoro, ovaa scenata gi sugeriira efektite na duri i slucajna инвазиja na maskojot svet od strana na jenite. Конечно, рамката на кадарot - што го лоцира мажот коjто se крие zad vratata, dvete jeni pred ogladaloto i onaa pred pis- odorot - ja predviduva temata na pogledot што ke биde elaboriранa во филмот и ke kulminira во последната слика.

The growing redundancy of old forms of gender relations and old forms of masculinity is underscored in The Full Monty by this abrupt but irreversible reconfiguration of the male gaze. In Hollywood cinema, the male gaze structures the look of the viewer and allows for the male spectator to identify with activity in the scene and to desire the female who is positioned as the object of his gaze/desire. The masculine woman in this scene, the woman at the urinal, restructures the male gaze by insisting that the male gaze be routed through alternative modes of masculinity. In the men's room scene, then, Gaz can peer voyeuristically at the women in the mirror only if he also looks at the woman at the urinal. Gaz's struggle, here and in other key scenes of watching and being watched, indicates how thoroughly
male-female relations have been transformed by changes at the level of economy and labor practices. It would be inaccurate however to say that the lack of economic power exercised by the working class men of Sheffield “castrates” them; rather, it allows them to see themselves, rather than women, as the subjects who represent and figure lack.

When Gaz reports back to his friends at the unemployment office about what he has witnessed in the men's room, their responses record unfamiliar forms of male paranoia which are inflected less by rage at women and more by a sense of the impending redundancy of heteronormative maleness once masculinity circulates through different bodies. Gaz himself suggests: “When women start pissing like us, that’s it, we’re finished Dave, extincto.” Another man adds: “They’re turning into us...in four years men won’t exist except in zoos, obsolete, dinosaurs, yesterday’s news...like skateboards.” This theme of male self-deprecation reaches its nadir when Dave and Gaz find a man trying to kill himself in his car. The rescue and resuscitation of the suicidal character, Lamper, is unsentimental and yet it precipitates a strong fraternity between men in trouble. The fraternity crosses class lines when the lads recruit their former foreman Gerald to be their dance instructor. His ballroom dance skills, once the mark of a refined and respectable masculinity, now become the basis for a new male collectivity inspired by disenchantment and exclusion but productive of a new model of maleness centered upon masculine display and vulnerability.

The dance fraternity grows in numbers when Gaz and his new friends begin auditions for their stripper troupe and they find two more members: a black man named Horse and a
Judith Halberstam

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gay man named Guy. The Full Monty hints at alternative constructions of masculinity and associates them through these characters with race and sexuality. The character of Horse, despite his name, manages to rise above the stereotype of a black masculinity anchored by a huge phallus and it is the gay man, generically called Guy, who assumes the role of alpha male in the group. Furthermore, when Guy begins a relationship with Lamper, their alternative versions of masculinity only persuade the other men that dominant masculinity (like the dying steel industry) is a totally bankrupt form.

The film ultimately suggests that when men and women reverse places socially, financially and even culturally, the effects are not all bad. Women with power, we discover, do not simply behave like men, they cultivate their own relations to masculinity and femininity and they encourage the men around them to do the same. Similarly, disempowered men may easily fall into conventional concerns about impotence, but they also learn lessons in objectification. In a hilarious scene at Gerald's where the men first try stripping in front of each other, a whole array of issues come up about embodiment. When Dave confesses that he feels fat and out of shape, Gerald shoots back: "Fat is a feminist issue you know." The men proceed to give Dave and each other advice about dieting and working out. The fact that this scene takes place in the 'posh' suburban home of the former foreman also recalculates the class differentials within the group and the relationships between men and domesticity. Just as we find women in the men's room at the working man's club, so we find men at home during the day discussing body issues.

One final scene suggests how new conceptions of masculinity can and indeed must be routed through feminism and the female body. Gaz steals a copy of Flashdance in order to give his dancers some sense of what good dancing should look like. But as the film begins, Dave peers at the screen in wonder...
кога ќе почне филмот, Девз зјапа во екранот чудејки се поради почетната сцена кога Џенифер Биле, ноќна танчерка, денски заварува во фабриката. Глетката на женска танчерка како заварувач, како и сликата на жената пред писоарот, уште еднаш ја предизвикуваат идејата за жената како изложен предмет, но креираат и неприродна слика на женска мажественост, што можите сега да ја достигнат. Мажественоста низ целот филм Како од мајка родени е прецизно заварена форма на заедништвото на мажественостите на помалите групи. Конечно, овој филм за мажите под притисок креира нови стандарди за опишуване на мажественоста во водечките филмови, а завршува со табуизираната претстава на машката голотија. Во својата конечна успешност, оваа британска комедија открива дека мажественоста на помалите групи може да ја прикаже мажественост на помалите групи точно како опасен мит за потенцираната, неранливоста и насилството. Последната сцена што треба да ја сочи главната финта на соблекувањето, всушност одбира да го открие фалусот при тоталитетот на массетата; финалето на машкиот стриптиз е сликано од зад сцената и статичниот кадар ги фаци шестима мажи одзади и целата толпа жени што врескаат. Така, целосниот приказ е овој кадар што ја вклучува жената како воајер, а машкото тело е изложен, а според формата и содржината тој е одек на поранешната сцена со жената пред писоарот. Во обете сцени го гледаме само фалусниот субјект одзади и во обете сцени погледот на жената е извлечено преку погледот на жената. Двете сцени заедно го сочинуваат "the full monty".

3. Кралеви и чудаци: Заклучок

Би сакала да завршам така што ќе го исполнам ветувањето од мојот наслов и многу накратко ќе се осврнам врз империјалната мажественост на женскиот травестит. Иако Како од мајка родени ја замислува можноста жената да ја употреби и да ја отелотвори мажественост, овој филм се задоволува со тоа ваквата примена да ја опишет на начин на полов пресвртување. Во мојот заклучок, сугерирам дека изведбите на женските травестити прават повеќе од имитирање на машката мажественост at the film’s opening scene of Jennifer Beals, dancer by night, welding by day in a factory. The spectacle of the female dancer as welder, like the image of the woman at the urinal, challenges once more the idea of woman as an object of display but also creates the uncanny image of a female masculinity that the men must now emulate. Masculinity throughout The Full Monty is precisely welded together from a collectivity of minority masculinities. This film, finally, about men under pressure creates new standards for the depiction of masculinity in mainstream film and it ends by referencing the taboo representation of male nudity. In its final flourish, this British comedy reveals that minority masculinities can expose mainstream masculinity as a dangerous myth of potency, invulnerability and violence. The final shot which should constitute the “money shot” of “the full monty” actually refuses to make the visibility of the phallus into the totality of maleness; the finale of the strip show is filmed from the back of the stage and a freeze frame captures the six naked men from behind and the crowd of screaming women full on. The full monty then is this shot which includes the female voyeur looking and the male body on display and it echoes in form and content the earlier shot of the woman at the urinal. In both scenes, we only see the phallic subject from behind and in both scenes the gaze of the male voyeur is routed through the gaze of women. The two scenes together make up the full monty.

3. Kings and Geezers: A Conclusion

I'd like to end by fulfilling the promise of my title and referencing very briefly the post imperial masculinity of the drag king. While The Full Monty imagines the possibility of women deploying and embodying masculinity, it was content to depict such deployments in the mode of sex reversals. In this my conclusion, I suggest how drag king performances do more than imitate male masculinity or deploy the signifiers of dominant masculinity from a recognizably female position. Rather drag king masculinities remind us that masculinity is
or at the risk of indulging in the signifiers of dominant masculinity from the recognizable feminine position. Masculinities of these drag kings do not suggest that masculinity is best studied in those performative arenas where it leaves the male body altogether.

On the night that I attended Club Geezer in London there were at least 300 queer people in a crowded pub. Lesbians, gay men, straight people, transsexuals and transgender people all sported a lively mix of mustaches, goatees, sideburns, full beards, suits, ties, leather daddy gear, and construction uniforms. The theme, of course, was "geezer," and the evening predictably led up to a "Geezer Contest" to award prizes to the best geezers in the crowd. The Geezer contest featured an array of Benny Hill type stand up comics, a lip-synching impersonation of Liam Gallagher from Oasis, a strip act within which a king stripped off one layer of clothes to reveal yet another layer and a scene from a James Bond film. Geezer, of course, references a peculiarly British brand of masculinity that may loosely translate in American vernacular as "a man's man." Club performer Jewels, himself a geezer-style drag king, defines geezer as "a cocky wide-boy who's full of confidence and a bit too flash." Drag king performer Stanley elaborates on this definition: "I think geezer references a particularly repulsive laddish English masculinity." Some of the butch drag kings suggested in interviews that the drag king space gives them room to flirt with excessive versions of masculinity but also to break down the essential connections between masculinity and maleness. Jewels explains that the Geezer show, for example, was an opportunity to take on a particularly crude form of masculinity. Jewels says: "Most geezers are men, some are women, some are drag kings. But it is one of those masculine roles that is completely divorced from identity."

By performing precisely the "laddish" forms of masculinity that were so reviled in Among the Thugs, the drag king...
show draws our attention to both the liabilities of thuggish masculinity and the insidious construction of the thug in the popular imagination. Through a form of loving parody, the drag king geezers make visible how the working class man has been turned into a repository for the most glaring failures of male masculinity in general. Like the men in *The Full Monty*, the drag kings deploy performance and masculine display to unhinge masculinity from maleness, maleness from phallic power and phallic power from social legitimacy.

This paper has compared some select modern and postmodern, imperial and post imperial forms of masculinity and argued that the time is upon us for a thorough going rearticulation of masculine norms. The particular configurations of class and race and sexuality in post-colonial Britain allow for a range of extraordinary representations of fragile and vulnerable masculinities. In *The Full Monty* the power of the female gaze shatters the myth of male self-sufficiency and male perfection, and insists upon a new form of masculinity that is powerful and pleasurable without relying upon conventional modes of misogyny. In *Trainspotting* the Skag lads revel in their abjection and refuse outright the respectability of ideal manhood; and the drag kings at Club Geezer relay the most performative aspects of male masculinity through their own female masculinities. As we enter a new century, the abject forms of masculinity so feared by male modernists—the gay man and the virile woman among others—have come to define millennial masculinity. Eliot’s nightmare vision of apocalypse at the close of “Hollow Men,” may indeed be the soundtrack to a new beginning: “This is the way the world ends, This is the way the world ends, this is the way the world ends, not with a bang but a whimper.”
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The Sunday Observer Magazine, on the other hand, published a lead article in June 1999 which concluded, "There's so much trouble with boys, we discover, is not really a problem inherent to maleness of social power, rather it is a problem with the ways boys are treated. While I am heartened by the fact that the English press notes that there is some trouble with boys, I think that the tendency to seek therapeutic rather than political solutions needs to be tempered by other popular discourses which seek to refashion dominant masculinities.

NOTES

1 Lisa Lowe has written about the relationship between dominant and minority cultures as "unstable and unclosed." In an extremely useful articulation of the dynamic motion of hegemony, Lowe writes: "We might say that hegemony is not only the political process by which a particular group constitutes itself as "the one" or "the majority" in relation to which "minorities" are defined and know themselves to be "other," but it is equally the process by which various and incommensurable positions of otherness may ally and constitute a new majority, a counter-hegemony." Lisa Lowe, Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1996): 69.

2 On a trip to London in the Summer of 1999, I was surprised to find the newspapers full of articles about an apparent full-fledged crisis in masculinity. The Sunday Observer Magazine for example featured on its cover a picture of a naked male baby with the caption: "Oh dear - it's a boy," and a subtitle: "But is that really such bad news?" Inside there were numerous articles in a nine page special spread about bringing up boys. Some commented on recent surveys which show girls excelling at school and boys lagging behind; others suggested that girls were easy children to raise, boys meant trouble. A boy, we learned from the lead article, was more likely "to fail at school or to lose his job, more likely to have an accident, more likely to be violent or to be the victim of violence than a girl." However, this same article concluded, "there's a lot we can do to change this future. And in the end few of us would want to change Harry. Vive la difference, and thank heaven...for little boys." Neil Spencer, "The Trouble With Boys" in The Sunday Observer Magazine (June 20, 1999): 15. The optimism here is both puzzling and disturbing - the trouble with boys, we discover, is not really a problem inherent to maleness of social power, rather it is a problem with the ways boys are treated. While I am heartened by the fact that the English press notes that there is some trouble with boys, I think that the tendency to seek therapeutic rather than political solutions needs to be tempered by other popular discourses which seek to refashion dominant masculinities.

3 Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1995):


5 Sinha, for example, focuses upon formulations of masculinity that emerge out of legal controversies in British India at the end of the nineteenth century such as the Ilbert Bill Controversy. The Ilbert Bill tried to give native officials some kind of criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects in India, and was met with great resistance from British colonials living in India.
Сина, на пример, се фокусира врз формулаците за мажестета што се појавуваат поради легалните контроверзи во Британска Индија кон крајот на деветнаесеттиот век, каква што е контроверзоста во всрска со Илберт Бил. Илберт Бил се обидел на локалните власти да им даде некој вид криминалистичка јурисдикција во Индија, па се соочил со голем отпор од британските колонијалци што живееле во Индија.


This peculiarly generative quality to Conrad’s texts makes them suitable for sequels and adaptations. George discusses Kazuo Ishiguro’s The Remains of the Day as one remarkable remake of Heart of Darkness, and V.S. Naipaul's A House for Mr. Biswas as a retelling of Aymayer’s Folly.

As quoted by Rob Nixon in London Calling. Nixon argues for the more obvious reading of Conrad as a writer who enables the dissemnations of colonial culture.


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14 Parama Roy, "Discovering India, Imagining Thuggee" in Indian Traffic (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998?):
15 Philip Meadows Taylor, Confessions of a Thug (18??). (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19??).


19 Lisa Lowe, Immigrant Acts: 108. Очигледно е дека тука Лоу зборува за азиско-американските текстови и за нивната многу специфична врска со историјата на американскот империјализм во Азия. Сепак, "деколонизираното пишување" секако може да примени како објаснуващ поим во текст како Возовите минуваат кој со другите текстови го дели "повекеслојниот и повекецентричкиот напад врз... специфичните форми на колонијално владеење."


21 The cemetery is one of Foucault's prime examples of heterotopic space since it is transformed over time from being a place to honor the power of the church, to a place to preserve the memory of the individual, to a place associated with disease and illness; at the same time, the cemetery moves from the church side to the outskirts of urban areas. Other heterotopic sites include but are not limited to: the theater, the cinema, the garden, the fairgrounds, motels, ships, brothels, entertainment parks, malls, and most important for my purposes here: trains.
