



CHAPTER

13

GEOGRAPHIES OF GENDER: FEMINISM AND MASCULINITIES

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Feminism

Globally speaking, it is a man's world. Infant mortality rates for girls are unnecessarily higher than boys in some parts of the globe due to the lower status of women and the lesser value placed on their lives. One out of every three women on the planet will be subjected to sexual or physical abuse during her lifetime. Two-thirds of the world's illiterates are female. Women, particularly young women, have higher unemployment rates than men, earn less money than their male counterparts, and hold positions of little or no authority in the formal economy. They also produce more than half of all food stuffs in developing countries without any pay. No country in the world has 50% of its national government composed of women, and on average, only 17% of the world's elected parliamentary members are female: women are under-represented in the world's governments and political parties (United Nations, 2000). In terms of birth, health, education, economy and politics, opportunities and power are different and unequal between the sexes.

Even in Canada, where women have made numerous advances and achievements (Table 1), and many people assume women are on an equal footing with men, disparities persist. A person has a much higher likelihood of living life poor as an adult if born female: women comprise the majority of the poor in Canada, with one in five women living in poverty (Statistics Canada, 2000). Although women comprise about forty-six percent of the country's labour force, less than eight percent are its top managers: nearly half of the companies listed in Canada's stock index do not have females—not a one—on their board of directors (Maich, 2005). On average women earn just 80 cents for every dollar earned by men (*The Daily*, 2002). Half of all women in Canada have experienced at least one act of physical or sexual violence since the age of 16: females comprise the vast majority of the victims of sexual assault (86%), harassment (78%) and kidnapping or abduction (67%) (Status of Women, Canada, 2005). Only thirty percent of full-time academics at Canadian universities are women (University Affairs, 2005). Less than one in five seats in the House of Commons in Ottawa has ever been held by women, a mere sixteen percent, and yet this is the highest proportion to date in our nation's history. Within Canada, and across the world, women are disadvantaged relative to men.

But of course there are disadvantages for men, too: males have shorter life-spans than females; they have higher incidences of life-threatening diseases, higher suicide rates, and higher substance abuse rates. North American men also have higher murder, assault, and battery rates and incur two-thirds of the work related injuries. They tend to have fewer intimate friendships and spend less time with their children than women, in part because of time spent at work. It may well be a man's world but such a place comes with grave disadvantages for *both* women and men. What accounts for such differences and inequalities between men and women? What kinds of spaces and places are created by these differences in gender and power? And how might geography help to understand such differences and work toward eradicating these inequalities?

As noted in Chapter Four, one of the challenges of contemporary human geography is to examine cultural identities through the lens of power to see how those identities are socially and spatially constructed, negotiated, resisted or maintained. In this chapter the identity examined is **gender**—the socially-constructed and learned characteristics and practices attributable to femininity and masculinity—and the geographies that are created, and help to create, gendered identities, differences and inequalities between and among men and women. Like the identities of ethnicity, language and religion, gender is practiced by people in specific spaces, creating places that both reflect and perpetuate those identities. Both places and people are *engendered* with differing feminine and masculine qualities which impact social and spatial relations between and among the sexes. To appreciate how geographers study gender, this chapter will address the fundamental principles and key concepts of feminism, their emergence in human geography, and the kinds of methods used and the topics addressed within '*feminist geographies*.' As will be shown, this field has given rise to another closely related area of research, the '*geographies of masculinities*,' which together comprise what is termed broadly the '*geographies of gender*.' Most of the literature and examples used are drawn from Anglo-geography, specifically Canada, the United States and Great Britain, but gender issues do span the globe.

Feminism: Key Concepts

Feminism is a widely misunderstood and misrepresented perspective. To some the term and its ideas are passé, part of the women's liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and hardly necessary in today's equalitarian society. And yet, as the statistics in the opening paragraphs of this chapter attest, equality among the sexes is far from universal or complete. To others, the term is synonymous with females of a particular sexual orientation and an extreme hatred for all men. This position is grossly unfair, and is as outrageous as claiming that all heterosexuals are opposed to homosexuality, or that all members of, say, a particular religion support the views of an outspoken fundamentalist with zero tolerance for opposing views and other religions. And there are still others who mistakenly assume that to be a feminist requires one to be female. Again, this is simply not the case. Cultural ideas and practices—like any system of belief—may be adopted by any one: there is no biological pre-requisite: males can be—and some males are—feminists, just as some women are not. So just what is 'feminism' and how does it relate to geography?

At its root, feminism is an ideology—a system of belief—which recognizes that inequality between the sexes exists, and that this inequality must be eradicated. In the simplest of terms, it is a matter of human rights: males and females should have equal access to the same kinds of power and opportunities. Just as there are many variations in how democracy is practiced—parliamentary democracy in Canada versus the presidential democracy of the United States—or the many strands of Christianity—there are over 1,000 different Christian faith groups in North America alone—feminism,

TABLE 1

A Century of Women's Advancements and Achievements in Canada

- 1897 - Clara Brett Martin became Canada's first lawyer and the first woman to practice law in the entire British Empire.
- 1916 - Emily Murphy became Canada's first woman judge.
- 1918 - Canadian women (except First Nations women) obtained the right to vote in federal elections.
- 1921 - Canada's first woman MP elected, Agnes Macphail; British Columbia passes Canada's first maternity leave legislation.
- 1925 - Divorce law changed to allow women to divorce husbands on the same grounds as a man: adultery.
- 1928 - Canada's Olympic Team included women for the first time.
- 1932 - Dr. Elizabeth Bagshaw directs Canada's first family planning clinic, which was illegal at the time.
- 1936 - Ottawa nurse Dorothea Palmer was arrested for telling women about birth control.
- 1943 - There was a massive influx of women into the paid labour force, taking over many traditionally male jobs while men were away at war.
- 1947 - Canadian women no longer lost their citizenship automatically if they married non-Canadians.
- 1951 - Ontario enacted Canada's first equal pay legislation. Other provinces followed suit.
- 1955 - Restrictions on married women in the federal public service were removed.
- 1960 - Aboriginal women (and men) obtained the right to vote in federal elections.
- 1968 - The Presbyterian Church first ordained women.
- 1969 - The distribution of information about birth control was decriminalized.
- 1970 - Women organized a cross-country "Abortion Caravan" to demand access to abortion services without charge.
- 1972 - Rosemary Brown became the first Black woman in Canada to be elected to a legislature.
- 1973 - A hundred years after women weren't allowed to enroll or graduate from most universities, Pauline Jewett becomes the first woman President of a co-educational university, Simon Fraser, in Burnaby, B.C.
- 1974 - The RCMP hired its first woman member, one hundred years after an 1874 magazine stated, "Woman's first and only place is in her home."
- 1978 - Laws changed so that women could no longer be fired for pregnancy in federally-regulated industries.
- 1980 - Nova Scotians elect to office the first female leader of a provincial party, Alexa McDonough.
- 1981 - Women protest and win the inclusion of women's rights in Canada's new Charter of Rights.
- 1983 - Rape laws were broadened making it a criminal offence for a man to rape his wife.
- 1983 - The Canadian Human Rights Act prohibited sexual harassment in workplaces under federal jurisdiction.
- 1986 - Sharon Wood, of Canmore, Alberta, was the first Canadian woman to reach the summit of Mount Everest.
- 1999 - The Supreme Court ruled that job standards and tests cannot be solely based on capabilities that would favour men.

Source: Morris (2000).

too, has variations on how to achieve gender equality (See 'Types of Feminism'). The various approaches to feminism speak to the complexity of the problems of gender inequality, difference and relations, suggesting that there are multiple causes and no single or simple solution. For this reason there is not simply one "feminist geography"—although this term is used in a general way to denote the larger field—but really a variety of feminist "geographies."

By and large, resistance by feminists is not directed toward males per se, but rather male-dominated culture. As mentioned

in Chapter One, differences in the power, status and resources of men and women are not biologically determined—it is considered a form of **sexism** to discriminate against people based solely on their biological sex—but rather socially constructed through actions, attitudes, institutions and policies that favour males over females. Male dominance, you will recall, is not the 'natural' order of society, but a culture of gender dominance termed **patriarchy**: a learned way of doing and thinking that privileges males and certain forms of masculinity over women and femininity. In



Types of Feminism

The following list provides a brief definition of several types of feminism and a sample action illustrating the kind of practice each type would advocate. This list is not exhaustive, the definitions are not absolute, and some of these positions are highly contentious amongst feminist scholars.

Ecofeminism: The oppression of women and nature are linked, so that the liberation of the earth and women is indivisible. The same male-dominated power structures that suppress women—industrialism, militarism, state apparatus, financial institutions—are also responsible for environmental degradation. Similarly, both nature and women have been ‘objectified’ or labelled by men with similar attributes: women have been ‘naturalized’—the cycle of menses, women’s intuition, passivity, nurturer and giver of life—and nature has been ‘feminized’—mother earth, virgin forests, wild and uncontrollable. Sample Action: Work toward lessening air pollution to protect children, community health and the planet.

Essentialist: Gender inequalities are attributable to essential or fundamental biological and psychological differences between men and women, with the latter being equal or superior to the former. Sample Action: Because of their innate and essential humaneness, female values should be encouraged, celebrated and prevalent in society.

Psychoanalytic: Gender identity is established during childhood experiences, leading men to view themselves as masculine and superior, and women as feminine and inferior. Sample Action: Individuals seek therapy to investigate and understand past experiences, thus helping them to modify self-defeating thoughts and behaviours, thereby enabling them to deal better with their present adult life.

Liberal: The existing social order is acceptable, but changes within this system are necessary in order to bring about equality for women. Sample Action: Provide universal and inexpensive daycare for working women.

Post-Structuralist: Gender inequalities are produced and represented through linguistic and symbolic systems—conversations, written texts, films, television, performances, and social practices—used to create, organize and communicate gender identities, roles and behaviours. Sample Action: Investigate how and why femininity has become equated or ‘naturalized’ with motherhood and domesticity.

Radical: The existing social order inherently disadvantages women so the entire male-dominated system must be eradicated. Sample Action: Establish a separate state—a sovereign territory—exclusively for women.

Socialist: Oppression of women is intrinsic to capitalism, where women’s work is undervalued and underpaid. Sample Action: Organize working-class women into trade unions, demand equal pay and maternity benefits.

Source: Inspired by and modified from McDowell and Sharp (1999).

the most classical sense of the term, patriarchy means the “law of the father” (*pater* is Latin for “father”): the control that fathers hold over their wives, daughters, extended family—including younger men—and the economics of the household (McDowell and Sharp, 1999: 196; Watts, 2000). Within feminism, however, patriarchy refers to the domination, oppression and exploitation of the system of social structures and practices used by men as a group to exert authority over women: it is an oppressive form of gender relations.

Walby (1990) suggests that patriarchal relations in industrial societies, such as Britain, the U.S.A., and Canada, are created and sustained through six sets of social practices, which collectively, produce and reproduce the culture of patriarchy in both public and private settings: the *household*, where men benefit from women’s unpaid domestic labour; the *workplace*, where females are often paid less, if only through occupational streamlining (e.g., women are nurses, men are doctors); the *state*, where men not only form the vast majority of participants, but legislate gender-biased laws and policies; *violence*, where men commit the vast majority of abuses against women; *sexuality*, where female bodies are eroticized, controlled and commodified largely by and for the pleasure of heterosexual males (e.g., ideals of female beauty); and various other *cultural institutions*, particularly the popular media (e.g., representations and stereotypes of women) and other more traditional institutions, including some religions (e.g., women are

nuns, males are priests) and the military. These are among the principle sites where unequal gender relations take place and are thus the focus of much geographical research as shown below.

The sites, spaces and places that feminist geographers study, however, are only part of the focus of this field of human geography. Geographers are also interested in *how* landscapes of gender are viewed and studied. In other words, the very perspective and research methods geographers employ to examine human geographies may be gender biased. A feminist perspective maintains that for most of its history, human geography was written by men, for men and about . . . men (Lee, 1990; Rose, 1993: 1). Indeed, even a cursory glance at the names of authors of most geographical textbooks, books and geographical articles, especially prior to the 1980s, makes this first claim impossible to dismiss. This has changed, and is changing, as more women have become geographers and more people, both male and female, take up the challenges of feminist geographies (see Figure 1).

ABrief History of Feminism in Geography

Feminist Geography emerged within human geography during the 1970s. Little concern was given to the question of whether mainstream research methods and theoretical approaches were

appropriate to feminist studies. The central concern at the time was simply to “put women on the map.” The previous decade had been one of intense social and political unrest in much of the Western world, and a heightened sense of social awareness and political activism continued well into the 1970s. Many in society at the time began to question the widely-held perspective that women were inadequate for many tasks, from political thinking to economic decision-making. Within academia, some thought that women were incapable of doing scholarly research in geography: it was a male dominated discipline.

What feminists in the 1970s started to notice was that too few women academics in geography resulted in women’s issues not being sufficiently studied by academic geographers. A series of articles began to appear questioning the position of women within geography. One of the most outstanding of these early papers, *The Strange Case of the Missing Female Geographer*, was written by Wilbur Zelinsky (1973), a male. Other articles discussed the status of women, women and social class, geographic perspectives on women, and the geographical study of women. These early works were oriented simply to acknowledge women’s presence in the world of geography.

These were soon followed by short pieces produced by members of the various women and geography study groups in the professional geographical associations in Britain, Canada and the United States. The *Women and Geography Study Group* of The Institute of British Geographers (IBG), for example, presented a series of papers on feminism and geography in 1981 at the annual meeting of the IBG. Again in 1983 this group organized several sessions on feminism and modes of geographic thought. These were substantive publications in which women’s place in society were pondered. One outstanding article by Janice Monk and Susan Hanson (1982)—the former would later become the first female president of The Association of American Geographers (2001–2002), and the latter the first female editor of its flagship journal, *The Annals*, (1985–1987)—was entitled *On Not Excluding Half of the Human in Human Geography*. In 1984 three major works were produced: the first Ph.D. dissertation exclusively devoted to feminist geography was written in the department of geography in the University of California at Berkeley; a special edition of the geography journal *Antipode* was devoted to feminism, specifically women and the environment; and the Women in Geography Study Group of the IBG published their landmark *Geography and Gender: An Introduction to Feminist Geography*. In Canada, the following year the Canadian Association of Geographers welcomed a new specialized study group within its organization: *Canadian Women and Geography* (CWAG). A rich variety of research was starting to emerge by a well organized set of feminist academics, addressing such topics as methodology, housing, transportation, urban environments, paid and unpaid labour, access to social services, violence, and family structure. Thus the climate was ready to for the next step in the ladder of feminist scholarship.

By the mid-1980s and early 1990s more theoretically sophisticated works had appeared. Doreen Massey and Linda McDowell collaborated to write a celebrated article—*A Woman’s Place?*—that appeared in a book now considered a classic, *Geography Matters* (Massey and Allen, 1984). McDowell published yet another classic some four years later, *Coming in from the*

Dark: Feminist Research in Geography, a title that conveys much about the status of women and feminist studies in the recent past. Little by little, the more mainstream geographical debates began to be discussed in feminist terms. By this time, the achievements of feminist geographies were well established and some feminist geographers began to reach beyond the Anglo-American circuit. They began to look at the Developing World and their constructions of gender and patriarchy, with fieldwork expanding to Africa, Latin America, Asia, and elsewhere.

As the 1990s unfolded, Feminism in geography became firmly established. Perhaps one of the most telling events to confirm this was the emergence of a new geography journal in 1994 devoted entirely to this field: *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*. This was the very first journal in Anglo-American geography to completely devote itself to issues of feminism and gender. Its emergence marked a climate ripe for discussion and debate about feminism, gender, sexuality, and geography, one that continues today.

Take for instance, the very way that geographers have viewed, represented and “scaped” the relationship between nature and culture, between the land and humans. Geographer Gillian Rose argues that the very way geographers have viewed landscapes is charged with gender values (Rose, 1993). The **male gaze** is a way of viewing the world from a male-centred perspective that provides only a partial perspective on gender roles and identities. She illustrates her point by building on the work of Daniels and Cosgrove (1988), who argue that that a landscape is a “cultural image,” a representation of the world that necessarily draws upon the values and norms of the society in which that landscape is created.

A traditional landscape painting, for example, will therefore represent social aspects of the society both in *what* is depicted and *how* it is depicted. Cosgrove and Daniels later use a famous mid-eighteenth century British landscape painting, *Mr and Mrs Andrews*, by Thomas Gainsborough, to illustrate this point (Figure 1). This painting clearly shows the economic class relations of the time. Mr Andrews is a well-to-do aristocratic landowner positioned amidst his orderly, well-tended, privately-owned estate. Men of his means at the time routinely hired artists to create such portraits of themselves, their family, their property and their land. This economic class-based interpretation is, however, but one way of viewing this representation.

This traditional landscape painting illustrates gender identities for members of the mid-eighteenth century British aristocracy. How one *views* this piece also reveals gendered perspectives. What do you see, and how do you see it?

Rose re-visited this painting, and offered another interpretation. Depicted in this landscape are gender relations as well, something the ‘male gaze’ employed previously simply did not reveal. Because the gender identities and relations illustrated adhere to the expected norms of patriarchy—the man is active and in charge, the woman is passive and clearly his, and so forth—these gender roles and identities are made largely invisible: gender goes unquestioned. Rose observes:

... is it possible to ... differentiate between [the couple]. Although both figures are relaxed and share the



FIGURE 1 *Mr and Mrs Andrews*, by Thomas Gainsborough.

Source: © The National Gallery, London.

sense of partnership so often found in eighteenth-century portraits of husband and wife, their unity is not entire: they are given rather different relationships to the land round them. Mr Andrews stands, gun on arm, ready to leave his pose and go shooting again; his hunting dog is at his feet, already urging him away. Meanwhile, Mrs Andrews sits impassively, rooted to her seat with its wrought iron branches and tendrils, her upright stance echoing that of the tree directly behind her.

. . . These two people are not both landowners—only Mr Andrews owns the land. His potential for activity, his free movement over his property, is in stark contrast . . . to the frozen stillness of Mrs Andrews. Moreover, the shadow of the oak tree over her refers to the family tree she was expected to propagate and nurture; like the fields she sits beside, her role was to reproduce, and this role is itself naturalized by the references to trees and fields. Landscape painting then involves not only class relations, but also gender relations. Mr Andrews is represented as the owner of the land, while Mrs Andrews is painted almost as part of that still and exquisite landscape: the tree and its roots bracketing her on one side, and the metal branches of her seat on the other (1993, pp.91–93).

There is nothing incorrect about the earlier class-based perspective of the painting above, or of any landscape for that matter, but perspectives—all perspectives—are limited in what they encourage us to look for and what we will see as a consequence. The feminist perspective employed by Rose adds to what we can learn about landscapes and what they tell us about gender and social relations between people, between people and the land, between the geographer and what he or she observes. This recognition that the ways geographers view their world may be engendered was and remains an important development in human geography.

In fact, the very ‘ways of knowing’ about the world can be engendered. Science and the knowledge it generates, including the body of knowledge called ‘human geography,’ is engendered. How might this be so? Science is objective; it is based on observable evidence; it is rational, logical, and quantitative. Exactly; and for these very reasons, feminists argue that traditional geographical research is engendered as masculine and male-centred. According to **feminist standpoint theory**, knowledge is socially constructed—people make knowledge—and this process of making knowledge has traditionally privileged male ‘ways of knowing’ and thinking over those of females (McDowell and Sharp 1999: 262–263). Standpoint theorists maintain that what is considered ‘knowledge’ is the result of work by men for men, which presents

an incomplete and distorted understanding of the social world through exclusion of half the population: females. Such a position challenges the claims of objectivity and the value-free logic of 'science' and offers alternative ways of knowing, a '*standpoint*' from the perspective of women. Such a perspective rejects the over-generalizations of research findings that are based solely on men's experiences, does not privilege 'objectivity'—detachment from that which is being studied—over 'subjectivity'—the emotional and mental experiences of individual human beings—and recognizes that all standpoints are partial perspectives situated in a social context: there are many ways to 'know.'

Doing feminist geography raises important questions about research methods. What exactly are the tools of the feminist geographer? And do they differ, if at all, from other geographers? As geographer Pamela Moss notes (2002), practicing feminist geography entails careful reflection about all aspects of the research process: choosing the topic, wording the questions, selecting the data collection methods, identifying and using the appropriate theories, the structure and presentation of the written work, and the manner of circulating the results. The issues raised go well beyond the scope of this introductory textbook, but it is worth discussing a few pertinent practices, if only to get a sense of what kinds of research constitute feminist geography.

Feminist methods are as diverse as any of those used by other geographies, but there are some practices advocated by feminist geographers that stand out. Central to feminist methods is the importance of interacting and sharing results with those people being studied (Robinson, 1998). This is the *principle of engagement or reciprocity*, wherein the researcher does not simply study people as objects—collecting information about them, never to speak to them again, if at all—but enters into a two-way dialogue with those studied. A relationship is established with the intent of breaking down the barriers between the researcher and the researched. As such, *qualitative methods* are highly valued and widely used. The technique of using in-depth, face-to-face discussions, for example, is thought to best enable the personal experiences of women to be researched from a female standpoint. Letting women speak for themselves, in the form of a series of interviews, or perhaps through the use of journal entries or life histories recorded over an extended period of time, is another qualitative technique widely employed. Generally speaking, *quantitative methods* are used less extensively by feminists because statistical techniques and mathematical modelling are considered the opposite of the more humanistic orientation of feminism, with its emphasis upon people rather than numbers (see Quantitative Revolution, in Chapter One of the textbook). Nevertheless, quantitative methods are occasionally used, if only to provide a larger context from which qualitative research can build.

One of the major points of feminist research is to try and understand the experiences and points of view of those studied in ways that recognize the dignity of those researched as human beings, not objects or things, and to include those researched as active participants in the project: the sharing of the research findings with those researched is considered vital. Such ideals are also reflected in the very writing of feminist geographies. In

an attempt to challenge the masculinist 'norms' of knowledge, wherein articles and textbooks are written in the objective, third person (like this textbook), some feminists advocate the use of the first person singular—'I'—to remind both the writer and the reader that an actual person is '*positioned*' within the text: objective science is not responsible for the written words, an actual subjective person is narrating.

Feminist methods are not unique in the sense that other approaches and fields of geography do not use the same kinds of research tools to collect or analyze data, but it is fair to say that feminist research is unique in that the "*ways of knowing, ways of asking, ways of interpreting and ways of writing*" are carefully considered in the context of the aims of feminism (Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG 1997: 109). The methods are used in ways and with the intent to challenge gender differences and unequal gender relations both within the practice of geography and outside in the larger society that the research is intended to help change for the better.

Feminist Geographies

There is a great deal of variation among feminist geographies. The variety of approaches, theories, methods, and topics geographers pursue makes this inevitable. Such diversity is positive and indicates a dynamic discipline. Nevertheless, it should be clear from the preceding section that there are several themes common to feminist geographies (Pratt, 2000: 259). They are *critical* of gender identities and the processes in society that create gender inequalities: they question, challenge, and examine gender as evident in the landscapes of human activities. They are concerned with *sexism within geography and geographical institutions*: they strive to make geography and geographers gender aware and gender fair. They recognize that the knowledge scholars and researchers generate is partial, incomplete, and made by people in specific times and settings: *knowledge is situated*. They also appreciate that gender is part of the *geography of everyday life*: gender is intertwined with what people do, how they relate to one another, the spaces they use, and the places and landscapes they make. The goal of **feminist geographies** is to investigate, reveal, and challenge the relationships between gender differences and spatial differences, to make visible how these differences are created, and to question their apparent normalcy (McDowell and Sharp, 1999: 91). The purpose is to study the differences between how men and women experience spaces and places, and to show how these differences help to create both gender and place. Among the many places that feminist geographers study, the home, the workplace, the city, and nature are among the more widely investigated.

The Home

From a patriarchal perspective, the 'place of a woman is in the home.' Although such an extreme position is not held by most North Americans, the notion that the home is primarily a place of child-rearing, nurturing, and domesticity, remains prevalent.

These qualities tend to be engendered as feminine in our society. Home is regarded as a private place, where females remain largely responsible for performing the many chores of maintaining the household—cooking, cleaning, and child-rearing—without pay. Whereas men tend to occupy places of paid employment, status, and power outside the home in ‘public’ spaces, most women for much of the last century, have been ‘housewives,’ responsible for sustaining the private space of the household and the ‘family’ (Figure 2). Feminist geographers have challenged the unspoken assumptions, ‘normalcy’ and practices inherent in such notions of the home. The rigid gender roles, the ideals of the ‘dream’ home, the constitution of the family, and the dualism of home/work and private space/public place are questioned and critiqued. What kind of place is the home from the woman’s stand point? What are her experiences and meanings attributable to the home, be they positive or negative?

Take the issue of child-rearing and paid employment outside the home. Geographer Isabel Dyck (1989) provides interesting insights into the cultural and spatial dilemmas some women with children face when seeking employment. The culturally ascribed ‘norm’ of child-rearing falls largely onto women: the gendered division of labour is such that child-rearing is largely women’s work. This means that many women are spatially confined: they must stay at home and in the immediate neighbourhood to care for children. The need to do so is reinforced further by expensive day care and lower wages for women. Hiring childcare is simply not economically feasible in many instances. Women are often left with the dilemma of wanting to be ‘a good mother’ as dictated by society’s male-centred norms, yet desiring or needing to seek nondomestic labour. Dyck wanted to know how such a dilemma might be overcome. How might women resist their subordinate position in a patriarchal cultural and economic system?

Dyck’s study involved twenty-five suburban Vancouver mothers of children ten years of age or under who sought employment outside the home. Information about them was gathered during two years of participating with them, engaging in detailed interviews, and asking them to record and then share with her their weekly schedules and thoughts in diaries. The women managed to resolve their dilemma by enlarging their notion and practice of domestic space. Within a period of time after moving into a neighbourhood, virtually all of the participants established casual contact with other mothers of small children, usually centred round the children. Mutual concerns were raised, opinions and thoughts exchanged, and trust and friendships arose. Gradually an informal network of shared rules for neighbourhood children emerged and an attitude of mutual assistance developed. The ‘neighbourhood’ became a secure domestic space that was safe for local children, all of whom were supervised collectively by neighbourhood mothers. The street and other people’s homes became alternative places for child-rearing outside the immediate and private homes of individual parents.

This enlargement of domestic space had several profound impacts for the participants. More secure child rearing space outside of the home gave the women more time: they did not



FIGURE 2 The “traditional” family. Held up by many in North America as the ‘Traditional’ family, those Canadian households composed of Mom, Dad, and the children form a minority at 44 percent, including both married and common-law couples. Although the ‘traditional’ family remains the most common structure, the majority of Canadians have alternative compositions: no children, no children at home, divorced, single, partner lives elsewhere, or separated. Family takes on multiple forms and meanings for different people (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Source: Trinette Reed/Brand X Pictures/Jupiter Images.

need to be spatially present at all times. This gave them more time for their own domestic chores, rest and opportunity to seek and obtain employment outside the home. The women also gained support networks beyond merely the physical supervision of children: they created, nurtured and shared a new sense of parenting, where one could be both a ‘good mother’ and a non-domestic labourer. With this kind of spatial and social support, some women sought and obtained full-time employment outside the home, secure in their conviction that their children were safe and they themselves remained a good mother. Such an issue does not arise for most men who are secure in the culturally-sanctioned belief that they can be ‘good fathers’ without engaging in many of the domestic duties of child rearing. In fact, ‘good fathers’ may be defined by their spatial absence from

the home. According to patriarchy, men are the providers—the bread winners—and they do so mostly by being outside the home at ‘work.’

The Workplace

Precisely what constitutes ‘work’ and the spaces where it occurs has varied over time within and between societies. As you may recall from Chapter Four, prior to the industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism, industries in the Western world were geographically dispersed into ‘cottage industries’: small operations with low, time-consuming outputs of a unique product, run by craftspeople out of their own home. Like those who farmed, the place of home and work were closely tied, if not blurred entirely, together. Child-rearing and earning a livelihood took place often in or immediately adjacent the home. Only with the rise of centralized energy sources, mechanized methods of mass production, large-scale manufacturing plants, and the shift to industrialized, urban economies did the organization and division of labour come to resemble what is now taken by some as the ‘natural’ order of things: work—the *public sphere*—and home—the *private sphere*—are separate places in distinct spaces. Accordingly, labour is divided along the lines of gender: men work at some jobs, mostly in the public sphere, while women work at others, mostly in the private sphere.

Since the 1970s, feminists have challenged both the myth of work as limited to waged labour (*employment*) in the production of goods or services for the market, and the myth of the work/home dualism (Klahr, 1999). If work is narrowly equated with paid labour, it makes unpaid labour at home invisible. Anyone who has performed domestic chores or childcare knows full well that they demand time, effort, and a great deal of energy. If work is more broadly conceived as the exertion of physical or mental energy directed toward chores that serve human needs, *homework* becomes recognized for the essential role it performs in socializing and sustaining household members and the current and future work force. Unfortunately, such recognition is far from universal. Even today when the number of women employed in the formal paid economy continues to grow across the globe, and in our own country where almost half of all employees are female (46%), women’s work is often not given the same status and respect as that of men’s (Statistics Canada, 2005).

Part of the explanation for this difference is a function of the myth of ‘separate worlds’ wherein work and home—the public and the private—are considered distinct and separate spaces (Kobayashi, Peake, Beneson, and Pickles, 1994). As part of this work/home duality, the former has become equated with masculine identity and the latter with feminine identity. Women’s place in the workforce was—and to a large extent remains—secondary to their domestic chores. Indeed, two out of three part-time employees in Canada are female, and males tend to spend less time performing domestic chores than do women (Statistics Canada, 2005). The problem for many women in Canada and elsewhere is not their exclusion from the so-called public sphere of work, but that their inclusion is in addition to their domestic responsibilities in the so-called private sphere of home: they

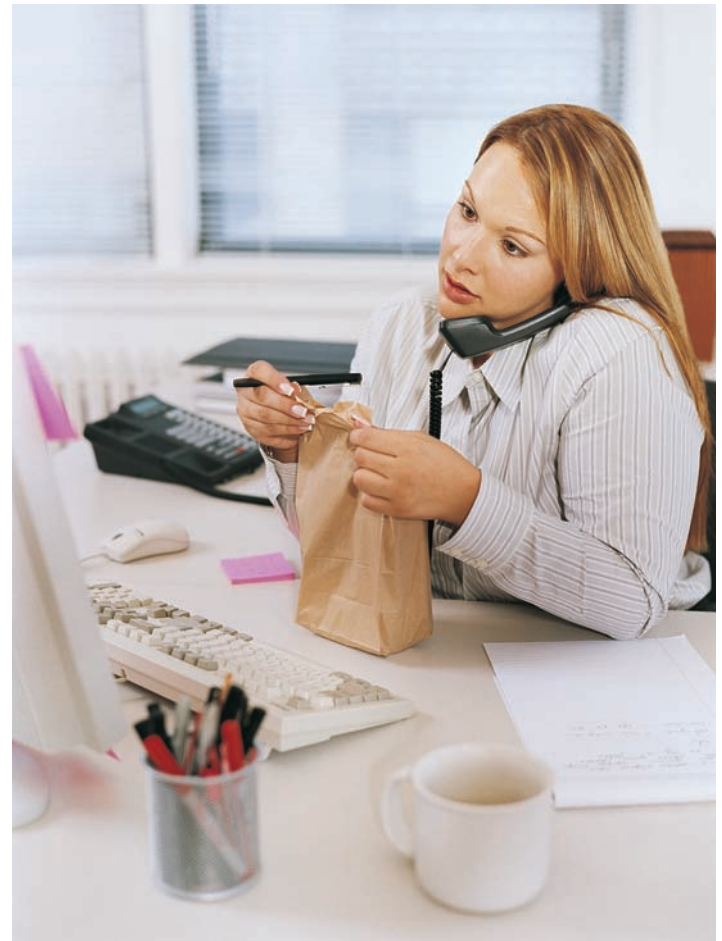


FIGURE 3 Comprising just under half of all employees in Canada, women have clearly gained access to the ‘public sphere’ of waged employment. For most, the ‘second shift’ awaits them at ‘home.’ Women continue to perform the bulk of domestic chores.

Source: © Digital Vision.

have too much ‘work’ in the geographies of their everyday lives. For feminist geographers the task is to identify, document, explain, critique, and challenge the unquestioned gender roles and experiences of working women in the places and spaces where they labour.

The City

Because contemporary Western cities are premised on the separation of home and work, the segregation of public and private space, and the gendered divisions of labour, they are designed in ways that feminist geographers argue help to sustain gender inequalities and differences to the disadvantage of women (Hayden, 1984). Early feminist research examined the spatial constraints women faced in their daily activities and the resulting difficulties in accessing parts of the city (Pinder, 1999). These ‘man-made environments’ were argued to be planned primarily by men from a male perspective. Urban planning, for example, failed to take into account fully the needs and experiences of women: the design of residential spaces,

the location of retail spaces, the provision of public transportation, access to childcare centres, and the many issues involved in creating safe streets, parks, and neighbourhoods. Aside from the inequalities women experience relative to men in terms of commute times and distances to and from work/home (Blumen and Kellerman, 1990; England, 1993), and the undervalued role of women in gentrifying (refurbishing) neighbourhoods (Bondi, 1990), one of the most prevalent topics of investigation is the matter of safety and fear in the city.

Men and women experience cities very differently in terms of their perception of safety and fear. Rather than focus on the physical vulnerability of women, feminists have instead related fear to the high rates of violence and harassment against females, women's understanding of risk, and the general sense of insecurity felt in urban public places, particularly at night (Pain, 1999). Fear, particularly the fear of sexual assault in urban spaces, is a major barrier to the full inclusion of women in public life (see "The International 'Take Back the Night' March"). Valentine (1989) notes that such fears are the 'spatial expression of patriarchy': women are effectively controlled through behavioural restrictions imposed upon them by their own fear and the actions of others.

The point to note is that cities are not gender neutral. Their physical design is as much about gender roles and relations as it is land use, the distribution of services, and the location of housing, business, parks, and recreation.

Nature

Nature is a loaded concept that refers to a number of overlapping meanings. In its broadest sense, it can refer to the entire *physical environment* including human beings (Castree, 2000). It can also refer to the '*wilderness*'—areas of the earth unaltered by human beings—the '*rural*'—areas of agriculture, forestry and undeveloped land with small human settlement (Cloke, 2000)—or the '*countryside*'—a place infused with romantic ideals of picturesque rural landscapes and close knit communities living off the land. These terms and their notions are conceived as false dualism: as work is to home, the physical environment is to the '*social environment*,' wilderness is to '*civilization*,' the rural is to the '*urban*,' and the countryside is to the '*city*.' Much work by contemporary geographers has been directed toward challenging such dualisms, such binary, black and white simple distinctions,



The International "Take Back the Night" March

As an act of resistance to the fear and violence women are subjected to by some men in both private and public spaces, women from around the world gather each fall in their local communities and march together in the streets. It is a collective call—a demand—for safe environments at night free from danger and the need for male escorts. Originating in Germany decades ago after a series of rapes, murders, and assaults against women, these rallies spread to other parts of Europe, then England, the United States, and Canada. The first march in North America was in San Francisco in 1978, when 3,000 women took to the street, and coined the phrase, 'take back the night.' The event now occurs coast to coast in Canada each year with thousands of participants. For symbolic purposes men are excluded from the march itself—these public streets are temporarily disrupted and claimed by women for women—but men are both welcomed and encouraged to support their female friends, sisters, mothers, daughters, aunts, cousins, co-workers, employers, neighbours, partners, and wives, by offering words of encouragement and distributing flyers from the sidelines.



Vancouver's Take Back the Night March, 2005.

Source: © 2005 Nick Westover, All Rights Reserved.

by questioning the many assumptions inherent in these concepts and by examining the social and spatial practices, relations, and processes creating these places and landscapes.

For feminist geographers, the emphasis has been on the unspoken gender assumptions of these terms, the gender roles of women in these 'natural' places, and the experiences of 'rural' women. By now you should appreciate that there is nothing inherently masculine or feminine, male or female, about the processes and conditions of the physical environment. Nevertheless, 'nature' in the Western world has traditionally been engendered as feminine and personified as 'mother,' as in 'mother nature.' From an eco-feminist perspective (see 'Types of Feminism'), this kind of patriarchal labelling is problematic. If nature is a woman, then she is there to be tamed, claimed, and conquered by men. And if nature is a mother, then any retribution she may exact upon men for their environmental degradation—polluting the air, land, and water with toxins for instance—will not be deadly: mothers may be stern, but they do not kill their own. Such an interpretation may seem dramatic, but how we think about nature does impact how we use it, so any unspoken assumptions about how it is conceived are certainly worth identifying.

Similarly the notions of the 'rural' and the 'countryside' are laden with gender assumptions and roles (Little, 2002; Valentine, 2001: 250–254). The small human settlements of close-knit occupants supposedly creates a sense of community and belonging distinct from the more anonymous and individualistic lifestyles of urban dwellers. The role of women is central to this conception and practice of community life. The many activities which help to forge community—the garden clubs, the religious gatherings, the mom and tot groups, the volunteer work, the fall fairs, the spring bazaars, the picnics, the bake sales, the big meals—fall upon the women to produce. Family—a traditional family of husband, wife, and children living under one roof—is inseparable from this notion of country life, this rural idyll. It is the perfect place for rearing children: open spaces, clean air, friendly neighbours, a strong sense of belonging, and place attachment. It also comes with many of the home/work disadvantages for women discussed above, such as spatial isolation and unpaid and undervalued labour. The countryside, like the city, is not gender neutral.

The experiences of rural women also differ from those of men. Studies of agricultural production have conventionally excluded women, but there has always been more diversity among farmers than commonly recognized. Women have served as farm labourers, farming partners, and farmers in their own right, but little attention has been paid.

Leckie's (1993) study on female farmers in Canada highlights this gap in the geographical literature. Using data from several decades of Canadian censuses on agriculture and population, she compared the social, economic, and farming profiles of male and female farmers. Women comprised just below 5% of all farm operators in Canada, but were growing in numbers relative to a decline in male farmers. Female-operated farms were on average smaller in size, thus generating a smaller volume of sales, but were carrying less debt. The females were more likely than males to be growing fruits or vegetable and less likely to be operating dairy, hog, and grains farms. They were on average slightly older than their male counterparts, 50.3 years and 47.9 years respectively,



FIGURE 4 Female Farmers on the Rise. Farming in North America has historically been a male-dominated industry. This is changing: the woman depicted here is part of a growing trend in the United States and Canada of farms managed by women. In the U.S., females run ten percent of all farms.

Source: Doug Menuez/Getty Images.

with some married (50%), others widowed (33%) and the rest separated, divorced, or single: the vast majority of male farmers were married and few widowers continued to farm. Such factors for both male and female farmers are part of the process of agricultural production, and that process clearly varies by sex. The farm is a different place for men and women.

Geographies of Masculinities

Two decades after feminist geographers first raised questions about gender, calls within geography arose for investigation into the social and spatial construction of *masculine* gender roles, identities and places (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994: 96).

Peter Jackson (1989) was the first geographer to formally advocate, outline, and explain both the need and the basis for men—as well as women—to critique masculinity. He noted that ‘masculinity’ had multiple meanings and like feminine gender roles and identities is a social relationship created and practised in differing spaces and places. He proposed an agenda for ‘mapping masculinities.’ He urged geographers to examine men’s work experiences and the identities they hold of themselves, the public and private spheres of masculinity, homophobia, and sexual abuse, masculine gender construction at the various scales of family, neighbourhood, city, and state, and the nature and practice of male solidarity in such fraternal organizations as unions (Jackson, 1991: 209–210). Geographers responded.

Since the early 1990s, the variety and quantity of geographical research into masculinity has grown (Berg and Longhurst, 2003). Early works focused on criticisms of the study of geography itself and how geographers failed to question the male-centred perspectives in their work (Rose, 1993). By the late 1990s, there was a surge in geographical studies on men, masculinity, and male identity (Longhurst, 2000). Two developments were of particular importance at this time. First was the emergence of work on gay male identities and geography, complementing the work done by feminists on lesbian places and spaces; and secondly, was the increasing attention masculinity was receiving from other human geographers in the fields of urban, economic, and health geographies. Gender issues about men were no longer limited to feminist, social, or cultural geographers. Just as feminist thought had entered into much of human geography, so too, had questions about masculinity. Since 2000, the range of works has continued to expand, with geographers tackling a broad range of gender issues across a wide variety of spaces and places.

Common to all of these inquires into masculinity is feminism. Because these geographies of masculinities arose from feminist thought and feminist geographies, the perspective uniting this sub-field is necessarily feminist. Consequently, masculinity studies are critical of masculine gender identities and the processes in society and space that create the unquestioned gender roles of men and the ensuing differences and inequalities that arise among men and between men and women. To examine men based upon anything other than a feminist perspective is not a *critical* study of the male-dominated culture of patriarchy but a form of it (Coltrane, 1994). Patriarchy is contested because it is both a way of doing and thinking that privileges males and masculinity over women and femininity, and it privileges certain males and specific forms and practices of masculinity over other males and forms and practices of masculinity.

Patriarchal masculinity—**masculinism**—not only oppresses and disadvantages women in ways and places as discussed above, but men who do not adhere to its rigid codes of ‘manliness.’ In contemporary Western societies these codes have traditionally included a number of sexist and homophobic ideals and practices: the ‘naturalness’ of male domination and female subordination; the superiority of male logic over female thoughts and emotions; the notion that biological differences between men and women renders males superior; the ‘normalcy’ of the gendered divisions of labour in public/private space; the unquestioned male-centred view—the male gaze—toward gender roles and identities;

compulsory heterosexuality; and other such notions and actions that advantage men to the disadvantage of women (Jackson, 1991: 201). But this form of masculinity also disadvantages men. Rigid gender roles imposed upon men by other men or themselves does not permit much flexibility in what identities a male can practice and what spaces he can occupy and still be considered a ‘man’ by his peers or himself. To engage full-time in unpaid labour at home tending children while the mother ‘works,’ serving under a female ‘boss’ in the office, or openly weeping in a public venue amidst male friends over something other than a disappointing sports score, are just a few of the unacceptable gender practices under masculinism. To transgress such masculine identities and practices in certain spaces and places is a problem for men who strive to fulfill the masculine gender identities, practices, and places of patriarchy.

The overarching goal of the **geographies of masculinities**, therefore, is to investigate, reveal and challenge the social and spatial relations of masculinities, to make visible how these masculine gender identities are created, and to question their normalcy. The purpose is to study the different experiences of space and place among men, and between men and women, and to show how these differences help to create both gender and place. It seeks to enhance and contribute to feminist geographies because it is part of those geographies. Geographers do so by challenging the spaces and place of men’s power and the unquestioned practices and actions of masculine identities.

Disrupting the Places of Masculinities

Space is crucial to the creation of gender identity. Consequently, geographers investigate the places of men in order to challenge and disrupt or ‘displace’ the creation and practice of masculinities. What and where is a ‘**man’s place**’? There are three mutually re-enforcing dimensions to space introduced in Chapter Five that are worth recalling here: space as *physical location*, *social status*, and *lived experience*. The ‘place’ of men refers to the physical locations of men (e.g., the home, at work, in the gym), the rank, social status or position in society occupied by men relative to women and other males (e.g., CEO, taxi driver, father), and the kinds of experiences lived in those spaces and social positions. Some ‘places’ have higher or lower masculine status for men and are part of more traditional or novel masculine experiences than others. This means that there is a plurality of men’s places of masculinity, and a plurality of masculinities, created by and through various gender practices, roles and identities in difference spaces by different men. Males and their various masculinities can compete for dominance or acceptance within and between each other. Geographers seek to reveal and explain these different places of masculinities.

For example, to some men in North America being married to a woman, being a father, a homeowner, running a successful and highly profitable business of their own, and golfing on weekends are practices and identities that place them firmly within their

own conception—and much of our society’s notion—of what it is to be a ‘man’ in the traditional sense of masculinity. A single, gay male, with no children of his own, renting an apartment, working as an employee in an up-scale restaurant, and visiting art galleries on his days off, occupies and practises a different kind of gendered place. This man’s place is composed of different kinds of locations, experiences and social position: one that may be ascribed a lower status of masculinity, or may not be accepted as masculine at all—perhaps even engendered as feminine—by others who adhere to the preceding notion of masculinity. The point is to recognize that the practices, roles, and identities of people are engendered by people. Humans invent—they socially construct—the criterion for the genders labelled as masculine and feminine. Because cultural identities, like the people who construct and practice them, are dynamic, gender identities can and do change over time and space.

A primary way adherents of patriarchal masculinity resist change and attempt to perpetuate its dominance over women and alternative masculinities is to exercise control over space. The places where men meet, talk, work and play are pivotal sites of male domination. Why? To practise, reaffirm, and sustain patriarchy requires places controlled if not exclusively, then predominantly, by men who adhere to that form of masculinity. These places not only help to forge and sustain masculinism by including like minded men, it enables the exclusion of others: females or men of unacceptable femininities or masculinities. This is why the introduction—the *spatial inclusion*—of women and gays into places of power at work, in the military, or the sports arena, have been, and continue to be, resisted by the dominant cultural group: patriarchal men. Such places have traditionally constituted the so-called **men’s huts**: places of heterosexual male exclusivity. If women and men of different or ‘lesser’ genders and sexualities are admitted to these huts, the power of those men and the legitimacy of their own masculinity in the huts is disrupted, undermined, *displaced*: the man’s place ceases to be an exclusive men’s hut, and becomes a different kind of man’s place, one where women and other forms of masculinity are present: a shared space. How these spaces and places are controlled and contested are the very sites of struggle over cultural identities that the geographies of gender attempt to reveal, question and explain. Two such sites that illustrate this well are the public street and the private closet.

Displacing Heteropatriarchy in Public and Private Spaces

One of the key tenets of patriarchal masculinity noted above is compulsory heterosexuality. From that perspective, it is assumed that all ‘normal’ men and women are **heterosexual**: they desire or engage exclusively in sexual relations with those of the opposite sex. Because this belief is so entrenched in patriarchy, feminist geographers argue that patriarchy and heterosexism are indivisible, hence the term ‘**heteropatriarchy**’ (Valentine, 1995). **Heterosexism** is a way of thinking and doing that privileges heterosexuality



FIGURE 5 Toronto Gay Pride Parade 2007. The origins of this peaceful event date back to a violent one at the Stonewall Inn in New York City during June, 1969. Up until that time, police raids on gay bars regularly occurred and patrons were routinely charged with ‘acts of indecency’: kissing, holding hands, wearing opposite engendered clothing. During one particular raid, patrons fought back, and later organized a protest march, *The March on Stonewall*. This event is considered the flashpoint of gay and lesbian activism in North America.

Source: The Canadian Press (Aaron Harris).

as normal, natural, and right, and dismisses **homosexuality**—the desire or practice of engaging in relations with those of the same sex—as deviant, dangerous, and unnatural (Peel, 2001). These ways of thinking are practised in space and have implications and consequences for people of all genders and sexual orientations.

Feminist geographers maintain that public space, particularly urban space, is engendered and ‘sexed’ as predominantly masculine and heterosexual space (Duncan, 1996; Binnie, 1997). In other words, just as space may be inscribed with a gender identity, it may also be given a sexual identity. If public space is viewed as predominantly patriarchal, and heterosexuality is part and parcel of that form of masculinity—heteropatriarchy—then public space is sexed to the advantage of heterosexuals and to the disadvantage of alternative sexualities. Indeed much of the urban space in North America, Europe, and other parts of the globe are places where people are openly heterosexual. This is not surprising given this sexual orientation is the most widely practised. However, these heterosexed spaces and places go largely unquestioned, thus unnoticed, because they are part of the ‘invisible landscape’ hidden by the assumed ‘normalcy’ of heterosexuality.

Of course heterosexuality *is* visible in the sense that it is evident most everywhere. It is used to market all sorts of different products through film, television, radio, the internet, and print advertisements. Heterosexuals are often seen showing their affection toward one another in public places: holding hands while walking in a store, kissing hello or good-bye in doorways, sharing an intimate meal at a restaurant, and so forth. Pushing a baby carriage or playing with their children in public view is perhaps the most public declaration of having engaged in private heterosexual sex. And yet rarely are such simple and mundane heterosexual

practices in public space identified or 'sexed' as having any sexual identity at all. In other words, these actions are so common, so everyday, the heterosexuality attributable to these practices and people are rendered 'invisible' by the patriarchal 'male gaze,' which provides only a partial perspective on gender and sexual identities of people and places. Heteropatriarchy goes mostly unseen and unquestioned.

What is readily visible to many heterosexuals and patriarchs is when and where these same actions are practiced by same-sex couples: these are quickly and readily 'sexed' because they are a disruption, a *displacement*, of the heteropatriarchal norm of public space. Two males or females holding hands, kissing hello or good-bye, or sharing an intimate meal in public is behaviour that is immediately sexed from the perspective of the male gaze. The public gay landscape is therefore highly visible, a visibility premised on the invisibility of a dominant heteropatriarchy. Lesbians and gay men are encouraged in subtle and overt ways to keep such identities in the private sphere, the home, and the closet (Brickell, 2000).

To challenge their spatial exclusion from the public place and resist their spatial containment to the private place, many gays and lesbians around the world literally invert the identities of these spaces on a grand scale once a year during the month of June: a private and homosexual place of marginalized masculine and feminine identities—the closet—is enlarged and takes over the predominantly heteropatriarchal place of the city street. Few if any acts displace heteropatriarchal conceptions of private and public space, disrupt men's hut, and destabilize the places of masculinities like this event. 'The International Gay Pride Parade' occurs in numerous cities around the world, across Europe, and all over North America. This parade is used by the gay and lesbian communities and their supporters to challenge oppression, celebrate freedom, and to openly express their identities in a public place.

It is through such actions, and the reactions of those who would oppose them, that gender and sexual identities are sustained and challenged, and made and altered. It is the task of the geographer to take notice of how space and place play vital roles in the creation of these geographies of gender.

Summary

The 'geography of genders' employs a feminist philosophy and addresses challenging, even controversial, topics and issues about the social and spatial relations, identities and roles of men and women in the geographies of everyday life. There is a political perspective inherent in this field that makes it 'radical' to those who may not share its agenda, and there *is* a political agenda. The basic premise of *feminism*—that inequality between the sexes exists and that inequality should be eradicated—is a call for change. Feminists would argue that the status quo—the existing and patriarchal arrangement of gender relations, identities, and roles of men and women—has a political agenda as well: to maintain the differences in access to opportunities and the inequalities in power between the sexes. Regardless of your own political position, you should leave this chapter with an appreciation of what constitutes gender, how and why geographers study this cultural identity, and how they examine and explain the spatial variations in gender roles, identities and places,

Central to the geographical investigation of gender are several concepts. *Patriarchy* or *heteropatriarchy* is the culture of gender dominance—the learned way of doing and thinking that privileges males and certain forms of masculinity, specifically *masculinism*, over women and femininity. Among the key beliefs and practices of heteropatriarchy is the 'naturalness' of male domination and female subordination, the 'normalcy' of the gendered divisions of labour in public/private space, and the unquestioned male-centred view—the *male gaze*—toward gender roles and identities, and obligatory heterosexuality. Geographers, too, have historically

used this gaze in their own work, but have become to overcome this perspective through the use of feminist *standpoint theory*—the recognition that all knowledge is partial and made from a particular stand point—and feminist methods. These methods emphasize "*ways of knowing, ways of asking, ways of interpreting, and ways of writing*" that stress human beings and human experiences.

The variety of topics addressed by feminist geographies is large and extensive, but among the more prevalent issues studied are those around the home, the workplace, the city, and nature. All of the spaces and places and more are argued to be engendered with identities, roles and social relations that vary between the sexes to the disadvantage of women. Because of the diversity of feminist geography, the field is more aptly referred to as feminist *geographies*, one major branch of which addresses masculinities. Among the key issues here is the *place* of men in societies and how they use space, specifically their men's huts, to exclude women and lesser masculine genders.

Collectively, the geographies of feminism and masculinities comprise the larger body of work termed the *geographies of gender*. Like feminist geography, which accentuates women, the *geography of masculinities*, which accentuates men, aims to investigate, reveal and challenge the social and spatial relations of gender, to make visible how gender identities are created, and to question their normalcy. The overall purpose is to study the different experiences of space and place among men and women, and between men and women, to show how these differences help to create both gender and place.



KEY WORDS

Feminism: An ideology—a system of belief—which recognizes that inequality between the sexes exists, and that this inequality must be eradicated. 2

Feminist geographies: Geographical studies that investigate, reveal, and challenge the relationships between gender differences and spatial differences, to make visible how these differences are created, and to question their apparent normalcy. 7

Feminist methods: The diverse set of research tools used to collect and analyze data in ways which intend to challenge gender differences and inequalities. 7

Feminist standpoint theory: A perspective maintaining that the

creation and validation of knowledge largely male-centred and thus incomplete: feminism offers an alternative way of knowing, a ‘standpoint’ from the perspective of women. 6

Heteropatriarchy: A concept that recognizes heterosexism (see below) as intrinsic and indivisible from patriarchy (see below): to practice patriarchy is to practice heterosexism. 13

Heterosexism: A learned way of thinking and doing that privileges heterosexuality as normal, natural, and superior to other forms of sexuality. 13

Heterosexuality: The desire for, or practice of, sexual relations with the ‘other’ or opposite sex. 13

Homosexuality: The desire for, or practice of, sexual relations with the ‘same’ sex. 13

Gender: The socially-constructed (human-made) and learned characteristics and practices attributable to femininity/women and masculinity/men. 2

Geographies of masculinities: Geographical studies that investigate, reveal, and challenge the social and spatial relations and normalcy of masculinities, and make visible how these masculine gender identities are created. 12

Male gaze: A way of viewing the world from a male-centred perspective that provides only a partial perspective on gender roles and identities. 5

Masculinism: A specific form of masculinity—patriarchal masculinity—that is sexist and homophobic, privileging males over females, and certain engender practices and characteristics over others. 12

Men’s hut: Places of heterosexual male exclusivity. 13

Men’s place: The *physical locations* occupied by men; the *social status* or station ascribe to men; and the *lived experiences* of men. 12

Patriarchy: A learned way of doing and thinking that privileges males and certain forms of masculinity over females and femininity. 4

Sexism: Discrimination against people based solely on their biological sex. 4

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