

UNDERSTANDING PROFEMINIST MALE EXPERIENCES:
A MODEL OF PERSONAL CHANGE
AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

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By

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SUMMARY OF DISSERTATION

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of the requirements for the

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by

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Understanding Profeminist Male Experiences:

A Model of Personal Change and Social Transformation

Although researchers have begun to show critical interest in men as gendered beings, there has been little in-depth theoretical analysis or scholarly development in the area. Most writing has focused only on defining the problems of men's destructiveness and emotional illiteracy. Virtually no attempts have been made to develop theoretical models capable of cultivating alternative, more psychologically and socially adaptive patterns of male behaviour, identity formation, development and social role acquisition. A small *purposively* drawn sample of eight profeminist men (nominated by prominent self-declared feminists in the community), along with one men's rights activist, were asked to recount their personal experiences involving gender issues during unstructured interviews. Intensive qualitative analysis, drawing on phenomenological, reflexive postmodern/constructionist and postpositivist/*grounded theory* techniques, was used to interpret and organize the data into groups of related constructs, which were refined, organized and re-organized according to the emerging schematic model. This model illustrates the complex developmental process of personal profeminist change and social transformation experienced by the nine men interviewed. Their life experiences are presented in separate chapters along with highlighted / annotated variations of the developmental model derived from the

interpretive analysis. Analysis revealed that participants were either raised in traditional, patriarchal families or in less traditional, less clearly defined, androgynous family environments. Although both groups of men experienced aspects of gender role strain or incongruence, men raised in patriarchal environments seemed to experience greater strain and more difficulty working through conflicts arising from recent challenges to their masculinity. From an early age, the androgynous men appeared to successfully integrate conflict and shame within the context of rich relationships established under both patriarchal and feminist influences. Only recently challenged by feminism, the men raised exclusively in patriarchy seemed stuck in a somewhat more confusing, vulnerable space *between* patriarchy and feminism. Several of the more androgynous men acknowledged this gap, and worked to bridge it in their communities by forming alliances and creating synergy through a process of conflict engagement and conflict resolution. As suggested by the men's experiences and the resulting model, integrating gender-related conflict in the context of a firm, yet compassionate and synergistic community was key to congruent profeminist experience. The strengths, limitations and implications of the model developed herein are discussed in relation to current theory on masculinity, male development and men's role in feminism. Although the model was developed on the basis of intensive analysis of only a small sample of men, it is consistent with current theory and promises to inform psychotherapeutic technique in counselling men.

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Abstract

Although researchers have begun to show critical interest in men as gendered beings, there has been little in-depth theoretical analysis or scholarly development in the area. Most writing has focused only on defining the problems of men's destructiveness and emotional illiteracy. Virtually no attempts have been made to develop theoretical models capable of cultivating alternative, more psychologically and socially adaptive patterns of male behaviour, identity formation, development and social role acquisition. A small *purposively* drawn sample of eight profeminist men (nominated by prominent self-declared feminists in the community), along with one men's rights activist, were asked to recount their personal experiences involving gender issues during unstructured interviews. Intensive qualitative analysis, drawing on phenomenological, reflexive postmodern/constructionist and postpositivist/*grounded theory* techniques, was used to interpret and organize the data into groups of related constructs, which were refined, organized and re-organized according to the emerging schematic model. This model illustrates the complex developmental process of personal profeminist change and social transformation experienced by the nine men interviewed. Their life experiences are presented in separate chapters along with

highlighted / annotated variations of the developmental model derived from the interpretive analysis. Analysis revealed that participants were either raised in traditional, patriarchal families or in less traditional, less clearly defined, androgynous family environments. Although both groups of men experienced aspects of gender role strain or incongruence, men raised in patriarchal environments seemed to experience greater strain and more difficulty working through conflicts arising from recent challenges to their masculinity. From an early age, the androgynous men appeared to successfully integrate conflict and shame within the context of rich relationships established under both patriarchal and feminist influences. Only recently challenged by feminism, the men raised exclusively in patriarchy seemed stuck in a somewhat more confusing, vulnerable space *between* patriarchy and feminism. Several of the more androgynous men acknowledged this gap, and worked to bridge it in their communities by forming alliances and creating synergy through a process of conflict engagement and conflict resolution. As suggested by the men's experiences and the resulting model, integrating gender-related conflict in the context of a firm, yet compassionate and synergistic community was key to congruent profeminist experience. The strengths, limitations and implications of the model developed herein are discussed in relation to current theory on masculinity, male development and men's role in feminism. Although the model was developed on the basis of intensive analysis of only a

small sample of men, it is consistent with current theory and promises to inform psychotherapeutic technique in counselling men.

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I will always remember how at a moment of great despair - one of many when I questioned my own capacity to live up to this emerging ideal - my son, Nathaniel, at age two and a half, said into his toy telephone in a far corner of the room, "Hello? Yes? My Daddy? Well, he's having a little trouble with his faeces! Yup. Okay. Bye."

Of course, my children have never known me without a thesis either. Their love for me and mine for them encouraged me to maintain balance in my life when balance seemed impossible (full-time job, thesis, family). My children, along with Vyda's flexibility and sensitivity in sharing parenting responsibilities enabled me to gain perspective and to integrate my personal and professional interests.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

In the wake of some of the recent gains achieved by women through the feminist movement, the role expectations for men are rapidly changing (see Kimmel, 1991). The extremely high prevalence of male physical, sexual, and emotional abuse of others (particularly women and children), both mild and extreme, is becoming widely known, and this increasing awareness has put pressure on men to become accountable for their violence, whether subtle, or extreme. Men are reacting in various, often conflicting ways, to this pressure.

As Bray (1992) noted, Simone de Beauvoir's remark (written 40 years ago) that "a man would never get the notion of writing a book on the peculiar situation of the human male" has proven false. A visit to almost any bookstore today reveals entire sections, or at least several shelves devoted entirely to men's studies and popular psychology books for men. Some of these authors - particularly those informed by feminism - acknowledge that the presumed universality of knowledge, whether scientific or literary, is a fallacy predicated on the inequities of male hegemony. In addition to misrepresenting women's experiences and ways of knowing, writers and scholars have, until recently, failed to adequately represent the full range and complexity of male experience.

Among scholarly men's studies publications, only a few have begun to apply theoretical analyses on issues of male violence, masculinity, and men's

experiences (e.g., Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Levant & Pollack, 1995). But even the few that do address these difficult and pressing issues fail to move much beyond defining problems of destructiveness and emotional illiteracy associated with masculinity. And as some feminist critics of men's studies argue, women have been writing and telling men about these issues for many years. Only a handful of men's authors adequately acknowledge the invaluable contributions of feminist writing and discourse. When asked what they want from men, the straightforward response from feminists is "stop killing us" (Helwig, M., Kneen, C., Larkin, J, Lopez, T., & Pence, E., November, 1992). Few see the need for more studies indicating the nature and prevalence of men's violence. Feminist writers have chronicled the extent of the problem in painstaking detail over the last 25 years. Solutions for male violence are needed now, not more analyses.

With this in mind, I decided to seek answers from men who, in a variety of ways, had embraced values, attitudes and roles informed by feminism. Profeminist men, I assumed, had already charted a course beyond patriarchy and the traditional masculine role. In other words, they had at least begun to create their own solutions. Based on these two related assumptions, I began an intensive self-reflective analysis of gender-related life experiences of eight profeminist men. Although I grounded my analysis firmly in the data obtained through unstructured

interviews with these eight men, I purposefully involved myself in the analytic process through a self-reflective exploration of my own experiences and my reactions to the emerging data. I focused on what worked for these men and how each man's experience compared with the other men's experiences, my own experiences, and with those prescribed by the traditional male role. I also interviewed one anti-feminist man in an effort to further illuminate these distinctions. In analyzing the data, I drew more or less equally on phenomenological, grounded theory, and case study methods. As I continued to explore, organize and integrate the emerging themes, a graphical developmental model of profeminist personal change and social transformation gradually took shape. In addition to summarizing these nine men's life experiences with gender issues, the model charts an alternative, potentially healthier, non-linear course of male development.

Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity

Although some have argued that all of history is about men (e.g., Spender, 1981), very little is known about masculinity or men as gendered beings. While it is true that most scholarly writing has been restricted to men's *activities* in a man's world, little has been written, from a scholarly perspective, about men's

experiences (Brod, 1987b; Doyle, 1989; Kimmel, 1992a; Seidler, 1989; Kaufman, 1987), especially men's experience of power (Kaufman, 1990).

Much like early feminist writing, most work on men and masculinity has been anecdotal or autobiographical. There is far less scholarly, analytical writing in men's studies. Instead, the most prolific writing on men falls in the category of popular psychology or self-help/recovery manuals. Furthermore, according to critics (e.g., Gaines, 1991; Kaminer, 1992), this work is permeated by a chorus of "complaints - complaints that relate in one way or another to being a modern man" (Gaines, 1991, p. 127). Though nearly all authors (both popular and scholarly) agree that male violence is a problem, they differ dramatically by way of explanation and in terms of commitment to negotiating solutions (Clatterbaugh, 1990). Obviously, more scholarly analysis of men's gendered experience is needed to develop a thorough understanding of masculinity, of both the personal and social implications of changing roles, experiences and visions of men.

The word *masculinity* has various connotations. Perhaps somewhat facetiously, Hoch (1979) suggested it represents a socially constructed mask for homosexuality. However, according to Hoch, Freud recognized this meaning in his paper *Character and Anal Eroticism*. Freud argued that the repression of anal eroticism leads to the development of a particular set of personality characteristics

including orderliness, parsimony, and obstinacy, all of which are central to and necessary for the work ethic. Ironically, feminists and men's studies authors (e.g., Hearn, 1992; Kimmel, 1994), both serious critics of Freud and traditional forms of masculinity, would take this one step further, suggesting that masculinity represents a socially acceptable cover for misogyny and homophobia, both of which are presumed to underlie men's obsession with career, reason, and material objects over family, experience, and intimacy. In other words, critics of masculinity would agree that traditional male roles and patterns of behaviour serve to mask insecurities associated with the stereotypically female human characteristics (e.g., nurturance, empathy, caring, feeling) which, for most men, are thought to be long since repressed through activities aimed at toughening little boys into men.

Clatterbaugh (1990) outlined six contemporary perspectives on masculinity (conservative, profeminist, men's rights, spiritual, socialist, and group specific)¹ which provide a backdrop to the various "men's movements" that have emerged over the last decade in North America in response to feminism. He suggested each perspective is more than theoretical, it represents a unique socio-political perspective incompatible with the others. With a few exceptions, proponents of all

¹*All but the conservative and socialist perspectives are reviewed here because only they relate (either directly or indirectly) to the nine men's experiences*

six agree that men dominate and are more violent than women, but differ in their explanations for this violence and visions for an improved society. All provide data in support of their arguments. And although each perspective can be subjected to valid criticisms (some decidedly more so than others)², no one perspective can be entirely refuted.

The Profeminist Perspective

Profeminist men typically view gender as socially constructed (e.g., Herek, 1987; Kaufman, 1987; Kimmel, 1990; Lyman, 1987; Reynaud, 1983). For example, Herek (1987) wrote:

The social constructionist position holds that what most people call reality is a consensus world view that develops through social interaction... [From] this perspective, gender... must be understood within historical, sociological, and social psychological contexts, rather than in exclusive individualistic terms. By highlighting human plasticity, the constructionist view also allows for the possibility of change. What has been constructed can be reconstructed, albeit with considerable effort. Gender and sexual orientation thus should be understood as changeable ideologies rather than as biological facts (p. 72).

²*The data presented by adherents of the men's rights perspective are often selective and presented without proper context.*

Profeminists argue that masculinity is a patriarchal social contrivance founded on male privilege and the corresponding oppression of women. However, in addition to the privilege and power men hold over women, profeminists acknowledge that masculinity is ultimately harmful to men (Kaufman, 1994).

Clatterbaugh distinguished *radical* profeminists from *liberal* profeminists.

Like radical feminist women, radical profeminist males believe that misogyny (hatred of women) and violence against women are core psychological elements of masculinity, and patriarchy is the social and political organizing principle supporting and contributing to the development of masculinity. Radical profeminists (e.g., Kaufman, 1987; Kimmel, 1991, 1992a; Snodgrass, 1977; Stoltenberg, 1989, 1990, 1993; Thompson, 1991a, 1991b) advocate abandoning masculinity altogether and replacing it with new behaviours and attitudes that are informed by feminism. This process requires both extensive personal and radical political/institutional change. However, unlike their radical feminist sisters, radical profeminist men attest to neither the moral nor natural superiority of women. In this one respect, radical profeminists are closer to liberals who believe in the inherent equality of males and females.

Whereas radical profeminists seek substantive equality through advocacy for policies like affirmative action, the predominant concern of liberal profeminists

(e.g., Brod, 1987a/b; Doyle, 1989; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Pleck, 1981) is the attainment of formal equality (providing equal opportunity rather than actual equality). Radical profeminists view formal equality as insufficient because ensuring access to male dominated environments ultimately increases women's risk of victimization. For example, in a review of existing research on women working in male dominated settings, Fine (1987) wrote, "[although] the number of social locales from which women are completely excluded is rapidly diminishing in American society..., the mere fact that women have access to a male-dominated setting does not mean they will be fully accepted or treated with respect" (p. 131). Sexual harassment, coarse joking, teasing, and questioning competence often exact a high price on this access. Fine argued that until there is more of a balance of women and men working in male dominated settings, women will tend to adapt themselves to the sexism rather than challenge it. In circumstances like these, liberal profeminism has the effect of making the victim pay the initial costs of gender reform.

Although both liberal and radical profeminist men view masculinity as a set of limitations imposed on, and causing harm to men, liberals place less emphasis on the power and privilege enjoyed by men over women. Instead, liberal profeminists see the limitations of gender roles as more or less symmetrically imposed on men

and women. The task, then, is simply to remove the barriers (i.e., restrictive gender roles) to the underlying inherent equality. Unlike radical feminist work which aims to dismantle the patriarchal system, this approach involves working for change within existing socio-political institutions. And unlike radical profeminists who insist on changing the political institutions at the outset, liberal profeminists prefer to wait for individual growth to filter upwards, eventually bringing equality to society's sexist institutions.

Although a flurry of profeminist men's groups emerged in the wake of the second wave of feminism during the 1970s, growth was not sustained. Unlike men's rights organizations and professionally led mythopoetic programs which flourished during the neo-conservative self-indulgent atmosphere of the 1980s, profeminist activists quietly retreated from public view as their values and principles not only failed to attract men, but drew considerable disdain with the onset of a feminist backlash (Ehrenreich, 1983; Faludi, 1991; Kanik, 1992). In response, some men simply abandoned profeminism, in favour of more palatable, and indeed more profitable fare. For instance, Robert Bly, the undisputed leader of the mythopoetic men's movement (described in a subsequent section) abandoned his commitment to feminist spirituality, in favour of male-oriented warrior mythology. Others, like Warren Farrell, went a step further, assuming 180 degree

position reversals. Farrell went from a bestselling profeminist author (Farrell, 1975) and leader of the anti-sexist men's movement in the 1970s, to the chief spokesman for the ultra-conservative men's rights movement in the 1980s (e.g., Farrell, 1987; Farrell, 1992).

Despite lagging popular interest, *academic profeminists* have begun to carve out a niche for themselves (e.g., Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Kaufman, 1987, 1993; Kimmel, 1987, 1996). Furthermore, psychological and social issues associated with the social construction of masculinity are now receiving widespread attention from female and male scholars informed by feminism (e.g., Brittan, 1989; Connell, 1987; Harstock, 1983; Hearn, 1987; Hearn & Morgan, 1990; Jardine & Smith, 1987). In 1992, the first scholarly (interdisciplinary) men's studies journal was launched, appropriately titled, *The Journal of Men's Studies*, published in the United States by the Men's Studies Press. Men's studies courses are now being offered at hundreds of university campuses across North America.

The New Men's Studies. Harry Brod (1987a) referred to this growing literature on men as *the new men's studies* (TNMS). He defined TNMS as "the study of masculinities and male experiences as specific and varying social-historical-cultural formations" (Brod, 1987a, p.40). In response to the unidimensional portrayals of men painted with broad brush strokes by feminist

scholars (e.g., Chodorow, 1978; Ehrenreich, 1983; Dvorkin, 1974; Polatnik, 1973; Rossi, 1977; Stoltenberg, 1990), TNMS authors typically break their analysis down to include a wide range of masculinities. TNMS authors emphasize their commitment to an exploration and validation of alternative constructions of masculinity, through their frequent use of the plural form of the term (i.e., *masculinities*).

Thus, Dorothy Smith (1978) was only partially correct in stating that scholarly work throughout time has been "written by men about men for men" (p. 281). She failed to recognize that traditional scholarship actually reveals little about men's private lives. Thus, in response to the frequently asked question, "hasn't all history been about men?", Filene (1987) suggested the answer has more to do with how we have done history than what was being studied. Virtually all history *has* been about men, but from only one angle - one that filtered out all but the rational, instrumental, public achievements of men. Hearn (1987) admitted that "in the social sciences, *men* [as men] have generally remained untheorized" primarily because they are not seen as needing explanation (p. 177). As a result, the private, everyday lives and experiences of men as *gendered* beings have not yet been subjected to serious scholarly study (Reynaud, 1983). In response, some (e.g., Hearn & Morgan, 1990; Seidler, 1989) have called for an integration of

experience and theory, but as Ramazanoglu (1992) lamented, the links between experience and theorizing "are not yet well established in the literature" (p. 340).

Brod argued that unlike the *old* men's studies (i.e., male dominated scholarship in general), which laid false claim to an objective portrayal of a generic or universal mankind without any reference to women's ways of knowing, TNMS acknowledges both an existing valid feminist set of epistemologies and an as yet untapped, honest (by virtue of its subjectivity) source of male experiences. Brod insisted that TNMS be viewed as "a necessary complement to women's studies" because "no feminist vision can move women from the margin to the centre [to use bell hooks' metaphor] by ignoring men" (Brod, 1987b, p. 264). In other words, "If men are to be removed from centre stage and a feminist vision fulfilled, that feminist vision must be explicitly focused on men to move them off centre" (Brod, 1987b, p. 40).

This focus is new and different from traditional scholarship because it emphasizes a phenomenological understanding of men as men. It aims to make men's gender visible for the first time by revealing, in more holistic fashion, a multifaceted window on the subjective, instrumental, public, private, rational, and emotional aspects unique to everyday male experience. Men's studies are seen as a *necessary* complement to women's studies because the primary focus in feminist

scholarship is women's oppression, liberation, and experience. Consequently, men are typically of "secondary interest, and defined *implicitly*, as... doers of violence to women" (p. 22). Furthermore, as feminist scholars (e.g., hooks, 1992; Ramazanoglu, 1992) themselves willingly admit, "much of the feminist theory addressing men specifically fails to creatively revision and reconceptualize masculinity" (hooks, 1992, p. 111).

The Gay / Feminist Perspective. For gay men, heterosexuality in general, is a particularly privileged and oppressive form of masculinity - whether it is informed by feminism or not. While profeminist men see masculinity arising primarily out of men's dominance of women, gay men see homophobia as "the club that is used to keep men in their gender role" (Clatterbaugh, 1990, p. 133). Although these perspectives are not that far apart - they are both based on a fear and hatred of the mythically feminine - any alliances between gay and profeminist men are inevitably uneasy, by virtue of the power and privilege dynamics separating gay and heterosexual men. Nonetheless, men's studies and various profeminist men's organizations are beginning to welcome gay input and participation. Increasingly, profeminist men's studies are recognizing a need to explore, at a deeper, more sophisticated and intimate level, issues associated with

men's sexuality and homophobia (Brooks, 1995; Flannigan-Saint-Aubin, 1994; Harrison, 1995; Hearn, 1992).

Astrachan (1986) estimated that as many as 30 percent of the men attending the annual *Men and Masculinities* conferences in the United States were gay. Furthermore, as Clatterbaugh (1990) noted, the *National Organization for Men Against Sexism* (NOMAS) adopted a firmly gay-affirmative stance in their statement of principles and actively seeks to end homophobia. Unfortunately, however, Canada's national profeminist men's organization, *The Men's Network for Change* (MNC), is not as well represented by gay men; however, this may well be a function of its recent formation. While NOMAS has existed for more than 20 years, Canada's MNC has existed for under ten years.

Gay men's participation in the profeminist men's movement is welcomed by heterosexual men exploring alternative constructions of masculinity because one of the first obstacles straight men face in exploring alternatives is homophobia. In addition to helping heterosexual men confront their homophobia, exposure to gay men's experiences provides heterosexual men with opportunities to learn the differences between sexuality, sensuality, and emotional intimacy.

Feminist Critique of Profeminism. Although feminists welcome the involvement of men in feminism (e.g., Steinem, 1992), they view TNMS with

caution. As bell hooks (1992) put it, "Male advocates of the feminist movement have not made educating masses of men in feminist thought a central political agenda" (p. 111). Furthermore, neither the literature nor the course reading lists include many references to feminist writing. This is ironic and disappointing given the insistence of TNMS authors (e.g., Kimmel, 1987; Brod, 1987b; Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987) that masculinity can be only truly understood in relation to women's evolving identities, experiences, and epistemologies. Although both Brod and Kimmel have, on the one hand, argued that men's studies must remain accountable to women's studies, they have also actively supported the development of a separate *men's studies* discipline. hooks, along with other feminists (e.g., Eisler, 1992; Doubiago, 1992) remain unconvinced:

Ideally, the men's movement should merely be a segment under the larger feminist movement. By acting as though such movement exists apart from women's movement, men undermine support for feminist struggle...

Currently contemporary men's movement does not address in a serious political manner feminist transformation of society... If the masses of men in our society have not unlearned their sexism, have not abdicated male privilege, then it should be obvious that a men's movement led only by men with only males participating runs the risk of mirroring in a different form

much that is already oppressive in patriarchal culture (hooks, 1992, pp. 113, 117).

Gloria Steinem (1992) proposed the following five guidelines for evaluating men's groups and activities, including *the new men's studies*: She asked, "Does the group (or book, or person): (a) use atavistic words of hierarchy and warfare instead of new language that breaks down boundaries between women and men; (b) make us feel safer as women; (c) make men feel more able to cross boundaries of homophobia, racism, class, and distance from women (including mothers); (d) include activism that puts money and time where its principles are, especially with the diminishing of violence; (e) perhaps most of all, encourage men to take responsibility for nurturing children?" (p. ix). Steinem concluded that "when the answer is yes or even trying hard to be yes, then women can find allies in a shared struggle towards a new future" (p. ix). Although the answer from a mythopoetic perspective is a resounding "no" to most, if not all five of these questions (see subsequent section on the mythopoetic perspective), profeminists, in my estimation, would probably fit the "trying hard to be yes" category.

In her critique of the men's movement, Starhawk (1992) implored men to listen more to women. She admitted that women "cannot describe for [men] the subtle flavours of their particular poisons" but insisted that "only women can tell

[men] about the razor" because, she exclaimed, "we're still bleeding over here" (p. 29). The other side of the coin, according to Heath (1987), is that men cannot really be feminists. He wrote: "men's relation to feminism is an impossible one" because unlike "women [who] are the subjects of feminism, its initiators, its makers, its force,... men are the objects, part of the analysis, agents of the structure to be transformed" (p. 1). Heath argued that collectively, men, as oppressors of women, cannot move from being complicit in creating that oppression, to experiencing its effects as women do. Because men cannot ever experience that oppression, or totally remove themselves from their position of gender privilege, they can never be the subjects of feminist work in the way women can. This is not to say men have no role in feminism; they can *support* it (i.e., be profeminist), but they cannot actually *be* feminist. Without having experienced the oppression which fuels feminism, men, Heath argued, are necessarily limited to discourse *on* feminism.

However, male discourse, without felt experience, is highly prone to rationalism, intellectualizing, and abstraction, all of which, in the absence of the phenomenological grounding needed for empathy, can easily serve as instruments of oppression. Ironically, Heath, along with other feminist literary critics (see Jardine & Smith, 1987; Porter, 1992) were guilty of exactly this. In particular, the

heterosexual, middle class, white academics contributing to the Jardine and Smith anthology engaged in highly intellectualized, dualistic debates over *who* best represented the feminist cause, as if there could be only one *correct* position.

Nevertheless, these theorists raised important and provocative questions about men's roles in gender reform. Paul Smith did so tongue in cheek, arguing that men have repeated the "age-old habit of entering... or actively penetrating" female spaces. Not surprisingly, he questioned the value of, or justification for, such intrusions (Smith, 1987, p. 33). Porter (1992) suggested that what men call themselves is ultimately less important than how they involve themselves:

"Whether the term 'men' actually belongs 'in,' 'and,' or 'after' feminism is ultimately less important, he argued, than how it is constituted by the multiplicity of 'me's' that it contains" (p. 6). With this in mind, the core question I addressed in this study was *how*, and to *what extent*, profeminist men experienced and participated in a process of progressive personal and social change.

Ramazanoglu (1992) suggested that although TNMS has successfully argued for the deconstruction of masculinity, thereby offering the possibility of reconstruction, it provides "no guidance as to what reconstruction is desirable, or desirable for whom" (p. 341). In other words, TNMS accurately defines the problem, but fails to inform solutions. Based on the presumed impossibility of

male feminism, and the lack of fit between male and female experiences, Ramazanoglu argued that feminist theory is inadequate to the task of informing the reconstruction of masculinity. Instead, she urged men to generate their own theory based on their experiences as oppressors. To some extent, this was what I have attempted by grounding theory in the experiences of men committed to a process of overcoming the negative effects of their masculinity, including their complicity in men's oppression of women.

Finally, Ramazanoglu warned that by deconstructing, or exposing the myth of an essential masculinity, without providing a solution (or alternative model for being male), there is a danger "of slipping into a version of relativism which loses sight of the power of men as a gender" (p. 343). By giving up the notion of a single, universal form of masculinity, it is possible that some men, in redefining alternative models, will conveniently omit analysis of gender power dynamics. As Brittan (1989) suggested, redefinitions of masculinity throughout history do not change "male power as such, but its form, its presentation, its packaging" (p. 2). By isolating the analysis to a particular class, race, sexual orientation, a form of navel gazing may ensue, in which men could easily lose sight of the power imbalances and the relative privileges they share. These fears seem to have been realized in the writing and activities of both the men's rights and mythopoetic men's

movements discussed in the following section. Brittan warned: "while it is apparent that styles of masculinity may alter in relatively short time spans, the substance of male power does not" (p. 2). This may well apply to all factions of the men's movement, including profeminists. Specifically, although profeminists advocate and attempt to relinquish their power and control *over* others and their own experiences, their power to choose this course remains. "All they are doing is redefining the arena in which that power is exercised" (Brittan, 1989, p. 2).

Anti-Feminist Backlash or Men's Unacknowledged Pain?

As Kaufman (1994) suggested, profeminist men focus mainly on issues associated with men's power and privilege in society, while pro-masculine groups (i.e., men's rights activists and mythopoetic men's groups) address men's experiences of pain. Obviously, consideration of both is essential for understanding men's "contradictory experiences of pain and power" (Kaufman, 1994). Unfortunately, however, these two wings of the men's movement are at loggerheads. Instead of combining their energies constructively in synergistic healing fashion, they seem embroiled in conflict. To the various critics of the men's movement (e.g., Faludi, 1991; Hagan, 1992), both men's rights and mythopoetic activities represent but a small part of a larger backlash against feminism. But politically charged accusations like this are likely to fall on deaf ears, especially if

(as Kaufman implied) participants of this pro-masculine movement are motivated more by their own experiences of pain and frustrated interpersonal needs than any clear or specific political agenda.

The Men's Rights Perspective. The men's rights perspective, according to Clatterbaugh (1990), appeals mainly to divorced men and fathers who believe they are unfairly treated by the legal system which, in their analysis, favours wives and mothers' rights over husbands and father's in settlements and custody disputes. Although adherents of the men's rights perspective (e.g., Baumli, 1985; R. Doyle, 1976; Farrell, 1987; Goldberg, 1976) argue that women and men are equally oppressed by each other, they focus almost exclusively on legitimizing men's victimhood. This has led some critics (e.g., Astrachan, 1986) to refer to men's rights advocates as the "no-guilt" stream of the men's movement because in contrast to radical profeminists who assume that men are primarily responsible for gender oppression and inequality, men's rights advocates assume virtually no responsibility for oppression. Herein lies much of the appeal of men's rights groups: the refusal to blame men and the promise of more favourable court rulings and settlements is easily accepted by men in legal or emotional crisis.

In contrast to profeminists who believe men hold excessive control and illegitimate destructive power over women, men's rights adherents believe women

hold too much power in society. Furthermore, men's rights advocates argue, the male role is more lethal; men are murdered more, they get more heart attacks, and suffer more diseases than women. This vulnerability is portrayed in contrast to women's predominance in reproductive, parenting, and teaching roles. From this somewhat distorted angle, feminists and profeminists are seen as simply adding insult to injury by creating guilt in men for their socialization. And socialization, from their perspective, is not their fault, but that of mothers and female teachers.

As noted earlier, there are problems with the evidence used to support the men's rights perspective. Clatterbaugh implied that in addition to methodological problems, mental gymnastics are employed to rationalize or externalize some of the problems associated with the male role. He wrote:

... [the men's rights] view is only as solid as its claim that men do not hold extensive power and privilege in society. To make this claim, men's rights advocates must confront and redescribe the facts that are usually taken to be indicative of male power and privilege. Accordingly, the fact that men make the money is transformed into the fact that men are burdened with the role of provider and women spend the money; the fact that men use pornography and visit prostitutes is transformed into the fact that men are humiliated by these experiences; the fact that men hold political office is

transformed into the fact that women either control these men or are afraid to assume such a responsibility; the fact that men rape [and murder] women is transformed into the fact that women reject men [e.g., witness reports of Montreal mass murderer, Marc Lepine's, troubled childhood]; and so on, to an absurd degree. Indeed, every feminist claim about the oppression of women becomes transformed into a claim of equal or greater oppression for men. The great weakness of the men's rights perspective, then, is not that it points to masculine burdens but that few are able to accept its elaborate caricature of reality (p. 82).

The Spiritual Perspective. The spiritual perspective, according to Clatterbaugh, is based on the assumption that masculinity stems from deep unconscious motives and patterns often revealed through a tradition of stories, myths and rituals. This perspective is usually founded on Jungian principles that assume all people have both male and female aspects to their personalities. To be healthy, male and female components must be integrated, but not blended. In other words, one must remain predominantly male or female, while incorporating aspects of the other.

The American poet, Robert Bly, is generally perceived as the leader, or guru of the mythopoetic men's movement (Doubiago, 1992; Hagan, 1992; Straton,

1991). Although others have also written popular books for men (e.g., Keen, 1991; Hillman, 1980; Moore & Gillette, 1990; Rowan, 1987), Bly's influence is unmatched. He has written prolifically on men, and has facilitated numerous workshops for men. He has also made several appearances on the American cable television network, PBS. His book, *Iron John*, has sold millions of copies since it first appeared in 1990 (Bly, 1990).

Bly centred his book around the Grimm brothers' fairy tale *Iron Hans*. He massaged the fable to support his argument that boys require initiation into manhood by elder males. Beginning with the industrial revolution, Bly suggested, fathers and other potential male mentors were absent from the home, and because they had no viable rituals for introducing boys to manhood, they remained mamma's boys, identifying with the "female way of feeling" and becoming so-called "soft males", who lacked both male resolve and men's "life-giving force". In other words, men have become *emasculated* by women. To regain control of themselves, Bly urged men to steal the key to their souls which their mother, not their absent father, keeps hidden under her pillow. Although Bly bemoaned the absence of the father, he implicated mothers and feminists for producing "a nation of soft males".

Feminist Response to the Backlash. Feminists fear that Bly has prescribed a return to an era in which men and women place their trust in a supposedly benevolent, but warrior-like patriarch (see Doubiago, 1992; Faludi, 1991; Hagan, 1992, Kimmel, 1992a; Straton, 1991). Of course, the benevolence of the patriarch is a myth. Power *over* others is inevitably abused or experienced by the less powerful as oppressive or restricting. Analysis of power is conspicuously absent in both mythopoetic and men's rights activities. (Ruether, 1992).

Kaufman (see Kaufman & O'Neill, 1991) predicted that, in the long run, mythopoeticism would be seen as a "false solution" because urging men to seek male sanctuary in order "to recover some *deep* or *wild* masculinity that has become dormant in modern technological society" is neither accessible (or practical) to many men on an ongoing basis, nor acceptable to society informed by feminism (p. 4). Kimmel (1992b) argued that the *quick-fix* hunger experienced by consumers of these retreats receives only temporary sustenance before stresses and strains associated with society's changing gender role expectations strike once again. The temporary high has led many participants to become so addicted to the process of recovery that they must return again and again for the quick-fix. While this represents a windfall for organizers of the gatherings, Kimmel questioned if it is in the best interests of consumers, let alone women, or society as a whole.

In my opinion, neither the mythopoetic, nor the men's rights efforts will succeed in addressing problems associated with the male role (i.e., violence, oppression, emotional illiteracy) until they begin to recognize the self-destructive and drug-like distracting effects of masculinity. While men's rights activities seem destined to further escalate gender conflict, the effects of mythopoeticism on feminism are more subtle. Rather than invoking a cure, attempts to resurrect the *deep masculine* provide symptom relief, which serves only to mask the destructive effects of underlying homophobia and circumvent accusations of misogyny. The *quick-fix* nature of mythopoetic retreats and the lack of attention to issues of male dominance and oppression of women, as well as other men, indicates to me that the gurus and their followers would prefer to continue building their mystical, new-age camps behind the thick and age-old walls of patriarchy rather than engaging in a deeper, more painful, self-reflective process of change.

Although recent scholarly writing by men is predominantly profeminist, its influence is largely restricted to academia. And while it is estimated that many men who are organizing themselves on men's issues in Canada are profeminist, this is not so in the United States, where most activity is either mythopoetic or focused on men's rights (Kaufman, personal communication, November, 1992). It is

therefore not surprising that much of the material published for the general public is also pro-masculine.

Kaufman (1994) argued that both pro-masculine approaches (i.e., men's rights and mythopoetic) are popular because they speak more directly and concretely to the pain men themselves experience under patriarchy. While men's rights activists have focused considerable energy in launching their pre-emptive antifeminist attacks and supporters of the mythopoetic approach have focused almost exclusively on healing men's own pain, profeminist men have examined the issues largely from a dispassionate, theoretical, power-based perspective.

Psychological Perspectives on Masculinity

Psychological research on sex roles has occupied a central role in psychology for almost 60 years. Indeed, Pleck (1981) argued that "it may be said without exaggeration that the history of [sex role research] is practically a history of American psychology" (p. 6). Sex role theory proposed that healthy, normal human development requires the acquisition of one's appropriate *sex-role identity*. Accordingly, a healthy personality was conceived as a prescribed constellation of "sex-appropriate traits, attitudes, and interests that psychologically *validate* or *affirm* [one's] biological sex" (Pleck, 1987, p. 21). Although socialization was attributed an important role in the identity formation process, Male Sex Role

Identity (MSRI) theory as Pleck (1981) identified it, was clearly essentialist because the "appropriate" sex role was seen ultimately as biologically determined. Furthermore, disturbances in this identification process were considered maladaptive for males, especially because they were believed to lead to gender confusion or hypermasculine aggression.

Gender Role Strain Paradigm

Pleck (1981) provided an alternative model of sex role development, which he called the Sex Role Strain (SRS) paradigm. Unlike the MSRI paradigm which held that sex-role identity represents fundamental psychological needs, the SRS model views sex role attributes as reflecting patterns of behaviour acquired through adaptation to unrealistic social demands and expectations. In other words, sex roles are socially constructed, not biologically determined. Furthermore, unlike the MSRI paradigm which blamed the individual (or his/her parents) for supposedly inadequate gender development, the SRS model attributes insecurity to society's contradictory maladaptive sex-role expectations. Whereas the MSRI assumed problems arise from either under- or over-conformity to the role, the SRS model holds that problems arise simply through attempts to live up to society's expectations. In other words, the expectations are a source of psychological strain, or stress, and one would do better to simply ignore them. Finally, the SRS

model suggests that because of technological developments and changing attitudes associated with feminism, the opportunities for "proving one's manhood" are shrinking, and as such, attempts to live up to the traditional masculine role, will meet increasing resistance.

From this perspective, psychological research conducted over the years has not only reinforced the "myth of masculinity", but actually increased the pressure on men to risk failure in futile attempts to prove their manhood. Unfortunately, the *essentializing* effects of sex role identity theory are still being felt in at least one faction of the popular men's movement (i.e., the mythopoetic movement). This continued, though unrecognized, influence is not surprising, given that the MSRI paradigm had never been clearly articulated, let alone criticized, until 1981 when Pleck published his seminal work, *The Myth of Masculinity* (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee (1987). Until then, vague theoretical boundaries provided an unstable foundation for misinformed, virtually unlimited applications, some with negative consequences. For example, the absence of critical theoretical analysis meant that the MSRI paradigm served to mask issues of power and material inequality by maintaining a "separate but equal mentality", a mentality which is alive and well in pro-masculine camps.

Pleck (1981) suggested three factors contributed to the persistence of the MSRI paradigm in the public sphere, despite its current disfavour in academic circles. He wrote:

First, one of its principle social implications - that fathers should be more involved with their children - is a desirable and widely supported social goal... Second, the phenomenon of transsexuality... became widely known in the 1960s and 1970s...revealing the [publicly perceived] danger of nontraditional roles... Third, a new [feminist] psychoanalytic critique of traditional sex roles, by Dinnerstein (1976) and Chodorow (1978), bearing an apparent similarity to the traditional paradigm aroused great interest (pp. 156-157).

Carrigan et al. (1987) argued that by neglecting the need for a structural sociological analysis of gender power relations, Pleck's SRS model failed to improve much on the functionalist MSRI paradigm. Pleck (1995) defended his model arguing that unlike the essentialist MSRI model, sex role strain is based on the interdependence of two socially constructed variables, *self-appraisal* in relation to *society's expectations*. While this, in and of itself, does not constitute a power analysis, it lays the foundation for one. In other words, the SRS model is compatible with both feminist and social constructionist methodologies. As Doyle

(1989) suggested, Pleck introduced a much needed critical analysis of psychology's perspective on gender. He showed that psychology can and should continue to assume a more active and positive role by "debunking" the persistent myths supporting "unrealistic, contradictory, and oftentimes, debilitating [essentialist] aspects of gender roles" (p. 98).

In the fifteen years since Pleck introduced the SRS model, sex role research has clustered around three concepts or hypotheses. Pleck (1995) summarized them as follows:

The first idea is that a significant proportion of males exhibit long-term failure to fulfil male role expectations. The resulting disjuncture between these expectations and these males' characteristics leads to low self-esteem and other negative psychological consequences. This dynamic is "gender role *discrepancy*" or "incongruity." Second, even if male role expectations are successfully fulfilled, the socialization process leading to this fulfilment is traumatic, or the fulfilment itself is traumatic, with long-term negative side effects. This is the "gender role *trauma*" argument. And the third theoretical notion is that the successful fulfilment of male role expectations can have negative consequences because many of the characteristics viewed as desirable or acceptable in men (e.g., low level of family

participation) have inherent negative side effects, either for males themselves or for others. This is the “gender role *dysfunction*” argument (p. 12).

In a recent review of the literature, Levant (1996) suggested that both the gender role strain and gender role dysfunction concepts have received empirical support. And although it is too early to assess the validity of gender role trauma, there appears to be growing theoretical interest and development of the concept (e.g., Krugman, 1995). Ultimately, however, psychological research which moves beyond social role prescriptions (whether sexist or profeminist) to reveal the full potential of male experience is needed. The present study, aimed at integrating emerging social constructionist theory with profeminist men's experience, is a step in this direction.

Research on Psychological Sex Differences

After decades of intensive research aimed at revealing psychological differences between males and females, a common conclusion drawn by researchers is that the sexes are more alike than different (Basow, 1986; Doyle, 1989; Tavris & Wade, 1984). However, as Eagly (1987; 1995) pointed out, this *more similar than different* argument is flawed. It is based on narrative reviews of the literature (e.g., Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), rather than quantitative meta-

analyses. The more recent quantitative reviews indicate significant gender differences are prevalent under specific conditions, and that reported inconsistencies in gender differences are often best explained by sociological variables (Eagly, 1987). For instance, reported sex differences in intelligence are typically small or inconsistent (Hyde & Linn, 1988; Hogrebe, 1987; Linn & Petersen, 1986; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974); however, not only are the differences inconsistent with gender stereotypes (i.e., males score slightly higher than females on *both* verbal and performance IQ, not just performance IQ), but mean intelligence scores bear a closer relationship to ethnicity, occupation, and education (all of which are socio-cultural variables) than they do to biological sex (Sattler, 1988).

Secondly, although sex differences are more consistent for social behaviours (Eagly, 1987), the differences here conform more to socio-economic variables than to psychologically-based sex role stereotypes (e.g., beliefs and expectations of sex-appropriate behaviour). With this in mind, Marecek (1995) expressed "doubt" regarding the relevance of sex differences without an exploration of mitigating factors. Too often, she asserted, psychologists seem to reify the differences, assuming "that the categories 'man' and 'woman' are natural, self-evident, and equivocal. Furthermore, [they] regard sex-linked behaviours and

traits as fixed and stable properties of separate, autonomous individuals" (p. 162).

Instead, it seems more fruitful to "shift the focus of analysis away from matters internal to the individual to the interpersonal and institutional arenas" (p. 162).

This acknowledgement of a socio-political context "in flux" is crucial for the development of richer theory. As Marecek (1995) suggested, "Recontextualizing psychology in this way can help psychologists see more deeply how economic, social, and political forces are implicated in all endeavours to know the world" (p. 163).

Power-Vulnerability Hypothesis. Without exploring context, essentialist assumptions are likely to prevail. While it may be true that most group differences in psychological research are context dependent (Eagly, 1995), serious efforts aimed at exploring the socio-political context for reported sex differences are long overdue, especially given the politically charged nature of the topic. Contextual research that *has* been conducted supports social constructionism over essentialism. For example, while women typically self-disclose more intimately (quantitatively and qualitatively) than males (Komarovsky, 1976; Sherrod, 1987), Tschann (1988) found that males *do* disclose intimately with their spouses, and that the differences between men and women are largely attributable to men's low level of disclosure outside of their primary relationships. Furthermore, there is a

growing body of research which suggests that men disclose only when it is convenient and safe for them - for example, when men have little or no power (over others) to lose, and are in a committed relationship with a dependent and powerless woman (Welch Cline, 1989). However, when in a position of actual or potential vulnerability (i.e., with another woman or man of equal or greater power), security and control are not assured. In such situations men seem unwilling, even incapable, not only of disclosing, but of simply accessing their own feelings.

Psychotherapists frequently report that when asked "what are you feeling right now?", men often become anxious and respond in a puzzled uncomprehending and defensive manner "What do you mean?" or "I was just talking" (Rubin, 1992 p.337). Levant (1995) labelled this "inability to identify and describe one's feeling in words... *alexithymia*" (p. 238). Anxiety in such cases is not surprising since (a) clients are, literally, at a loss for words and (b) as male clients, they likely experience vulnerability in relation to the more powerful therapist, at least until the therapist successfully demonstrates a safe therapeutic environment for the experience of vulnerability.

If perceived vulnerability is indeed a mediating variable for intimacy, it would suggest that the capacity for intimacy exists, but is neither developed, nor

applied due to issues of power and control. Welch Cline (1989), along with others (e.g., Stiver, 1991; Surrey, 1991) argued that because women typically derive their sense of self *in-relation-with* others, whereas men usually develop theirs by achieving *over* others, women's investments in intimacy are more constant in comparison to men, who disclose only when they have no power to lose.

Welch Cline (1989) reported some support for this power-vulnerability hypothesis. Specifically, men disclosed less when they exercised greater or equal interpersonal power compared to that of their partners, suggesting a tendency to preserve that power; however men with low power in relationships with women of low power, disclosed significantly more than their partners, suggesting these low power men had nothing to lose, but much to gain through emotional support. Because men typically have greater access to power in relationships, it is not surprising that they disclose less because to do so might mean risking their dominance by exposing vulnerabilities. On the other hand, because women are socialized to nurture and care for others more than men, men who have no power over others to lose, stand to benefit far more than powerless women.

Thus, according to Sattel (1992), men's emotional inexpressiveness is not only a function of modelling or the passive acquisition of one's "appropriate" sex

role identity, it also reflects a goal-oriented process of learning to assume and maintain positions of power.

To effectively wield power, one must be able both to convince others of the rightness of the decisions one makes and to guard against one's own emotional involvement in the consequences of that decision; that is, one has to show that decisions are reached rationally and efficiently. One must also be able to close one's eyes to the potential pain one's decisions have for others and for oneself (Sattel, 1992, p. 352).

Men concerned with control and power learn not to expose their vulnerabilities, or admit weakness because to do so might invite challenges to their strength and integrity as men. Instead, they learn to unconsciously deflect their sense of vulnerability, shame, or victimhood aggressively onto others (Osherson, 1992). "When men become hostile or remote in relationships, they are often trying to shift the focus off the self so that they can silently satisfy their needs without feeling too painfully exposed" (Osherson, 1992, p. 107).

Denial of Vulnerability. Based on his extensive clinical experience with men, Osherson observed that the desire to connect and the impulse to shun intimacy often occur simultaneously. This ambivalence, he argued, arises out of contradictory expectations inherent in the masculine sex role. Specifically, men are

expected to use detached aggression both as a tool for achieving at the expense of others, and as means for connecting with people. Men are expected to be strong, independent, to take initiative, and compete aggressively both on the playing field and in the marketplace. With these expectations come attitudes like "let actions speak louder than words" or "attack when they're down". In other words, "the use of aggression is one of the only ways for men to feel as if they actually have value" and it is often publicly respected (Osherson, 1992, p. 108). This reinforcement of aggression, together with the realistic fear of being victimized by it, leads men to develop a rigid code for expressing intimacy safely. Examples of intimate expressions allowed by this code include "backslapping", mocking glances, jokes, teasing, and other forms of taunting camaraderie (Osherson, 1992). True intimacy, based on trust and letting oneself be vulnerable, is feared for very good reasons. Nonetheless, at some level (probably unconscious), men realize what they are missing, but their learned ambivalence traps them in an approach-avoidance pattern (Rubin, 1983) based on their need for comfort and their fears of attack.

The devastating consequences of this avoidance of intimacy are graphically portrayed in Michael McGill's (1985) study of 700 American men. He quoted an interviewee's report of a deeply personal and traumatic event:

The four of us... had been hunting buddies for ages... We had some great times together, ...despite the differences in our ages. It didn't matter because we really hit it off well. I think each of us thought of the other three as our best friends. We often said how we felt - we could talk about anything we wanted to in the group...

...I remember it was a Friday and we were all going to take off work at noon so we could drive out, set up camp, and be ready to go first thing in the morning. I had one of those four-wheel-drive trucks, so the plan was that I would pick everyone up. Steve lived farthest out, I didn't get away from work as early as I had hoped, and by the time I got Tom and Jim, we were running about an hour late. We pulled up in front of Steve's place and honked a couple of times. Usually he would have come running out, yelling and swearing about us being "slow old farts", but this time there was no sight of him. I saw his gear back by the garage, and I thought maybe he didn't hear us. Tom and Jim stayed in the truck while I went around to get him. He was in the backyard and he was dead. He had taken his shotgun, put the muzzle in his mouth, and with a piece of wood pushed the trigger and blown the back of his head away. He left a note near his body: "I'm sorry. There is no one to talk to" (p. 173).

According to McGill, this scenario is not unusual. Men who have spent long hours together over the course of many years, firmly believing they know and understand one other, suddenly find themselves alone, or in a state of shock in times of deep emotional crisis. Although it is undoubtedly true that these and many other men could indeed *be there* for each other, they are so accustomed to simply *doing things* together, that they are not aware of the missed opportunities. Although men infer their intimacy solely on the basis of their shared activities, this "inferred intimacy seems to work well [only] until a disturbing problem demands more from the relationship than unquestioned acceptance" (Sherrod, 1987, p. 222). This, I believe, is because questioning on a personal level violates the sacred male-bonding code, alluded to earlier, which serves to protect men from potentially hurtful emotional power struggles.

Men's Capacity for Empathy. Perhaps surprisingly, many studies show little or no actual differences in nurturing capacity between men and women (e.g., Doyle, 1986; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Sawin & Parke, 1979). The differences that have been found are typically based on self-reports of empathy (Brabeck, 1989). As Brabeck (1989) reported, no consistent differences have been found in physiological studies of empathy (i.e., facial expression, heart rate, etc) or in studies employing unobtrusive observations of non-verbal expressions of empathy.

In a recent review of the literature on empathy gender differences, Pollack (1995a) concluded that men and women are “equally endowed” with “an inborn capacity to experience vicariously the affective states of another member of the human species” but that socialization enhances this quality in females while repressing it in males. This, Pollack asserted, leads to a “proempathic state in girls and an antiempathic one in boys” (Pollack, in press, as cited in Pollack, 1995a, pp. 59-60).

Brabeck (1989) suggested that the observed gender differences in self-reports of empathy are largely due to social demand characteristics; that is, women typically report greater empathy because they are expected to in our society.

Brabeck, along with others who support the notion that empathy is socially constructed, do not deny the fact that females are far more emotionally responsive to others in comparison with men, they simply argue that this by no means reflects an inherent male incapacity for empathy.

Men clearly do not participate in nurturing activities as much as women. If men are as capable of nurturing as women (which the physiological and observer experimental data imply), their lack of involvement cannot be explained using essentialist logic (i.e., that it is simply not in their nature). Instead it may well be a function of the same pragmatic power management patterns of behaviour described above. Why be concerned with another's well-being if it may mean

sacrificing one's own time, resources, or authority?

Male Dominance. Finally, although it is clear from this analysis of the psychological literature that power *over* others is a core component in the male experience, sex differences in *aggression* are apparent only when the context and consequences of the violence are taken into consideration (this is described in some detail in the following section). Eagly (1987) reported that the single "strongest predictor [of sex differences is] whether aggression caused physical or psychological harm to its target" (p. 91). Specifically, men are more physically violent, but there is little difference between men and women on psychological aggression (Eagly, 1987).

Many studies have sought to link testosterone levels to aggression; however the results are mixed (Doyle, 1989; Johnson, 1990; Mazur, 1983; White, 1983). And as White (1983) concluded, even if one ignores the inconsistency, "the variance in aggression that would be accounted for by genetic-hormonal factors is relatively small; hence our understanding of the causes and controls of aggression is not adequately enhanced" (p. 21). With this in mind, critics of this bio-genetic research accuse researchers of contributing to the *myth of the beast within* by exaggerating the importance of genetics and hormones (Klama, 1988; Larsen, 1976; Moyer, 1987). Furthermore, as Lore and Schultz (1993) suggested,

whether or not aggression has a biological component, the fact remains that it *can* be effectively controlled using psychological and social interventions.

A psychosocial perspective, especially one that emphasizes intimacy and power dynamics, promises to more adequately account for the differences sometimes observed between men and women. It seems wise, then, to view psychological sex differences more as flexible social psychological phenomena, than immutable facts of life. Variation in the prevalence and targets of violence observed across different cultures further supports the need for social psychological research.

Gender in Socio-Cultural Context.

Although scholars admit to the near universality of male dominance in contemporary society (e.g., Friedl, 1978; Godelier, 1985), profeminists, in particular, dispute the universality of masculinity (Kimmel, 1992a). Gilmore (1990) proclaimed that rituals for proving manhood are universal, existing in various forms across all cultures. He argued that although these rituals are sometimes violent (e.g., scaring, genital sub-incisions, sports, military training), violence is neither a universal, nor necessary component to the ritual. Gilmore suggested that rituals are helpful in laying to rest the otherwise perpetual doubts men face about their manhood; for unlike women who experience natural stages of

development that affirm their identity as women, men must construct rituals for self-affirmation.

Two serious criticisms have been levelled against Gilmore. Kimmel (1992a) argued that Gilmore's sample was selective, including only "cases that confirm his psychoanalytic model", and that he "down plays evidence from societies, like Tahiti, in which material abundance leads to gender equality between women and men, and hence little need for men to demonstrate their manhood" (p. 167). Secondly, Kimmel suggested that there is strong evidence indicating that societies with the most elaborate manhood rituals, are also those with the most marked inequality. This implies that the mythopoetic emphasis on recovering and reinstituting ancient all-male rituals may not only be misguided (based as it is on the false assumption of universality), but that it could even have dangerous consequences for women (i.e., if the ritual process actually contributes to greater inequality).

Given the highly contextualized sex difference findings collected over recent decades, profeminist proposals for supplanting universalist and essentialist notions of manhood and masculinity with a social constructionist perspective on gender make sense. This contextualized approach by no means precludes the role of biology, because, as LeVine (1991) suggested, "the more we know about

human gender roles and differences through cross-cultural and historical research, the less support we find for unqualified innatism or environmentalism." (p. 4). Both perspectives on gender are valid and "the evidence calls for a more sophisticated analysis encompassing biological and cultural components" (p. 6). However, according to Gilligan (1991), this more sophisticated approach must recognize that "it is easier to study biological factors than to study social, cultural, or psychological factors" simply because biological data are easier to obtain and control (p. 131). Given this, and the fact that medicine tends to dominate over social science and scientific research in general, a concerted effort is needed to level the field with a stronger emphasis on environmentalism. With this in mind, a social constructionist point of view grounded in biological boundaries promises a more complete reflection of reality. Perhaps, more importantly, this view indicates the potential for positive change for men and society at large. As I illustrate in the following section, there are some very good reasons to hope for and insist on changing men.

Men's Contextualized Violence

Violence varies dramatically across cultures. The homicide rate in the United States is the highest in the industrialized world. The risk of being murdered in the United States is 7 to 10 times greater than most European countries. The

homicide rates in Australia and Canada are less than one third of that in the United States (Lore & Schultz, 1993). In comparison, violence is virtually non-existent in Japan. What accounts for these vast differences? One key difference between the US and other industrialized nations, is the excessive value placed on individual freedom at the expense of social responsibility, and in particular, responsibility for violence control (Huer, 1991; Lore & Schultz, 1993). Thus, whether or not violence is a social construction, the inhibition or control of violence undoubtedly is.

American Department of Justice statistics show that men commit at least eight times as many violent crimes as women (Miedziam, 1991). In 1989, 88.6 percent of those arrested for violent crimes were men and 11.4 percent were women. In contrast to the 28 percent of female murder victims killed by husbands or boyfriends in 1990, only 5 percent of male murder victims were killed by wives or girlfriends.

The differential violent crime rates (between men and women) have not changed much since 1960 (Renzetti & Curran, 1989). This of course refutes arguments made by some men (e.g., Gilder, 1973; Goldberg, 1976) that women's advancement is breaking down the social order by encouraging women to relinquish their nurturing role for the more competitive and aggressive male role of

the workplace. If this were so, the violent crime gap between men and women would have narrowed significantly over the last several decades. Although some researchers and commentators argue that assaults by wives against men are now comparable in nature and magnitude to men's battering (e.g., Farrell, 1987; Straus & Gelles, 1986, 1990), careful analysis of the data reveals a more complex picture. While it is true that the ratio of wives to husbands as homicide victims in the United States approaches unity (i.e., 1.3:1), these raw statistics are meaningless out of context and are not applicable in other countries (Maxfield, 1989).

In Canada, for example, the ratio over a ten year period was 4.3 wives murdered by their spouses for every one husband murdered by his wife (Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992). It is estimated that one out of ten Canadian women are beaten by their husbands each year (Thorne-Finch, 1992). Furthermore, evidence suggests that murders of men by women are almost always acts of self-defence, or committed in retaliation for longstanding abuse (Dobash et al., 1992). For instance, in Canada on the much rarer occasions when women do act violently toward men, it is estimated that between 75 and 98 percent of women's attacks are in self-defense (DeKeseredy & Hinch, 1991) or in retaliation to a man's initial assault (Thorne-Finch, 1992). As Dobash et al (1992) wrote:

Men often kill wives after lengthy periods of prolonged physical violence accompanied by other forms of abuse and coercion; the roles in such cases are seldom reversed. Men perpetuate familicidal massacres, killing spouse and children together; women do not. Men commonly hunt down and kill wives who have left them; women hardly ever behave similarly. Men kill wives as part of planned murder-suicides; analogous acts by women are almost unheard of. Men kill in response to revelations of wifely infidelity; women almost never respond similarly, though their mates are more often adulterous. The evidence is overwhelmingly that a large proportion of spouse-killings perpetrated by wives, but almost none of those perpetrated by husbands, are acts of self-defense. Unlike men, women kill male partners after years of suffering physical violence, after they have exhausted all available sources of assistance, when they feel trapped, and because they fear for their own lives (Dobash et al, 1992, p. 81).

Emerging Non-Sexist Male Development Theory

Critics of men's studies and violence research deplore the serious lack of theory in the rapidly expanding literature on men's experiences and violence (e.g., Clatterbaugh, 1990; Dobash et al, 1992; Ferraro, 1990; Ramazanoglu, 1992; Seidler, 1989). Recently, however, men's studies authors have begun to develop

theory which accounts for the effects of men's power on men themselves, and society at large (see Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Levant & Pollack, 1995). For example, Pollack (1995) recently proposed "a new psychoanalytic theory of gender development and identity" (p. 61). He argued:

We must create a paradigm that integrates the best elements of psychoanalytic concepts or models of unconscious internalization (an empathic developmental psychology) with state-of-the-art knowledge of biological processes and the necessary hermeneutic of an interpersonal and social construction of meaning" (p. 61).

Pollack drew heavily on Pleck's Sex Role Strain theory, integrating it with his new trauma-based psychoanalytic theory of men. He suggested that our cultural models of parenting are such that boys suffer "a traumatic abrogation of their early holding environment, that is, a premature psychic separation from both their maternal and paternal caregivers" (p. 35). Because of this traumatic separation from mother and the virtual absence of an emotionally available father, boys are left to fend for themselves, to be *sturdy oaks*. This leaves them with a "severe inability to identify, express, and describe their own feeling-states, particularly those of warmth, caring, sadness and pain" (Pollack, 1995, p.44).

These feelings are repressed, often leaving men with only a vague numbness or tension. As a result, men are

... obsessively concerned with maintaining an independent self and have a panoply of intrapsychic defenses, such as unconscious anger or rage toward women, condescension toward anyone in a caretaking role, overvaluation of independence, devaluation of the need for connectedness, stoic denial of sadness or pain, with an inability to mourn or grieve loss and a walling-off of the core vulnerable self" (p. 47).

Pollack cited research suggesting that increased involvement in fathering and other forms of "generativity" helps men to achieve greater balance between affiliation and autonomy. Balance along this dimension seems to predict marital satisfaction more than either factor alone (Fedele, Grossman, & Pollack, 1988, as cited in Pollack, 1995). Although Pollack, along with several other men's studies writers in psychology (e.g., Bergman, 1995; Krugman, 1995), have begun to construct much needed theory on men's problematic development, they seemed to have less to say about healthy development.

However, in a recent qualitative study of "non-sexist" men, Christian (1994) began exploring just that. He found that more than three quarters of the 30 men interviewed "had experienced a combination of two interacting and

reinforcing influences in their lives: early life experiences which departed from conventional gender expectations; and adult experiences of feminist influence, usually in close relationship with an active feminist" (p. 183). Although Christian provided detailed accounts of these men's experiences and supplied useful thematic summaries (e.g., a list of major and subsidiary themes, for example, non-conventional family-of-origin, identification with nurturing fathers, influence of elder sisters, etc.), he failed to integrate the data with theory of any kind.

In contrast, the primary goals of my study were to (a) generate a non-patriarchal model of male development that is grounded in men's experiences of personal and social change and then, (b) assess the extent to which the data and the model relate to emerging theory. Thus, although my initial focus was on exploring profeminist men's experiences in and of themselves, following this phenomenological phase, I did integrate the data with emerging theory on masculinity and men's psychological development in the final discussion chapter³.

³*In an effort to ensure my analysis was grounded in the data, I did not read extensively in this area while analyzing my data over the past three years. With one exception (recent theory on male defenses), none of the work cited after 1992 informed my analysis or interpretations. Although I do refer briefly, in this review, to several books and articles published since I began the project (e.g., Levant & Pollack, 1995; Christian, 1994), I leave further discussion of these works to the Discussion chapter.*

My Experience of Profeminism

McCracken (1988) suggested that, in addition to studying the experiences of research subjects or interviewees, the qualitative researcher must use "the self as an instrument of inquiry" (p. 32). By this, McCracken meant that the investigator's own experience with the phenomena under study is an essential source of data. He implied that a review of the investigator's personal experiences is just as important as a review of the scholarly literature on the topic at hand. It is important because rather than treating experience as a bias, it recognizes it as a strength, a source of data. And, in so doing, it permits the researcher not only to isolate her/his experience from that of the research participants, but more importantly, serve as a rich, phenomenologically grounded source of data for comparison to the existing scholarly literature and the data obtained from interviewees. McCracken (1988) wrote:

The investigator must inventory and examine the associations, incidents, and assumptions that surround the topic in his or her mind. What is its place in daily life? Who does it involve, according to what schedules, for what putative and actual purposes, with which consequences? What assumptions about the world does the topic rehearse? How does it play out received understandings about how the world is constituted? The

object is to draw out of one's own experience the systematic properties of the topic, separating the structural from the episodic, and the cultural from the idiosyncratic. One useful strategy here is to recall an incident in which the topic at hand was caught up in an episode dramatically at variance with one's previous experience and social conventions. There is no better time to glimpse expectations and assumptions than when they are violated. The ordinary and taken-for-granted is thrown suddenly into relief (p. 32).

In the next several paragraphs, I recall six incidents in my life which contributed to the development of my interest in, and commitment to, profeminism. All incidents involved experiences which were "dramatically at variance" with my "previous experience and social conventions".

As a clinical psychology graduate student, my training involved experience working as a therapist with clients in need of psychological services. This work, of course, was always conducted under the close supervision of a registered psychologist affiliated with my training program. Inevitably, I am told, students encounter supervisors with whom serious professional and/or personal conflicts arise at some point in their training. I had one such experience.

One day, without warning, this particular supervisor expressed "grave concern" about my listening skills as a therapist, and informed me that it was partly

her job to determine whether I was "cut out for a career as a psychologist". When I objected to the manner in which she raised these concerns, she responded repeatedly, in somewhat artless psychoanalytic fashion, by asking me if she "reminded me of someone important in my life"? (i.e., my mother). Although at one level, I saw this for what it was (i.e., the supervisor's inexperience), at another level, this interaction struck a chord with me. I saw some truth in both her criticism of my clinical skills and the transference she was alluding to. The experience so jarred me that I was motivated (against the advice of my replacement supervisor) to seek my own psychotherapy.

Early in therapy, I came to a self-realization that I was, to some extent, "emotionally illiterate," or as Levant (1995) suggests, *alexithymic* (i.e., unable to fully experience many of my feelings and consequently, not always able to tune into other people's feelings). Over the course of therapy, I *did* learn to access feelings to a greater extent, but change was slow. Therapy also included a consciousness-raising component. I became aware that many men have difficulties in this area, and that it is mostly a product of male socialization that emphasizes the exercise of control over all aspects of one's life (career, interpersonal, emotional, family, etc.).

At the same time, I was being exposed in my studies to feminist theory and practice as it relates to psychology. I was also being exposed on a more personal level through interactions with female graduate students who shared feminist attitudes, beliefs, and lifestyles. While I was intrigued, even intellectually excited at times by these seemingly radical feminist perspectives on the world, I often felt alienated and personally threatened by feminism. I still feel uncomfortable with it at times, but I am beginning to recognize this as a feeling of vulnerability, which in the end, is a part of being human, and as such a valuable experience to be cherished and sought after. These encounters were key to my realization that I am myself a legitimate object for a feminist critique of masculinity. For instance, they led me to wonder, what is it that makes me feel threatened and defensive in these situations? Does feminism speak to me in a way that I would not automatically welcome?

The second shattering incident involved an interaction with several of my female colleagues - specifically, feminist graduate students in a classroom setting. It was the second anniversary of the Montreal Massacre (see footnote 5), and because several students had been preparing presentations on male violence, the discussion shifted to current events and students' own encounters with male violence. One student emphasized the importance of considering violence along a

continuum incorporating a wide range of behaviours ranging from subtle acts of dominating discourse to acts of torture and mass murder. She suggested that subtle and not so subtle forms of violence occur regularly in our own university setting and cited as an example, the cut-throat competition which often raises its ugly head in even the most casual, male-dominated intellectual discussions.

Another student, contrasted her own experience in one of her exclusively female classes, suggesting how refreshing it had been over the past year to participate in a cooperative atmosphere based on listening, speaking softly and supportively, in turn. A third student added, "With the exception of one student in this class [i.e., me], the interactions had been supportive and non-competitive, and interruptions had been rare."

Although, in hindsight, I realize this student could have used a little more tact by making the comment to me directly, at the time, I acknowledged (with considerable discomfort, mind you) the validity of her point. I *was* different. I *did* interrupt others whenever I became excited about an idea. This interruption was a form of control, and at times I *did* tend to thrive on one-upmanship games. This was hard for me to accept, particularly because I saw that it was true and would be difficult to change.

The third and fourth incidents were almost entirely political in nature. First there was the Oka Crisis⁴, and then the Gulf War. In both instances, I was somehow motivated by moral outrage to join with others in taking to the streets. I had never been involved in social activism before. I had gotten in touch with some anger and because I was feeling alienated by our government's decisions, I found it easy to direct these new feelings outward in the form of social action. But the protest marches soon ended, and the energy, anger, and enthusiasm dissipated. Although I felt some excitement and connection with others at the time of protest, these feelings did not last.

Nevertheless, the political involvement *had* changed me. I had become politically aware. This impacted on me personally in surprising ways. In particular, I was disturbed to discover that members of my family-of-origin, who had always shared similar, left of centre, beliefs, were not *with* me politically anymore. At first, I was shocked. I wondered, "how could they see the war and

⁴During the summer of 1990, the Mohawk people of Kanesateke, Quebec (an indigenous community adjacent to the Montreal suburb, Oka) erected an armed barricade on a road within their reserve to prevent the expansion of a golf course onto their sacred burial grounds, located in territory which had been the focus of a legally unresolved land claim for more than a century. When the provincial police stormed the barricade in support of the non-native developers, one officer was killed in the ensuing exchange of fire. At this point, the provincial government requested the support of the Canadian Armed Forces. The 90-day standoff between the forces and this small group of armed Mohawks (and their families) became known in Canada as the Oka Crisis.

the native conflict *that way?*". Maybe they had always seen things that way.

Maybe, I never really knew them at all. I took me a while to discover that *I* had changed while *they* remained the same.

My involvement in Canada's White Ribbon Campaign (WRC) represents the fifth profeminist experience I identified as relevant to this study⁵. I helped organize a local WRC committee which developed and implemented a public relations campaign during the first week of December in 1992. Although these activities were primarily political, I hoped that by connecting with other profeminist men in the community, I would also enjoy personal and emotional growth by establishing a new support network. Unfortunately this did not happen. I found that even profeminist men resist connecting with one another on a more intimate level.

The final event that changed my life was the birth of my first child. My partner worked full-time, four days on, and then, four days off. I cared for my son on the four days his mother worked, and studied on the days she was at home. In addition to putting my professional training and career goals in perspective (i.e.,

⁵*The White Ribbon Campaign was launched in the wake of the Montreal Massacre of 1989 when a lone gunman murdered 14 women at the University of Montreal's school of engineering, the Ecole Polytechnique. Groups of profeminist men organized across the country to campaign on men's violence against women. Men were encouraged to wear a white ribbon for a week as a pledge that they would not "commit, condone, or remain silent about violence against women".*

they became less important than family), I discovered a genuinely nurturing, ever-more patient, and loving, side to myself. While my son (and later my daughter) brought new light, love, and richness to our lives, they also brought additional stress and time pressures to bear on our own relationship, as well as our careers.

My children helped me appreciate the excruciating demands child care places on women. Although feminists have been telling men for years that caring full time for children is emotionally, cognitively, and physically exhausting, especially in combination with career and other household duties, the experience brought home the point much more dramatically. My involvement as a primary care giver allowed me to both hear the feminist message first hand and put some of the principles into action by participating equally in raising my children.

In conclusion, my experience of these six events provided me with valuable insight into my limitations and weaknesses as a man, along with an appreciation of the potential that experiencing vulnerability has for both personal and political growth. By threatening my self-concept as a somewhat controlling, emotionally restricted male, on the one hand, while offering, simultaneously, the hope of an alternative way of being on the other, feminism both challenged and motivated me to open myself to the possibility for gradual (albeit painful) personal growth and positive social change.

The Present Study

My goal in this research project was to begin a process of resolving the sometimes contradictory needs for social change and individual men's healing. It is difficult to imagine large numbers of men suddenly committing themselves to social change around issues related to their power and violence, partly because most men benefit (albeit in varying degrees) from their privileged status, but also because male dominance is so firmly entrenched in all aspects of our society, that individual needs and attempts are often blocked by social institutions and pressures.

As witnessed in the recent popularity of mythopoetic weekend retreats, it is much easier to attract men to workshops concerned exclusively with "quick-fix" solutions than to engage men in the painful, long-term process of critical self-analysis and social transformation. It is easier because the "quick-fixes" allow men to feel good about themselves without burdening them with social responsibilities that risk threatening their privileges. The central question I sought to address in this study was "How can we facilitate a process of social transformation which is attractive to men but does not compromise the urgent social change agenda?"

The problem-oriented research and literature on men and masculinity raises more questions than answers for men facing confusing, often contradictory, and

rapidly changing role expectations. Until recently (e.g., Levant & Pollack, 1995), virtually no efforts had been made to develop theoretical models capable of cultivating alternative patterns, or courses, of male behaviour, identity formation, development, and social role acquisition. While this recent work introduces a promising and long overdue social constructionist interpretation of psychoanalytic theory as it applies to men, the extent to which it informs solutions remains unclear. O'Neil, Good & Homes (1995) acknowledged this shortcoming.

Limited literature exists on how gender role conflict is resolved and how gender roles change over the life span. Clearly, many more men and women are attempting to liberate themselves from the bondage of patriarchy through personal, professional, and political action... Very little is known about the specific processes that individuals experience when they resolve their gender role conflict... We need to document how men change their sexist and gender-conflicted behaviour. Men who become acutely aware of how the social-political and sexist system contributes to their gender role conflict are the ones who usually attempt to liberate themselves (pp. 168 & 200).

Given the tendency for theory to leapfrog ahead of both lived experience and practical solutions, my primary aim in conducting this research was to explore

and discover solutions to the problems of men in masculinity, first from the perspective of those involved in their own personal and political journeys away from or outside of patriarchy and then, by integrating these *grounded* discoveries within the larger, more complex field of emerging theory.

I began simply by asking a small sample of profeminist men to tell me about their experiences with gender issues. I avoided using any structure in the interviews to maximize the potential for discovery. This unstructured approach allowed me, as much as was possible, to suspend preconceptions I had based in both personal experiences and the available scholarly literature. In so doing, I was able to ground the analysis in the data before moving on to integrate the results with existing knowledge and theory. The result, an integrated, yet tentative and fluid model, is not so much a product, as it is a stimulant for continued exploration of, challenges to, questions about, and discourse on men's psychosocial development in relation to women and feminism.

Chapter 2 - Method

Men's studies authors have typically favoured qualitative research methods over quantitative techniques (e.g., Cohen, 1991; Franklin, 1988). This is because "the goal [was] to make visible the invisible, uncovering along the way dimensions of men's lives that traditional depictions of men haven't captured" (Cohen, 1991, p. 4). As Cohen suggested, "part of the explanation for the long-standing invisibility of men's [lives] is found in the questions we asked and failed to ask. At the same time, *how* those questions were posed made such discovery less likely" (p. 4). More specifically, objective, quantitative research methods have either discouraged or prevented altogether disclosure of intimate and emotionally-charged personal experiences. In response, Cohen recommended using an unstructured, egalitarian and personalized interviewing style, developed by feminist researchers, in place of traditional methods.

The aim of my inquiry was twofold. First, I sought to understand and reconstruct profeminist men's experiences with gender issues. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, I was committed to formulating a critique of men's development with a focus on restitution and emancipation from patriarchy. A central question for me was, what are potential solutions to the problems of masculinity and patriarchy? These goals and this question reflected my mixed

postpositivist / constructivist / clinical ontological position (see Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I based this position on the assumption that while experiences of gender issues are socially constructed and relativistic, there exist real and substantial institutional and historical forces that channel these experiences. As such, understanding must be contextualized and critiqued within this context. In addition to simply seeking understanding of a variety of profeminist experiences, I sought to construct an *ideal* model of personal and social transformation, one based on integrating (comparing and contrasting) a variety of men's experiences and perhaps more importantly, in my view, one that promised to inform clinical practice.

Interview Design

I developed an unstructured interview format to elicit emotionally and phenomenologically detailed accounts of interviewees' current and past personal and socio-political involvement in profeminist change. As suggested by McCracken (1988), I began each interview in a benign manner with the administration of relatively neutral biographical questions followed by opportunities to explore questions or anxieties associated with the interview process. This gave me an opportunity to connect gradually, to assess and build trust before initiating the more demanding and very personal interview process.

Although McCracken advised against using *active listening* techniques during the interview for fear of putting words into the interviewee's mouth, a feminist (or at least profeminist) approach to research assumes that one can only truly understand another person "by seeing with a loving eye" (Cowden, 1984, as cited in Reinharz, 1992). In other words, full understanding is cut short in the absence of empathy. As Reinharz (1992) suggested, immersing oneself (as interviewer) into the interviewee's experience through the use of empathic listening would not necessarily reflect poorly on research quality. Instead, Reinharz argued that, if facilitated skilfully, this process reveals "a valuable reflection of reality" (p. 19). Since one of the primary goals of this study was to develop a phenomenologically rich understanding of profeminist men's emotional growth and development, I considered active listening, as endorsed by Reinharz, vital to the interview process.

This listening approach helped maximize authenticity largely because it encouraged participants to tell their stories in their own way, using their own words. The key, McCracken argued, is to "spring" interviewees, to elicit their full and committed participation without predetermining the substance of their responses. This is best accomplished by opening the interview with non-directive,

or *grand-tour* questions (McCracken, 1988; Spradley, 1979; Werner & Schoepfle).

With this in mind, I began the interview by outlining the scope and parameters of my inquiry. Rather than asking specific questions, I simply informed participants of my research interests by reading my *initial statement of inquiry*, leaving them to decide how and where to begin⁶. For most of the interview, I then listened actively, reflecting back their dialogue and seeking clarification when needed. Occasionally, when the discourse seemed particularly relevant to my statement of interests, I queried further to elicit the kind of phenomenologically rich description typically associated with concrete experiences and critical life events. In short, I directed special emphasis at eliciting qualities or dimensions of experience that stood out for the person - elements that were both vivid and alive (Moustakas, 1990).

However, in order to minimize intrusiveness and maximize breadth and diversity of discourse, I queried only near the end of the sessions. When

⁶*Initial Statement of Inquiry: "I would like you to share some of the more significant and meaningful personal experiences you have had with gender issues. These experiences could range from conflicts or changing relations with others (possibly your spouse or partner), to feelings, challenges, responses, or reactions to feminists or feminism itself. I am interested in hearing about both your personal, more private experiences and any public or political involvement you may have had dealing with gender issues."*

participants raised gender-related issues or experiences which appeared to have special significance to them, but then, for whatever reason, failed to expound on them, I typically prompted them to return to these issues before the interview ended. A few participants strayed significantly from the issues I initially raised in my opening statement of inquiry. In such cases, I asked them more directly towards the end of the session to comment on relevant experiences they may have had with gender issues. Though more direct than my opening approach, this closing strategy enabled me to seek clarification and elaboration relatively unobtrusively.

Participants

McCracken (1988) recommended interviewing participants who are "unknown to the researcher and other respondents," This, he explained, helps facilitate the *distance* necessary for creating and maintaining a sharp and undistracted focus on the interviewee's discourse. Specifically, McCracken argued that beliefs become assumptions and actions become habits in exchanges lacking adequate distance.

On the other hand, distancing precludes the possibility of *purposive* selection of participants. In contrast to representative sampling, which is designed to ensure probabilistic representativeness of data across cases (within the

population of interest), purposive sampling is concerned with qualitative sampling across theoretical constructs (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In order to select participants of relevance to the purpose of the study (i.e., understanding profeminist men), I reasoned I would need to *know* the men well enough to appraise their potential for rich analysis and thick interpretive description. And yet I recognized that this, in itself, presumed there was a single definable standard for profeminism and that, somehow, I would be capable of screening or selecting participants according to that standard.

To acknowledge this epistemological conundrum and to balance my distancing objective with the need to select respondents with potential for speaking to my research questions, I struck a compromise. Specifically, I invited 15 personal acquaintances (male and female), whom I knew were committed to feminism, to nominate several men they considered dedicated to a process of personal and socio-political profeminist change. I asked both female and male contacts to nominate participants because, together, their unique perspectives on profeminism promised to enrich the sample (see Appendix A for nomination letter).

This nomination process is based on Palys' (1992) variation on purposive selection, *snowball* sampling. Palys argues that snowball sampling is "particularly

useful if the target population... is a deviant or *closet* population, or is not well defined or accessible" (p. 148). Briefly, snowball sampling involves locating participants by word of mouth, personal knowledge of people, or connections with those who are likely to yield data on the initial questions of relevance.

Selection through nomination permitted me to maintain a level of distance crucial to the hermeneutic task (McCracken, 1988), while enabling me to strategically access a sample of profeminist men - a relatively small segment of the population and one not easily located. To further enrich the dialectical analytic process, I asked an acquaintance of mine who was researching men's rights activists, to nominate a potential participant who, as a *negative case* (i.e., anti-feminist), would serve to sharpen the analytic focus by highlighting that which is unique to profeminism.

I received a total of 23 nominations of varying socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. I contacted by mail all nominated men, inviting them to participate in the study. Approximately two weeks later, I followed up by telephone to confirm their interest in participating. To facilitate sample diversity, I distributed a demographic screening survey to all interested nominees (see Appendix B). Based on the responses to the screening instrument, I initially selected, for interviewing, eight men (seven profeminist and one men's rights activist) with widely varying

cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Technical difficulties (inaudible audio recording) prevented me from gathering data from one of these men.

Of the six remaining profeminist men, three (Frank, George, and Charlie) grew up in Canada, while the others (Jean, Allan and Jose) immigrated as adults from West Africa, Great Britain and South America, respectively. Ages ranged from 35 to 50. Education ranged from high school graduate (a custodial worker, an artist and a farmer) to post-graduate (two academics and a medical specialist). The men's rights activist was a white, middle class, university educated man in his late twenties⁷.

None of the six nominated profeminist men identified themselves as gay or bisexual. In an attempt to locate a gay or bisexual man, I wrote to several gay-positive organizations explaining the aims of my research and my interest in interviewing men supportive of feminism. The director of one such organization nominated himself and although I did interview him and thoroughly coded his transcript, I decided to exclude the data on grounds that his experiences seemed to have little relationship (negative or positive) to feminism.

⁷ *Although this sample varied along socioeconomic and cultural dimensions, I neither inquired deeply into these variables, nor did I fully analyse their relevance to profeminism. As a white, middle class man trained in clinical psychology, I did not feel equipped to adequately explore these complex variables.*

Once I had interviewed and begun analyzing transcripts from the seven-man nominated sample (six profeminist and one men's rights activist), new, more complex and seemingly unanswerable questions emerged which led me to extend and broaden the sample to include greater diversity (including a gay perspective). Although initially I refrained from interviewing profeminist men whom I knew personally, the emerging questions demanded more focused selection criteria. This meant that it was no longer useful for me to select participants from a distance because, by definition, distance would leave me blind to a given candidate's potential for addressing the more narrowly defined emerging issues. Instead, armed with more focused and conceptually grounded questions, I found myself on the lookout for men whose unique experiences with gender issues would speak more directly to the questions. I was surprised to discover, in short order, two candidates willing to participate (one gay, middle class and the other who was straight, working class). In total then, I analyzed transcripts for nine men (eight profeminist and one men's rights activist).

Chapter 3 - Analysis

I approached the data equipped with a wide range of analytic tools, rules and procedures. I drew from phenomenological (Giorgi, 1985; Moustakas, 1990), reflexive postmodernist (Fonow & Cook, 1991, as cited in Punch, 1994; Gilbert & Schmid, 1994; Gilgun, 1994) and postpositivist traditions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Like many qualitative researchers (e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1985; McCracken, 1988) I selected the combination of techniques which, in my view, best suited my epistemological frame and particular research goals. My selection, however, was not entirely predetermined; it evolved with the emerging interpretive constructions. In the end, my analysis gravitated more towards postpositivism, reflecting my desire to organize the emerging constructions within an idealized, integrated model of profeminist psychosocial development.

Although my objective in this section is to document the analytic strategies I employed, I also touch on some of the key elements of the interpretive model - the results - as they emerged within the analysis. This melding of process and outcome was inescapable simply because of the iterative, dialectical nature of the constructivist methodology.

Phenomenological Phase

As recommended by phenomenologist, Amedeo Giorgi (1985), I began my analysis with a careful, reflective reading of transcripts of the first three interviews. To sustain phenomenological depth, I attempted to immerse myself in the respondents' experience (Giorgi, 1985; Moustakas, 1990) by imagining myself in dialogue with the respondent, or at least in dialogue with the data. My aim was to expand the original dialogue by incorporating the insights (including those derived from my own self-reflection) revealed at each level of analysis.

Without attempting to label or code the data, I marked the margins of passages which had an impact on me. In surveying these marked passages, I discovered that many of issues bore striking similarities or obvious differences to my own experiences with feminism. My identification with the men both excited and troubled me. I was worried because I wondered how my experiences might adversely influence, or somehow detract from the analysis. And yet I was excited by the extent to which their voices spoke to many of the same issues I was grappling with. In order to fully capitalize on all the data, including my own experiences, and to honestly locate and anchor the data to their proper phenomenological sources, I decided to add my voice to those of participants by audio taping and transcribing my own spontaneous reflections on the general

statement of inquiry. In so doing, I committed myself to an important process of analytic reflexivity.

In feminist qualitative research, the researcher's own biases typically become "resources and, if the researcher is sufficiently reflexive about her project, she can evoke these as resources to guide data gathering or creating and for understanding her own interpretations and behaviour in the research. What is required... is a full account of the researcher's views, thinking and conduct" (Olesen, 1994, p. 165). Reflexivity introduces a process of "dialectical thought" and in so doing "it refuses to allow the border between objectivity and subjectivity to rest long enough to take a static form" (Ring, 1987, as cited in Olesen, 1994, p. 165).

I saw this process as essential to my work for several reasons. First, as suggested above, the dialectical aspect facilitates "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). Secondly, it constitutes methodological triangulation of autobiographical and interview data. Finally, it recognizes the notion that researchers are undeniably "complicit in the persistent constitution of Other as the self's shadow" (Spivak, 1988, as cited in Fine, 1994, p. 75). Denzin concurred in writing, "representation, of course, is always self-presentation... the Other who is presented in the text is always a version of the researcher's self" (p. 503). If this projection is

inescapable, which I believe is the case, an account that recognizes and works with the dialectic is a more credible and accurate representation of data.

My observations and interpretations of the data were, from the outset, influenced by my own experiences and personal preoccupations with gender. What I noticed as important, was undeniably linked to my own personal journey. With respect to Frank, the first man I interviewed, I observed that he had been struggling for a long time to improve his relationship with his partner and, more recently, to come to terms with his own infidelity. Having realized he was "leading a double life," he ended his extra-marital affair, but without ever disclosing the betrayal to his wife. Feminism "fascinated" him, but seemed to hold only the vaguest promise of healing or liberation for him. Jean, the second man interviewed, had certainly engaged feminism, but only on academic and professional levels where he became preoccupied with the issue of political correctness. George, the third interviewee, experienced an epiphany of sorts in divorcing his wife and assuming sole custody of his only child. Inheriting primary parenting responsibility led him to the shocking discovery of the true nature and value of women's work. Despite hoping that feminism might also somehow liberate him from the confines of his abusive patriarchal past, George remained embroiled in a seemingly endless cycle of unsatisfying relationships and an increasingly

"distracting" pattern of professional and self-help consumption. Fascinated with feminism on an intellectual level, both George and Frank seemed emotionally and interpersonally frustrated.

Like both Frank and George, I too, at one point, became excited and fascinated with feminism, but mainly on intellectual or political levels. On a more intimate level, I was struggling with my emotionally locked-up, controlling, and occasionally aggressive interpersonal style. This, together with my interest in and commitment to a scholarly study of men's role in feminism, suggested to me that I too was "living a double life". Like Frank, I had been struggling in my relationship to achieve intimacy, and although I never came close to having an affair, I found myself often distracted by feelings of sexual attraction to other women - to the point where both my partner and I believed it interfered with my ability to be physically and emotionally close with her. George emphasized this *distraction-from-intimacy* theme repeatedly in his interview. He described his waking life as filled with "distractions" from feelings, whether it was watching television, participating in therapy, doing self-help, or masturbating repeatedly throughout the day. Like both Frank and George, I sought professional counselling in an effort to resolve these intimacy issues. Jean, in contrast, revealed almost nothing personal

or vulnerable about himself, but like me, he had immersed himself both politically and professionally within feminism.

By formally and systematically integrating my own personal experiences of feminism with those of the men interviewed, I became more conscious of the lens through which I reconstructed the experiences of participants. This allowed me to sharpen my focus on what were truly *their* experiences, without dismissing the relevance or importance of mine. It allowed me to attend to and capture greater interpretive complexity while remaining firmly grounded in experience.

Descriptive, Issue-Focused Phase

With this reflexive mind set, I began organizing and interpreting the preliminary data set (i.e., the first three transcripts and my own account) more systematically. My approach became less phenomenological and more issue-focused and constructivist⁸. Though I continued to code reflexively, I gradually directed my attention away from participants per se, to the segmented, coded meaning units (quotations). McCracken's (1988) unique blend of reflexive/issue-

⁸*Although Weiss (1994) distinguished between issue-focused and case-focused interview research, my analysis involved both (i.e., grounded theory and case-presentation). Initially, however, I was more interested in construct development, especially since at this stage of the project I had only a vague sense of what the relevant issues were.*

focused strategies seemed well-suited to my aims. He summarized his technique as follows:

The first stage treats each utterance in the interview transcript in its own terms, ignoring its relationship to other aspects of the text. The treatment of each useful utterance creates an observation. The second stage takes these observations and develops them, first, by themselves, second, according to the evidence in the transcript, and, third, according to the previous literature and cultural review. The third stage examines the interconnection of the second-level observations, resorting once again to the previous acts of literature and cultural review. The focus of attention has now shifted away from the transcript and toward the observations themselves. Reference to the transcript is now made only to check ideas as they emerge from the process of observation comparison. The fourth stage takes the observations generated at previous levels and subjects them, in this collective form, to collective scrutiny. The object of analysis is the determination of patterns of inter-theme consistency and contradiction. The fifth stage takes these patterns and themes, as they appear in the several interviews that make up the project, and subjects them to a final process of analysis (p.42).

Grounded Theory Procedures

To a limited extent, McCracken's coding scheme resembles that of grounded theory. The initial scanning, marking, and enhancing process bears some resemblance to *open coding*, which according to Strauss and Corbin (1990), is a "process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (p. 61). *Axial coding* involves "a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 98). It is similar to McCracken's third stage of analysis. *Selective coding* is the "process of selecting the core category (the central phenomenon around which all the other categories are integrated), systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development" (p. 116). This closely resembles McCracken's fourth and fifth stages of analysis. Because grounded theory texts (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) offer more detailed instructions for coding data, I used these resources to elaborate on McCracken's method. More specifically, I applied these grounded theory coding techniques using the method of constant comparison (i.e., comparison of conceptual categories derived through coding) in concert with McCracken's 5-stages .

In keeping with the principles of grounded theory, I conducted a "tiered" analysis of the interviews in three successive groups. This allowed me to adjust (remove irrelevant probes and questions and add new one's suggested by the analyzed data) my interviewing strategy before proceeding to the next batch of interviews. In this way, the course of the inquiry became, at least to some extent, grounded in participants' experiences.

Data Reduction

Upon completion of the phenomenological phase, I began a more intensive analysis of the initial set of interviews. I first considered the utterances (smallest meaning units - usually a sentence or two) literally, in isolation and out of context, attending to the "stream of associations evoked [in me] by the stream of utterances" (McCracken, 1988, p. 44). Initially the coding was purely descriptive, applying tentative labels (hereafter, referred to as codes) to the processes and the content referred to in each unit. Wherever possible, I used *in-vivo* codes (i.e., category labels based on participants' own words). For example, Frank, the first man interviewed, suggested he "was leading a double-life" during his extra-marital affair. Similar instances of duplicitous behaviour were henceforth coded using the code "dblif". I assigned as many codes as possible to each unit and when no codes fit the unit, I developed new ones. While Glaser and Strauss suggested

theory building often begins at this point of the analysis, my less positivistic stance led me, like Lincoln and Guba (1985) to substitute the word *construction* for Glaser and Strauss' use of the word *theory*⁹. Each time I assigned a code to a unit of the transcript, I revised the emerging construct represented by the code label. For example, Frank himself categorized the realization that he had been “leading a double life” as a “pivotal event”, a turning point in his previously duplicitous relationship with feminism. With subsequent assignments of the code “pivot” (i.e., assignment to passages in the other transcripts), I revised the underlying construct “pivotal life event” to incorporate a broader range of observations. The expanded construct, “pivotal incident stress”, incorporated several other constructs, including “dblfe” and “cnflct”¹⁰.

This expanding, emergent, and interconnecting process involved what Glaser and Strauss (1967) referred to as the method of constant comparisons. For example, before assigning a code to a particular passage of text, I compared that passage with all passages previously assigned the code, as well as passages assigned other potentially relevant codes. The comparative process involved four

⁹*Although the goals of grounded theory and constructive research conflict on ontological and epistemological grounds, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest, the rules and procedures associated with grounded theory are, for the most part, consistent with both postpositivist and constructivist positions.*

¹⁰ *See Appendix C for descriptions / definitions of constructs.*

progressively deeper reviews, or sweeps through the emerging analytic database. The first sweep involved a careful, minute and somewhat *thinly* descriptive analysis of the first three interviews (as well as my own account), while the second sweep involved a slightly thicker, more interpretive review of the same. I conducted the third, deeper still interpretive sweep following initial coding of the second set of interviews and the final, highly interpretive sweep upon completion of the last set.

Obviously, with each additional interview, it was necessary to return, at least to some extent, to earlier, more descriptive (less comparative or interpretive) stages of analysis (i.e., McCracken's Stage 1 or 2). However, with progressive sweeps through the transcripts, the constructs evolved, growing more complex with each sweep. In other words, I worked through McCracken's stages of analysis in an iterative, rather than strictly linear fashion.

The iterative, progressively deeper analytic process was necessary to ensure that (a) the evolving analytical constructs were consistent with the previously analyzed data and (b) when inconsistencies arose, the constructs thickened to account for the growing complexity. On each sweep, I reviewed and revised the quotation boundaries, the appropriateness of assigned codes, the descriptions of the underlying constructs and the logic of the emerging links. Each sweep involved up to 160 hours of intensive comparative analysis and construct

development. When codes no longer seemed to fit with passages they had initially been assigned to, links with those passages were deleted. As constructs evolved and new ones emerged, additions and deletions of links continued.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), the process of *constant comparison* often yields hypotheses (or from the constructivist's perspective, tentative constructions). Glaser and Strauss (1967) wrote:

After coding for a [construct] perhaps three or four times, the analyst will find conflicts in the emphases of his thinking. He will be musing over theoretical notions and, at the same time, trying to concentrate on his study of the next incident, to determine the alternate ways by which it should be coded and compared. At this point, ... [the analyst must]... stop coding and record a memo on [her/his] ideas. This rule is designed to tap the initial freshness of the analyst's theoretical notions and to relieve the conflict in his own thoughts (p. 107).

Throughout the data collection and analysis stages of the project, I recorded *memos*, in dialectical format, to document emerging analytical and conceptual themes or questions, as they germinated. As the construction progressed, I began linking the themes to the codes and the associated interview passages themselves. This process was essential for grounding constructs in the

data, laying down the audit trail, and ensuring that subsequent purposive sampling would be adequately informed by both the existing data and the emerging thematic constructions.

Computer Database

Documenting the analytical process, in particular, managing the evolving constructs, their emerging relationships and associated themes was a formidable task. Fortunately, computer technology and qualitative software specifically designed for managing complex analytic and interpretive structures has advanced considerably in recent years. Muhr (1992) developed a sophisticated user-friendly computer software package, Atlas/ti, expressly for managing constructivist qualitative research founded on grounded theory coding procedures. The Windows-like graphical interface allowed me to simultaneously view a transcript (in raw form), a complete or partial list of codes, a list of memos, and a list of text units (quotations) already segmented and coded. With a simple click of the mouse on a given code list item, I was able to (a) quickly access, and when necessary edit the emerging definition or conceptualization of the underlying construct, (b) browse passages and memos assigned to the code, and (c) develop, explore, edit graphical representations of the tentative linkages. All of the linkages (whether

between codes and text passages, memos and texts, codes and other codes, etc.) were easily modified to account for the deepening and expanding analysis.

Interpreting the First Three Interviews

After developing and assigning codes to all utterances of the first three transcripts, I coded my own autobiographical account (McCracken's stages one and two). Although by this time I had already developed and assigned close to 100 separate codes to the data, the major constructs (those most "thickly" described) emerging from this analysis included double-life (dblife), external challenges to masculine role (xtrchl), alienation (alien), political correctness (polcor), defensiveness (in particular, distraction (dstrac)), emotional need (emneed), fascination (optfac), professional/political feminism (politl).

Conflict: An emerging core construct. By streamlining the thickening analysis, the foundations for a "core category" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) were realized. At this point, the core construct around which most of my thinking - and perhaps more importantly - around which much of my *questioning* revolved, was "double-life." More broadly defined, double-life referred to duplicity, incongruence, and a lack of integrity between private life and public presentation. The construct, even the term *double-life* itself, originated with Frank's reference to his extra-marital affair. The fact that Jean revealed nothing about his private life,

left me wondering about the integrity of his feminism. Of the three men interviewed at this point, George seemed most committed to, and involved in feminism, but with respect to relationships, he appeared stalled in an emotionally needy, interpersonally isolated space. As for me, here I was conducting research on a fascinating topic which promised to replace patriarchy with an emotionally expressive, interpersonally rich and egalitarian, cooperative community, but in doing so, I was experiencing guilt and shame associated with my own stereotypically masculine interpersonal style - dominant, autonomous and emotionally repressed.

Interpreting & Integrating the Middle Three Interviews

I wondered how ubiquitous the issue of integrity was. I decided to attend more closely to this issue and related issues in the subsequent set of three interviews. On first reading of this second batch of transcripts, I was surprised to detect *not* even the slightest evidence of incongruence¹¹. These men had been *raised* as feminists - they were already *there*. Unlike the first three interviewed, all three of these *softer* men provided rich discourse on the primacy, value, and complexity of relationships in their lives.

¹¹*Upon further examination, following analysis of the last three transcripts, I did discover evidence of incongruence but of a different sort altogether (see "Final Three Transcripts" section).*

Participants were now distinguishable according to the constructs congruence-incongruence, conflict-synergy, or neophyte versus natural profeminist. This marked the beginnings of a graphically-based model, or map, which located the issues on a continuum from patriarchy to feminism. Three of the men studied thus far revealed traditionally masculine characteristics (dominant, aggressive, independent, career-focused, active) that were being challenged by external forces (coworkers, newly assumed parenting roles, professional responsibilities). The extent to which these men had fully embraced feminism or shed their patriarchal skins remained unclear to me. Their interest in, or attitudes to feminism seemed incongruent with their actual experiences and behaviours. In particular, I detected incongruence between their public presentation and their more private, intimate behaviour.

Figure 1 illustrates the inter-relationship of the emerging constructs. The various influences of patriarchy are represented by the large shaded ellipse on the left side of the figure. Three of the men had been (or in the case of Jean, were being) challenged by external forces (informed by feminism) to abandon their traditional masculine roles. This dynamic is represented by the link between *External Challenge to Gender Role* and the *Traditional Masculine Sex-role* boxes. All were experiencing *Conflict* (or incongruence) as a result of these challenges

(represented by the irregular rectangle). None of them seemed to have resolved this conflict. What resources did they need to move on and find a place congruent with their evolving values? Where would they move to? Was there really a place for men in feminism?

Insert Figure 1

about here

The other three men seemed to share both feminine and androgynous characteristics (gentle, sensitive, relationship-focused), but the extent or nature of their involvement in feminism was unclear. None of them seemed to have experienced any significant challenges from feminism. In contrast to the more traditional men, all three were more relationship-focused, exhibited greater tolerance for ambiguity and comfort with being vulnerable (see the round-edged box in the feminist community" ellipse). And yet analysis of their transcripts revealed neither clear, nor personally / politically congruent alternatives to masculinity. In fact, they expressed even less political interest or overt commitment to feminism than the more traditionally masculine men. They seemed

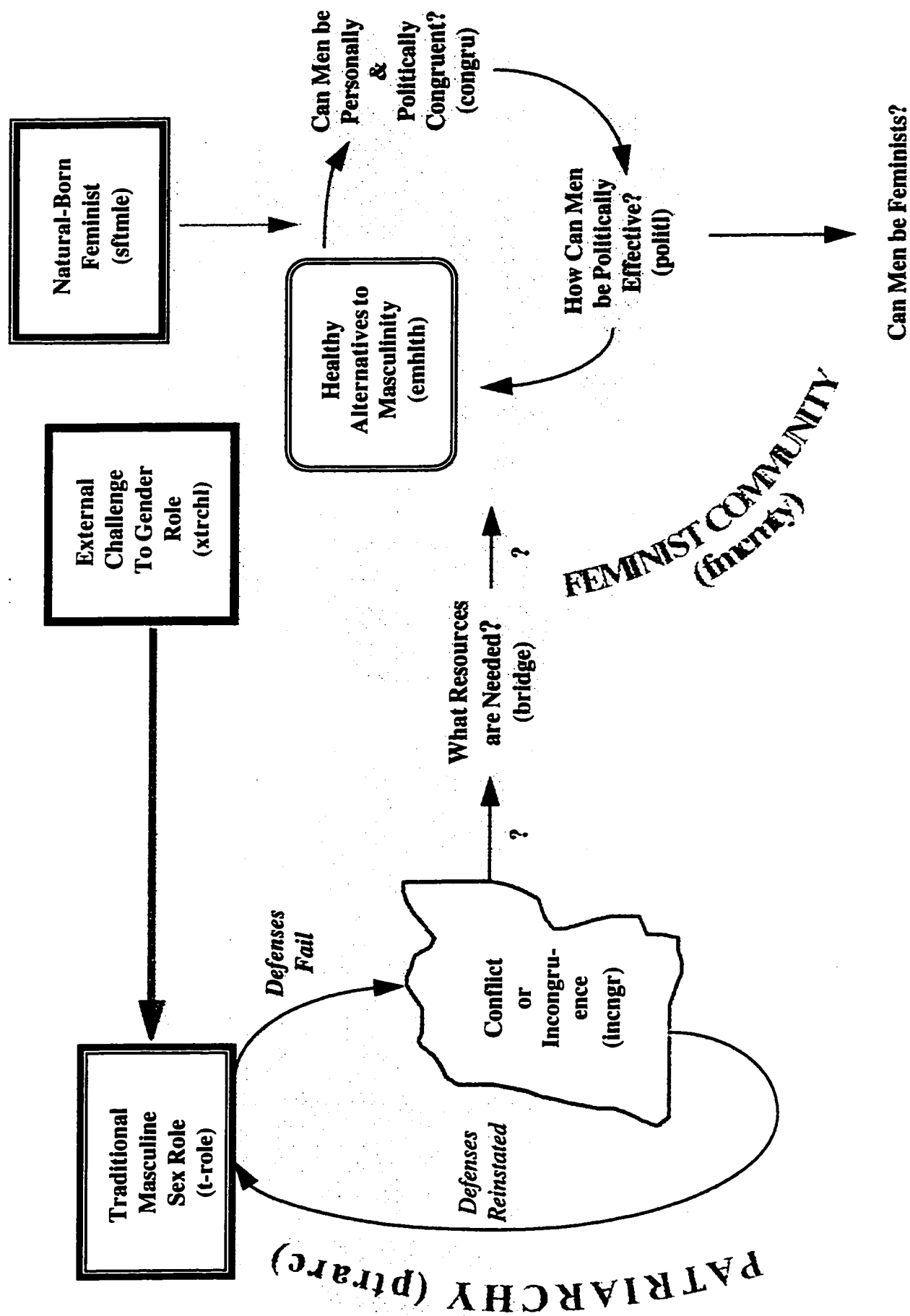


Figure 1. Congruence - Incongruence: Emerging Core Construct

worlds apart from the other three. Did they have something of value to share with traditionally masculine men?

I also wondered how men raised in feminist environments might build connections with profeminist men raised in patriarchy. In particular, I wondered how best to support, encourage, or challenge men to change, without alienating them or eliciting defensiveness. The available data revealed no satisfying answers to these crucial questions. It was at this point that I decided to broaden my sample of participants to include men who were somehow doing this bridging work.

Interpreting & Integrating the Last Three Transcripts

While I was completing my 12 month internship in clinical psychology (a task which drew me away from all intensive analysis), I encountered two profeminist men who intrigued me because they seemed so much more passionately committed to changing others. I first noticed Owen when I attended his anti-sexist theatre performance. He was touring the country's university campuses and meeting rave reviews for the entertainment quality and the provocative personal/political messages left reverberating through the dorms. A year later, after attending a second performance - this one in my professional role as counsellor (available to debrief any students who, as survivors of abuse, became emotionally activated by the dramatization of men's treatment of women) - I

introduced myself to Owen. It occurred to me during our conversation, that he had discovered a creative and effective means of challenging men and masculinity. More specifically, his formula seemed to involve a unique and powerful combination of humour, drama and feminist politics.

Around the same time I first met Owen, I began working professionally with a counsellor employed by a feminist health care agency. I observed his capacity to challenge, with both compassion and firmness, clients seeking help for their violent behaviour. Somehow, he seemed to draw together both the caring egalitarian, cooperative, relationship-focused principles of feminist therapy with the firm women-centred political policies of the clinic. With respect to both these encounters, I was left wondering how these men got to where they were? Was it a place others could go? How might their experiences inform the emerging model or construction?

Although analysis of these two transcripts shed some light on these questions, the greater contribution lay in the dialectical, analytical process stimulated by the additional data. In other words, the insights were more a product of constant comparison with the existing data, than with the new data themselves. For example, my consideration of Owen's community-based profeminist theatre work helped me to recognize how a previously interviewed

man (Jose) had also made contributions to community development. Ian's identification with a cross-gender bridging role helped me to recognize this was a key missing element between the men in transition and those who were already there.

Finally, Ian's self-identified niche, as a gay man bridging genders at a feminist clinic serving both men and women, reflected a degree of profeminist integrity unmatched by the other participants. The contrast highlighted incongruence previously overlooked in the other three sensitive/androgenous men's accounts (i.e., Allan's, Charlie's, and Jose's). Unlike the duplicity evident from analyses of the first three interviews (with Frank, Jean and George), incongruence for these more androgynous men seemed to stem from feeling caught between the women who reinforced their gentler qualities and the men who teased, chastised, or punished them for their unmasculine characteristics or egalitarian political views.

Although I interviewed Vinnie (a non-feminist, men's rights activist) at around the same time I interviewed the initial group of seven profeminist men, I analyzed his transcript last (following even Owen's and Ian's). I intentionally avoided analyzing Vinnie's transcript to prevent distraction from my primary task of generating constructs exclusively grounded in *profeminist* men's experiences.

However, at this later phase of analysis (i.e., the last group of transcripts, the fourth sweep through the hermeneutic unit at McCracken's (1988) 5th stage), Vinnie's contrasting experiences served to illuminate some of the more unique aspects and various shades of profeminist experience. For example, analysis of Vinnie's transcript illuminated ways that most of the profeminist men had already begun to make the transition from masculinity and patriarchy. His insecurity, lack of empathy, or understanding of the core elements of feminism (historically-based power imbalances) together with his discomfort with vulnerability, his tendency to externalize and defend himself, revealed how *open-minded*, how willing and able to engage in learning, how resourceful and comfortable with change the profeminist men were. This led to the construction of the bridging construct, "psyrsrc" (psychological resources) and its opposite, "norsrc" (no resources). His description of his relationship as a battleground, in which the goal was to control the other and if defeated, seek revenge, highlighted the more cooperative, growth-oriented relationship-focus sought by profeminists. This observation, in turn, led to the development of "relfoc" (relationship-focus) and "reldef" (relationship-deficit) categories.

An integrated analysis of the nine transcripts allowed me to complete with some satisfaction a model capturing the complexity, tensions, and experiential

paths of the men's relationship with feminism¹². I had arrived at McCracken's fifth stage whereupon I took the "patterns and themes, as they [appeared] in the several interviews that made up the project, and [subjected] them to a final process of analysis. The data from the last three transcripts stimulated the analysis in a manner which "relieved the conflicts in thinking" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), highlighted previously unrecognized issues in the other transcripts, and in addressing the critical questions facing me after analysis of the first six interviews, this final constant comparison sweep seemed to saturate the analysis.

Enhancing Trustworthiness & Authenticity

Although the graphical model as it stood at this point effectively integrated the data, it seemed to lack elegance. Furthermore, I wondered how it spoke to each man's experiences and place in feminism. Did the model have credibility? Was it authentic¹³?

¹²The final version of the model is presented in Figure 2, which in turn, is presented at the beginning of the next section.

¹³According to Lincoln & Guba (1985) and Guba & Lincoln (1989) "Trustworthiness" and "authenticity" are the two most important criteria for evaluating the validity, or quality, of qualitative research. I satisfied these two criteria by laying down an audit trail through the use of my computer database and by involving others in participant selection (i.e., nominating participants) and the analysis (i.e., women's studies students).

In an effort to enhance the elegance and evaluate the credibility of the model, I hired and trained two research assistants¹⁴ to review and comment on the emerging analysis. Working independently, they reduced the 145 codes I had developed to a “top-ten list”. Initially, they agreed with each other on 7 of the top 10 codes. In meeting to discuss the list, we came up with a total of thirteen that we all agreed were crucial to understanding the men. As a team, we determined that (a) all but two of the 145 constructs could be subsumed under these thirteen *super-constructs*, and (b) the thirteen constructs could be integrated easily into the emerging graphical representation of the data.

With respect to authenticity, I decided the best way to evaluate the analysis and resulting model was to examine the extent to which each man’s account could be retold using the model as a template or graphical representation of his journey through gender issues. My goal was to write up psychologically-based case presentations that were grounded in both the raw data and the integrated model.

I began this task by printing nine copies (one for each participant) of the graphical model (which included six-letter abbreviated labels for both *super-constructs* and their sub-ordinate *micro-constructs*) on large (11.5" X 17") pieces

¹⁴I hired and trained two undergraduate students, minoring in Women’s Studies to review the transcripts and coding process. Their tasks were to question, comment upon and condense the codes to a more manageable number.

of paper. Codes representing constructs that had been assigned to passages of a given man's transcript were highlighted on the model and brief summaries of the interview content were inscribed in the blank space within the extra-wide margins. Then, I highlighted (using a different colour) inscriptions which were most prevalent, unique, or relevant to the emerging themes. The highlighted, inscribed copies of the model provided the basis for developing case report outlines. They also proved invaluable for facilitating access and reviews of the many passages I quoted in drafting the case presentations.

Chapter 4 - Results

In the paragraphs that follow, I introduce and describe the comprehensive graphical model (presented in Figure 2) which summarizes the results of my analysis and lays down an “audit trail” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) for tracing the constructs back to the source data. Following this overview, I introduce, then present, the interpretive case summaries. Each case presentation is a chapter in itself. At the end of each chapter, I summarize my interpretations and illustrate each graphically. In each chapter, the first figure presents a summary of the relevant codes. The second summarizes, or presents samples of original text corresponding to the micro-codes or macro-codes. Raw interview data are enclosed in quotes and summary comments are presented in italics. On each of these 18 figures (Figures 3-20), the relevant codes (codes which were both grounded in the data and central to the interpretive constructions for the interview in question) are printed in red ink. In cases of conflicting data, codes are printed half in red and half black ink.

Overview of the Model

Figure 2 illustrates the model as it stood upon completion of all analyses (i.e., following both the final analytic sweep through the data and my more recent construction of the case summaries). Of the 145 micro-codes which comprised

the hermeneutic unit at this final interpretive stage, all but two are illustrated in the model¹⁵. A list of these codes, corresponding definitions, and representative quotes are presented in Appendix C¹⁶. As illustrated in Figure 2, most of the 143 micro-codes are subsumed under one or more of the thirteen macro-codes. The macro-codes are printed in upper-case letters and the micro-codes are printed in lower-case letters. Some micro-codes were placed in more than one location because they were relevant at more than one stage in the developmental process.

Insert Figure 2

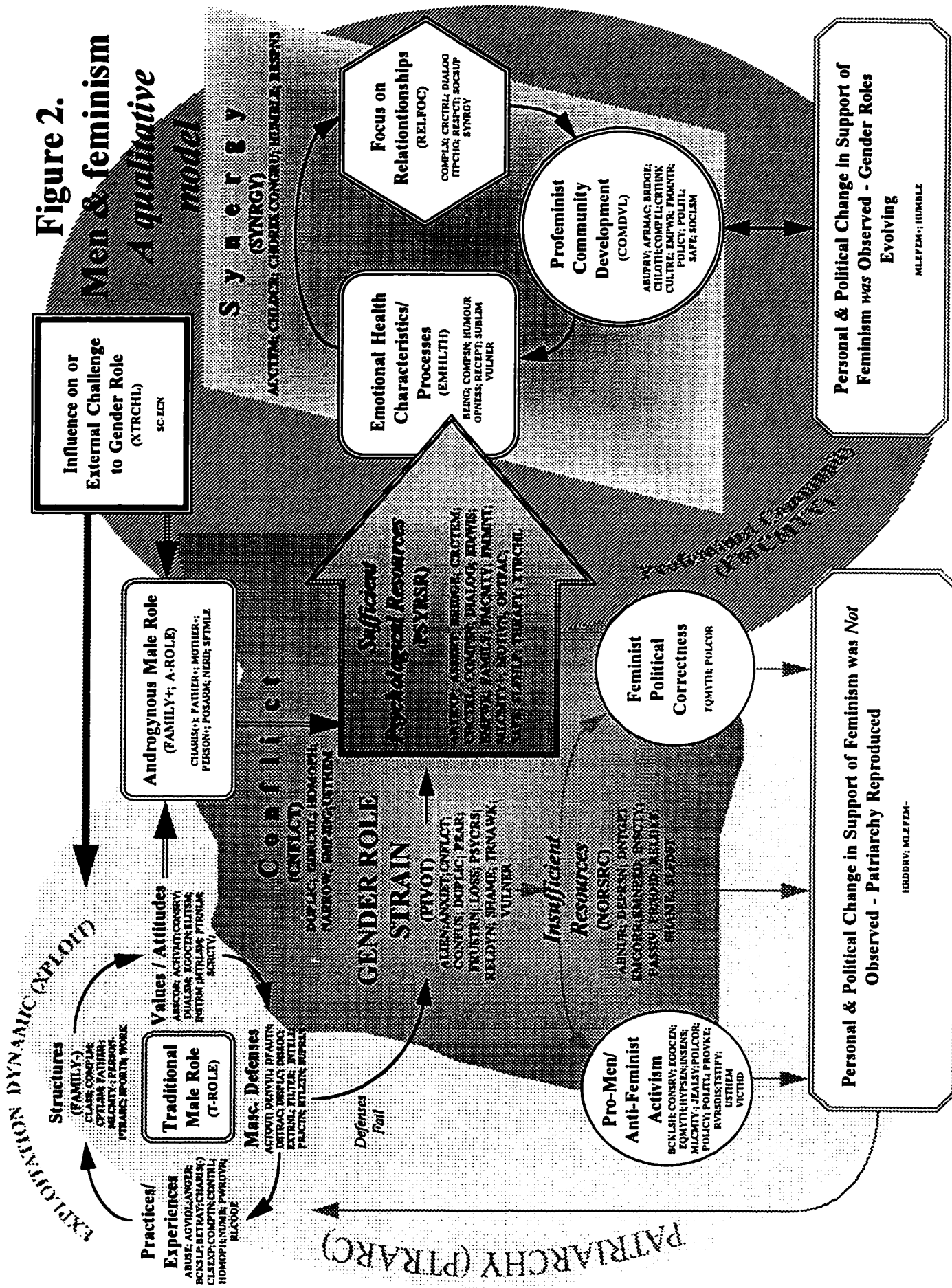
about here

The model is organized around the core constructs, *Patriarchy / Profeminist Community*, *Conflict / Synergy* and *Sufficient Psychological Resources / Insufficient Resources*. All other constructs are related to at least one of these core constructs. *Patriarchal Structures*, *Values / Attitudes*, *Masculine Defenses* and *Practices / Experiences* are illustrated in the top-left portion of the

¹⁵Two codes, representing interview process variables (i.e., "process" and "itvrup" codes were excluded) because they were not relevant to the developmental process.

¹⁶Micro-codes are printed in lower case letters and macro-codes are printed in upper-case letters.

Figure 2.
Men & feminism
A qualitative
model



Patriarchy ellipse which dominates the left-hand side of Figure 2. Characteristics of congruent profeminism (i.e., profeminist experiences free from debilitating conflict) are configured in a three part cycle of relational health embedded in the straight-edged parallelogram representing *Synergy*. *Synergy*, along with the three-part relational cycle, is itself fully contained within the Large *Profeminist Community Development* ellipse dominating the right-hand side of Figure 2.

The irregular parallelogram, roughly located left of centre in Figure 2, represents the construct, *Conflict*. It straddles both *Patriarchy* and *Profeminist Community*. In the centre of this parallelogram is the construct, *Gender Role Strain*¹⁷. Bridging the two, and in particular, connecting *Conflict* with the *Synergy* relational cycle, is a large pink-shaded arrow representing *Sufficient Psychological Resources*.

The heavy, double-bordered rectangle at the top of the *Profeminist Community* ellipse represents *External Challenge to Gender Role* men receive from feminism (outside of their family-of-origin). These are broadly defined to include friends, coworkers, lovers, spouses, books, workshops, formal education and socio-economic conditions requiring men's participation in domestic activities.

¹⁷Initially, I referred to this as pivotal incident stress; however upon completion of the analysis - when reviewing the recently published work on this topic, it became obvious that the term, gender role strain (first coined by Pleck, 1981) more accurately captured this incongruent experience.

The smaller round edged rectangles to the left of this *External Challenge* box, represent two variations on male socialization (*Traditional Male Role* and *Androgynous Male Role*) observed in the data.

The smaller rectangle, located in the centre of the *Exploitation Dynamic*, represents traditional masculine socialization - a product of all four elements in the cycle. Traditionally socialized men, according to this model, learn to be dominating, autonomous, and achievement-oriented. They learn to cope with conflict by denying vulnerability, externalizing, intellectualizing, projecting, rationalizing, suppressing feelings, distracting self in materialism, acting out aggressively and/or participating in patriarchal institutions. This myriad of masculine defenses is supported by a great many formidable structures, including entrenched masculine personality characteristics, paternalistic family influences, and other more formal patriarchal institutions. Socialization through this exploitation dynamic may involve any number of components in a variety of combinations. For example, masculine social identity for one particular man could be a function of (a) his traditional complementary family-of-origin *Structure* (dominant father, submissive mother), (b) his materialistic *Values*, (c) his distracting (doing rather than feeling) *Masculine Defensive* style, (d) both his early-childhood physical abuse history and his controlling interpersonal style

(*Practices / Experiences*). Another man, in contrast, could have been influenced more by his family's upper middle-class conservative political values, their expectations regarding his achievement and status, his own corresponding autonomous defensive style, and his own life-long experience participating in highly competitive sports.

The model suggests that this traditional role is founded on a principle of exploitation or power-over others. When the legitimacy of men's power or privilege is seriously challenged by people or forces associated with feminism, men's privilege weakens and the psychological defenses supporting the exploitation dynamic fail. The result is *Gender Role Strain*, psychological and interpersonal conflict or incongruence, confusion, anxiety, stress, and/or crisis. If psychological and social resources are available (*Sufficient Psychological Resources*) to support the resolution or integration of this incongruence, men may move into a more healthy, cooperative and synergistic community informed by women's ways of relating (i.e., depicted by the three-part congruent, relational, synergy cycle on the right-hand side of Figure 2). Psychological Resources supporting change include, but are not limited to, access to (a) "corrective relational experiences" (Addison, Glazer, & O'Neill, 1994), (b) opportunities (both formal and informal) for acquiring new perspectives on masculinity and gender issues (e.g., feminist writing,

the new men's studies, etc.), (c) a safe profeminist community collectively exploring alternatives to masculinity, and (d) opportunities for receiving both social support and compassionate challenging from others in this community.

If resources are unavailable, the gender role strain can escalate. This potential escalation of the crisis is represented by the group of micro-codes subsumed under the macro-code, *Insufficient Resources*. Markers for insufficient resources include deficits in interpersonal relations, depression, suicidal feelings, shame, passivity or insecurity for an extended period of time. Without adequate social or psychological resources, increasing pain prompts searches for more and more active and desperate control *over* the pain. At worst, without supportive relationships, the increasing pain may lead to violence or suicide.

Some of these men without access to adequate resources may gravitate to mythopoetic or men's rights groups which urge participants to reclaim their power and assert their *rights* to dominate. This is represented in Figure 2 by the *Pro-Men / Anti-Feminist Activism* circle in the bottom left portion of the *Patriarchy* ellipse. Men's rights activism represents an over-identification with men's pain and externalization of responsibility to women. It represents a defensive, conservative, almost paranoid backlash to feminism. It is predicated on myths of achieved gender equality or, in some cases, perceived inequality favouring women (e.g.,

men suffering reverse discrimination). Men's rights activists share a siege mentality, an *us-versus-them* posture, and a perceived victimhood status. Their provocative, at times insensitive and cruel actions/reactions are motivated by unacknowledged loss, pain, revenge or jealousy.

Others may find a niche in between patriarchy and feminism - a place where they can be publicly profeminist and privately exploitive, a place where they can appear feminist, or "talk the talk" of feminism, but continue to dominate others in private. This incongruent, politically-correct position is represented by the *Feminist Political Correctness* circle straddling *Patriarchy* and *Profeminist Community* in the lower middle section of Figure 2.

These three consequences of relationally unsupported *Gender Role Strain* (i.e., pro-men / anti-feminist activism, self-destructive action, and political correctness) serve only to reproduce patriarchy (as indicated by the long *Patriarchy Reproduced* rectangle at the bottom of the *Patriarchy* ellipse and the corresponding arrow which circles back up to the *Exploitation Dynamic*). Conversely, relationship-focused support of men experiencing gender role strain, can help deliver them into communities which embrace or engage these conflicts in a supportive, productive and cooperative manner. The three part cycle or dynamic, comprised of *Emotional Health Characteristics / Process, Focus on*

Relationships, and *Profeminist Community Development* and contained within the *Synergy* parallelogram illustrates how this relationship-focused process of engaging conflict is self-sustaining and synergistic. Unlike the *Exploitation Dynamic* which is founded on a principle of scarcity or vertical, zero-sum power (i.e., to have power, another must have less), the congruent, relationship-based cycle is founded on principles of synergy and horizontal power - power-*with* others. Diversity and conflict provide ongoing opportunities for growth and intimate connection. They stimulate a community process and an environment which is more than the sum of its parts. Synergy requires the integration of emotional, interpersonal and community health. It involves movement towards a delicate balance of (a) more passive, receptive and autonomous being, (b) deeper, more complex relationships, and (c) community action. In short, it involves a combination of autonomy, receptiveness, affiliation and socially responsible action within the context of a diverse, reciprocating community. As indicated by the *Gender Roles Evolving* rectangle at the bottom right-hand side of Figure 3, this synergistic, congruent process of balanced relational development means that personal and political change is possible and that gender roles continue to evolve.

The remaining element in Figure 2, *Androgynous Male Role*, is located in the upper middle portion, straddling *Patriarchy*, *Profeminist Community* and

Conflict objects. This represents socialization of males on the fringes of patriarchy. These men, the model assumes, have been influenced more or less equally, throughout their lives, by both patriarchy and feminism. As such, they learned to tolerate ambiguity and incongruence; they also learned (better than their patriarchal counterparts) how to access resources which facilitate psychological integration of this conflicted reality. This relatively unencumbered access is illustrated by the arrow leading straight down to the *Sufficient Psychological Resources* object. Depending on the relative mix and balance of patriarchal / feminist influences, these men could find it much easier to access and participate in a synergistic community (as depicted in the right-hand portion of Figure 2). Furthermore, because of their *in-between* developmental experience, they are more capable of bridging patriarchy and feminism to facilitate partnership of men and women.

Introduction of Case Studies

Although the components of the model presented above are grounded in the data, the configuration of the model is a purely theoretical, interpretive construction of that data. In an effort to flesh out, or further explore both the meaning and utility of this model, I constructed case summaries (of each participant's interview) that were (a) grounded in the raw data as represented in the

hermeneutic unit, and (b) linked to various relevant parts of the model as depicted in Figure 2. As with any true grounded theory analysis, the process of writing in accordance with these two sources, helped reshape my understanding of the sources themselves. In other words, the greater depth of analysis associated with the case construction process "stimulated conflicts in my thinking" and elucidated contradictions in both the data and model. These contradictions, of course, led me to rework and reinterpret the data along the way. As such, the model which I have already presented in Figure 2, was a product of analytic work conducted both prior to, and following the development of my case presentations.

Fictional Identities. To maintain confidentiality of participants' contributions to the study, I altered their identities in the case presentations. Specifically, I gave them fictional names, and adjusted their ethnic/national identities, ages, and family configurations. I also altered demographic details about their places of residence. Although their identities were significantly altered, their fictional representations remain compatible with both the data and my interpretive formulations.

Structure of Case Presentations. I begin each chapter with a brief overview of their fictional identities and related demographic details. Then I provide an equally brief summary of their interview response style. In this section,

I integrate both verbal and non-verbal aspects of their presentation and, where relevant, I relate these to the interview as a whole. The content in the main body of each chapter is specific to each man's experiences; however, I do make an effort to link the major themes, represented by the headings of each section, to relevant core constructs (i.e., super-categories) depicted in the model. At the end of each chapter, I summarize the men's experiences, highlighting the connections with the model. Constructs relevant to any given man's experience are printed in red ink. These highlighted reproductions provide opportunities to evaluate the extent to which the model adequately captures, or indeed traces, men's varied developmental paths in relation to gender issues.

Chapter 5 - Frank

Frank was a married, white middle class, 40 year-old, heterosexual man with a Master's degree in Chemistry. He worked part-time for a large pharmaceutical company and as a sessional lecturer at a small East-coast Canadian college. His wife, who was five months pregnant with their first child, lectured full-time at the same college, but in another department. Frank reported a family income in the range of 40-60,000 dollars. Though Frank had two siblings - both sisters, he did not discuss them at all. Instead he focused more closely on relationship dynamics involving his wife, his parents and himself.

Interview Presentation Style Mixed

Frank's interview response style varied. For much of the interview, he was articulate, rational and logical in his approach and spoke confidently and assertively, without expressing much vulnerability. In comparison to others interviewed, Frank's presentation was, at times, cooler, distant, a little more stilted, even slightly defensive. His response style was generally more cognitive and concrete than emotional or intuitive. However, when he described what he considered were important, positive or "pivotal" life events, his tone grew more optimistic and became affectively charged, exhibiting warmth, zeal and passion.

More specifically, when he described some of the positive changes he had made recently in relationships, he became more animated and upbeat.

Identifying Conflicted Relationship Dynamics

Frank began the interview by describing some of the “dramatic changes” he had made recently in his marriage. When they first met, according to Frank, his interpersonal style was “very domineering, very forceful, very task oriented.” Conflict did not seem to be an issue for either of them during the initial years of their relationship. Perhaps, according to Frank, this was because as graduate students, they had spent so little time together that conflict was avoided. However, conflict within the relationship grew steadily upon completion of their studies. In response to the increasing interpersonal stress and tension, Frank and his wife sought marriage counselling.

Frank was initially “horrified” to discover in counselling that there were striking parallels between his father's abusive, dominating interpersonal style and his own “forceful” manner of relating to people. He described his father as “superficially dominating” and “pushy,” frequently working himself into “blustery rages” that were rewarded only with the barest illusions of patriarchal control. As Frank himself suggested, it was his mother who “had the effective control in the family”; however this power was neither overtly acknowledged nor directly

expressed. Instead, as Frank put it, his father “would get what he wanted on the surface and she would just bide her time and wait, strategize, and work around him by moving things discretely in various directions.”

There was, in effect, a degree of patriarchal complementarity or symmetry in their traditionally prescribed interpersonal roles. As Frank described it, his father's dominating, directive, aggressive, and ultimately ineffectual style seemed almost perfectly complemented by his wife's (Frank's mother) submissive, accommodating, subtly manipulative, yet ultimately effective family management style.

Frank said that he learned in counselling that he had unwittingly inherited his father's style of relating as a defense against emotional abuse by him. During the interview, he painfully recounted how his father's parenting style was characterized by comments like, “Look you stupid idiot, do it this way.” Frank added that when he inevitably failed to live up to his father's unrealistic expectations, he typically faced severe condemnation (e.g., “You're no good, you never have been, and you never will be”).

Frank learned to cope with this emotional abuse by “fleeing” or numbing out emotionally, distracting himself from his vulnerable feelings by “doing” and achieving, dissociating from the pain, controlling others, or by fighting back

aggressively even in the absence of any real threat. In short, his defensive interpersonal style involved denial of vulnerability, defensive autonomy, and externalization, all of which disconnected him from relationships. He also admitted that he learned to see only “what he wanted to see” in his relationship, filtering out the rest. And when problems seeped through, he seemed quick to externalize - to blame his wife for the problem.

These defenses may have protected Frank in his family of origin and they may have helped pave his way through university and graduate school, but when met with recent and concurrent challenges from his wife, coworkers, and counsellors, Frank entered a period of crisis, characterized by escalating interpersonal conflict. Frank said his “marital relationship had to be at rock bottom at this point. We were just constantly fighting, doing a lot of damage to each other any time, over any little issue.” Initially, his masculine defenses restricted his capacity for interpersonal processing and deflected responsibility for generating solutions. This prevented the development of intimacy and contributed, instead, to greater interpersonal distance.

Initially, Frank's reactions were angry and impulsive. He recalled saying to himself, “To hell with you, you're not doing what I want, so I'm moving out on my own.” In hindsight, he identified this period as extremely “stressful, bizarre,

confusing - a hell of a time.” However, he admitted that at the time, he was distracted and somewhat oblivious to these feelings.

Corrective Relational Experiences

It was around this time that Frank experienced a sudden and powerful new insight - an insight he described as “the pivotal event” underlying his initial embrace of feminist principles and his commitment to interpersonal growth. It involved the realization that he “was living a double life”, that his values were in serious conflict, and that he was deceiving himself, as well as betraying his wife, by engaging in a secret extra-marital affair. The duplicity associated with his affair was attenuated as Frank began to acknowledge, understand, and accept responsibility for his dominant psychologically controlling interpersonal style. As Frank explained:

The pivotal point is when, in my mind, I had an argument with my lover and it was a very heated argument, so strikingly familiar to the kind of arguments that I had with my wife. I remember afterwards thinking, you're the problem. Up to this point I remember thinking my wife is the one who's the problem - it's not me. So I began to realize that I was the one who was [the problem]. The fight was so familiar, it was over familiar ground - I'd fought with my wife for so long. I woke up to realizing I was

the problem. I woke up to thinking that the things that were going on with my wife were the result of me and the way I was approaching things, and the way I was doing things, and not her. I was having with her the same problems that I was having with my lover at the time, the same thing. I woke up and it opened the door for me to start examining the way I was dealing with my wife, dealing with a lot of things. It led to me taking more seriously the therapy with my wife, and to continue the therapy for a longer period of time because as I expressed before, things were out of balance.

In marriage counselling, Frank discovered that his wife often failed to assert herself for fear of triggering his defensive aggression. And even in the absence of anger, Frank typically failed to acknowledge her voice. This failure to read and respond to his wife seemed to reflect a somewhat narcissistic, selectively-inattentive interpersonal processing style. For example, he learned to filter out any acknowledgement (let alone appreciation or respect) for his wife's strengths and abilities. As a result, Frank was initially perplexed by his wife's complaints. From his narrow, heavily filtered perspective, there was no visible "problem". This "selective" lens sometimes served him well, as was evident from comments Frank made in reference to his *pre-feminist* attitude to housework:

She would clean the house on evenings when I was away so that it would be clean or it would be at least cleaned up a bit. And she would tell me that she had done it. And in my mind, the house never got dirty, right? There was never any problem. And when it did get dirty, it was quite perplexing to me.

To summarize, Frank's *filtering* approach, along with several other masculine defenses, seemed to fail as he came under increasing pressure from his wife, his therapist, and his co-workers to change his ways. These challenges likely increased pressure on Frank's defenses - defenses that had long maintained his emotionally controlling relationship pattern. At the pivotal point (when the defenses presumably failed), Frank entered what appears to have been a relatively brief, but intense state of psychological *incongruence* or gender role strain, characterized by anxiety, confusion, alienation, stress, shame, and a sense that there was a large "gaping hole in his life." This gender role strain was likely only brief because Frank had a relatively broad range of psychosocial resources at his disposal (e.g., marriage and individual therapy, assertive & supportive wife, enlightened friends, progressive female-dominated workplace, access to interpersonal communication workshops). These supports were likely crucial in initiating a healthy and socially progressive resolution of the stress and confusion.

The new insights fascinated him, fuelling both his optimism and enthusiasm for developing a more relaxed, receptive and cooperative style of relating. For example, he recently began to listen to his wife more, to interrupt less, and to recognize and respect previously unacknowledged qualities in her. In the following passage Frank described how he was replacing his once dominant and controlling interpersonal style with a more receptive, laid-back, go-with-the-flow approach:

I'm learning right now to sit and listen a lot with her, to the point where it's quite amusing [smiles]. The last time I remember doing this was a few weeks ago, where she was saying, she said to me - we're into an argument and I was starting to interrupt - she says, 'Goddamn it listen, just listen to me and let me finish!' So, I realized, yeah, I'm butting in again and I backed right off and listened [more animated, excited, pleased] and she started talking and I made no comments and I just waited for her to finish and at one point she started to stutter, stop and start up again, and she looked at me kinda of bewildered and said, 'I've never been in this situation before where I get to say everything that I want to say,' something along those lines. And she says, 'This is so unusual' for her.

In addition to demonstrating new respect for his wife, Frank used glowing terms to describe a close gay friend who seemed to serve as profeminist mentor to him. The following comments stood in stark contrast to the generally cool, dispassionate, problem-focused demeanour Frank exhibited throughout much of the interview. Specifically, his animated and flattering description of this friend was compelling and provided a glimpse of Frank as a lighter, softer, more compassionate and emotionally-centred man:

He's just a very, a very wonderful person, very bright, he's very compassionate, he's an amateur feminist, if you will. There's so many things about him - he's just such a neat person. And we spent a lot of time together. And it's just enjoyable. We had great conversations about gender issues, about all sorts of things, sexuality, everything. And he made a point of trying to embarrass me all the time - he called me a breeder [smiling], us breeders [we're both laughing], and he'd make all sorts of comments like this. It's enjoyable. Just a wonderful person.

Openly Incongruent: Masculinity in Transition

Frank clearly made progressive, gender-related changes in his relationships. However, the progress seemed limited and Frank openly admitted this. In the following passage, Frank alluded to this restricted, yet evolving role in feminism:

Feminism rings both good and bad connotations in my mind but they're not my connotations, they seem to be other people's connotations. When I think of the word feminism, I immediately feel like an outsider looking into something I don't completely understand and I think of anger expressed towards men, some of which is directed towards me, lumped in with all other men in the world, quote-unquote, which I feel is patently unfair, but possibly justified, given the state of affairs in our patriarchal society. I remember feminism has had an impact on me for a long time, it's been in the back of my mind, you know, ever since the early seventies, and before when women's issues were reported in the media. I did a little bit of reading back in the late, mid to late seventies, Susan Brownmiller's "Men, women, and rape" was one of the books I remember reading. A fairly important impact on me for disrupting myths that I had about rape, for example, what it was, what it was perceived to be in the press, and in the... things that you didn't hear about. And I always idealized myself as being somewhat sympathetic to the women's movement, quote-unquote, things like that. But as I look back on it now, I was totally ignorant of, and still am largely ignorant to what that means, and I'm only right now scratching the surface.

Over the course of the interview, Frank demonstrated a relatively thorough understanding of the origins and current limitations of his acquired, dominant interpersonal style. However, the extent to which he applied this understanding in more gentle, compassionate behaviour remained uncertain. For example, although Frank sensitized himself to the pervasive and damaging effects of patriarchy and male aggression, his approach to challenging others in his workplace seemed to have a somewhat rough, paternalistic edge to it. In the passage that follows, Frank discussed his response to a student who was caught verbally abusing a staff member in his department:

I asked him to go away, and said, 'I can't really take this seriously because you haven't taken it seriously. Do a neater looking letter of apology' and things like that, and I sat him down and I said, 'Look, I know where you're coming from. This is just a big joke. And it was kind of funny for you, but wake up and smell the coffee! People, students at another university were recently hauled to the carpet for pulling their pants down in front of a parade. All sorts of things like this are not tolerated anymore and if you don't realize that, you should realize that.' And then he said, 'Oh it's all been blown out of proportion' and things like that and I basically said, 'No, it's not anymore, things have changed, and you'd better realize that.'

Missing in this disciplinary lecture was an attempt to elicit empathy for the victim or convey compassion for the perpetrator. His message had a slightly hollow ring to it; there was a pragmatic, rule-bound flavour - one that smacked of politically correct rhetoric.

Perhaps some of this coolness was a function of personality. More specifically, the absence of emotional depth and compassion could be attributed to his concrete and rational cognitive style. If true, this would also explain why, in comparison to the others interviewed, Frank generally came across as more stilted and defensive. However, considering his patriarchal, repressed socialization, alongside formal academic training in the hard sciences, one might naturally expect him to approach gender issues from a more rational, externally-oriented and pragmatic perspective. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, Frank's discussion was also more problem-focused than others. He described with penetrating insight what went wrong for him personally in patriarchy, but seemed only to hint at potential values, behaviours, and social structures for replacing it. And although Frank clearly had begun to appreciate other perspectives and reflect seriously on his role in reproducing patriarchy, I wondered to what extent (a) his reflections and unresolved conflicts remained private (e.g., his affair); (b) his prevailing overt

response to feminism continued to draw on his "pushy, task-oriented" and externalizing style.

Developmental Summary

These problem/solution and private/public imbalances are graphically illustrated in Figures 3 and 4. The preponderance of red ink in the *Patriarchy* and *Conflict* areas of the model, along with the less consistent patterns of red in the *Profeminist Community* area, illustrate the extent to which Frank discussed gender-based problems rather than solutions. Perhaps more importantly, the relative mix of red and black ink used for distinguishing constructs supporting the data (red) from those unsupported (black) by the interview data, along with partially highlighted codes, suggests considerable duplicity in Frank's participation in feminism. For example, the term *Emotional Health Characteristics/Processes* is printed in both black and red ink, indicating the presence of conflicting data. As suggested by quotes and comments printed in the *Emotional Health* box, Frank displayed signs of both openness and duplicity. Specifically, the fact that he had yet to disclose his extra-marital affair to his wife, suggests that, at least to some extent, he was still leading a "double life." In other words, the secrecy was incongruent with his commitment to become more open and respectful in

relationships (see partially highlighted codes and comments in *Focus on Relationships* box).

Insert Figures 3 and 4

about here

The origins of Frank's duplicitous role in relation to feminism are perhaps best understood through an exploration of the *Exploitation Dynamic* (see upper left quadrant of Figures 3 and 4). His experiences in a traditional, at times abusive, patriarchal family (a *Structure* over which he had no control) stimulated filtering and externalizing defensive reactions, which in turn, were bolstered by his value of both independence and pragmatism (see *Values* region of *Exploitation Dynamic*). To survive his father's abuse, Frank learned to suppress and displace his feelings, probably in much the same way his father had done. He learned from him that it was safer to seek power-over others and to guard against further victimization by denying vulnerability (see *Practices / Experiences* region). Duplicity, then, was mainly an artifact of this denial and defensive autonomy. It came from the need to show strength and independence in the face of repressed painful conflict.

Figure 3.
Men & feminism
Frank's Codes

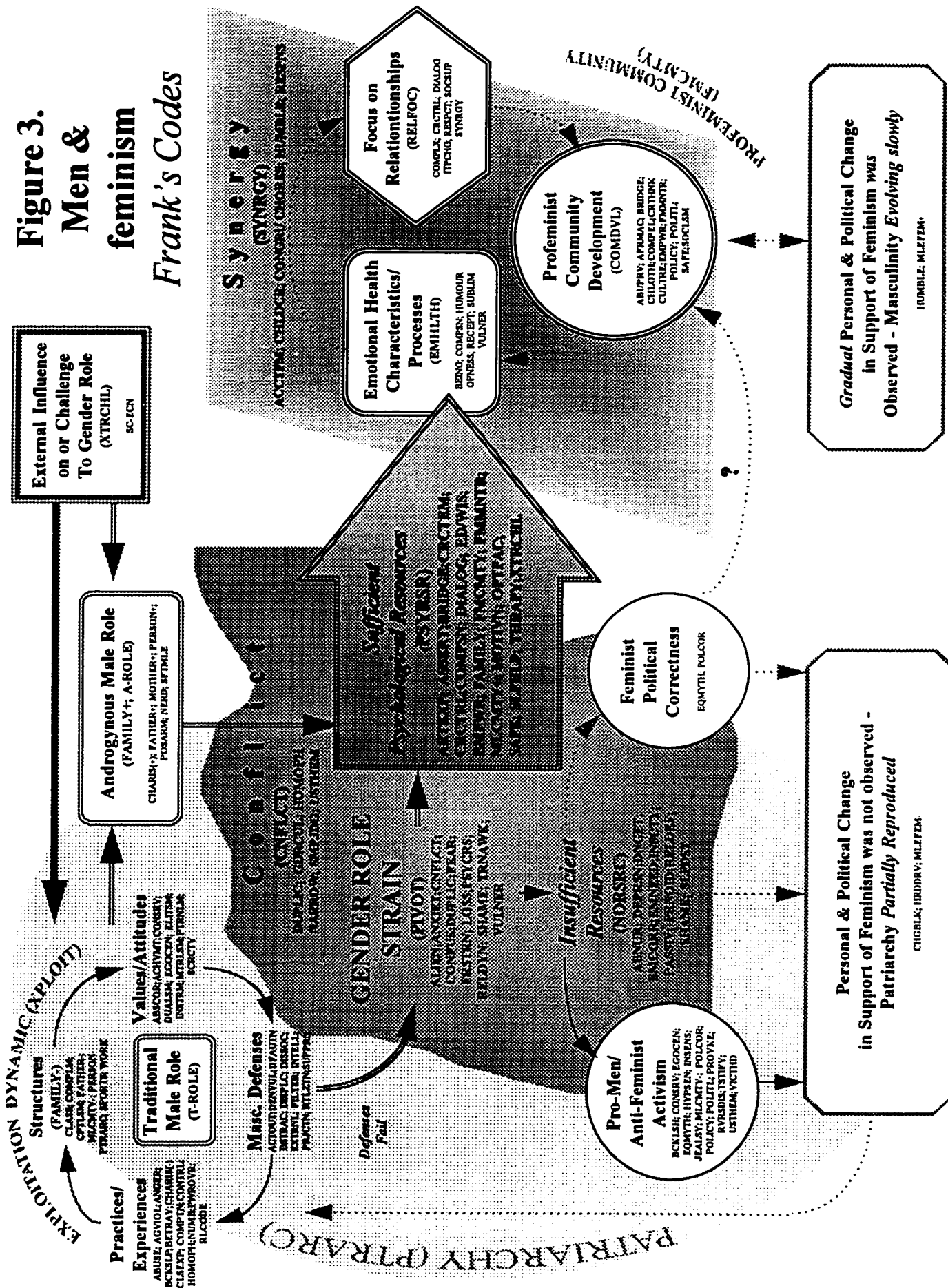
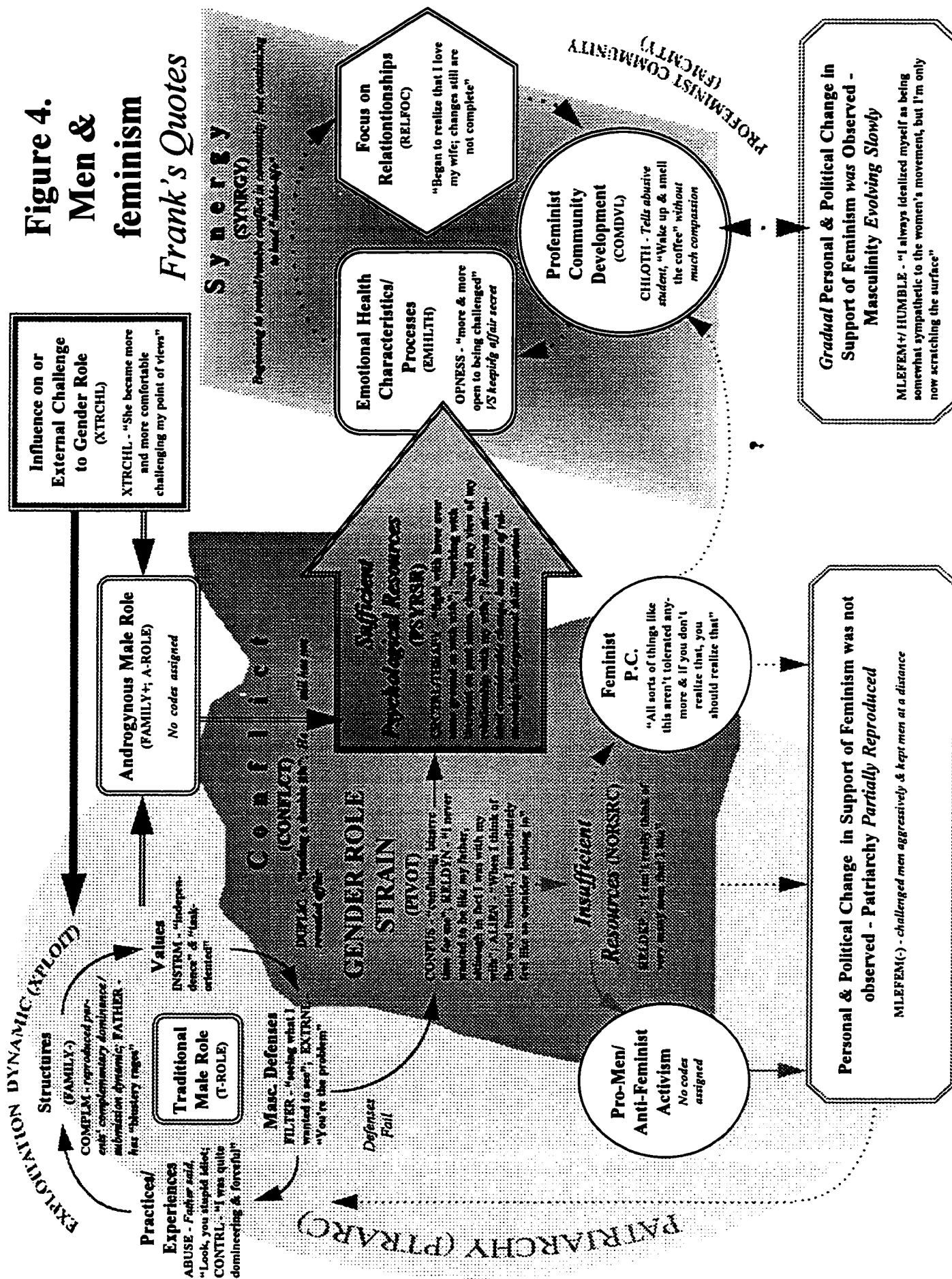


Figure 4.
Men & feminism
Frank's Quotes



Although initially, he coped with the abuse by simply denying his vulnerability, or escaping conflict through his near-obsession with achieving independence, unlike his father, Frank faced significant challenges to his exploitative and controlling behaviour. Perhaps more importantly, he had access to resources supporting more palatable alternatives to the traditionally masculine role.

The challenges, particularly those issued by his wife (see *External Challenge to Gender Role* box in upper right quadrant of Figure 4), led him to seek counselling and the new insights acquired in counselling allowed him to penetrate his defenses, demystify his power-over others, experience the underlying conflict more intensely and ultimately, begin the process of resolution. Once conscious, the pain associated with gender role strain was intense, and as Frank himself suggested, recognizing his own reproduction of his parents' exploitive relationship dynamic marked a pivotal point in his life. As depicted in the *Gender Role Strain* area of Figures 3 and 4, the concurrent experiences of alienation, confusion, and interpersonal insight became opportunities for change, grist for the mill in developing alternative ways of being male. As the model suggests, however, change depended on the availability of sufficient psychological resources.

As indicated by the codes, comments, and quotes highlighted within the large *Psychological Resources* arrow in the centre of Figures 3 and 4, Frank had access to some key resources. Of these, counselling seemed most helpful to him. Whether the resources were sufficient, however, remained uncertain, as indicated by his duplicity and gaps in his interpersonal development (see partially highlighted codes and comments in *Synergy* parallelogram). Frank admitted liking only very few men (see comments under the heading *Insufficient Resources* in the lower portion of the *Conflict* region). This, of course, suggests a relationship deficit, which, in turn, reflects insufficient resources. His cool, almost politically-correct manner in challenging other men seemed more aggressive than compassionate, as indicated by the comments in the *Political Correctness* circle and its link to *Profeminist Community Development*. His dominant, somewhat paternalistic approach to disciplining students seemed to draw upon old, stereotypical patterns of relating over-others rather than *with* them. To some extent, then, this reflected a potential reproduction of patriarchy, insofar as dominance elicits defensiveness from those dominated (see *Reproduction of Patriarchy* rectangle in the lower left quadrant of Figures 3 and 4). The dashed red lines connecting the *Insufficient Resources* region, the *Political Correctness* circle, the *Reproduction of Patriarchy*

rectangle, and the *Exploitation Dynamic* reflects the partial reproduction of patriarchy stemming from Frank's remaining dominant and duplicitous behaviour.

Frank's self-acknowledged limited growth in connection with others, suggests he was open to further challenging and committed, *over the long run*, to the deconstruction of masculinity. More specifically, while Frank's tendency to keep men at a distance - either by challenging them aggressively or avoiding them altogether - may have inadvertently re-stimulated the exploitive patriarchal cycle, his commitment to change, willingness to acknowledge weakness, and continued openness to being challenged likely more than compensated for this.

Thus, despite the duplicity, Frank's keen awareness of the damaging effects of being socialized in a patriarchal environment, and his serious commitment to developing a gentler style of relating to others (one informed by feminism) led to substantial (albeit limited) growth. He developed greater respect for his wife and opened himself up to her challenges. In disclosing the affair to me, Frank expressed vulnerability by openly acknowledging this betrayal. And yet by keeping it from his wife, Frank revealed a reluctance to open up in-relationship with her. This contradictory or incomplete interpersonal growth process is illustrated in Figures 3 and 4 by the partially highlighted codes and comments in the *Synergy* region. This is particularly obvious in the *Focus on Relationships* octagon.

Conclusions

In conclusion, Frank seemed to have one foot in patriarchy and the other in feminism. Frank showed *some* growth on emotional, interpersonal *and* community levels, but the changes were neither consistent, nor *entirely* congruent. While there clearly were elements of duplicity in this dual-role, he seemed committed to personal and political change and was increasingly accountable for his power and privilege. It may well be that he lacked the skills and/or resources needed for participating more consistently and congruently in community with others. In the final analysis, Frank's humble assessment of the changes he made lends both credibility and integrity to his journey, however limited. The simple fact that he acknowledged having "only scratched the surface," suggested he was open and committed to resolving these incongruities.

Chapter 6 - Jean

Jean was a married 46 year-old, father of three children (son, daughter and step-daughter) and an academic in the health care field. He had extensive post-graduate speciality training and disclosed a family income within the 60-80,000 dollar range. He identified himself as heterosexual and of West-African ethnicity. His first language was French. He lived with his parents and three siblings in Senegal, his country of birth, until age 16 when he moved to Europe to study. He and his wife were married in Europe in the early 1980s. At the time of the interview, he and his family had been living in Canada for less than two years.

Charismatic, yet Controlling Interview Style

Jean spoke in a charming, eloquent, yet commanding manner. He smiled frequently, and this together with his lilting, French-African accent contributed a spirited, almost romantic quality to the one-sided dialogue. The friendly-dominant interpersonal approach reflected the style of a charismatic patriarch. Jean did not hesitate to jump right into the interview process. He responded excitedly and abruptly to my broad initial question by outlining four specific topic areas which he then proceeded to discuss with me in an organized, efficient and assertive fashion.

Having listened to you for the last two minutes on your sort of objectives, I can think of four broad areas I'd be approaching, and maybe you can write them down so that you can remind me later to come back to them? First of all, my perspective as a new Canadian, in the sense that I immigrated to Canada only just over four years ago... Secondly, my experiences as a faculty member of the university, in relation to gender issues over the last two years or so. Thirdly, in the medical community, more [the] international medical community, and how it [i.e., gender] is being approached, you know, in various ways. And lastly, my experience with feminist groups within health circles across Canada. These are my broad views, the way I see it. Of course, we can branch out into other things as we proceed.

Perhaps in reaction to the vagueness of my initial research question or my unstructured interview style, Jean seemed to assume control of the interview process at times by focusing or redirecting the inquiry back onto these four issues. Although he revealed little about himself personally, his highly organized, somewhat dominant interviewing style was consistent with his professional role, his activities and his experiences as a specialist in medicine.

Despite my direct inquiries into his interpersonal life, Jean tended to steer the interview back onto professional issues and activities. In contrast to most other interviewees, he did not mention, describe or discuss the interpersonal relationships he has had with significant others in his life, including those with both immediate family and family-of-origin. And because much of his narrative involved only career-related experiences, it was not possible to obtain direct insight into his *personal* gender-related experiences. Even with respect to career, Jean did not reveal much about himself. Instead, his discussion was mainly intellectual and political in content - focusing critically on gender-related policy and feminist *political correctness*.

Inferred Traits: Friendly, Dominant & Self-Absorbed

In terms of his domineering interview style, Jean definitely stood apart from the other men in this study. In addition to being more actively involved in directing the interview process, Jean's presentation was more energetic and animated. From these observations, I inferred charismatic, assertive, even controlling interpersonal qualities. He knew what he wanted to say and he said it without hesitation. This bold, self-directed approach could help explain why he seemed less responsive to my questions. At times, it seemed as though he either did not hear or failed to understand what I was asking him. Perhaps this was

because much of his energy and attention was focused on his own agenda and preconceptions about the topic.

Despite my inquiries, Jean himself never revealed any personal weaknesses, vulnerabilities or failings. Furthermore, rather than recognizing, appreciating, or expressing compassion for women who may have experienced oppression (oppression which presumably underlies their political rhetoric), Jean tended to react critically and rationally to their alleged "politically" motivated arguments and policies, often citing perceived threats to his own freedom and creativity.

Feminist Political Correctness: Jean's Critique

Jean's preoccupation with the issue of feminist *political correctness* and his perception of its potentially adverse consequences on academia embody central themes in his discourse. Among interviewees, Jean was the most ardent and articulate critic of radical feminism and feminist political correctness. According to Jean, politically correct feminists were in many cases "exaggerating" or misrepresenting "the facts" concerning gender issues in efforts to support their own "political platform." Jean implied that feminists sometimes used slash and burn approaches for eliminating abuse when safer, more precise "surgical" techniques were available. For example:

I can think of a very good example: Injectable contraceptives are not approved, are not licensed as contraceptives in Canada. But the drug is available on the market for treatment of certain specific clinical conditions. And if the doctor wants to use it as a contraceptive in an individual, he can do so. Therefore, in some communities in Canada, doctors, who are bad doctors, have been giving it unknowingly - without the patient knowing it - to native Indians, Vietnamese women, and all that. Which is bad, which is terrible. And what some of the feminist groups are saying is we want to ban injectable contraceptives from being licensed for contraception and all that - period, finished, no problem.

But I tell them, 'Look, that's stupid to do that. The bad doctors will still be giving it, they've been giving it, you're complaining, they'll still give it. What you should be doing is to make sure action is taken against those bad doctors, where those bad doctors are doing all kinds of other things, other bad things. Let's go to the root of the problem.' Whereas, they're supposedly defending the poor people, taking the, you know, position of the disadvantaged - It's a lot of talk that will come to nothing.

And there I have a problem because this is not a rational decision. Nothing will change because they are complaining about the thing being

given to, you know, disadvantaged women who do not understand what is being given to them and all that. It's been happening all over the country. We know that. It won't solve the problem, but [it] is giving them a good platform.

This passage illustrates Jean's pragmatic bent on the one hand and his tolerance for complexity and ambiguity on the other. Although he did not reject the radical feminist argument altogether, he did simply see it as only one of many solutions, and therefore not possibly in the best interest of *all* women. And therefore logically, in his view, the feminist rhetoric was essentially self-serving.

Alternatively, Jean proposed a more pragmatic approach founded on compromise:

We need to have compromise. I would rather see a policy that is middle-of-the-road, that suits most of the purposes, and apply it 100 percent, as compared to having a fantastic policy that is not applied.

Consistent with this compromising approach, Jean saw himself performing a bridging function between pure scientists who eschew feminist political correctness in pursuit of academic freedom and the discovery of truth, and younger colleagues who wish to be treated more fairly and respectfully.

I can bridge the two. And when I go to a meeting, I know what kind of meeting it will be. In one meeting, we all have to be politically correct all

the time and not to offend anyone; whereas in the other meeting, on the contrary, we like to offend each other and what we say not only offends - we want to tell the truth, not be restrictive in any way because we're talking about science and we want to make sure that what comes of the meeting is scientifically sound. We couldn't care less about anything else.

Although Jean's bridging efforts seemed genuine, there was a conservative, reductionistic flavour to them. He seemed to recognize the complexity of gender issues, but then applied the lowest-common denominator solution, instead of integrating the disparate components into a greater whole. In short, his approach to complexity was one of compromise rather than synergy.

Liberal Medicine, Conservative Feminism

Thus, instead of bowing to "politically-correct" feminist rhetoric which demanded sweeping policy changes, Jean advocated assuming a more conservative, less idealistic approach founded on compromise and trust in tried and true tests of empirically validated medicine. Indeed, Jean openly admitted that he was heavily influenced by a "conservative" (I would suggest patriarchal and paternalistic) model of medical training and practice. In recounting his training experiences, he emphasized the respect he still had for the traditional mentorship model and all its sexist trappings:

And, for example, to go straight to my medical school training, what happened is, in those days, we were used to the old-fashioned way of training in medical school. We would respect our teachers, who would usually be much older than we were. And they had standards that were different than today's; and therefore these teachers were allowed to make sexist jokes. And we knew these guys were not sexist, but we liked it when they made [the jokes] - there were no objections to it at the time because they made them in a different context.

The fact that Jean related six separate accounts of sexist humour exchanged amongst colleagues left me wondering if he was trying to justify or rationalize this practice. For example:

Sometimes there are different sizes of speculums to examine the vagina - there are small ones, medium, large, and extra large. And if you don't use one that's large enough, you cannot see properly, although you try to be nice, you use small ones. And even if sometimes the large one is not good enough (and therefore you cannot get a good view), you would get comments like "You could drive a tractor through that vagina." Which in a clinical situation, on a one-to-one basis, I have no problem with, at the time. So, you see the sort of clinical situation that I was brought up with.

And the nurses you worked with and the doctors and the residents treated it as normal and would be part of the scene and commented as well.

Jean seemed to perceive pressure from a "politically correct" movement to quash this kind of operating-room banter. In addition to dismissing potential harm inflicted on women, Jean suggested such talk was essential to open, honest, free, and productive science. Thus, despite a willingness to compromise at the policy level, Jean's preference for scientific freedom and truth over social/political sensitivity and responsibility is clearly evident, again underscoring his emphasis on reason, pragmatism, empiricism, perhaps at the expense of empathy and compassion.

Radical Feminism Poses Threat

Why did Jean place such great emphasis on political correctness? While some of it may be attributable to his preference for reason and pragmatism, he also seemed to feel threatened. Specifically, he feared being accused of sexism by the feminist P.C. police. The fear is evident in this passage:

I took beautiful slides in relation to my work, and travel, of course. And some of the slides, now, I hesitate to show the students. And one good example I can give you, is in Thailand, in one of the towns there, there's a beautiful shrine, where women go in order to pray when they are pregnant,

in order to have boys, because there is a sex preference for boys. And the shrine, it's a beautiful traditional shrine full of decorations, consisting of red penises of various sizes all over the shrine, all around it. But I don't want to put myself in a difficult situation because all you need is one or two students, not to like it, to start a movement, having seen what happens in other colleges, you know?

At several points like this throughout Jean's interview, a tinge of paranoia was evident, as if women were waiting anxiously for his first perceptively sexist slip-up to bolster *their* radical feminist agenda at his expense. Jean seemed to feel especially vulnerable to these accusations in his more public activities. Jean assumed that in private, one-on-one professional activities he was less vulnerable to attack. He felt much safer in private. However, he failed to recognize that female students, who may feel more vulnerable in relation to male authority figures, might feel safer in larger groups. Again, Jean's critical arguments focused only on feminism's adverse effects on *him*; he failed to convey much empathy or understanding of engendered power dynamics from female *students'* perspective.

In addition to this absence of empathy for women, there was no evidence suggesting Jean shared any of the emotional health characteristics or psychological resources discussed by the other interviewees. Their absence in the interview, of

course, does not prove he had none. Yet from his failure to mention any, I concluded that personal issues and resources were less important to him than his professional and political activities. Furthermore, the absence of discourse on these softer, more vulnerable and gentle qualities was certainly consistent with his rational, pragmatic, and somewhat dominating interview style.

Benevolent Incongruence

Jean's assertion that he felt safer working one-on-one in private with female students, compared to lecturing, suggests an element of private / public profeminist incongruence. In other words, the professional message he conveyed in public could be seen as deceptive, especially if it conflicts with his natural way of relating individually. He may well have been "on guard" and politically-correct in public, yet in private, where he felt more free to express himself, his relative power (and potential for dominance) was greater, as was the risk he might offend others. But because of his relative power advantage, students may not have been in a position to safely challenge his offensive behaviour.

Despite this potential public-feminist / private-patriarch dynamic, I did not get the sense that Jean abused it. Instead he presented as an assertive, somewhat dominating, yet benevolent man who was willing and honestly attempting to work *with* feminism, but without quite comprehending it. He seemed so attached to, and

immersed in, paternalistic trappings that he failed to recognize the threat posed to women. As a result of his attachment to patriarchy, or his failure to recognize the implications of the *chilly climate* for women, he probably *was* at risk of being accused of sexism.

To some extent, then, his paranoia was justified. However, his deflection of responsibility for the anticipated accusations onto supposedly deficient affirmative action policies (or onto feminists themselves) was more difficult to defend. Other interviewees argued that men, themselves included, need to be held more accountable for sexism. They also dismissed political correctness as a red herring, a way to deflect responsibility. But unlike most other interviewees, Jean failed to acknowledge, identify, or assume responsibility for any possible limitations or weaknesses in his profeminist role. Thus, instead of examining the nature and extent of his own role in patriarchy, or even how he could help reconstruct training to be more inclusive of women, he seemed more comfortable cheering feminism on discretely from a distance.

Despite his neglect of personal accountability in relation to patriarchy and the absence of any solid empathy for women's experiences in patriarchy, Jean expressed a genuine intellectual interest in, and political commitment to women's issues, particularly through his professional activities. For example, he described

an exchange he had with a professor during his medical residency exams that illustrated his own willingness to break with paternalistic tradition, to embrace a more complex and empowering approach to medicine:

I had problems in the early eighties when my teachers would ask me 'What would you do in such a case?' and I would say 'It's a very difficult case, I know that's why you're asking me this question,' and I would say the pro's and the con's. I would say how I would attack it myself, what I would do personally and I would say: 'But still, I'm uncomfortable with my own answer because I can see a very good point against my decision, how I would proceed here and how it would be as valid to do it in a different way, and in this case, I think I would even ask the patient to choose, to tell me what she would do, how she would want to proceed.' And I remember one examiner wanting on a final exam - telling me, 'In which case, you would not answer the question and let the woman choose herself.' And I said, 'No I didn't say that. I've told what I would do. I would give her more information and try and get a feel from her.' And I don't think it was well-seen at the time for me to say that. But I did tell them I had certain worries on how clinical medicine was being practiced and I foresaw a major change.

Thus, in contrast to his venerable "old school" mentors, Jean's approach to medicine seemed, on first glance, quite liberal, even revolutionary. However, his views on gender equity in general are more consistent with a small "L" liberal feminist ideology than with radical feminism.

I hope that as far as gender issues are concerned, that boys and girls are brought up the same way, they get equal opportunity. I think we should put our effort at the very beginning so that all of them get an equal opportunity to grow up the same. And I have a worry, [that] if we apply affirmative action too much, we're going to go out of our way to get them in, and then once they are in, they're going to be at a lower level of achievement.

Unlike radical feminists who advocate deconstructing patriarchy in order to replace it, Jean viewed this as impractical and unrealistic. Nevertheless, the fact that he advocated a more preventative, educational approach suggested that he *did* view gender as socially constructed. Specifically, his emphasis on the development of programs designed to promote gender equality among children implied a belief and commitment to the reconstruction of masculinity.

Developmental Summary

As indicated in Figures 5 and 6, Jean's participation in feminism was quite limited. Indeed, many questions remained about his relationship with feminism, and how it developed over time. His role in feminism was far less certain than his role in patriarchy. These questions and uncertainties are illustrated by (a) the heavier representation of coded passages summarized and illustrated within the large *Patriarchy* ellipse on the left hand side of Figures 5 and 6 and (b) the question marks following the few relevant constructs highlighted on the right side of Figures 5 and 6.

 Insert Figures 5 and 6

about here

Jean's professional role, along with his experiences, values and coping style, seemed to correspond well with the *Exploitation Dynamic*. Specifically, his conservative, paternalistic mentoring values contributed to an expert, externalizing, intellectual style of relating with students within a fraternalistic atmosphere which, in turn, subscribed to a particular informal code of behaviour (i.e., operating room

Figure 5.
Men & feminism
Jean's Codes

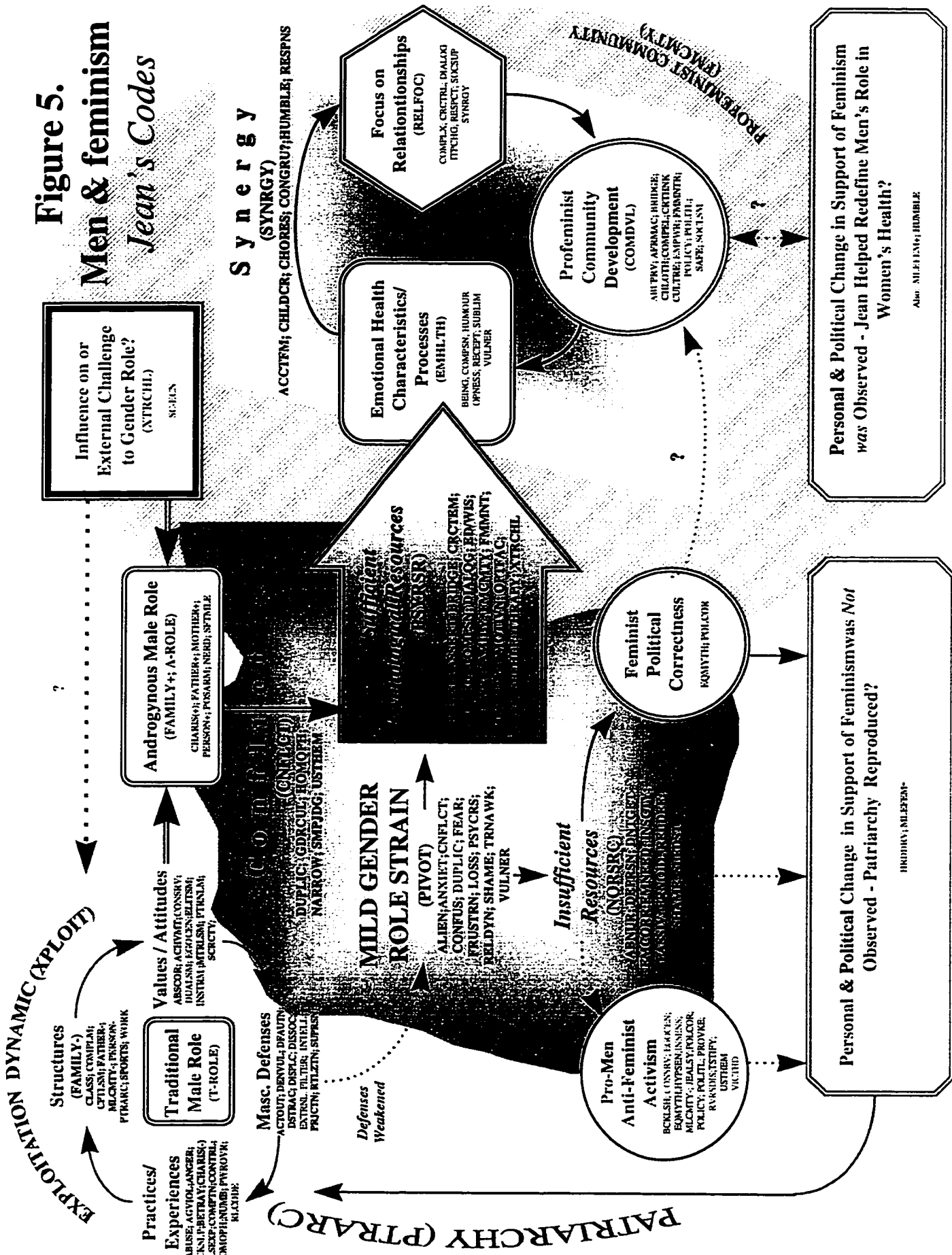
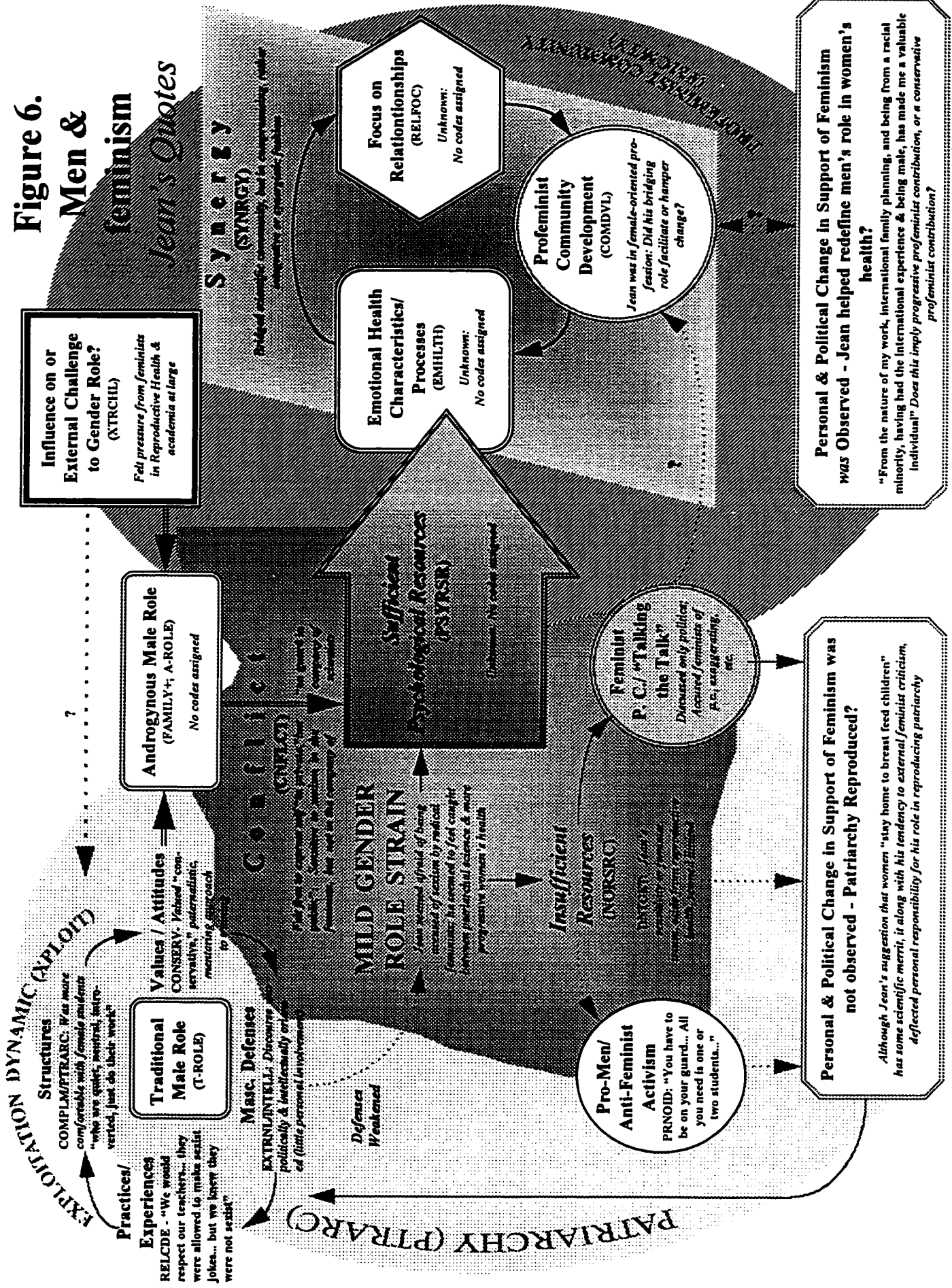


Figure 6.

Men & feminism

Jean's Quotes



banter). Patriarchal and complementary (dominant/submissive) *Structures* were central to this professional style (see *complm* code in Figure 5).

Although Jean made no references to explicit challenges received from feminists, he felt vulnerable to potential accusations of sexism. This implicit challenge is illustrated in the *External Challenge to Gender Role* box at the top-left hand side of Figure 6 in the form of the comment "felt pressure from feminists in reproductive health and academia at large" (the black border and question mark reflect the uncertainty and indirect nature of the challenges Jean may have received). As a result of this presumed pressure, Jean's confidence in teaching practices was weakened. In other words, as indicated in Figures 5 and 6, his defenses weakened. He became worried and began to scrutinize, even censor his professional behaviour. In short, he experienced *Mild Gender Role Strain*. He felt caught between patriarchal science and the more progressive feminist wing of women's reproductive medicine.

As indicated in the *Synergy* and *Profeminist Community Development* regions of Figures 5 and 6, Jean assumed a bridging role between the patriarchal, scientific medical community and the more feminist social policy advocates in women's reproductive health. However, this bridging role seemed based more on reductionistic compromise, than progressive or expansive synergy.

Aside from his professional contributions to women's reproductive health and the connections he had with colleagues working in the area, Jean did not reveal much about himself or his relationships with others. As such, it was difficult to determine the exact nature or extent of psychological resources he possessed, let alone those relevant to gender role growth. This dearth of resources is indicated by an absence of highlighted codes and comments within the *Psychological Resources* arrow in Figures 5 and 6. Without access to, or an interest in profeminist resources (as indicated by highlighted codes and comments in the *Insufficient Resources* region), Jean seemed to cope by reverting to patriarchal externalizing defenses. Feeling trapped and potentially victimized by politically correct feminists, he seemed well on his way to reproducing or refortifying patriarchy under the guise of both freedom of expression and scientific truth. This is illustrated by highlighted comments and codes in the *Pro-Men* and *Political Correctness* circles in the bottom-left hand portion of Figures 5 and 6. Specifically, his fear of being falsely accused of sexism and his tendency to deflect challenges of masculinity onto politically correct feminists served to maintain the status quo in medical training (the background fill of the *Political Correctness* circle is shaded red to reflect the predominance of this construct throughout Jean's interview). This reproduction of patriarchy is illustrated by the red arrow

extending from the large *Patriarchy Reproduced* rectangle at the bottom left portion of Figures 5 and 6 up to the *Exploitation Dynamic* region.

With the exception of a few comments he made about sharing equally in child rearing and domestic chores (see highlighted codes under the *Synergy* label in the upper right portion of Figure 6), there was no evidence indicating how or even if feminism had affected his personal life. Aside from these codes, none of the remaining codes on the right-hand side of Figure 6 were assigned to Jean's transcript.

Conclusions

Several questions remained about Jean's place in feminism. Except for the information gleaned from his interview presentation style, I learned very little about his personal life. Why did he refrain from discussing relationships?

It was difficult to tell where Jean stood on gender issues. From a feminist perspective, Jean's professional and academic values seemed quite conservative. However, from the perspective of medicine, his professional practices and political positions were clearly liberal. On the one hand, he expressed a fervent allegiance to the paternalistic model of training in medicine - prizing free and open scientific inquiry above all else, including gender equality. This allegiance may have left him feeling vulnerable to the perceived broad brush strokes of feminist political

correctness. On the other hand, he demonstrated a commitment to empower patients' more active participation in medical decision making. He also endorsed the need for practical structural changes in the economy aimed at promoting gender equality.

How were these conflicting professional and political values related to his personal life? Was he also paternalistic and openly sexist with friends and family members? Had his preference for reason and freedom left room for understanding, compassion and intimacy? Definitive answers to these questions were not evident from the interview. Nevertheless, Jean demonstrated a clear preference for engaging feminism on intellectual and political levels; thereby suggesting a relatively impoverished relationship to feminism in the private and emotional spheres. While the questions themselves suggest elements of incongruence, Jean did provide a few *glimpses* of gender equality in his personal relationships. For example, he disclosed sharing domestic responsibilities equally with his wife. This suggests there is at least some congruence between his personal and political commitments to gender equality.

Jean seemed to have little or no awareness of the conflicting nature of his commitments to patriarchy and feminism. If his preference for political and professional activism made him guilty of political correctness or "talking the talk",

it did not seem intentionally duplicitous. Instead his engagement with feminism seemed honest and heartfelt, albeit somewhat naive. Perhaps his allegiance to patriarchy was a function of cognitive dissonance associated with his decision to assimilate, from his West African cultural and racial heritage, to the white, conservative, patriarchal institution of European medicine. He actively *chose* to join this elite group of powerful men and may have felt a need to justify this choice, particularly in the context of increasing feminist criticism.

Jean seemed far less sensitive to issues of power differences and vulnerability in relationships. Perhaps as a result, he appeared somewhat impervious to external challenges from women, oblivious to their suffering, and unaware of his potential complicity. Ironically, this emotional deficit left *him* feeling fearful of false accusations from feminist activists. He accused *them* of moral offenses for which *he* was also guilty - namely being motivated by, and oriented to the political more than the personal.

In conclusion, Jean's role in feminism seemed somewhat hamstrung by his allegiance to the patriarchal institution of medicine and his stereotypically masculine defensive style. Although he may have made significant professional contributions to women's reproductive health, they were offset by his slightly paranoid reactions to perceived threats from radical feminism, his commitment to

preserve academic freedom and his participation in paternalistic professional power relationships. Missing, of course, from all this intellectual and professional discussion was discourse of any kind on interpersonal relationships.

Chapter 7 - George

George was a forty-two year-old, white heterosexual father and "full-time caregiver" to his 13 year-old son. Since graduating from high school, George worked as a labourer in a variety of settings. At the time of the interview, George was collecting welfare and working part-time as a handy man. He reported an annual family income in the 10-20,000 dollar range. Although he was born in Belgium and spoke French with his parents as a child, he and his family moved to Canada when he was less than five years old.

Enthusiastic, Stimulating, yet Unrevealing Interview Style

George was animated, engaged, enthusiastic and clearly committed to the topic of men in feminism - perhaps more openly so than others. His expression was raw, even sexist at first glance, but this seemed more an indication of his socio-cultural style and identity (e.g., rough-edged working class vocabulary) than a reflection of true values or intentions. Nevertheless, there was an abrasive tone, or a tension in his voice which seemed tinged with a vein of bitterness. This was most evident in references to his parents and failed romantic relationships.

Although the content of George's narrative was conceptually rich and ripe at times with accurate insight or at least thoughtful pseudo-psychological musings, his discourse was for the most part highly intellectualized. It was therefore

somewhat difficult to get a genuine sense of the man behind the interesting ideas. The concepts were obviously borrowed, bearing tell-tale flavours of a diverse selection of popular psychology and gender issues texts. His insight seemed to say more about what he had been reading, or who his therapist had been than who *he* was or how he understood and related to the world. Despite the fact that George made many unambiguous connections between current and family-of-origin relationship patterns, I did not get a clear sense of how he actually *was* in relation to others. If I could have gotten beyond the psychology and the insight he had, what would I have discovered about the kind of friend he was or how he fathered his son?

"Making Sense of Suffering": Externalizing Patriarchy

George described his childhood as "extremely repressive" and his early years in post-war Europe as tumultuous. As far as George could tell, his parents were both "actively involved in the war", presumably in support of the Nazi regime; however the nature and extent of their involvement remained a mystery. The secrecy continued to be a source of conflict, anger and resentment for George. He recalled being "obsessed with wanting to know as a child what happened in the war, playing war, reading [about it], watching the war films on TV." He

remembered "constantly defending the Germans" as if he had "taken on [his] parents' issues very early".

George had been both a victim of, and a participant in patriarchy. He disclosed experiencing both psychological and physical abuse as well as emotional neglect as a child and admitted (without elaborating) that he had "repeated [this] on [his] son in the same way." He described his father as an alcoholic and a strict disciplinarian who beat him so severely with a belt that he sometimes got the sense that his father wanted "to kill" him. While George said he was clearly terrified of his father and has continued to worry that large gaps in his memory were attributable to his father's abusiveness, his mother also kept him on edge.

"[She was] explosive in a way that you never knew when... Like suddenly she'd blow up and boom, she'd grab the wooden spoon, whatever was handy, and started beating you with it. Or you'd get a back-hander, like you didn't know why.

These abuse experiences combined with voracious reading in popular psychology may explain how George's criticism of patriarchy was relatively sophisticated, but externally-oriented. Probably as a result of his psychology reading and therapy experiences, he came to understand his feelings of guilt and shame as multiply-determined by a variety of potent external forces. Not only did

he hold his parents responsible, he also understood the abuse as intergenerational and reinforced by powerful socio-economic forces. He seemed to link his abuse inextricably to patriarchal values (e.g., achievement, paternalism) and structures (e.g., class, family, interpersonal complementarity) which he unwittingly internalized as a child.

At a very core level, things that go wrong are my fault and [in] this society, the way patriarchy's structured, it says, "Pull up your bootstraps, you can do it, anybody can become president." And that's bull shit. I mean the obstacles that a person has to - you know, if you're in a lower socioeconomic group, I mean the hoops you gotta jump through... It just reinforces the idea that if it doesn't work out, it's your fault, you know, making mistakes is not okay, like if I made mistakes, I got shit for it, I got beaten for it, I got humiliated for it, locked in my room, on and on, you know, the kind of punishments that were there "for my own good", which I thoroughly believed - maybe not thoroughly, but mostly believed that they were for my own good. And they weren't. None of them were. Like most of these things, I find, as I process them, were for the convenience of the parents, and the parents were acting out of, out of uh...[4 second pause]... just repeating exactly what was done to them.

Although this innocent victim argument seemed theoretically sound on the surface, his almost exclusive emphasis on environmental influences throughout the interview seemed to obscure the details about his own participation in patriarchy and minimized his role and responsibility in breaking the intergenerational chain. Unfortunately, George chose not to elaborate on the nature and extent of abuse he himself perpetrated. However, the simple fact that he explicitly admitted to participating and benefiting from patriarchy sets him apart from the other interviewees. Although unspecified, it seemed to represent a deeper level of openness, congruence, accountability and integrity with respect to gender roles that is uncommon among men.

Fatherhood: A Pivotal Profeminist Beginning

When I asked him how he began his journey away from patriarchy and toward feminism, he replied:

The biggest transition for me in my life was after my wife and I separated. At that point, I suddenly became a single parent. I wasn't even aware of what the hell was going on in terms of life or gender issues, or anything. I mean feminists were just something you saw in the paper and they're ball-busting, bra-burning radicals, like you know, like basically fuck'm, was basically what I figured. I didn't really have any information - no political

awareness, no inner awareness, nothing. But suddenly to become a single parent, I had to take care of a child. At that time, he was seven, going on eight. It's like holy shit! To suddenly realize that there's dishes to wash, there's clothes to wash, there's food to buy, and you gotta think about a meal ahead of time. Like my son went to school and I took care of the house, and suddenly it's like the workplace became home. And I suddenly started to see how much work it was and how much effort it took. It took on a whole new value. And you hear women complaining - at that time I would say complaining or bitching about you know housework - and my image was they all sat around and drank coffee, smoked cigarettes and shot the shit, or screwed the milkman! It wasn't work. It was a major shift to realize just how much, just how valuable and how much effort it took to be a homemaker. And I started to become aware of what's going on here, why does this have no value in our system. It has no value at all. So that started happening... like the political awareness of that and I had some friends who were feminist or I developed friendships with women that were feminist and they tended, with me, to ram it home pretty hard.

George's new status as a single parent seemed to spark his interest in feminism. Single parenting moved, perhaps even jolted him out of a somewhat

blind adherence to a patriarchal class-determined gender role. It was a pivotal event by which he came to see the world and his life differently.

Hunger for Emotional Healing

George's discourse on this pivotal event was much more analytical than it was emotional or relationship-focused. Noticeably absent, especially in comparison to the other men interviewed, was any significant discourse on current close relationships, including his relationship with his son. For that matter, George made no mention of even a single positive relationship with another person, past or present. George's ex-wife, his son, and others had changed his life intellectually and socio-economically, but their influence on his capacity to love, nurture, be nurtured remained questionable.

George's lack of emphasis on positive, healthy relationships was perhaps not surprising given his abuse history. It was also not surprising, given his dual role of survivor and perpetrator, that George seemed to view humanity as selfish and uncaring, yet at some level redeemable. With a tinge of bitterness, he painfully described how virtually everyone in his life had failed to meet any of his needs for love and comfort. And yet he carried on relentlessly with the search. His search ran the gamut from pursuing a long string of unsuccessful romantic relationships,

including three failed marriages, to participating in self-help groups, psychotherapy and organized religion.

[I was working] with [therapist] for two or three years, off and on, through a couple of relationships, couples counselling and inner-child type work, bioenergetics, and men's groups, and men's movements, and I've tried the whole bloody bit. I've been in all kinds of twelve step programs, and finally about a year ago, I threw in the towel in all of them. I tried the church, I was a devout Christian for a couple of years. I gave it the nine yards and finally came upon books written by Alice Miller... [I] read lots of books, lots of self-help books, psychology books and taken some psychology classes at university.... just searching, searching, searching...

Autonomous Healing: Patriarchal Habits Die Hard

As George himself admitted, most of his attempts at healing had failed to satisfy his emotional hunger. The few exceptions, according to George, were books he read on women's issues and in particular, a self-help manual written by Swiss primal therapist, Konrad Stettbacher (Stettbacher, 1993). George described Stettbacher's self-help approach as follows:

Well, it's a therapy session that I can do with myself or somebody else.

And the way I do it is in a dark room, wearing a blindfold to shut out all, as

much outside stimulation as possible - noise, you know, light, pictures, you know, anything - shut that out. And also, if I have a person with me, listening, if the room's dark, they tend to focus on what I'm saying more because they aren't looking around either. So it's like the person's supposed to be there to try to help me feel what happened and to not... And to just be there for me. I would go into how I'm feeling right now... what's happening in my life right this minute, or today, what's on my mind, and before you know it, I'm into the past. It's really quick into early parts of life where things just keep connecting.

George argued that one of the key benefits of this approach was its power to facilitate emotional experiencing, a process which he argued was severely repressed in men.

Like people talk about not having their feelings, I know men that are really numb, and I've been really numb, and I've known people that are numb at different times, but if you stop distracting [e.g., *doing* things], your feelings are all right there [long, drawn out emphasis]. They're all right there. Just put somebody in those black box tanks, and their feelings will be right there, like they'll be going crazy, fifteen minutes, they're going nuts. And all that is, is their feelings are coming alive.

George seemed to learn and grow emotionally through this work.

Even though he was clearly committed to, and enthusiastic about his involvement in feminism, George was not altogether satisfied by it. He complained that he had been giving far more than he was receiving from the other men in the self-help group and seemed to attribute this to selfishness on the part of the others. He did not seem to realize that the technique itself was somewhat artificial and socially isolating. While such emphasis on emotional experiencing could well increase one's existential comfort, it would not likely satisfy the fundamental needs for connecting or simply *being-with* others in relationships. Its emphasis on isolation could even detract from relationship building.

While George seemed to develop valuable psychological insight into his experiences and was stimulated both intellectually and emotionally by the teachings of feminism, I was less confident that some of his ways of coping with, and relating to others on a daily basis had changed much. For example, George learned that men in general have a tendency to avoid emotional experiencing and conflict by compulsively "distracting" themselves, through substance abuse and addictions or simply by "doing things" and achieving materialistically. Ironically, while George may have reduced his own compulsiveness by using the meditative emotional experiencing technique described above, the technique itself could be an

unintentional distraction from or defense against anxiety associated with intimacy. In short, it may have been yet another means of distracting himself from intimacy and isolating himself from others.

The Duplicity of Profeminist Self-Help Consumerism

There was a consistent externalizing quality to George's discourse. Institutions and other people failed him. Therapy was inadequate and his ex-partners, friends, and fellow support-group members had been unable or unwilling to give much to him. According to George, even the supposedly enlightened men's movement was also flawed

Like I was into that for awhile, somewhat into that for awhile when the Bly thing came out. And I was really into those weekends, and I did a few of them and uh, but that's all sort of gone, half that stuff is pretty dangerous to me. It's into victim blaming, it's very patriarchal, and it continues to reinforce the patriarchy. The worst thing about it is that it [encourages] reconnecting with the father and [that] it's my job to reconnect with the father. And they fail to tell you how to do it, and they have this romanticized, idealized idea that you can reconnect with this guy. And that somehow, *he* can't do it, because he can't feel and you should do it for him, and it's like, it just stirs up all that guilt. And you're never really gonna find

out anything that way, about who you are, who you are as a person. It just confuses people. It gives you this false sense of intimacy. I mean to get together with a bunch of men for a weekend and you don't know any of them, and like suddenly, you're hugging and kissing each other.

This argument is compelling and consistent with current scholarly criticism. But George did not abandon the men's movement altogether; he continued to give and I suspect he also continued to receive something - perhaps validation, if not satisfaction of his needs. He did so with men and women who were also committed to the Stettbacher method. Despite criticizing other self-help efforts and professional services for encouraging navel-gazing, George was clearly doing the same in "reclaiming [himself]" through the exclusive use of emotionally intense, yet socially isolating self-help process.

I certainly don't have much faith in psychiatrists and psychoanalysts... I find the whole system is missing the mark - the whole psychological... It's a big institution and they're missing the mark. Everybody's in this thing about protecting parents... protecting our childhoods, and repression is a really powerful thing. Therapy is... another form of meditation, it's another form of distraction. It's like you don't find out where those feelings came from... Therapy is not an end-all to anything, it's just a thing to do. Like what I

said earlier, you don't need to do anything to get in touch with your feelings - just stop doing stuff, just stop distracting and your feelings are right there.... I mean put in one line, any therapy that attempts to undo the pedagogy of our upbringing by replacing it with another pedagogy, isn't gonna work. You know, replace it with God, this therapy, that therapy, there are set of rules, the bill of human rights, whatever it is... [Instead of replacing one addiction with another] I'm reclaiming me.

While George was no longer distracting himself from feelings, he did unwittingly continue to distract himself from relationships. Overtly, he had dismissed, blamed, or externalized failure on inadequate teachers and caregivers, yet, perhaps subconsciously, he had internalized aspects of their teachings. George clearly rejected traditional therapy as a non-empowering distraction. Despite this, he *had* learned from advocates of traditional therapy how to *think* psychologically. Perhaps he learned this too well. Compared to others he showed a tendency to intellectualize and over-analyze things.

Nevertheless, his social and psychological criticisms were fascinating. And perhaps as a result of this intellectual hook, I found that these critical analyses actually distracted *me* at times during the interview from the main research goal (i.e., exploration of the interviewee's personal *experiences* with gender issues). In

particular, I was unable to get a sense of what personal and/or political responsibility George had undertaken, not so much in deconstructing patriarchy, but in reconstructing an alternative. While it is true that George may have needed to work more in partnership and in relationship with others to heal himself and build the kind of community he was so desperately seeking, autonomy may be all he was ready for. Perhaps this is understandable given his abusive past and working class status. After all, George only recently discovered the allure of intellect and the liberating value of emotional autonomy. He may have feared betrayal and subsequent loss of these achievements if explored in the context of relationships.

Developmental Summary

Like both Frank and Jean, George's relationship to feminism was complicated and uncertain. Both observations are illustrated in Figures 7 and 8 through the use of dashed connecting lines and codes or comments only partially highlighted with red ink. Like both Frank and Jean, George's role in the *Exploitation Dynamic*, however, was clear. He saw his plight as inextricably tied to family and class *Structures* and found himself surrounded by people sharing unrealistic achievement-oriented *Values* that encouraged isolating, distracting,

materialist and ultimately controlling, abusive *Practices* (see *Exploitation Dynamic* in Figures 7 and 8).

Insert Figures 7 and 8

about here

Much like Frank (but unlike Jean), George had become partially aware of this dynamic. At first he was shocked to discover how family and class structures differentially affected men and women. Although he did not reveal how he came to be sole caregiver to his son, it happened suddenly - it was a pivotal external challenge to his lifestyle and identity (see *External Challenge to Gender Role* at top-right of Figures 7 and 8). As a result, he began to take women more seriously, opened himself up to their input. At times, during this transitional, consciousness-raising phase, he felt guilty and depressed by challenges received from feminists. This was a reflection of the *Gender Role Strain* he was experiencing in response to the external challenges to his status as a man.

As indicated in Figures 7 and 8, the challenges weakened George's distracting and externalizing *Masculine Defenses*. As a result, he began to access his feelings more and was forced to acknowledge, value and respect women's work

Figure 7.

Men & feminism

George's Codes

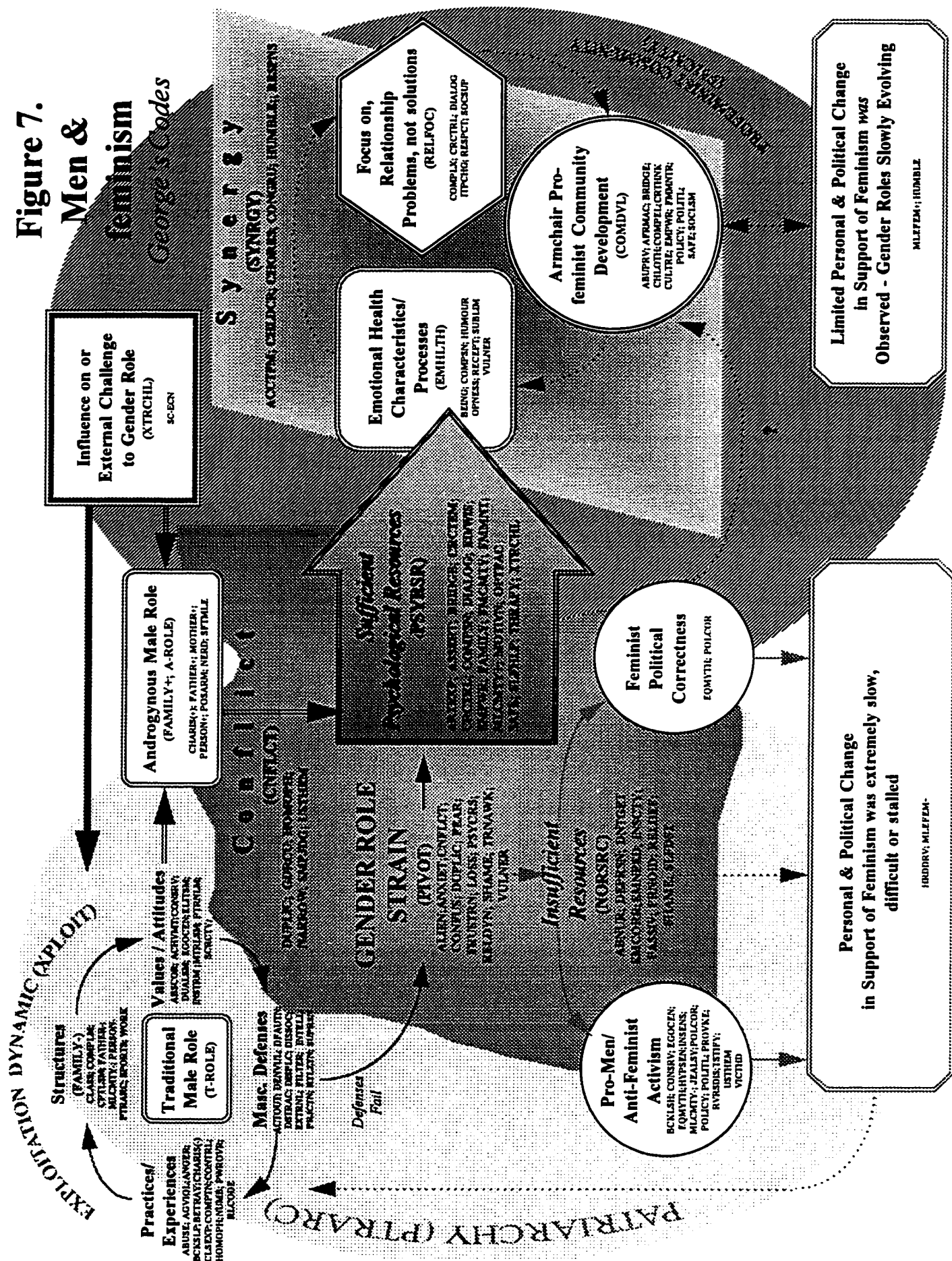
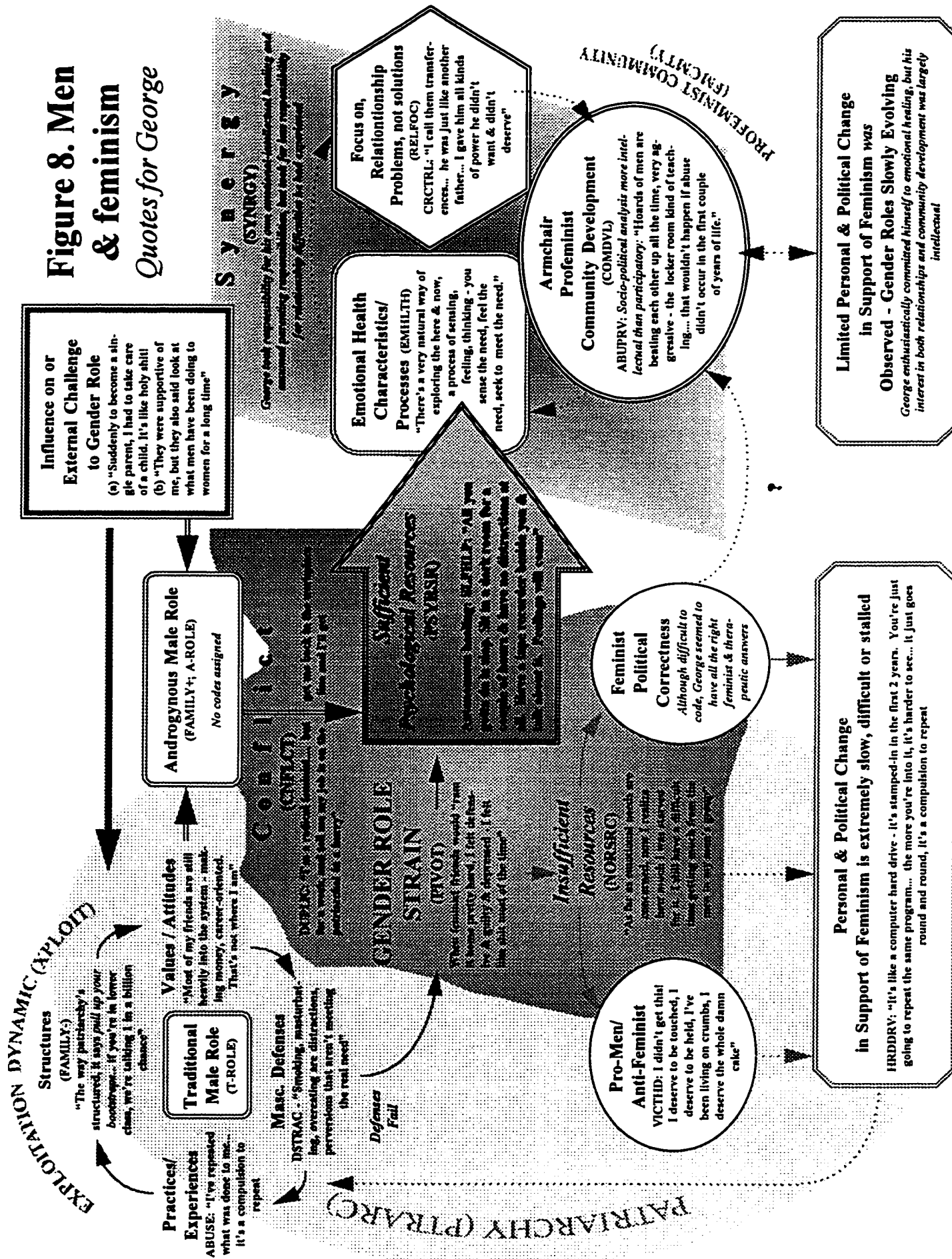


Figure 8. Men & feminism Quotes for George



in the home. And yet, he was unsure how exactly he should respond to the feminist challenges. He certainly had access to many resources, and some of them seemed quite helpful, but they did not lead to interpersonal growth. This mixed result is illustrated by a partial highlighting of relevant comments and codes in (a) the *Sufficient Psychological Resources* arrow, and (b) the group of codes and comments connected to the *Insufficient Resources* super-code in Figures 7 and 8. Partial highlighting of codes in the *Sufficient Psychological Resources* arrow illustrates how George had accessed these resources but obtained mixed results. For example, he had tried many therapies, self-help techniques and books, but in his words, "they [were] all missing the mark". On the one hand, then, George had successfully engaged an autonomous healing process which improved his access to feelings (indicated by the highlighted *Emotional Health Characteristics / Processes* box). But on the other hand, he still had not received the emotional support he craved from others. Again, on the one hand, he still saw himself as a victim who "deserved more" (see *Pro-Men / Anti-Feminist* circle) and on the other hand, he had an oversimplified understanding of how society had let him down (see *Feminist Political Correctness* circle). The combination of autonomous healing, an inwardly-focused victimhood attitude and an externally-focused political

critique was reminiscent of his pre-feminist externalizing, egocentric defensive style.

Despite these limitations, George *did* engage feminism. He succeeded in penetrating his distracting and suppressing defenses in order to simply be with feelings (see *Emotional Health Characteristics/Processes* in Figures 7 and 8). He *was* recognizing and focusing on negative relationship patterns (i.e., negative "transferences"), but he was *not* in them (see partial highlighting of *Relationship Focus* hexagon). Finally, like both Frank and Jean, George's profeminist analysis was both intellectual and political, but the extent to which he actively participated in or with his community to bring about change was uncertain (see *Armchair Profeminist Community Development* circle in Figures 7 and 8).

Conclusions

Although George had considerable social-psychological insight into the problem of patriarchy, was well informed by feminism, and had learned to express more emotions, his interpersonal needs remained largely unsatisfied. His attempts to develop more rewarding interpersonal relationships had not yet succeeded. His profeminist journey seemed stalled at an intrapsychic, somewhat interpersonally isolated level. Rewarding personal relationships and broader community

affiliations were both conspicuously absent in George's narrative, as was political activism.

Nonetheless, unlike other interviewees, George revealed several ways that he had been complicit in patriarchy. This suggested that although George had not fully engaged feminism, his journey did have integrity. In many ways, his discourse revealed a healing journey which honestly broached, but failed to reach very deeply into a new construction of masculinity. His assertion that masculinity was stamped-in early in life along with his own admission that he himself could "become patriarchal in a hurry," especially in the company of less enlightened blue-collar cohorts, suggested that his relationship with feminism was genuine yet limited and distinct from that of women's. Unlike most women, he had had the power, inclination, and opportunity to benefit from both feminism and patriarchy. And yet, by admitting this potential for, and vulnerability to duplicity, he had somewhat demystified the power, thereby inviting a synergistic process through which others could hold him accountable. If he could have somehow shed his remaining armour, others might have been more willing to accept the invitation. On these more equal terms, mutual, synergistic satisfaction of relationship needs could have become a reality.

Chapter 8 - Allan

Allan was a white, heterosexual, forty-seven year-old, married man with no children. Although he was born and raised by relatively uneducated working class parents in England, he himself attended university and eventually received his doctorate in History from Cambridge. Prior to graduating more than 20 years ago, he became romantically involved with a Canadian woman who was also studying at Cambridge. They married upon graduation and then moved to Canada where he assumed a university faculty position at a large Canadian city. She also taught at the university for a while, but at the time of the interview, she was working as a writer and literary critic. With the recent publication of her third novel, Allan's wife was nominated for a prestigious literary award. Allan reported earning a family income of over 80,000 dollars per year .

Thoughtful, Gentle & Serious Response Style

Allan's presentation was articulate, thoughtful and intellectual in nature. He spoke slowly and softly, providing elaborate, and at times exhaustive descriptions before making a point or responding to my queries. His tone was gentle and pleasant, while his manner was serious and, for the most part, emotionally unexpressive. Allan referred to feelings only briefly while discussing a "devastating" pivotal relationship conflict.

Coping with Patriarchy: Allan's "Quiet Rebellion"

Like virtually all boys in England at the time, Allan was educated in a highly regimented, somewhat militaristic English public boys' school system. Thus, unlike most North American boys, Allan learned and socialized in a sexually segregated, paternalistic, hierarchically structured environment. Specifically, it was a place where discipline and social codes of conduct were strictly enforced, contact with girls and women was negligible and participation in a team sport throughout the school year was mandatory. Allan recalled that it was only in his last few years of secondary school that he was "permitted" to choose tennis as his "third sport," but even that was only allowed in the summers. And as he himself suggested, "it was very clear that [playing tennis] was sort of a soft option. It was kind of permitted for those who really weren't much good at sports."

Allan recalled that his secondary school teachers strongly emphasized the importance of "*esprit de corps*" and the value of "being a team player." He argued that the contemporary term, "male bonding" neatly encapsulates the process underlying this team spirit.

Being a good team player was meant to imply that you were willing to engage in team sports, that you weren't too individualistic not to submit to

the discipline of the leader of your team, whether it was cricket or rugby or whatever. But it was also supposed to symbolize a sense of commitment to the school itself and to encourage those virtues that were believed to be of value for the men.

Clearly Allan did not fit comfortably into this tradition. In fact, he claimed he "quietly rejected" the unwritten patriarchal code of behaviour, including the intangible *esprit de corps* prescribed by the school. As the following passage implies, Allan negotiated patriarchy inconspicuously by finding his niche on the softer and gentler margins, thereby avoiding fruitless power struggles.

I suppose the more extraverted and perhaps more self-confident person would have rebelled more openly by simply staying away, which would have led to some sort of disciplinary action, [at which point one] would have then made some kind of public statement. I did not have the courage or the self-confidence or whatever to do that. I mentioned going into the RAF cadets rather than the army or navy, because it seemed to be that they did more intellectually interesting work. And any male bonding that took place was, looking back to the school days, with friends, and the friendships I recall were with a particular group - four of us - none of whom really was much good at any sport. Whatever leisure time [I had]

was spent with this group of four friends. And what did we do? We talked, I suppose, about current events. One of those friends had ambitions to be a lawyer and I remember that we would make up mock trials and he would play the prosecutor and I be the accused, or we would switch roles and so on, and we would make it up as we went along. It was a kind of intellectual game. And we played bridge occasionally. Again, I wasn't particularly good at bridge; some of the others were better at it. That kind of stuff which was sort of a very quiet way of rebelling.

Open & Supportive Family-of-Origin

Although Allan did not discuss his family in great depth, the things he *did* say were positive and slightly atypical for boys growing up in post-war, working class England. While he described his parents as working class, straight-laced "Church of England Conservatives, with little formal education," Allan saw them as more open-minded than their contemporaries. For example, when his mother decided that she wanted to work part-time at a hospital in the mid-1960s, Allan's father did not protest in the way that other men did.

My father, actually to due him credit, said that "If it is something you really want to do, you should do it". Unlike one of my uncles who positively

forbade my aunt to even think about it [and in fact, he actually said,] "Don't even think about it, the man is the bread winner!"

Allan recalled talking openly with his parents about personal issues, including insecurities, fears and vulnerabilities associated with academics, and even dating. He valued their openness, trusting nature and respectful attitude despite the perception that neither their expectations, nor the advice they gave was accurate or particularly helpful. For example, they expected that someday he would become a famous concert pianist; and following a devastating romantic breakup, they reassured him that sooner or later he'd meet that one special girl, settle down and get married.

Allan was closest to his sister. It was through her that he first came to appreciate and understand women. He explained that she "taught" him how to relate to women as *friends*, rather than merely acquaintances or sexual objects. He recalled discussing relationships at length with her, and sometimes her friends. Allan seemed to develop his most significant relationships in close proximity to his sister. His first significant relationship with a woman was with one of his sister's best friends. And when he first met his wife, Allan arranged for her to live temporarily with his sister who happened to have a spare room in a nearby flat.

Inspired by Women

Allan maintained that throughout his life he felt neither possessive of women, nor inclined to enjoy any power or special status afforded him simply by virtue of being male. Instead, he claimed to admire, and at times revere women - extolling their virtues in everything from assertiveness to intellectual prowess. In fact, he mentioned that he was often attracted to women who stimulated or stretched him intellectually. In the three most significant romantic relationships he had, Allan said he felt intellectually "in awe" of his partner.

While this mentorship role or attitude was a strong positive indicator of his fascination with, and receptiveness to, women's perspectives, it also suggested an element of naivety and highlighted the relative position of vulnerability he assumed in the relationships. In short, his openness came at a cost. The challenges presented to him by these women were somewhat unsettling for him, especially since they lay in sharp contrast to what was taught during his English public school years. As Allan suggested in the following passage, he first recognized the personal and political implications of his relationship naivety when he began dating at university:

I guess [gender] became an issue personally [for me at that time because] my upbringing only prepared me for the traditional kind of chivalric way of

going about dating. In other words, you didn't exactly turn up at the girl's door with a bunch of flowers, but the man in that ethos, was supposed to take the initiative, make the phone call. [It was as if] there was a code - [a code] which I somehow knew very indistinctly. [In other words,] it was a code, but not one I was familiar with. Also, it was a code that was coming under attack. I was very aware of just not knowing where the landmarks were, where to go, where to take the relationship, or how to send the signals I really wanted to send. And this was what was disconcerting.

Pivotal Relationship Crisis

Initially, Allan seemed to cope quite well with challenges to this *not-so-well-learned* code of behaviour by following women's initiatives both in dating and non-dating relationships. His respect for, and openness with, women enabled him to establish close female friendships. However, his naivety, coupled with a general lack of assertiveness seemed to leave him somewhat blind and helpless when it came to romance. Not surprisingly, he experienced some difficulty distinguishing between romance and platonic relationships. As a result, Allan was rudely awakened when the woman he once considered his girlfriend and potential wife wrote to him merely as a trusted confidant, disclosing that her parents were angry with her because they discovered oral contraceptives she had been using in an

ongoing relationship with another man. Allan said that he was devastated by this. Although it clearly did mark an unhappy period of emotional turmoil in his life, he saw it retrospectively as an invaluable learning opportunity, a pivotal event in his life, an opportunity to abandon the simple rule-based, power-over relationship code prescribed by patriarchy in favour of the much more complex, fluid, interconnected, friendship-based approach offered by women.

This experience at university was quite devastating. You know, I was sort of crawling out from under the, I suppose, the shock of it ending [or] at least the [shock associated with the] sexual ending of this relationship. We did continue [as] friends and later on [she] asked me to stand Godparent to her third child (first daughter) which I was very touched by. So, you know, we certainly remained friends. Eventually, I became also quite good friends with her husband. But this was after I suppose two or three years of trying to deal with the emotional trauma of ending this first close relationship with a woman. So, after this experience, I found out that it was constructive, rather than purely destructive in that I had this very close friendship with a woman who had come to regard [me] as a confidant. [The fact that] I had already experienced a relationship with a woman which was a friendship [suggested that] I was cured, if you like of that

patriarchal or patronizing kind of attitude towards women. I learned to relate to women as human beings rather than merely or purely potential sexual objects. I believe I can say that I get on with women very well and work easily with women. And I think also, to be honest, I find I prefer working with, and relating to, women. I think the reason is because I really do not like the kind of competitiveness, the mild aggression that goes on between men, sort of a teasing that implies suppressed aggression among men when they are together, or even when men are dominant in a group. I just don't like it either personally, and also politically. The difficulty always has been relating with men, or some men anyway.

Corrective Relationship Experiences

The emphasis on relationships, and in particular, the emphasis on *learning-in-relationship-with* women is perhaps one of the strongest and most unique themes in Allan's discourse. The experiences he disclosed were truly *corrective relational experiences* as described by Stone Center Theorists. According to Janet Surrey (1991) a corrective relational experience involves a process of increased self-differentiation within a network of increasingly complex relationships. Allan seems to have begun the process of self-differentiation at an early age when he "quietly rebelled" from the patriarchal code entrenched in the school curriculum.

The fact that Allan was able to move from a position of frustrated yet aspiring and somewhat deluded *boyfriend*, to one of "devastation" and rejection, and then eventually to that of a close friend and Godparent to her daughter, is testimony of his increased tolerance and appreciation for complexity in relationships.

Male Androgyny: A Firm Foundation for Profeminism

Despite some obvious movement in gender role identity, it seemed as though Allan always had somewhat of a natural, gentle and compassionate way of relating to others. His appreciation for incorporating other people's perspectives - perhaps it was even a hunger he felt for seeking input - seemed central to his ability to connect. Allan's gentle, respectful, laid-back and relatively secure introverted personality style probably allowed him to recognize and eventually integrate women's challenging perspectives without becoming defensive or yielding to temptations to apply the traditional patriarchal code taught in school. The challenge from feminism, while disconcerting initially, did not immobilize Allan. In fact, he quickly discovered that it promised relief from a lifetime of discomfort in patriarchy.

Congruent Profeminism

Allan's participation in feminism seemed emotionally, interpersonally and politically congruent. In other words, he engaged feminism with integrity. He did

this primarily by acknowledging his limited role in feminism. For example, he claimed a blind spot for various forms of overt sexuality, including both homosexual and heterosexual expressions. Nevertheless he acknowledged the potentially restrictive political/professional impact of this blind spot and expressed a willingness to continue self-exploration in this area should the need or opportunity arise.

There was a very important book about Byron, for example, which looked at Byron's bisexuality. I haven't ventured into that field. I don't think there's any particular pressure on me to venture into it - that is to say gay studies, or what you might call gay studies - and I'm perhaps disqualified from venturing into it, as a straight. Obviously I need to be aware of it, and also, for the sake of any potential students I might have, who are interested in gay studies, or that kind of approach, I should clearly be open to that.

Allan openly acknowledged his discomfort with homosexuality. In other words, he admitted he was homophobic and acted honestly and responsibly on both personal and professional levels. He showed no signs of engaging in duplicitous, superficial or politically correct feminism. In particular, Allan

promised not to "venture" recklessly into "gay studies" because of his personal discomfort with homosexuality.

He did, however, accept a university committee post on gender studies without reservation because, as he put it, he felt genuine "solidarity with women who were fighting... for some kind of place in the university where gender relations would be critically looked at and studied as a factor in our social and cultural existence." Just as feminist women have been working over the last 30 years to deconstruct patriarchal influences on their lives, Allan's discussion reflected a long process of deconstructing his marginalized childhood experiences in the patriarchal school system. While he acknowledged he was still "disqualified" from studying homosexuality, he was well prepared for gender studies. Even so, he refrained from exaggerating its significance. Instead, he acknowledged, and warned against the fact that:

It is very easy to become complacent [in feminism] particularly if you're involved with some token action on behalf of gender equality, such as the Women's and Gender Studies Initiative. [One might be tempted to think] "Okay, so you're liberated - you must be liberated because you're on the side of [feminists]. " But it isn't [that simple]. You're never finished.

His profeminist activity was based on an honest, unpretentious, ongoing and publicly accountable process of self-reflection. From this, I got the sense that Allan's role in feminism had integrity - his personal practices were consistent or congruent with his public, political and professional activities.

Developmental Summary

Allan seemed to begin his journey into feminism safely and securely from the margins of one of the purest of patriarchal environments - the English public boy's school. This is graphically illustrated in Figures 9 and 10 by (a) the mix of highlighted, non-highlighted, and partially highlighted codes and comments in the *Exploitation Dynamic* area, and (b) the more solid representation of codes in the *Androgynous Male Role* rectangle. Allan's gentle personality, along with his stable and supportive, non-traditional family *Structure*, seemed to prepare him well for negotiating the potentially cruel and oppressive forces of patriarchy without either participating in, or being seriously victimized by them. Patriarchy and paternalism seemed to influence him only to the extent that he was left "ill-equipped" to develop satisfying romantic relationships. However, alongside this rigid, traditionally masculine education, Allan experienced an unusually close relationship with his sister and a relatively egalitarian relationship with his open-minded

parents. This supportive non-traditional family influence seemed to partially offset the patriarchal influences.

Insert Figures 9 and 10

about here

Allan's androgyny was therefore not surprising given the combined influences of traditional schooling and progressive family values (see quotes and comments in the *Values / Attitudes*, *Masculine Defenses*, *Practices / Experiences* and *Androgynous Male Role* regions of Figure 10). Allan coped by finding a niche among other less athletic, more intellectually-oriented peers. He experienced a harsh, chivalrous, masculine behaviour code, but "quietly rebelled" against it. As indicated by the red arrows converging on the *Androgynous Male Role* rectangle in Figures 9 and 10, Allan was influenced from both sides (feminism and patriarchy) throughout the course of his life. Unlike Frank, Jean and George, however, Allan did not actively participate in patriarchy. He did not seek *power-over*. He did, nevertheless, experience pain (see *Gender Role Strain* codes, comments and quotes). He felt particularly confused and ill-equipped when his style of relating was challenged by others armed with feminist and 1960's

Figure 9.
Men & feminism
Allan's Codes

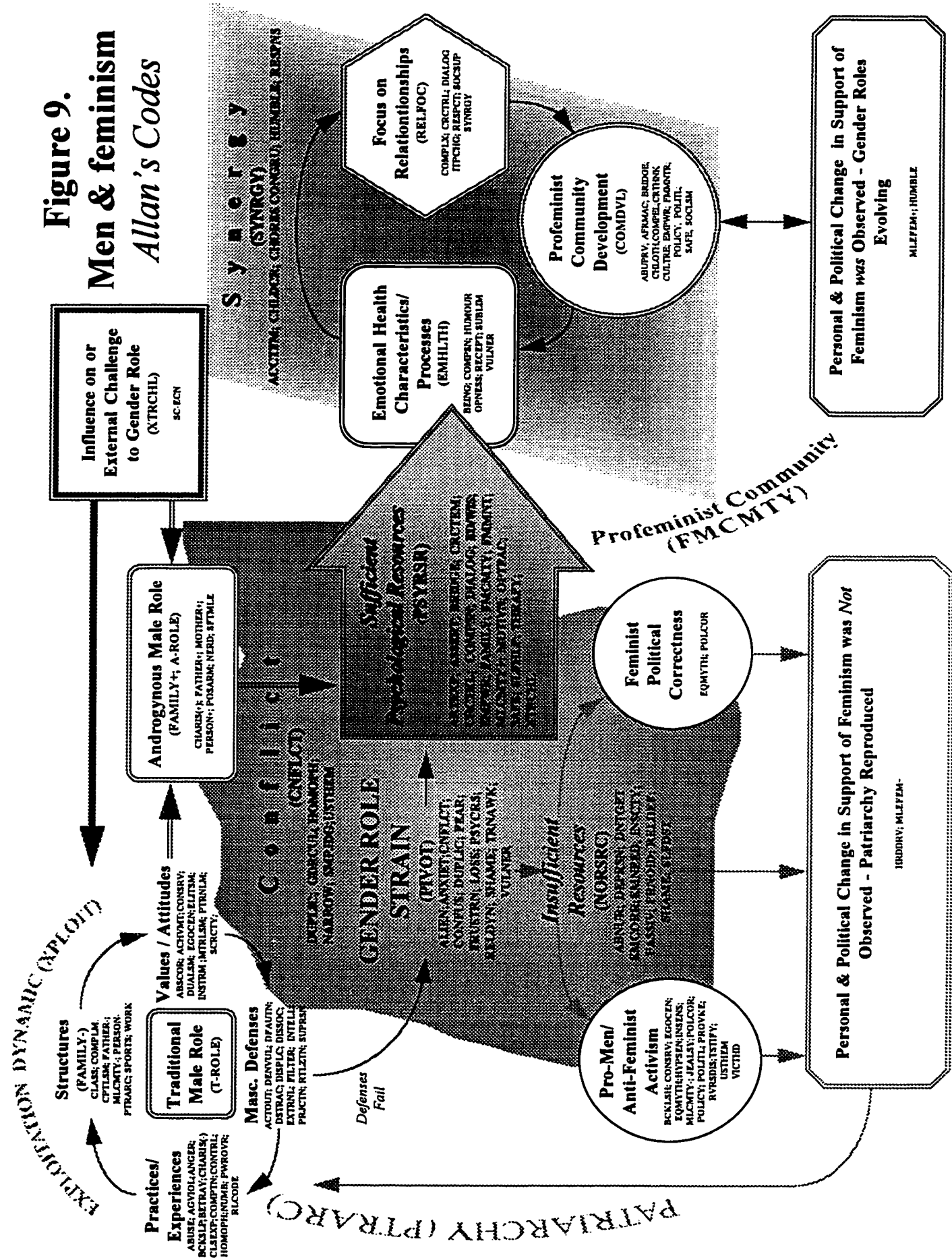
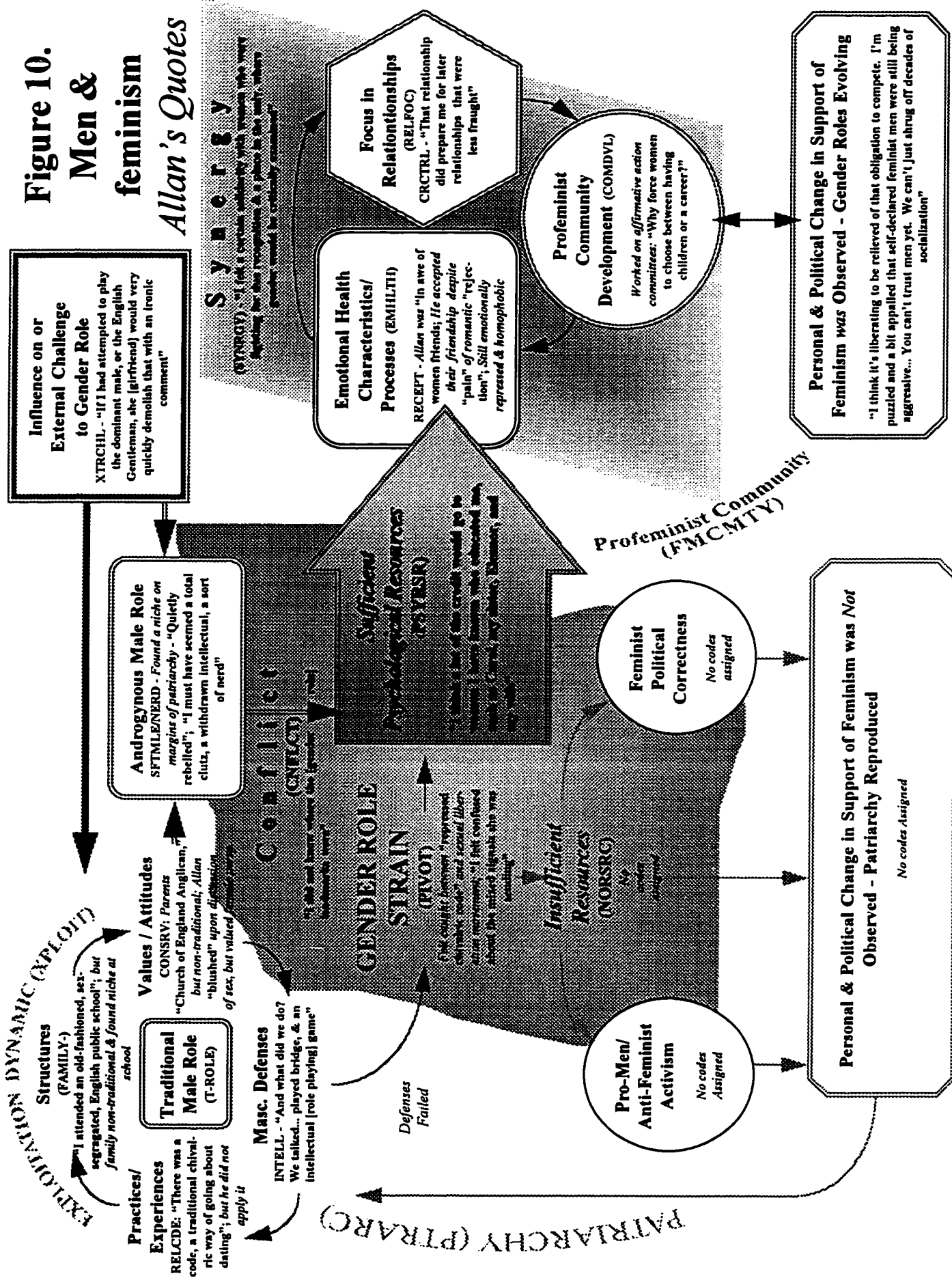


Figure 10.
Men & feminism
Allan's Quotes



counterculture idealism (see codes and quotes in the *External Challenge to Gender Role* box). Although this period of conflict or incongruence, lasted for several years, Allan seemed to draw resourcefully on his naturally laid-back and partially-developed relationship-focused skills during this period. His gentle and receptive nature enabled him to learn *with* and *from* others during that vulnerable time.

Thus, as indicated in Figures 9 and 10, Allan's experiences of *Gender Role Strain*, were met with sufficient relationship-based resources developed over the course of his life and enhanced during this period of crisis (see highlighted codes and quotes in the *Sufficient Psychological Resources* arrow). As indicated by the substantial coding on the right side of Figures 9 and 10, Allan seemed to move relatively smoothly, congruently and synergistically into a healthy, relationship-focused, politically active profeminist community. Perhaps because of his marginalized, yet relationship-oriented childhood existence on the fringes of patriarchy, Allan "felt solidarity" with feminists (see highlighted codes, comments and quotes in the *Focus on Relationships* octagon, the *Profeminist Community Development* circle, and the *Synergy* region, respectively).

The one blind spot Allan identified, sexual inhibition and homophobia, may have been more a function of his emotionally-inhibited British cultural heritage

than an indication of serious conflict or profeminist incongruence. This emotionally repressed tendency is represented by the mixed evidence (both highlighted and non-highlighted codes) portrayed in the *Emotional Health Characteristics* box of Figures 9 and 10. However, the fact that Allan openly acknowledged this blind spot and took steps to prevent this from deceiving or otherwise complicating relationships, suggests a socially responsible, congruent profeminism, one founded on integrity.

Conclusions

Allan's gentle and receptive nature in combination with access to an unusually rich and diverse range of interpersonal and socio-political perspectives and influences left him in a near perfect position to engage feminism synergistically. Specifically, his personality and environment seemed to converge in a manner that encouraged deeper, more complex ways of relating that, in turn, rewarded him with healthier, more meaningful, honest and secure relationships.

Chapter 9 - Charlie

Charlie was a white, 35-year-old, divorced and since remarried heterosexual man. He, along with his second wife, were awaiting the birth of their first child at the time of the interview. Although Charlie's first marriage lasted for only eight months, he had been married to his second wife for more than three years. He was born and raised, along with his two siblings (a twin sister and an older brother), by his first generation Ukrainian-Canadian parents on a farm near a small prairie town in southern Alberta. He and his wife had managed the farm together since Charlie's father retired and transferred ownership several years earlier. Although their primary agricultural interest was growing grain, they were also raising about 35 cattle. Charlie reported earning a highly variable family income - fluctuating in the range of 20,000-40,000 dollars, depending on the quality and price of grain and cattle. Following high school graduation, Charlie attended a nearby technical college where he obtained a diploma in agriculture.

Friendly, Relaxed Interview Style

Charlie's presentation was friendly, relaxed and easy-going, albeit unfocused and rambling at times. Despite some disorganization, he presented in a honest, genuine and natural manner. Comfort was evident in his open, easy way of

expressing thoughts and feelings. Although he revealed a soft and sensitive side, he acknowledged having a tough skin and demonstrated a willingness and capacity to laugh at himself in a humbling yet self-accepting way. His vocabulary was colourful and forthright if not especially sophisticated.

Gentle, Extraverted & Androgynous Interpersonal Style

Charlie's easy-going manner was central to the thematic *content* of his interview. He suggested he was "a social animal", an extravert and as such, was comfortable "being with both redneck [men] and [feminist] women." In a sense, Charlie's gender roles were truly androgynous, or perhaps more accurately, ambidextrous. He seemed to tolerate, at times participate in and even enjoy the near constant backslapping, half-playful/half-aggressive locker-room "ribbing" and cursing exchanged among hockey team-mates. He explained that sports themselves were not as important as the sense of "companionship" he derived from being part of a community of men.

It was sort of a masculine thing, you know, the hockey, the ball. We went and got sort of drunk and being in small towns, there weren't that many women. But on the other aspect of it, you know, you had all the crude jokes and sort of went along with it. I'm a social animal. I can sit at any group and sit back and listen to the conversation. I'd rather be in their

company than be off by myself drinking or not drinking but just sitting in my hotel room or something if you're on the road. I guess just to be in a social atmosphere, you know, if nothing is bad, I'm satisfied to be in a social atmosphere, a gathering of some sort. I've still got a buddy from school and we're still good friends. It's a different friendship. We don't really rely on each other like in some types of friendships you see on TV. But we did things and we have a respect. I think we had a respect for each other and that was a big thing.

Despite his enjoyment of male companionship, Charlie's "closest friends were women." Although he seemed able to move easily back and forth from masculine and feminine activities or contexts, he generally felt more comfortable with women and more "accepted" by them. Charlie credited his twin sister for introducing him to the culture of women's values and experiences, and for welcoming his participation within her community of friends.

As indicated by the following passage, Charlie was inspired in many ways by his sister. He expressed deep respect for her superior intellectual achievement and her more radical political views.

I maybe was more in tune with gender issues because of my sister, and being close to my sister. She was in university two years ahead of where

she should have been. She was a brain. I was two years behind in school so there was four years difference between us [laughs]. But she was going to school and university, so a lot of times, then, that was a place where I went and socialized and she was involved with a bunch of other girls and I don't know, I guess, maybe they were more anti-establishment and I guess more of the left-leaning, and more socialist sort of thinking way. And feminism was up there so I did learn, was taught a little bit more about the issues.

Charlie also found it easier to talk with women about personal and emotional issues. For example, when he experienced conflict in his relationship with his first wife, he discussed the problems at length with his sister. In addition to listening and helping Charlie to clarify his role and responsibility in the breakup, she challenged him to see gender issues in a larger context and with greater complexity. She helped him to question and transcend both male and female stereotypes. In these discussions, Charlie learned that he had assumed far too much responsibility for his failed marriage. Specifically, his sister helped him to recognize how his former wife had been unfair to him and she encouraged him to be more assertive with his wife as well as others. In short, she empowered him to express his needs more directly, including his sexual needs.

When I got divorced from [my first wife] I went up to see my sister. She was in the Yukon at that time. I spent a week with her, or four days or something, up there. And that was fine and I got to know my sister more and started, you know, we started talking over the phone at least once a week, talking almost an hour on the phone. To think I have a hundred dollar phone bill every month easily! I learned more about sexuality through my sister because you see, a lot of guys I talk to say, 'Oh no, sex is separate from love. Sex is better with love but sex is different. You don't have to love a person to really have sex. You can just have sex'. I thought no. But then I started talking with my sister and found out, yeah there are *girls* out there that just go with a guy for sex. It was a bit of a shock.

Another [thing] too [was that] we were trying to have a kid and the thing was I felt that basically I was really being used. And on that issue [I had] a lot of talk with my sister on that. I did have a problem [in thinking] that men are too aggressive and stuff like this [and] so [I asked myself,] 'Did [first wife] think less of me in this?' But all of a sudden I started talking to my sister and I go, 'This is a different story,' and she's a feminist, 'What the heck was this?' It's not as simple as all men are sex fiends.

In addition to empowering and educating him to appreciate and cope more effectively with the complexity of gender issues and relationship dynamics, Charlie's sister provided him with intellectual stimulation and opportunities for cultural enrichment. And as the following passage suggests, he had a craving for both.

I guess I've always had a mainly open mind to try things. I never was one set in my ways. So they were going to these movies and stuff and plays and concerts and stuff like that. It was my way *in* because I never got to go to the university. It was my way in to go to these things.

Compassionate Action: Empowering Women & the Rural Community

Charlie demonstrated an eagerness to stretch himself socially, intellectually, politically and culturally, often in creative, somewhat informal ways. His laid-back, tolerant and respectful interpersonal style ensured access to a wide range of psycho-social resources, including friendships with both men and women of diverse and sometimes conflicting political persuasions. He seemed to develop a truly synergistic relationship with his community by drawing on conflicting elements in a manner that promoted both tolerance and productive tension. Together these otherwise opposing forces yielded gradual, yet substantial community change. For example, in the following passage, Charlie described how

he challenged an abusive man indirectly by stimulating a community-wide response:

He's been abusive to her, quite a bit through the relationship. He had a jealousy streak and the only person she could talk to was a neighbour farmer. And he got jealous of that and he moved out. So she thought he was thinking that she was having a relationship with him. So anyway the kids were living with their mother and then they left. The husband, the dad, turned the kids against the mother sort of deal.

I never really was [directly] involved with this issue but I know that one of my other neighbours had been. She's a lady that's quite outspoken. She was helping this girl and so she came back and started saying, 'Well, this girl can't go to lawyers because she doesn't have any money and this guy's not giving her any money' and so I used my few connections and we found a lawyer that was ready to do it on a per diem basis, you know, like what you get through the court. She had a public perception that people were on [estranged husband's] side. She was more worried about people in public.

You see, there's what I call the teetotallers and the church-goers and it's always so in a small community. Those are the ones that preach the

moral issues. If you really want the moral issues to be addressed, it really doesn't matter what your friends sort of think, because if the majority of the town thinks that this is going on, it affects you. So I pushed my mother, not pushed her, but basically told her that I knew the situation this girl was in and this guy should not really be treated well in the community at all because of the situation. I'm sure that it got around to the gossip and stuff. It's not really gossip but she would tell somebody and so on and so forth and so now when it did come out in public, then people would be very supportive of her on the things that. I was involved [in this], but I was involved at arm's length.

So it was a gender issue [for me] then I guess. It didn't matter to me if this girl ever found out who gave her the information for the lawyers or whatever but we did it. I just wanted her to know that there were channels available that she could work through. And plus I think it made [female neighbour's] job working with this girl easier because then she realized that there was probably support in the community for her.

Charlie's indirect approach to the abuse demonstrated an appreciation of the complexity of challenging men in a manner which is effective, yet also empowering for women and the community at large.

I sort of believe that working suddenly, you know, doesn't work. [I prefer] more the back door [approach] because I think people are more receptive when they are getting bombarded from the inside. [I would advocate] coming in softly every time.

His quiet and collaborative community mobilizing approach was distinct from the traditional, stereotypically knee-jerk, chivalrous reactions men often have to other men's violence. Charlie shared his power by drawing on his connections in a manner which facilitated a proactive community-wide response directed by, and empowering for, women.

External Challenges to Charlie's Passive Style

Charlie's indirect approach was probably not purely intentional. He revealed that until recently, he had little self-confidence and struggled to assert himself, especially in response to interpersonal conflict. This problem came to a head in his relationship with his first wife. They married impulsively before they really knew each other. Both wanted children and were conscious of the "ticking biological clock."

The first marriage - well it was a disaster. It ended in divorce, of course, in eight months. And it was quite interesting, you know. I think at the time I got married because of my age. I didn't say that at the time - I had

all the other reasons [then] - but now I think... [it was because my] biological clock was ticking and I had to do something. I tried to bend over backwards but we had no intimacy in the relationship, there was no rapport going back and forth. There was no real closeness.

Unlike Frank, George or Allan, Charlie's breakup had nothing to do with external challenges to his masculinity. His gentle, accommodating and somewhat passive interpersonal style was far from masculine. Instead, the challenge he faced from his sister was to stand up for himself, to begin expressing himself more assertively, rather than simply accommodating his wife's needs and idiosyncracies. Eventually, Charlie's frustration reached a critical point, and with his sister's support, he finally managed to express his feelings to his wife..

I forget all the things, but she [my wife] just went into the city and I guess this is the only time that I ever really stood up and I remember going in there and talking and I sort of swore. I says, 'What the fuck do you really want,' sort of thing. And I was mad, you know, I was trying to be this more vocal person. I had apologized for the swearing, but I [also] said I want you to apologize for, you know, this other thing. And it took her mother to pull that out, and even then she wasn't ready to forgive me for this other thing. It was some trivial thing. Something I had said or

something she had said. I felt it was an insult to me, you know, to our relationship, and I guess it just sort of went downhill from that. And then they came up and loaded up, they brought most of the stuff out of the house. Separation.

Political Activism Empowered Charlie Personally

To some extent, Charlie's soft, unsophisticated, androgenous role left him feeling insecure and insignificant. Although he saw nothing special about his place in between patriarchy and feminism, others - he recently discovered - including men actually, valued his easy-going, flexible interpersonal style.

A lot of people that I talked to afterwards said, they thought I was [part of the in-circle]. I said "Oh I never thought I was part of the in-circle". [They said:] "Oh yeah, you were. You're the one who went out on Friday nights or Saturday nights and sat with the boys." [I responded:] "Oh, yeah, okay." [laughs] I guess I never felt that I was really a part of that inner circle.

Charlie underestimated himself until his contributions were more concretely and overtly recognized in the political arena. Although the informal, interpersonal learning he experienced in relation to his sister undoubtedly laid the groundwork for his profeminism, Charlie argued that it was mainly through political activism

that he experienced an increase in personal confidence. More specifically, he said that he learned to assert himself *first* in the political arena through involvement with, and formal training sponsored by, the National Farmer's Union (NFU). As Charlie suggested in the following passage, the NFU itself had always been a politically left-leaning and pro-feminist organization, strongly represented by women:

We've always had a woman's factor as a part [the NFU] and so [with women's contributions] we've been very socially [progressive and] believe that women have just as equal or as strong a part in presenting [the issues]. I'm a great believer that women maybe should be doing [the political action] because it's far easier for the woman to go away from the farm than it is for the guy to pull off the farm. And so the pressure is not on women as much because if their part was just cooking the meals, then that's easy for the husbands to do when they're away.

The NFU was one of the fore-runners on Medicare. Actually they had a study session, came up with some of the initial background [material] for Medicare for the CCF. It really is [a progressive organization]. And now [my wife] is quite involved in it. And we [also] have a strong woman president.

Thus, in addition to relating easily and closely with women on a personal level, women were also important players for him on the political scene. His political participation in the women-friendly NFU seemed to empower him personally. He became a more confident and assertive person through political participation, perhaps in much the same way that women in feminist organizations become empowered or liberated from oppressive relationships. This profeminist political recognition paved the way for him to reconstrue his earlier interpersonal experiences and develop new, more self-affirming relationships.

Developmental Summary

Like Allan, Charlie seemed to identify with an androgynous male role. Until recently he had led a comfortable, yet somewhat modest and unfulfilling life on the periphery of masculinity and feminism. This in-between status is illustrated by the mix of codes and comments in the *Exploitation Dynamic* area and the more solid representation of codes and comments in the *Androgynous Male Role* rectangle in Figures 11 and 12. With respect to the *Exploitation Dynamic*, Charlie (a) half-jokingly admitted having "red-necked" attitudes, (b) acknowledged his previously repressed interpersonal style, and (c) claimed to enjoy participating in stereotypically masculine environments (see mixed codes, comments and quotes in

the *Values / Attitudes, Masculine Defenses, Practices / Experiences*, and *Structures* regions of the *Exploitation Dynamic*).

Insert Figures 11 and 12

about here

Again, much like Allan, Charlie recalled experiencing, on occasion, feelings of confusion and uncertainty associated with his loosely defined gender role. He seemed somewhat adrift or immobilized, and without access to a straightforward code of behaviour. For example, Charlie's tendency to confuse assertiveness with aggression probably contributed to passivity and feelings of ambivalence in relation to his first wife. In other words, it prevented him from expressing his needs and working constructively to either resolve their marital issues or break free from the relationship altogether (see *Masculine Defenses* quote in Figure 12).

While Charlie certainly *did* experience stress and ambivalence in connection with his androgynous role, it soon became more of an opportunity for growth, than a cue for defensiveness. Unlike Frank and George who were challenged to be gentler, more sensitive and relationship-focused, Charlie was encouraged by others, both formally and informally, to be less accommodating and more assertive.

Figure 11.
Men & feminism
Charlie's Codes

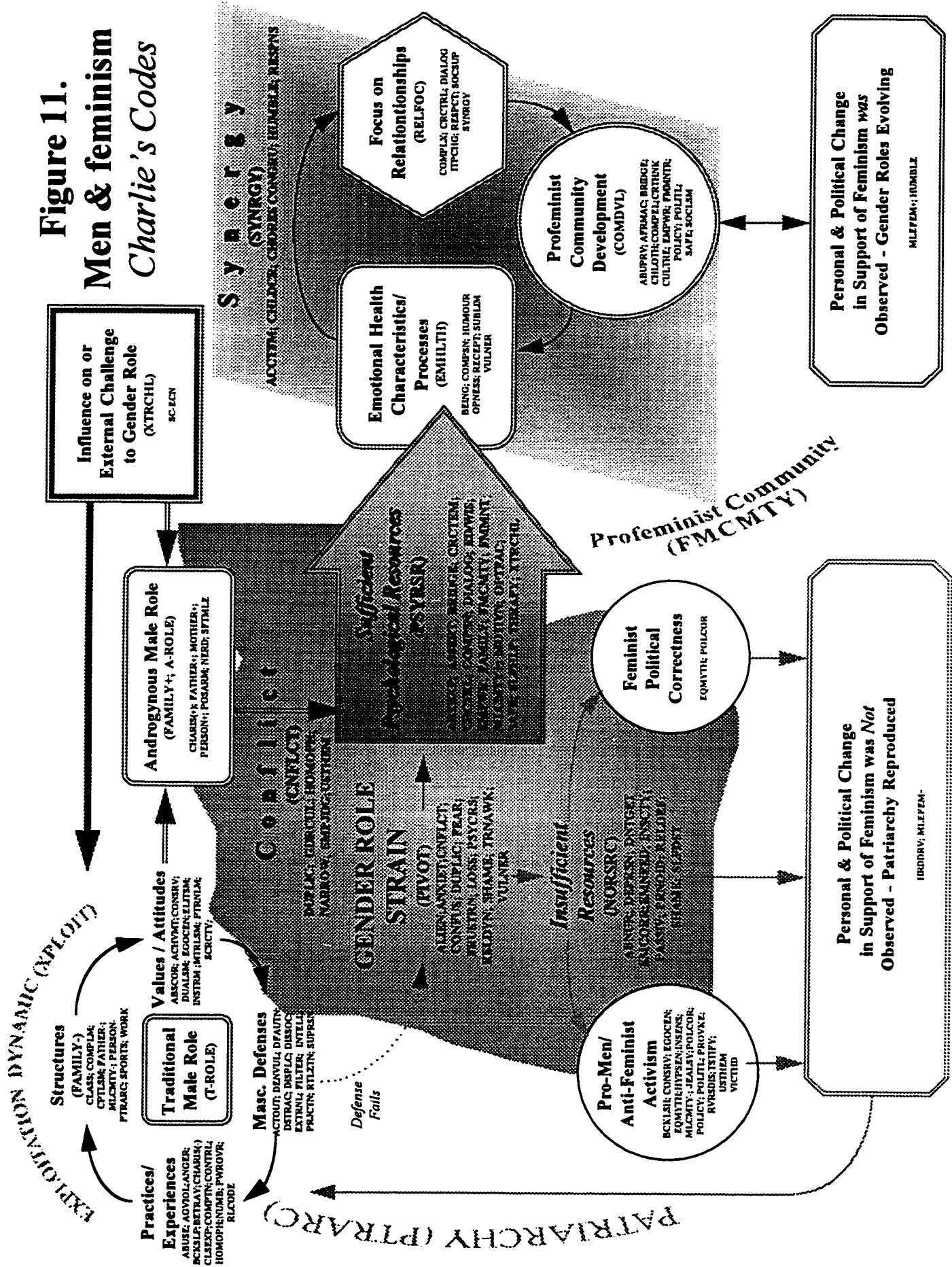
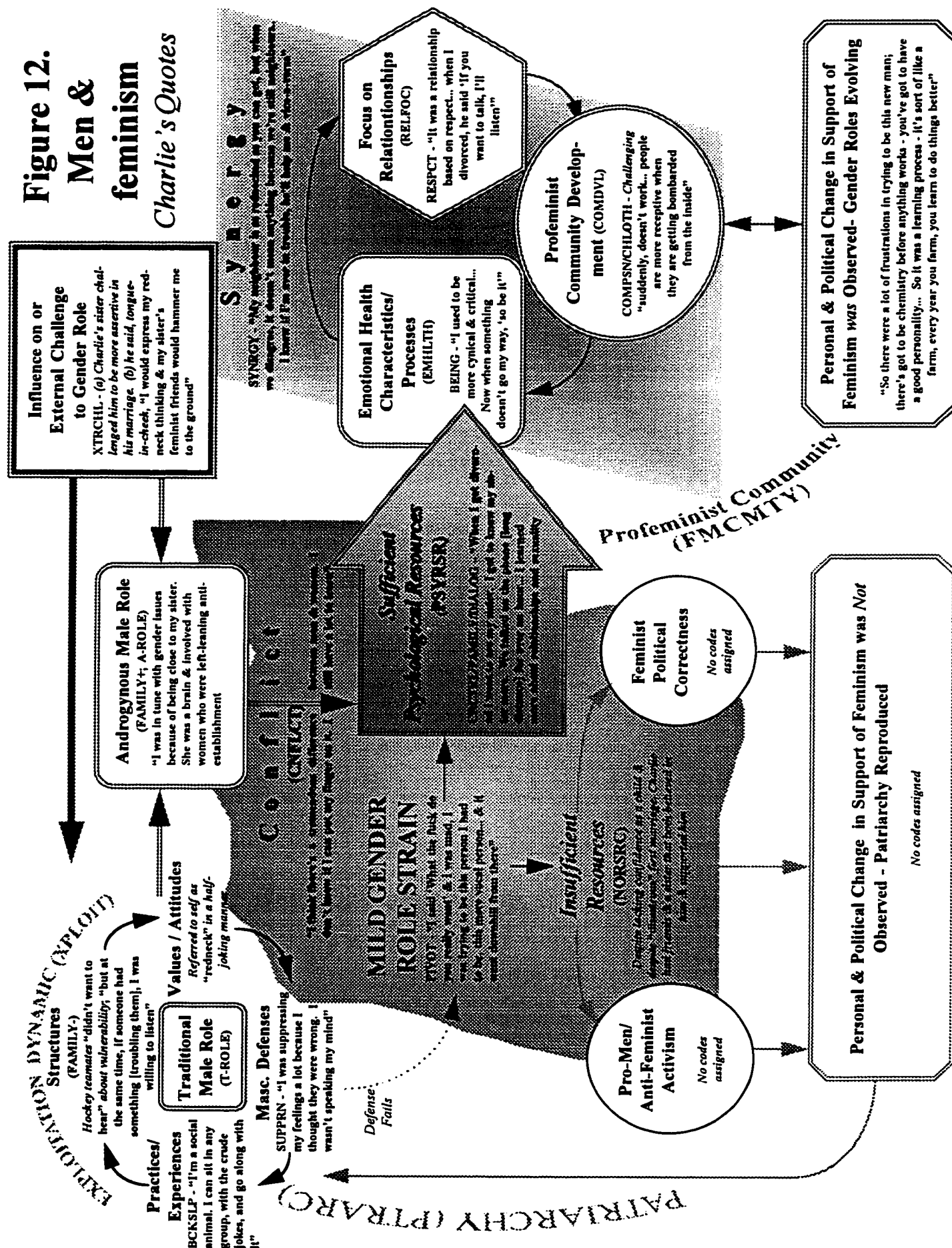


Figure 12.

Men & feminism

Charlie's Quotes



As such, Charlie's movement was not so much away from patriarchy and into feminism, as it was a transition away from passivity and towards assertiveness. His sister, in particular, challenged both his passive androgyny and his "rednecked thinking", as indicated by the comments and red arrow extending from the *External Challenge* box to the *Androgynous Role* box in Figure 12.

This dual challenge helped him to recognize his unfulfilled needs, but left him confused and unsure of how to communicate them. With these challenges, Charlie was no longer able to suppress his feelings - suppression as a psychological *Defense* failed when he finally expressed anger towards his first wife (see quote under *Gender Role Strain* in Figure 12). At first, he felt guilty and ashamed, but with the support of his sister and friends, Charlie began to realize that his lack of confidence as a child (see *Insufficient Resources* area in Figure 12) was unwarranted. Indeed, he learned that contrary to his perceptions, others had always respected him. This, along with long and frequent *Relationship-Focused* discussions with his sister, enabled Charlie to become more assertive and accepting of himself.

In summary, as illustrated in Figures 11 and 12, Charlie was challenged to become more sensitive to the complexity of women's issues and more assertive in relationships. As a result, he was no longer able to suppress his feelings. He

expressed anger, but then felt guilty and vulnerable with the loss of interpersonal security (albeit unfulfilling interpersonal security). His experience of gender role strain provided him the opportunity to reach out and draw on supportive resources in his friends and sister. In the end, as indicated by the *Emotional Health Characteristics* box, Charlie learned how to simply be-with-conflict, rather than fight or suppress it. This, in turn, permitted him to connect with, draw from, and challenge others in a synergistic respectful fashion, as indicated by the quotes and comments on the right side of Figure 12.

Conclusions

Charlie's experiences reflected a pattern of healthy, balanced and congruent participation in both feminism and his surrounding rural community. Emotionally, he demonstrated a capacity "to roll with the punches," tolerate ambiguity and express his feelings assertively. Interpersonally, he was respectful, charismatic and engaging with a wide range of people, both women and men. He clearly seemed to value relationships. He was also respectful on a political plane. While Charlie's political contributions at both national (with the NFU) and local (e.g., confronting wife abuse) levels were neither dramatic, nor highly visible, they were clearly genuine. In other words, they were made selflessly, with humility and without the need for acknowledgement or personal gain.

Chapter 10 - Jose

Jose was a 42-year-old heterosexual, married man with three children. He was born and raised in Chile and left his country as a refugee at age 22. His oldest child, a daughter from his first marriage more than 20 years ago, was raised by his first wife in Chile. They mutually agreed to separate soon after her birth when Jose was detained as a political prisoner. Upon release Jose went underground until he was forced into hiding and then exiled. He came to Canada as a refugee in the late 1970s. Jose had two other children, both boys, ages 7 and 9, born by his second wife whom he met soon after arrival in Canada. Jose was a graduate of a community college and at the time of the interview, he was attending university part-time and working as an artist (painting and directing a local art gallery, and operating a small framing business) in a large Eastern Canadian city. He reported a family income in the range of 20,000-40,000 dollars.

Warm, Eloquent, Richly Descriptive Interview Style

Jose presented in a warm, eloquent, almost enchanting manner. He spoke in a soft, gentle, yet passionate manner, of his rich and varied, often traumatic life experiences. Virtually all of his discourse, including political references, was tied to relationship themes. This together with his thick Spanish accent lent a romantic, compelling and somewhat poetic quality to his discourse.

Egalitarian, Dynamic Family-of-Origin: A Foundation for Lifelong Growth in-Relationships

Jose was raised in a family with an evolving, progressively egalitarian structure uncharacteristic of families in Chile during the 1960s and 70s. Early in his parent's marriage, however, the relationship was far from egalitarian. Jose's mother was orphaned early in life following a devastating earthquake. As was customary in Chile at the time, she was adopted as a servant into another family. As a result, she received no formal education. Her marriage to Jose's father was arranged by the two extended families more or less for his convenience. Again, as was customary, his father's new (previously orphaned) wife was adopted into the family to perform the role of "maid." Jose implied that his father's role early in the marriage was that of a dominant, benevolent patriarch.

My father was very dominant, very, very tough. But at the same time very kind. He was more or less paternalistic - he would impose his views or whatever and my mother was very quiet. My father's family - they are very conservative, very Catholic and very conservative. They lived in a very traditional way. We had a grandmother who was the like the queen of the family. And for some reason [perhaps] because my mother was an orphan, because she didn't have education, because she was very quiet, she was

always in second place. Like we had these big family gatherings, everybody's sitting at the table except my mom. She must work in the kitchen and not be in sight.

This gradually changed as Jose's mother grew into adulthood and became a more confident mother to her own children (including Jose). Possibly because of her relative youth and second class status in the household, she related to her own children more like an equal or older sibling. She played and grew alongside them. When Jose and his four siblings attended school, she learned *with* them in order to assist with their homework.

I think we were very good for her. We treated her like [a sibling]... She played with us. She's was very gentle with children. I think she was fourteen or fifteen years old when she met my father. It was quite common in Chile too - fourteen years old. My sister was probably two or three years old. So, actually she was like a child, playing with other children. She was playing with us on the floor. So I think she grew up with us and she learned to believe in herself and to accept our love because she never had somebody love her the way her children did. She never saw that. [Previously] when she had a relationship with people, it was in fear.

Thus, there emerged an element of synergy, an egalitarian dynamic of reciprocal learning and mutual growth in the family. Under these conditions, the children felt comfortable expressing and asserting themselves with their parents. The relationship with their mother was empowering for the children because it "encouraged" them "to put [their] ideas out front". And as Jose indicated, they did not hesitate to assert themselves in the family:

Once we started to grow up, you know, like when I was around nine or ten years old, we would ask 'Why our mom had to serve everybody, we don't like that.' [These questions] came from the heart. We were anxious for her to sit here and we didn't like it and [we] talked between the brothers and sisters - we talked about this and we started to confront my father and confront my mother to tell her that she didn't have to do that and she was very humble and she cried quite easily. So she used to try to and tell us, "That was life." She didn't hate anybody and she was happy that my father married her. My father was much older than her. So, with us starting to confront him, there was amazing change. They changed so much that my mother today is an equal in the house and my father consults everything with her and she decides almost everything. We laughed and we were very happy.

Despite such glowing accounts of family relations, life in Chile while Jose was growing up was somewhat less than idyllic, largely because of the volatile political climate of that era. Jose's father was a military officer who served under both Allende and Pinochet. During the Pinochet regime, according to Jose, his father continued to serve, but under duress. Jose did not blame his father for participating in the Pinochet regime, explaining that "he was [merely] a pawn" carrying orders out of fear. He argued that if his father chose not to follow orders he would be killed, as were 30,000 in September, 1973 alone. Nonetheless, his father served with compassion, when possible, and was able to effect leniency in the conditions of Jose's political imprisonment. Obviously, his influence in this respect was limited. His parenting role in general was restricted by the demanding nature of the work, the extended hours and the extensive travel requirements of active military service. Despite these limitations, Jose's father had an unusually soft and compassionate side to his personality.

My father, he's a very interesting man too because he looked to other people to be very strong, [but] he's very soft like. For example, he never spanked us. We were never abused or corrected by physical punishment. In Chile, fathers are quite strict and they do that, but my father he didn't like that. Actually, he was very upset when he heard that somebody had

done that [i.e., abused or physically punished] children. He really didn't like it. So, we grew up and we started to see all these things and we tried to make sense so I think in a lot of ways whatever I am today had to do with that too because it was the way that I grew up.

Jose seemed to appreciate the balance of strength, pragmatism and compassion exhibited by his parents. Given his father's preoccupation with merely surviving the oppressive military regime, it is not surprising that Jose was closer to his mother, the stable and persistent figure in his life. Jose admired his mother especially for her strength, her openness, and the respect she had for virtually everyone with whom she came in contact. Her courage and sensitivity in parenting was evident in the following passage as was her penetrating foresight in dealing with issues of abuse long before such issues were openly discussed by anyone.

We talked about everything with my mother... We talked about our girlfriends, we talked about the change from being a child to adolescent. For example, wet dreams was an example... It was something that we heard about. So, we asked my mom, 'What is a wet dream?' And she'd be scared, you know, very young. She'd think for a while and then she said 'It's something that happens to everybody. It's nice. It means that you are growing older'. And she explained to us that there are certain things that

are very personal and they are intimate and we can talk about it, between us and we talked about other people who are [abusing children]. Child abuse, and molestation is something that has been everywhere all the time - today it is common to know because they aren't afraid to say it, but during the years in Chile, it was common too, but people didn't talk about it. So she talked to us about things like that. And we talked to her and that was not very common - parents being able to talk about things like that. And she talked to us about things like that.

Surviving the Challenges of Oppression: Negotiating Relationships. Preserving Integrity

Jose's parents modelled an attitude of openness and compassion, along with a commitment to interpersonal growth, personal integrity and social equality in a socio-political climate rife with corruption, intolerance and oppression. His experience of strength, compassion and equality within the family, along with his rewarding work for social justice during Allende's socialist administration, seemed to prepare him for coping with and ultimately transcending the tyranny and tragedy of life in Chile under Pinochet. These positive experiences (supportive family and meaningful socio-political participation) seemed to serve as a buffer to oppression,

empowering him to access or develop the necessary resources for coping with life-threatening crises.

According to Jose, Chile under Allende successfully legislated equality in several key areas and he added that the success was largely attributable to Chile's long history of progressive politics and tendency to attract a rich and diverse community of intellectuals and idealists.

In Chile, everybody shouted we have to change... In the 1960s, it was the big talk. We were discussing it. And in the 70s, we put in practice what we talked about all these years... We went from very structured 'man here, woman here' - we went to equal [relationships] very quickly... In Chile, we [had] the power to pass that legislation. If you [had] more than let's say 20 workers, you had to provide space for a daycare or whatever and all the women's offices, immediately they had to put in daycare, by law... You [had] political power and the political will. We had these ideas and very strong socialist forces for many, many years. Also we had lots of influence from Europe... Most of the ships that came from Europe had to come around Chile at the time and they would bring a lot of intellectuals. They landed here and they stayed here and they propagated their ideas.

If his parents, particularly his mother, inspired him towards egalitarian compassionate action, Jose was undoubtedly energized by both current and historical influences of socialist Chile. The ideology, along with his positive personal and political experiences seemed to fuel his enthusiasm, commitment and determination to live and promote equality. Not surprisingly, following the Pinochet military coup of 1973, social activists like Jose became prime targets of the oppressive regime. They were either forced into exile or hiding.

As a result of his continued work and commitment to socio-political reform, Jose was beaten, tortured, and eventually detained in concentration camps for a total of two and a half years. Prior to his detention, Jose was forcefully interrogated at his home and beaten violently while his wife and baby daughter were forced to watch. While Jose may have had some opportunities to negotiate a less painful and torturous fate through some powerful connections (i.e., his wife's family's privileged place in Chile's conservative elite and his father's role as a military officer), he chose neither to abandon, nor compromise his commitment to social justice. Instead, he and his wife mutually agreed that it was in the family's best interest to dissociate from him and, as a result, the marriage was dissolved. Jose did not come to this decision lightly - he said he loved his wife and daughter, but saw no secure future for them if he remained tied to them.

Torture and Persecution: Catalysts for Strengthening Relationships

The military coup, torture and detention jeopardized Jose's life and all but destroyed his closest relationships. Until then, compassion and equality were themes that bound his personal and political values and activities together in harmony. He seemed to apply these values and practices naturally in healthy and close relationships and his unwavering commitment to social justice. The political persecution was obviously painful and clearly marked a pivotal incident in his life. However, unlike several others interviewed, the crisis did not radically alter his life course; rather it served to reinforce, or further enhance his commitment to relationships and social justice, albeit within a new, more diverse community. This synergistic growth process began while he was in hiding.

We were seven people, two women and five men and we talked. We didn't know if we would be dead or alive tomorrow. So, I had to talk today. It may be my last chance to talk. So what would you talk about? You don't talk about stupid things, superfluous things - you talk about you have a child, "I have a daughter". I tell them that I have a daughter and "I haven't seen her since she was a baby. I have a woman that I love and we decided to finish it completely, but I still love her." You talk about

important things like that and it's the last chance that you have so you have to say it. And the women talked about how they feel when they're afraid. So, we learned to talk and to listen and to respect them and not to take any feeling for granted. Everyone had people they missed. And to be compassionate. Because people would be compassionate with you too.

Jose discounted the popular myth that self-preserving instinct or unthinking altruism takes over during a crisis. Instead, as implied in this passage, relationships became more important as did pragmatic, relationship-based reasoning and prioritizing.

Some people think that when you are in a strange situation, you survive - instinct will take over. I can say that is not completely true because if you are in situations where you are [easily] dead or alive, you care more almost about the other people. On many occasions you say "Well, [when] the time comes... you run away and I will be here holding the door and you run from the window," or whatever. "I will do that." And you realize that everybody was feeling the same way, "So you, you have four children, so you run because you have four children. You have two, so you will be next. I have one, so I will be next. You don't have children," [and another says,] "Okay, I don't have children, I will be the last one'." That

attitude is very common. So, I don't think it's surprising, that your survival instinct takes precedence in a situation like that all the time...

When in crisis, one needs the energy, sustenance and cooperation of others. This interactive process is ultimately complex, and therefore the outcome is somewhat unpredictable. It requires some risk-taking and letting go. It also seems to demand confidence, compassion and an existential leap of faith. For example, when Jose faced torture and confinement to a concentration camp, the compassionate choice was not made merely on the basis of intuition or the love he felt for his wife and daughter; it required foresight, acceptance of what was beyond his control, and faith that life, love and new relationships outside of their own would somehow be possible for all.

Jose was clearly open to this, and in being open he not only grew to appreciate the value and strength of diverse communities (particularly communities involving partnership with women), he ultimately discovered that he never really left or lost his earlier relationships. For instance, he recently re-established contact and developed a close and loving relationship with his 20 year-old daughter (living in Chile) who he was forced to abandon soon after birth.

Respect for Women's Wisdom

Jose first began to appreciate the magnitude of respect he held for women while in hiding, following the coup. In particular, he discovered women had a tremendous capacity to survive unimaginable hardship and somehow still give generously despite their own experiences of excruciating pain and the physical effects of life-threatening torture and deprivation.

When I was in jail, women, they were abused very badly... And one of them was a mother of four or five children - she hadn't seen the children for a year - she was running away. She was tortured previously - the year before. And what they did to her was very common. And we know - it is common knowledge. They put a tube into her vagina and [inject] a solution containing ground glass.... They tortured me too... I was in lots of pain all the time. She used to take care of me to tell me, you know... She's been very good to me. She's was living at the Church and sometimes she'd stand up and the whole front of her was full of blood. Because once you [are in hiding] you can't go to hospital and you have to take care of yourself from what they were doing to you, so I saw lots of things like with that woman that they were torturing and abusing. They were raping and torturing some of their children. If they wanted the man to talk, they tell

you that they would rape your wife. They did a lot of that. And [the women] had a lot of courage. The women, they were very... I never saw a woman weep, they suffered a lot of pain and a lot of courage and a lot of dignity... And women talked about how they feel when afraid. She tells us that she's afraid... So, we learned to talk and to listen and to respect them and not to take any feeling for granted.

Jose credited women, beginning with his mother and continuing through the present, for teaching him to listen seriously to feelings - his own as well as others. He recalled how sharing emotionally during his years in hiding allowed him to let go of his pain, and identify his own capacity to receive by giving in a community of reciprocal relationships. In fact, perhaps more so than the other men interviewed, relationships were the lifeblood of Jose's existence.

I have very good friends that are women and I can get very close to people. I think my best friends, probably they are women. And one thing I think that makes things more easy is that I'm not afraid to talk [about] things. If I'm down, I'm down. If I'm depressed, I'm depressed. If I'm sad, I'm sad. In fact, [if] a friend of mine is suffering - a woman - I'm not afraid to talk [until] 2 o'clock in the morning. I tell my wife I'm going to see Sandra - she's having a big problem and I go on and can spend all night talking to

her and consoling or crying with her, if I feel it with her. That is [the kind of] the relationship [I have] with my friends. I think that it's taken a big load off myself, once I learned to do that - to say what I'm feeling, to communicate my feelings, especially with women, it took a big load off.

Although Jose's wife herself did not feel comfortable seeking close relationships with other men, Jose insisted she was supportive of the close relationships *he* had with other women. According to Jose, this was possible only because they had a confident, open and trusting relationship - one that allowed them to tolerate, even treasure their differences. Having a deep and extensive social support network likely enabled Jose to meet diverse needs both for himself and those comprising his community. As he, himself, suggested it reduced the burden, or took the "load off" his wife, who would otherwise have felt pressured to respond to all of his interpersonal needs.

Community Congruence: Extending the Relationship-Focus Outward

The intimacy, compassion and dialogue, reinforced so dramatically in captivity, became increasingly valuable through the course of Jose's life. The egalitarian, reciprocal relationship dynamics expanded to include his children, his social community and his professional activities. His respectful, empowering relationship with his children was evidence of the congruence between his actions

and words, his politics and personal life. Perhaps more importantly, the congruence fostered synergy. For example, respecting his children earned their respect and encouraged them to respect him and everyone else.

In my family, with my two children here, we are very, very close and we receive a lot of affection from them. I was telling my friends here last week... the older one is nine years old and he knew that we had to move and it had been a real struggle, so I was very depressed one day. And so we were going to a store one night very late. I went to buy cigarettes and so he wanted to go with me. And he said, 'Dad, what happened? You look very down, very sad'. I said, 'No I'm okay'. So, he said, 'You know, you can always talk to me'. And he was very serious, like he was feeling it. So, 'Sure I will tell you what happened'. So I told him that it was this thing with the moving [to a new house], the [art] gallery, and having a show at the university next month; I need 25 pieces and I have only 3 of them. 'I'm getting very uptight,' so I explained that. I can talk to him. Like we talk to them about everything. We don't hide things from them. So, they are well aware of everything that's going on in our house... I think it has to do a lot with the way that your parents were and the way that they treated you and they related to you. I think I was lucky and fortunate to have the type

of family that I had. So, what I'm doing today with my children, I don't think it is the invention of mine or my wife's. It is something that we brought from the past.

Jose's community revolved around the art gallery where he worked. He suggested the gallery itself served as an open and accessible sanctuary for a diverse, dynamic and intimate group of people who shared humanistic values and a commitment to social justice.

I think most of our group is humanistic - we try to help in the community, we work a lot with [a shelter for abused women], we always do things for the food bank. We tried to practice a little bit of what we say. We try to do things for groups like that... And [people soon] become very close with the gallery. And we got people that are not artists, but they say "We have to paint together." We paint quite often. You see doctors, lawyers, carpenters, housewives joining with us. And they are people that come and they are people who became close to us because they sensed that we have a group - a very dynamic group. We talk and we discuss all the time and we talked a lot together.... Also the other thing with the gallery that I notice that somehow it's maybe like the way that the church is sort of the house of the elders... It's amazing how people they come here sometimes -

I'll give you an example - there's a young couple, very young, they're both lawyers, look like they are very well off and they became very close to the gallery, very, very close. And he left her and the first place that she came was here. She came here and she started to cry here and we became very close. I personally became so close to the both of them that it was very difficult for me too, you know, very difficult. And very complicated but they solved their problems, they got back together.

An extensive, diverse and relationship-focused community was crucial for reaching or challenging others, according to Jose. Dialogue in a cohesive, open-minded, democratic/power-sensitive group empowered both victims and perpetrators of abuse. Jose referred specifically to the value of mediation, combined with the responsibility and shared power of a community-wide confrontation of men's violence.

We can't legislate that [an abusive man] has to be understanding. But I think that the sharing of the pain of the embarrassment sometimes, it will help, if the man had the opportunity to say it with the woman and hear these things, he will feel probably - he will realize that he has done things that hurt people. I think that when you hear 10 different people talking about their own experiences, it's more strong, it's more educational. It's

not just that this person has a dislike for me, but it's the same thing with the secretary, it's the same thing with the woman doctor, the same thing with the woman psychologist, same thing with the teacher - they all suffered [or witnessed] the same experiences.

Perhaps such a partnership approach to confronting destructive aspects of masculine behaviour would be less likely to feel threatening to men. But even with compassion, according to Jose, reaching violent or abusive men is difficult at best. Jose did not expect dramatic change. He expressed far greater optimism for long-term changes through egalitarian child-rearing practices

[In Chile] sometimes we'd hear about the feminist movement here in North America. [In North America] they're very militant sometimes and because of all the pain that they suffered historically, it's almost come to enrage, enrage men... And I think that maybe that's normal... I think it would be much more positive if we look at ourselves as equal, we can do things together... I think all of us we have to change and the way that we are raised has to change. And even to these people that they are so harsh to sometimes, they are so harsh towards sometimes, we have to be compassionate with them and we have to be understanding. It's not their fault to start with so I think that if you have to try to change them, it

would be very difficult. So I think that the solution is in how we raise our children. We have the school system, we have people like us who have to try to influence them.

This of course brought the discourse full-circle. Jose began by describing how he was raised in an open-minded, truly egalitarian family, or perhaps more accurately in a family fully engaged in a process of becoming egalitarian. He ended by acknowledging that change, as an ongoing process, is best cultivated early in life. Children, he argued, need to be respected and empowered so that they can engage conflict as equals and accept responsibility for their actions. In short, they need to be part of the larger community from day one. Otherwise, how or when could they ever learn to be *in* or *with* community?

Developmental Summary

Jose's dynamic relationship with feminist principles began early in his life and appeared to mirror both the turbulent socio-political climate of Chile during the 1960s and 70s and his complex, evolving family structure. As indicated across the upper portion of Figures 13 and 14, Jose was raised in the midst of complex, contradictory forces, both conservative/traditional and socialist/egalitarian (see highlighted, non-highlighted, and partially highlighted codes, comments and quotes in the *Exploitation Dynamic*, *Androgynous Male Role*, and *External Challenge to*

Gender Role regions of Figures 13 and 14). Jose learned to tolerate conflict by living through a constant stream of conflicting, evolving and abruptly changing values and socio-political structures. The conflicting forces were both political and personal, they extended from his mixed class family-of-origin, through to his arranged marriage into a "conservative, catholic" family. In some ways, his father's gender-role *Values* and *Attitudes* were conservative and traditional (e.g., paternalistic, treated wife like servant), but in other ways, they were far more liberal than the norm (e.g., gentle and opposed to corporal punishment). Jose's mother modelled respect, compassion and egalitarianism, particularly by treating Jose more like a peer, than a son. While he experienced love and compassion in his family-of-origin, Jose was the victim of political persecution (as indicated by the mixed codes and comments in the *Practices / Experiences* section of the *Exploitation Dynamic*)

Insert Figures 13 and 14

about here

Perhaps because he had been raised to tolerate conflict, there was no evidence of any masculine defense patterns in Jose's interview (as indicated by the

Figure 13.
Men & feminism
Jose's Codes

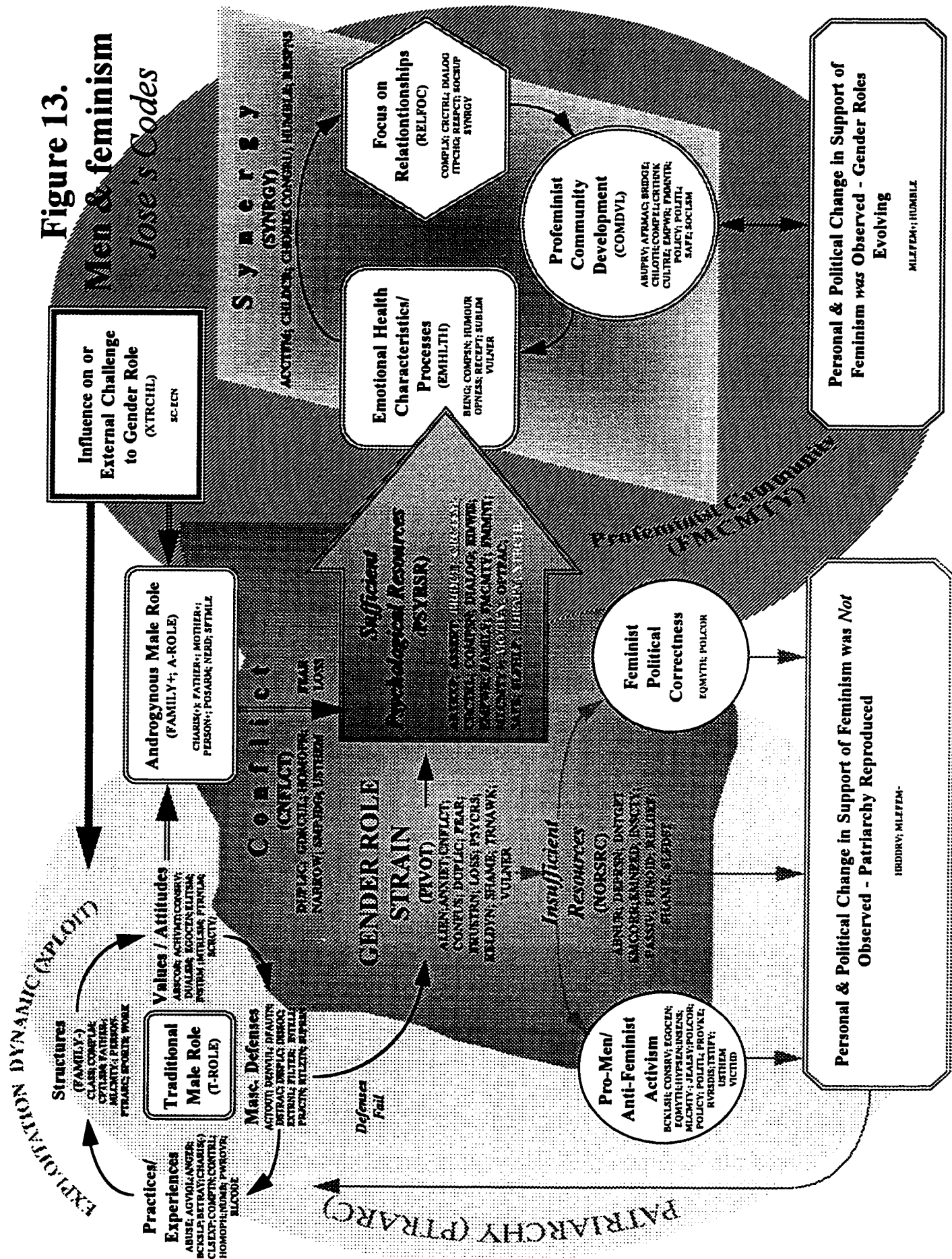
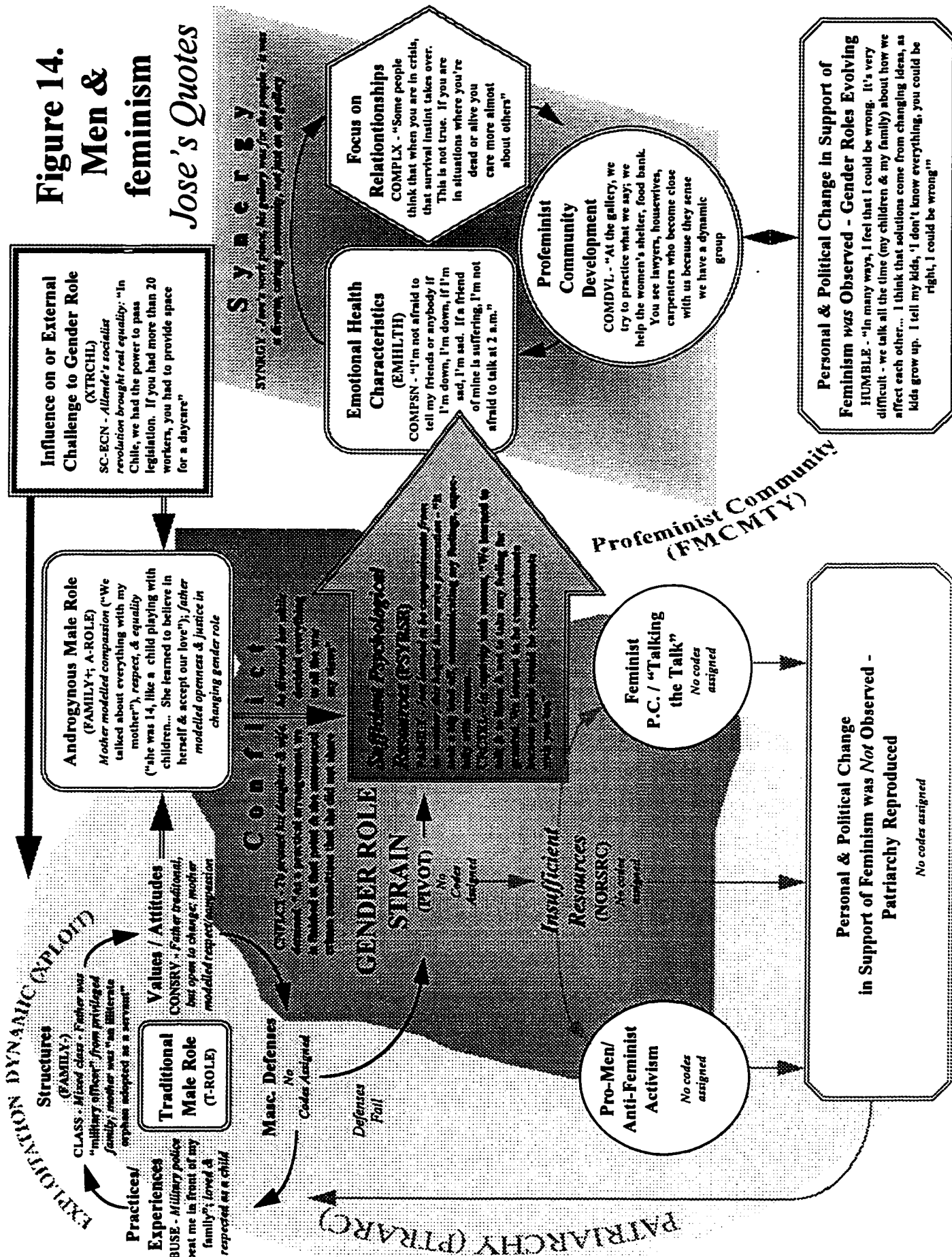


Figure 14.
Men & feminism
Jose's Quotes



absence of highlighted codes or comments under *Masculine Defenses* in Figures 13 and 14). Instead, he seemed willing to face conflict head on. And as indicated in the *Conflict* region of Figures 13 and 14, he did experience more than his share of difficult, next to impossible choices. Specifically he sacrificed his freedom, risked his life, and cut off all ties with both his wife and daughter in order to liberate and protect them, while preserving his own moral integrity. This principled altruistic behaviour was probably a simple extension of the kind of compassionate challenging he undertook in response to his father's paternalistic treatment of his mother (see comments and codes in the *Androgynous Male Role* box in Figures 13 and 14). In other words, the decision to divorce his first wife and live in exile, reflected a clear and conscious choice - one based on the balance of justice and caring values instilled throughout his childhood.

As suggested in the *Sufficient Psychological Resources* arrow in the centre of Figure 13, Jose considered his relationship with his mother the single most important factor underlying his survival of political persecution. He learned from her to embrace conflict in community with others, to work through the issues in relation to others as equals. Jose credited his mother with modelling an ongoing process of compassionate, egalitarian dialogue. Through this developmental process, Jose learned the importance of, and relationship between, in-depth

dialogue and emotional intimacy. Above all else, he learned to focus his energy on nurturing and developing relationships.

His skill in relating undoubtedly empowered him to weather the storm of political oppression, torture, detention and exile. In contrast to Frank, Jean and Charlie, Jose never seemed without psychosocial resources (as indicated by the absence of highlighted codes in the *Insufficient Resources* region). Instead, political oppression appeared to serve as a catalyst for developing even deeper relationships. It also contributed to expanding energy for relating with the wider community, to the point that even his professional activities assumed a relationship-focus (see codes and comments in the *Synergy* region of Figures 13 and 14). For example, he argued in support of non-sexist, egalitarian child rearing and the development of a feminist partnership, a community-based approach involving both victims and perpetrators resolving issues of male violence. As indicated on the right-hand side of Figures 13 and 14, Jose's emotional expressiveness, his survival skills during periods of crisis, and his work and political activism were all relationship-focused (see codes and quotes for *Emotional Health / Characteristics* box, *Focus on Relationships* octagon, and *Profeminist Community Development* circle). Relationships, both personal and community-based seemed to come before all else.

Conclusions

Although at times, Jose's thoughts on gender issues appeared naively optimistic, his hopeful attitude was well grounded in compelling, at times challenging life experiences. More specifically, his idealism was congruent with both his personal and political gender-related experiences. On the personal side, he was raised in a family honestly and fully engaged in a fruitful journey towards equality. Jose was encouraged by his family to accept and deliver challenges sensitively. Probably as a result of this support and openness, Jose had little need for constructing or expressing superficially desirable (i.e., *politically correct*) gender-related attitudes or behaviour.

On the political front, especially following the Pinochet coup, the political became personal for Jose. Although Jose credited Chile's long history of experimentation with social justice and democracy for capturing curiosity and fuelling his commitment to reform, political oppression under Pinochet had inescapable personal costs for him. Jose, along with many other social activists, paid a high personal price for their political convictions. However, the price they paid seemed only to reinforce both their capacity for compassion and their political resolve to work closely, cooperatively and in community with each other for a just society.

Unlike George, who was jolted out of patriarchy by an external, profeminist challenge to his masculinity, Jose was raised more or less outside of patriarchy, in an empowering, egalitarian manner. As such, Jose was challenged more by patriarchal forces than by feminism. Patriarchy influenced him in dramatic, somewhat paradoxical ways. Instead of weakening the progressive social structure he learned to cherish, political oppression actually reinforced Jose's power in-relationship-with-others. With the seed of equality planted early, oppression promoted an intimate and democratic process of community synergy, one that easily replaced the scarcity-based patriarchy dynamic.

Chapter 11 - Owen

Owen was a single (never married), 41 year-old, heterosexual man who was born and raised, along with two sisters, in an urban, working-class, immigrant neighbourhood of a large Canadian city. He described his parents, who immigrated to Canada from Eastern Europe following World War Two, as conservative and traditional. Since graduating from community college, Owen worked on a variety of jobs, including community development projects, writing, performing, producing and recording politically-oriented cabaret theatre. Over the past decade, he wrote and performed music and cabaret theatre on his own and with his alternative pop band. All of his music and theatre was aimed at raising awareness and provoking discussion of important community social issues. At the time of the interview, Owen was uninvolved romantically and reported earning an annual income of less than \$10,000 writing and performing his cabaret theatre.

Enthusiastic, High Energy, yet impersonal Presentation

Owen's tone during the interview was lively, enthusiastic and optimistic. He came across as a true believer in feminism. He seemed heavily invested in working for equality, genuinely excited by the ideas and opportunities associated with feminism, and proud of his accomplishments. Although he revealed some fascinating insights into his life experiences associated with gender issues, his

responses were vague at times, particularly with respect to interactions or exchanges in intimate relationships.

Challenged by Feminist Coworkers

As Owen himself admitted, he was an enthusiastic social activist long before he became interested in personal growth and long before he became aware of the value of feminism. His life "revolved around politics, radical politics, and everything else came second to that" including relationships. This *politics-first-relationships-second attitude* posed little difficulty until his early 20s when he was challenged by a group of women on a community development work project. It was his first "real" summer job. He felt alienated from his middle-class coworkers - most of whom were female and radically feminist. In retrospect, Owen identified himself as "the token working class guy" and recalled feeling self-conscious about his conservative east-European heritage. He felt confused when chastised for holding doors open for women and perplexed by coworkers' requests to "lighten up" or open up emotionally.

Well, I tell ya it was me opening the door for somebody and the woman saying to me, 'I can do that myself. What the hell are you doing?' 'I just opened the door for you.' 'Well you can leave that alone. I can open my own door. Fuck off!' And, 'Oh, I'm sorry.' You know, I was stunned. But it

got worse day after day after day on this job and it got to the point where I did not want to wake up and go to work everyday because all these women were at the job giving me a hard time about my attitude. My attitude was basically I'm trying to be a polite guy and these women aren't willing to accept that and, in fact, they're criticizing me, and they're talking about patriarchy and feminism. What the hell is going on? [laughs]... It was very confusing. I was totally intimidated and I didn't want to keep going. At work, I would keep my mouth shut and I would try not to do anything. But it didn't matter even with my mouth shut. Like 'What's wrong?', you know, 'You withdrawing? You're not talking to us. What's going on with you?' I couldn't win. It was a no win situation. It drove me around the bend. These women, like, basically ran this project and I'd never met anybody like them and I was terrified [laughs]. And I didn't know what to do. I didn't know where to turn. Didn't know how to rethink things. I didn't know what was wrong or what I was doing wrong. Didn't understand what I was doing wrong in spite of all the discussions - we had many discussions or they would try to have discussions with me. ... [They'd say,] 'You're being defensive again. What's wrong? How come you're being so defensive?' And [I'd say,] 'No, I'm not being defensive'. [I was] in denial all the time. They

were prodding me to talk about my feelings and I couldn't come up with anything. And I would go for walks occasionally and I would hang out with one or two of them and try to become a little more friendly and get personal in terms of who each of us was and where we were coming from and she would say things to me like, 'Ah, it's like pulling teeth. You're just so incredible. I just can't believe it. I never met a guy like you.' Because these women were used to dealing with hippy men, who were able to communicate with them and I was just this straight young working class guy who couldn't communicate about my feelings. So, it was difficult. It was very trying and the way I got it [was] I started to ask a lot of questions and I started to rethink a lot of my own life and my relations with women. And that was the beginning - like a really important beginning.

Defenses Failed: Crisis Ensued

Although Owen took these challenges quite seriously, he ultimately bailed out, abandoning the cause to some extent, by escaping into what he thought was a traditional, old-fashioned relationship. He became romantically involved with a married woman whom he assumed accepted him as the straight and traditional male he was at the time.

I fell in love with somebody totally different - a very straight working class kind of woman... More from my background. And so, I could relate to her. I didn't have to deal with these kind of women and so it was, 'Phew, what a relief.' ... [This] basically stopped my education with that group of people because... well, I've got this lovely woman to relate to now and... she's not going to push me the way they're pushing me. She's not going to confront me or challenge me the way they are.... [And so] I was in this relationship for two years - a relationship I wasn't ready for. I was ill-prepared for [it] - I wasn't ready emotionally in any way. She was older than me. She left her husband to be with me. We moved in together and it was very difficult... because I was feeling threatened by her request for a commitment in the relationship and there was no way I was going to commit. And so we had a big fight. And in the end when it broke up, I became a basket case. She left me for one of my best friends. So, I was totally shocked because here's the woman I was madly in love with.

Owen initially escaped the challenges to his masculinity from feminist coworkers by diving into this fantasized relationship. At some level, he may have wished his new partner would complement his traditional masculine persona. But when this fantasy evaporated, and she actually challenged him to join or commit

himself to her with greater intimacy, he shrugged it off until finally she left him.

He explained this dynamic as follows:

[The problem] was more my need to feel free and to feel independent and my fear of being committed to her and getting too close to her and not knowing how to do that. And that resulted in her frustration - incredible frustration with me and saying things to me and not having me hear things and explaining things to me and not having me understand things... I didn't know what the hell she was talking about when she complained [that] there was a problem. She'd bring up a problem in the relationship and I would just shrug it off, 'What problem? There's no problem. What are you talking about? Everything's great.' ... [I was] denying it, you know, like ignoring, pretending that it didn't exist and not acknowledging her frustration. Not acknowledging the problems. I did whatever I could to avoid dealing with what was going on between us. And all the time believing, 'Oh is this wonderful. We have a wonderful relationship. What's wrong with this? I'm perfectly happy here with her.' But knowing deep down that something was wrong but not willing to address that or admit that.

From the beginning it seems that this relationship was built upon a foundation of masculine defensiveness. Specifically, it seemed to involve what Krugman (1995) refers to as defensive autonomy and denial of vulnerability. Although these defenses may have protected him temporarily from feeling engulfed in the relationship, the defenses ultimately failed. He withdrew, became depressed and turned to drink. Throughout the crisis and despite his self-destructive tendencies, Owen persevered - creatively seeking out more constructive resources, primary with the support of female friends.

Resourceful and Receptive to External Input

When first challenged by female coworkers, Owen coped by asking questions to better understand their unfamiliar demands. And later, when jilted by his girlfriend, he surveyed virtually everyone he knew for ideas on healthy relationships. He also began reading popular and scholarly writing on the topic. As soon as he began to realize some of the emotionally liberating benefits of therapy, he poured his energy into developing a theatre cabaret production aimed at encouraging other men to find alternatives to patriarchal masculine ways of being.

Unlike George's more insular, smorgasbord, trial and error approach to healing, Owen's resourcefulness seemed more selective, pragmatic, rationally-

based and collaborative. For example, when months of reading, writing and researching relationships failed to alleviate his depression and alcoholism, a friend urged him to get professional help. While initially sceptical, Owen heeded the friend's advice and sought help from a therapist, who suggested he attend a men's self-help group. Several of his feminist friends encouraged him to join a "pro-feminist anti-sexist men's consciousness raising group."

And so, I went to my first group meeting and it was very strange and I was really shy, awkward, and I cried a lot and the guys were really supportive and afterwards I thought, 'Wow, this feels great [laughs]. [I] Get to do this again next week.' So, I think the following week I went back to the therapist and said to her, 'I don't need you anymore. I got this men's group.' ... And at first it was difficult and I didn't know how to be myself. I didn't know what the hell was expected of me. But, as a result of the group, things started to change. I started to lighten up... I was able to start getting into my own feelings about women and about other men because I've never really talked as closely, as intimately with other men until that point. Everybody would be like hugging other guys in the group and showing me that it was okay, you know, 'You can hug another man and you're not going to die'. It doesn't mean you're gay or anything

because, growing up the way I did, in my group, there was a certain amount of homophobia and a distance between myself and other men always.

Men's Groups: The Blind Leading the Blind

Although Owen seemed to benefit from the group, and even started his own group when he moved to another city several years later, he eventually concluded men's groups were inadequate. As he put it, "I was in two men's groups over a period of six years and I wasn't able to change the things inside me that still interfered in my relationship with the woman I love." One of the major problems with the profeminist men's groups, according to Owen, was that they overemphasized action and accomplishment, at the expense of pure and simple emotional experiencing: "We ended up doing stuff as opposed to just allowing ourselves to feel and be."

Therapy Fostered Being over Doing

Owen sought out a "feminist therapist" who initially argued there was nothing wrong with him - all he really needed was a men's group. Owen replied, "No I don't, I've been there and it doesn't work. We can't go far enough in a men's group." His therapist then suggested a referral to a male therapist supportive of feminism. According to Owen, when the therapist followed up on the referral, she

discovered that the male therapists, like Owen, felt ill prepared, admitting that even "*they* could only go so far with... [providing men's therapy] because they themselves were [still] blocked as men." As a result, she agreed to see him for weekly appointments.

According to Owen, she "allowed [him] to take the time to just be and feel and get into [himself]." He recalled her saying near the end of therapy, "You know, you've really changed. You're starting to change... It's coming more from inside you, from your gut as opposed to your head." Owen seemed to attribute the change to his therapist's non-directive, client-centred approach: "It was mostly [due to] her listening to me or allowing me to hear myself". Owen learned to let go of the distraction of *doing* in order to *be*.

Throughout the interview, Owen disclosed a longstanding, keen interest in learning about relationships. And while he certainly was questioning his approach to relationships and had actively encouraged others to do likewise, Owen made no specific claims to interpersonal growth. He mentioned no improvements in his own relationships, nor did he allude to the acquisition of new interpersonal skills. His description of the turning point in therapy was perhaps even more abstract and vague:

... There was something blocking me inside personally... [There was] this big black blob that was, you know, amorphous and went on to infinity in all directions and I could never get through it. It just sort of sat there and blocked me and I would dig and hammer and probe and I could never get through it and I didn't know what lay underneath it. And then after like a period of months meeting with her, one day all of a sudden I saw a crack. Actually I saw this fissure and I saw light through this crack. To describe it to you and there was like, 'My God. The thing is cracked.' And then that black blob started to shrink in size and actually had like, you know, a beginning and an end and a top and a bottom. And then I realized it was like this cork inside my rib cage [laughs] I got it shrunk it down to that. It was this cork, this thick black cork, but it was iron and concrete and steel and rock. It was like the most impenetrable combination of substances imaginable and it was like a cork inside my rib cage. And then when it actually started to crack and I was able to get through it, then there was like, 'Wow.' Realization or whatever you call that in therapy. I think it's called realization. Experienced realization. And I was like floored. 'Like my God. All my life I've dealing with this thing and didn't know how to get through it and finally, you know, cracked.'

Relationship Dynamics & Skills Unclear

Owen seemed unable to expand on this - describe how therapy changed his life, or how it addressed the issues which first brought him into therapy.

Specifically, he failed to address how it impacted on his relationship difficulties. In fact, discussion of relationships and, in particular, details of interpersonal communication and emotional intimacy were conspicuously absent in Owen's interview. I was left wondering how he actually related to peers and girl friends. With respect to family-of-origin relationships, he offered even less detail. Aside from "doing the dishes together," I wondered about the nature and quality of his family-of-origin relationships. Was he close to his sisters, his parents? Although Owen's zeal for personal and political change seemed to reflect an honest, responsible and committed *doing*-response to gender inequity, his account of these experiences lacked a caring or power-with dimension of intimacy (Gilligan, 1982; Jordan et al, 1991).

When I asked Owen if he recognized any incongruence between his personal and public experiences with gender issues, he acknowledged duplicity in previous romantic relationships:

Yeah, [incongruence] is an on-going, omnipresent question. Yeah, it's always there, you know, like it's one thing to talk about this but now what?

How does your life reflect this? Do you incorporate this in your everyday life or don't you? Do you live this or don't you? And like writing about the things - I was going through a horrible process of being in between two relationships and when I was writing that whole men's show and there were issues like ethical questions and here I was trying to write a show for men about changing relationships and I was in the middle of this horrible squeeze. And I was in love with one woman and there was another woman entering my life and it was like, 'Oh my God. I can't have two relationships at once.' Here I'm trying to write for other men about how to change your relationships so things aren't as fucked up. Here I was going through a horrible fucked up period of my life. When I do the show, before the show, and after the show, it's really important that I demonstrate that I believe in what it is I'm talking about. I try to be an example to other men of what it is I'm talking about.

Despite acknowledging the importance of congruence and integrity, the extent to which he had actually lived up to these ideals remained unclear. Given Owen's artistic/political message urging men to engage more intimately in relationships, it is somewhat ironic that Owen, himself, made no specific claims to interpersonal growth.

Political Integrity through Cooperative Community Development

With the exception of intimate relationships, however, Owen's relationship to feminism did have elements of integrity. For example, his theatrical community development work was firmly grounded in his own personal life experiences and the collective wisdom of his diverse community network. Thus, while questions remained about the integrity of his intimate relationships, his politics seemed responsible, honourable and consistent with feminist values.

Owen's *political* integrity and creative resourcefulness were perhaps best illustrated by the collaborative approach he employed in writing, editing and rehearsing his cabaret production on gender issues. The initial production arose out of Owen's desire to *do something* about the sexual harassment his girlfriend was experiencing from some of the young men living in their neighbourhood. The goal was to raise awareness of the issue and to encourage community responsibility for confronting violence against women. It was only intended to be a one-time, informal, neighbourhood-based presentation. However his friends were so impressed with the performance and its message that they encouraged him to develop the show for larger audiences. And as he had done several times before in response to other community needs (e.g., housing and welfare rights), he collaborated with community interest groups in refining the production.

[The approach involved] questioning, consulting, getting stories, writing them up and then presenting them and then rewriting them and presenting them [once again]. But [the consultations for housing and welfare rights productions] weren't anywhere near as detailed and thorough as with the men's show. I realized that the men's show was dealing with incredibly touchy stuff: rape, incest, sexual violence, homophobia. And so I wanted to make absolutely sure that I wouldn't be offending anybody and that everything would be crystal clear because this show was going to be pushing buttons and I wanted to be able to push the right buttons and not the wrong ones.

The show was billed as "A one-man show for studs, wimps, nice guys, jerks, dweebs, hunks, boyfriends, nerds, bachelors, jocks, sissies, macho men, brothers, Playboys, dudes, dickheads, womanizers, SNAGs, husbands, sex machines, dorks, lover-boys, bullies, heartbreakers and women." Owen described it in his leaflet as follows:

[The] show was intended to reach young university-age men who ordinarily would never go to a lecture or public meeting about what they may perceive as *women's issues*... Using simple props and a soundtrack, Owen portrays a dozen real or cartoon-like characters who either tip-toe or

bulldoze their way through typical, everyday scenarios where gender is an issue. The subjects include: sexual harassment, date rape, other rape, sexual discrimination, consent, objectification of women, homophobia, male conditioning, and more. Owen addresses men's real life fears, confusion and misunderstanding about these issues and suggests ways to overcome this... The show is meant to get men thinking and talking about these issues in a way that is respectful towards women and other men. The idea is to help men see and question their own behaviour and attitudes and begin to change where necessary.

The show was tremendously successful. He won rave reviews by campus and mainstream journalists. At the time of the interview he had performed the show over two hundred times at college and university campuses across North America, with repeat performances in many locations.

Owen was largely unprepared for the powerful impact his performance had on audiences. He recalled feeling somewhat overwhelmed when complete strangers approached him on the street, months later, to tell him how the show had changed their lives. One woman, a grandmother, approached him after his show and said,

You know, all my life I've been trying to be nice to guys. I've been told that's the way I'm supposed to be. I shouldn't let known how I feel. Well you know what, I'm not going to be nice to them anymore. I'm going to tell them exactly how I feel. Thank you very much.

Developmental Summary

As indicated in the top region of Figures 15 and 16, Owen was raised in a traditional working class family that espoused pragmatic, do-it-yourself values of achievement and independence. The values contributed to distancing defenses, like denial of vulnerability in relationships which, in turn, led him to cope by "numbing the pain" with alcohol (see *Masculine Defenses*). By denying vulnerability or drowning it (see *Practices / Experiences*), he implicitly reinforced the status quo patriarchal *Structures* which supported this *Exploitation Dynamic*. Despite this dynamic, Owen suggested he had been aware of gender inequities and seemed committed to challenging the structures that supported these inequities at a very early age (see mixed - highlighted, non-highlighted and partially highlighted quotes and comments in *Structures* section of *Exploitation Dynamic* and in the *Androgynous Male Role* box). This keen eye for gender issues and the desire to challenge stereotypes could have been partly inspired by a need to belong with his female siblings (e.g., fighting to do the dishes). However, as indicated by the mix

of highlighted and non-highlighted comments and codes in the *Values / Attitudes* section of the *Exploitation Dynamic*, Owen's attitudes toward women were quite traditional and even his attempts to challenge the structure had an achievement-oriented, or performance-based ring to them.

Insert Figures 15 and 16

about here

Partly due to class distinctions and accompanying traditional values and attitudes to women, Owen's social activist work brought him head-to-head in clashes with feminist activists. They challenged his chivalrous mannerisms and demanded he open up more emotionally. In essence, they challenged his autonomous defensive style and his patriarchal code of relating to women. These challenges are represented by the highlighted codes and quotes in the *External Challenge to Gender Role* box in Figures 15 and 16.

Perhaps because Owen had been politically or at least intellectually aware of gender inequity from an early age, he took these challenges very seriously. In other words, his defenses were easily broken. And as indicated in Figures 15 and 16, he felt the *Gender Role Strain* acutely: "It got to the point where [he] didn't

Figure 15.
Men & feminism
Owen's Codes

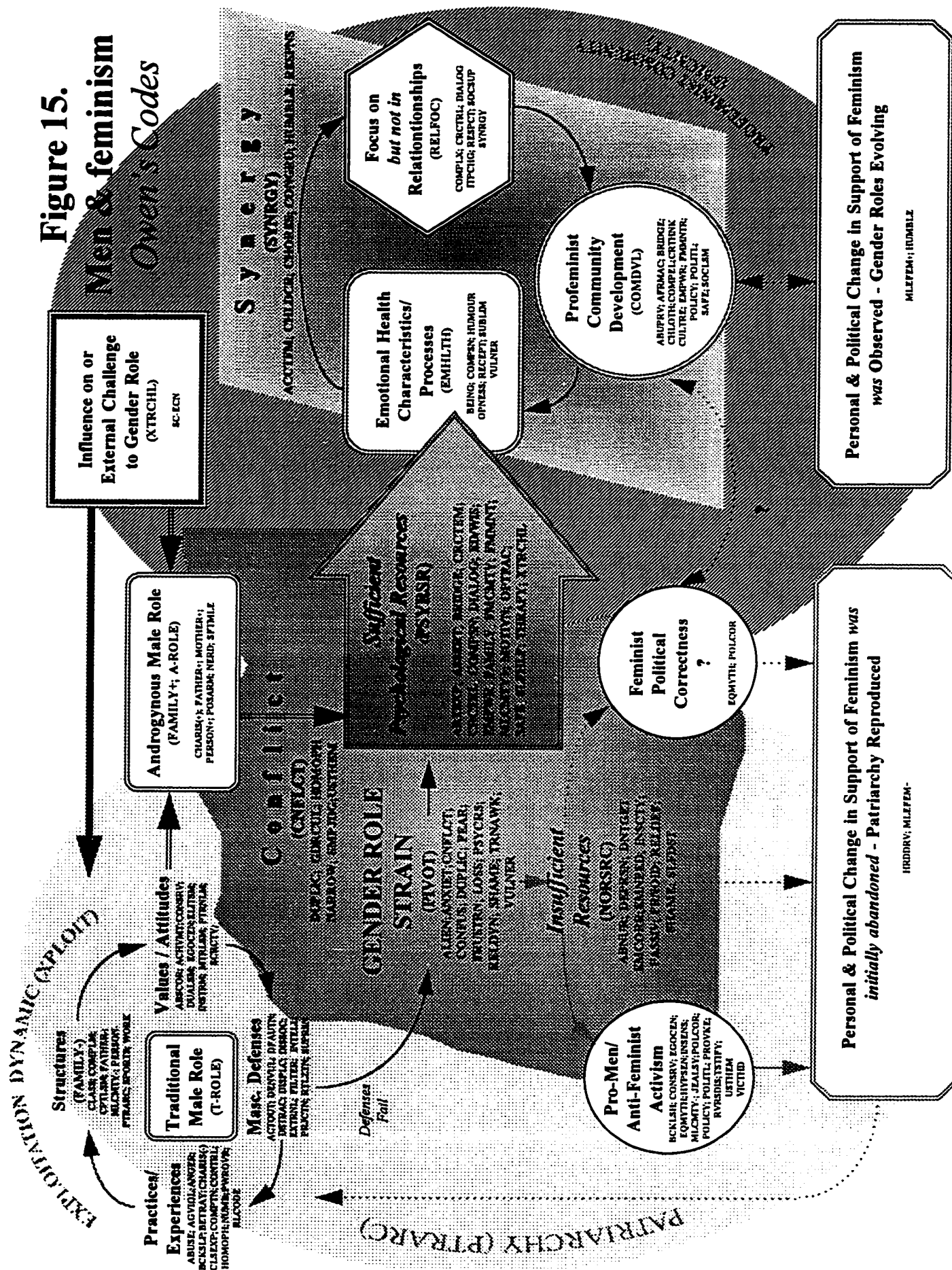


Figure 16.

Men & feminism

Owen's Quotes

SYNCR

SYNCR - Owen's production was surprisingly developed, driven by a deeply-held conviction, but Owen's interpersonal life remained a mystery

Influence on or External Challenge to Gender Role
 XTRCHL - Feminist social activists, co-workers, girlfriend demanded he become more vulnerable, emotionally-expressive or committed

Androgynous Male Role
 FAMILY - "I grew up the only guy, 2 sisters and myself... I had to fight to get to do the dishes" - Owen could not explain this, except that it "wasn't right"; this was the only example supporting this super-code

EXPLOITATION DYNAMIC (XPLDYN)
 Structures
 FAMILY - Although "working class... very traditional in terms of everybody's place in the family", he fought hard to change the structures

Traditional Male Role (T-ROLE)

Practices/Experiences
 NUMB - "I was looking for ways out, so alcohol was 1 way to numb the pain"

Values/Attitudes
 ACUMTSCRCTY - Owen worked hard at achieving gender-role change, rather than liking it or negotiating it (e.g., men's group did not work - "can't go back")

Masc. Defenses
 DENYUL - "It was more my need to feel independent & my fear of getting too close to her"

CONFLICT
 CONFLICT - "Although he made public appearances, Owen's sexuality was still an in a relationship"

Sufficient Psychological Resources (PSYRSR)
 PSYRSR - "The between brother of mine & crying, I started crying freely & breaking down by crying uncontrollably by female friends. All of a sudden, I realized I've got to find out if I can change relationships"

GENDER ROLE STRAIN (PIVOT)
 PIVOT - "I got to the point that I didn't want to go to work because I'm trying to be public & they're criticizing me, talking about patriarchy & feminism - what the hell is going on?"

Insufficient Resources (NORSRC)
 NORSRC - Following challenges at work, Owen returned home to a relationship in crisis. "I was crying all the time... (crying heavily... the tears were uncontrollable...)"

Pro-Men/Anti-Feminist Activism
 No codes assigned

Political Correctness
 POLCOR - Although impossible to answer, I was left with the question: Were Owen's political achievements making personal inadequacies?

Focus on Relationships (RELFOC)
 RELFOC - Owen's focus on relationships was intellectual & political; he discussed no positive personal relationships

Emotional Health Characteristics/Proc. (EMHLTH)
 BEING - "I found the time to feel & be without always doing stuff"; but interview focused more on doing

Profeminist Community Development
 CONIDL - "I wanted to make it humorous because that would open them up & then I could hit them with the heavy stuff. Then I would throw in more laughs so they wouldn't feel bad about themselves or feel like they'd been had"; Until recently, "everything else came second to politics"

Personal & Political Change in Support of Feminism was initially abandoned - Patriarchy Reproduced
 HRDDRY - "And then I fell in love with a straight working class kind of woman. I could relate to her. Phew, what a relief"

Personal & Political Change in Support of Feminism was Observed - Gender Roles Evolving
 Although Owen's theatre work has had tremendous political impact, the success of his personal changes are less certain

PATRIARCHY (PTRARC)

want to go to work". Owen was confused by these challenges. He did not seem to understand what they were asking for. In short, he lacked the psychological and social resources to process the challenges, let alone respond appropriately.

With insufficient resources, Owen soon retreated from the line of fire and into what he considered a safe, traditional patriarchal relationship. In other words, he abandoned feminism, seeking refuge in a complementary (dominant / submissive) relationship where his masculinity felt safe. This temporary refuge from feminist challenge, his retreat into *Patriarchy*, is graphically illustrated in Figures 15 and 16 by the connections between *Insufficient Resources*, the large *Patriarchy Reproduced* rectangle at the bottom left-hand side, and the red-dashed arrow returning up to the *Exploitation Dynamic*.

The retreat and the apparent safety was illusory (as indicated by the dashed line). Owen soon felt challenges from his partner. Specifically, she challenged him to make more of an emotional investment and when he failed to either understand or comply with this request, she ended the relationship. Owen was devastated by this. Initially, he attempted to cope using his old standby - alcohol. Not only did it fail to numb the pain, but perhaps more importantly, it put him on, what he considered, "a self-destruct course". In other words, without sufficient resources, the grief was self-destructive. Gradually, however, through the support of friends

he gained access to an ever-widening array of resources. As indicated in the *Psychological Resources* arrow in Figures 15 and 16, Owen began reading, writing and talking with others about relationships. When this failed to resolve the grief, his friends suggested he seek professional help. Owen saw a counsellor and attended several anti-sexist men's support groups. He reached out more and more to feminist teachings, friends and professionals.

Although Owen clearly moved away from his repressed masculine role, growing both emotionally and politically (as indicated in the *Emotional Health Characteristics* box of Figure 15), the changes seemed more intellectual and political than relationship-focused. Specifically, as indicated by the partially highlighted codes and comments in the *Focus on Relationships* octagon in Figures 15 and 16, Owen recognized the importance of relationships, but disclosed little of his current relationship status, whether intimate or platonic. Instead, as indicated by the partial/mixed coding and comments in the *Profeminist Community Development* circle, Owen's community involvement was more professional and political than participatory.

As indicated by the comments and codes in the *Feminist Political Correctness* circle straddling the lower portions of the *Patriarchy* and *Profeminist Community* spheres, I wondered to what extent Owen's political activism and

theatre work reflected a public mask for his private pain and potential inadequacies. Although there was no direct evidence to support this, the success of his personal changes, in particular his search for more satisfying intimate relationships, remained uncertain. This uncertainty is illustrated by question marks, the tentative links, and the partially highlighted comments and codes in the right-hand side of Figures 15 and 16.

Conclusions

Owen's greatest contribution to men in feminism seems to have been his ability to challenge men effectively and sensitively in a manner that encourages gender-role exploration and dialogue. He demonstrated considerable insight into some of the key problems associated with masculinity and effectively conveyed that insight to large numbers of men. While I had no doubt that Owen's performance-activism encouraged a healthy climate of gender-role dialogue among those in attendance, I did not get a clear sense of where Owen was personally on his gender-role reform journey. Even though he seemed to make progress in expanding his capacity for emotional experiencing, his success with interpersonal *intimacy* and *commitment* remained unclear. At one level, even his success with *being* as opposed to *doing* was suspect, given the emphasis he placed on *doing* the show for others.

In closing, Owen came across as a highly energetic and resourceful man whose talent and inertia propelled him to empower and educate young men and women with respect to gender issues. His sensitivity to political challenges from others, along both creativity and resourcefulness enabled him to transcend personal crises. Although he seemed to acquire considerable insight by researching and exploring these issues with others, he channelled much of this energy into artistic performance. He seemed to cope, not so much by committing to, or growing in relationships, but by sublimating gender conflict into a powerful, entertaining and compelling social message. While this constituted a relatively mature coping strategy, it also contained traces of relationship-dread, reminiscent of the traditional, exploitive masculine role he so disdained.

Chapter 12 - Ian

Ian was a white, homosexual man in his mid thirties. He considered himself married to his male partner with whom he lived. Although he had no children at the time of the interview, he expressed a desire to be a parent at some point in his life. He was born and raised, along with two older sisters (5 and 6 years older than him) in a middle-class family, first on a farm, and then later in a suburban neighbourhood of a large Eastern Canadian city. In addition to working full-time as a psychiatric nurse at a community health centre, Ian was studying part-time for his Master's degree. He reported a family income in the range of 20-40,000 dollars.

Analytical Interview Presentation

Ian presented in an open, articulate manner about a range of complex personal and political experiences. He described in considerable detail the dynamics and conflicts associated with his family-of-origin and explained how they shaped his life. Although this suggested a somewhat sophisticated level of insight, his portrayal seemed incomplete. Specifically, he revealed virtually nothing about the nature of his emotionally intimate relationships, past or present. In short the interview was rich in analysis, but short on concrete interpersonal data.

Androgynous Male Role Rooted in Family-of-Origin

Ian identified family-of-origin dynamics as the central force underlying his relationship with feminism. He recalled both positive and negative aspects of his family history which influenced his gender role development. On the positive side, he grew accustomed to males and females relating in non-traditional or androgynous ways. His father was a gentle, soft-spoken man with a keen sense of social justice. His sisters were strong, independent, accomplished and nurturing. Although Ian learned that *any* of these traits were acceptable to him as a male, he seemed to feel that perhaps *all* were expected of him. This may have been a misperception associated with poor communication in Ian's family. More specifically, open, emotionally-sensitive and assertive communication was virtually non-existent in his family. Ian apparently filled the void by asserting issues, articulating conflicts and expressing all the emotion for the family. While he became the mouthpiece for unspoken family conflict, Ian rarely expressed it in a mature or constructive manner. As he put it himself, he often coped with the tension by "acting out", doing drugs, hanging around with the "bad crowd" or running away from home.

Ian characterized his parents as liberal, but somewhat passive. In addition to withholding their true opinions and feelings, they were pre-occupied much of

the time with their own issues. The major distraction involved his mother's childhood abuse experiences. She was a survivor of severe sexual, physical and emotional abuse. This was never openly acknowledged or discussed in Ian's immediate family, nor did she ever receive treatment. As a result, Ian's mother continued to experience signs and symptoms of post-traumatic stress (most notably, depression) and was incapable of assuming her share of the family responsibilities.

It was absolutely confusing because she would go into periods of depression where she would shut herself in her bedroom and the whole house would have to be quiet. We would have to be very, very good and quiet children and we were never bad children [laughs] but we would feel like we were bad and we had caused the depression. She would lock herself away. It always ended in this horrible kind of family meeting which would be quite accusatory and we would all make a pact that we were going to pull up our socks and things would be different. But no one ever knew what exactly was happening or why it was happening... or what we had done wrong. And myself, feeling like a disappointment in the family, I often felt like that it was something about me. And felt like she could never

just relax because I was going to be the one who would somehow expose something or be the problem.

Ian linked this feeling of self-blame to his longstanding sense of not belonging or being different others. As the youngest and only male child in his family, he was "distinctly aware of being treated differently" One of his sisters excelled at playing the piano; the other was an aspiring artist. Ian was expected to achieve in athletics, but like his sisters he was more interested, yet not so adept, in "creative things." Ian felt "horrible shame" for disappointing his father - for failing to be the "son" he so desperately wanted. This sense of failure led him to believe that, as the black sheep of the family, he was somehow responsible for the family's problems. Ian initially did his best to please his father by trying all sports despite their lack of appeal.

I attempted also to be the best little kid I could be and part of that meant being involved with all the hockey teams and the baseball teams my father would be coaching... I attempted that role for about two years and I was a pathetic athlete and a total embarrassment to my father who was always gentle and too good of a man to ever say it out loud but it was very apparent that he was embarrassed... [and as a result,] I really felt quite bad about myself.

Ian denied his vulnerability and channelled the energy into competition, hoping to win approval of his father through achievement. As a result, his shame remained unintegrated and the need for approval and nurturing grew. Perhaps this is why he got away with so much in his family and ended up being so emotionally dependent on his sisters. Ian's sisters reinforced this dependency by assuming pseudo-parenting roles in relation to him. As Ian suggested, he was very close to them. As a young child, he followed them everywhere and felt like a peer to them. In hindsight, he realized that they were more like parents because in addition to playing with him, they nurtured, protected and when necessary, rescued him. As Ian put it, they were always there for him. Though he never revealed to them the precise nature of his pain, they seemed to sense his emotional needs and typically responded with "a great deal of tenderness." More specifically, although they never discussed nor even acknowledged either his sexual orientation or his early childhood sexual abuse by a stranger, Ian's sisters provided him with considerable emotional support. Their support seemed to ease much of the pain associated with his secret battles raging within at the time.

Defenses Gently Stretched, but Not Broken

Ian served as a focal point for tension in his family. Although this was undeniably a source of a considerable stress in his life, it was also a vehicle for

empowerment. The stress seemed to come to a head in his relationship with his father. After failing to please him through years of intensive, yet ultimately futile athletic participation, Ian sought alternative outlets for expressing his frustration and numbing the secret pain.

I think that's when I started acting out. I think there was lots of anger probably expressed. I didn't think it back then but God, I do think of it now as quite self-destructive. In terms of doing drugs at a really young age, I mean I would have started at fourteen. And I did quite a lot of drugs. I sniffed glue for about eight months of my grade nine year.

While Ian acknowledged the dangers associated with this lifestyle, he argued that it also gave him access to support from others who shared his marginalized position in society. Through his sisters, he was able to connect with the anti-war / hippy movement at an early age. He felt like he belonged there. In fact, he discovered that his role of attending to and voicing conflict was much more welcome amongst these new friends. Ian explained that his sense of not-belonging at home had forced him to look outward, and that his sensitivity to tensions and conflicts helped establish him as a sympathetic ear for others in need.

I think partly it got me very connected with people in general. As a young person, all of my investment was in other communities, other people. I had

lots of very close friends, and when people had problems, then I was someone who could be counted on to be there. Although I hung out with the tough kids, I was also kind of odd in that I had friends in every little pocket in the school. So, I was friends with the tough kids, I was friends with the athletes and I was friends with the nerds and sort of moved amongst those groups, although my primary involvement was with the cool, tough kids. While I hung out with tough kids, people also knew I would not go out and harm somebody or hurt somebody. It was kind of almost being a peacemaker in some ways.

When Ian was in his mid-teens, his parents moved to another city several thousand kilometres away. His sisters, who were young adults at the time, remained in the city in which they were raised. In defiance of his parents, Ian refused to go with them - he "ran away from home" and later moved in with his sisters. Soon after this, Ian was "horrified" to discover that his sisters had their own lives and no longer welcomed his company because they "needed space." They had their own private, romantic lives which obviously excluded him. Ian said he was hurt by this and coped defensively by re-asserting his autonomy and investing more in friends and the drug culture.

I became very invested in a peer group that became my whole life. And I think [all] teenagers do that but I did it at a very early age. I spent less and less time at home and less and less time involved with my family and grew up very quickly... I very much created my own set of rules and ways of being and would not allow teachers or parents to interfere with that. No one could tell me what to do. However, I always had a sense of staying far enough away from the edge that I was still responsible enough to get away with a lot of that. For instance, at fifteen deciding I'm just not going to move to Edmonton [with my parents]. And at that age believing that was totally reasonable and possible and that I was being totally independent without realizing that my sisters were in fact really sacrificing an awful lot of their lives to take care of me... In many ways even in my adult relationships, with one particular sister, it's difficult for me still - I believe - to hear when she needs something from me. I have to really concentrate. I really have to be super sensitive to the fact that I'm not that kid anymore and that I can be supportive of her.

Thus, as a coping strategy, striking out on his own (or at least with peers) was insufficient. He drew heavily on his sisters. Although he was clearly emotionally dependent on them, as well as economically dependent, he was not

aware of this. Ian dealt with his conflicting needs for intimacy and safety by denying vulnerability and constructing a false sense of autonomy or independence. Unlike Owen, however, these defenses did not fail. They *did* get stretched and seemed to cause anxiety, but with the care and support of his sisters, he managed to cope.

Arm's Length Supportive Resources Increased Tolerance, Encouraged Growth

Although communication in Ian's family was either non-existent or indirect, freedom, tolerance and critical thinking were encouraged, and a supportive or protected environment was never very far away. The freedom, together with implicit support, seemed to facilitate a tolerance for conflict, tension and confusion. He learned to endure confusion, live with his secrets and experiment wildly in search of solutions. More specifically, his father's mixed messages regarding masculinity (i.e., succeed at sports, be gentle and fair), his sisters' overt strength and less obvious (yet invaluable) nurturance, and his mysteriously victimized / unavailable mother left him alone to endure the tension along with his own painful secrets. But with the underlying support from his sisters, he learned to tolerate ambiguity and as such, was able to work through the conflicts safely, creatively and at his own pace.

Tolerance for Ambiguity, Incongruence. Although Ian never received the kind of jolting challenges Owen, George and Allan received from women in their lives, he did experience gender role strain throughout his life. As such, duplicity and incongruence were very much a part of his experience. The conflicts and incongruence were there from a very early age. At first, Ian seemed only dimly aware of the privileges he possessed simply by virtue of being male. Although no one ever challenged him directly or dramatically on this point, when he first became exposed to feminism at university, Ian was shocked by how much he still "had to learn." He was especially surprised to discover the extent to which he had unknowingly reaped the benefits of being male. However, unlike Frank, George and Owen, Ian seemed in no way immobilized by this revelation. In fact, he became quite excited by the power and potential of this new feminist ideology. In his words, he quickly became "evangelical" about feminism.

I wanted to talk to people. I wanted to talk to other men, but in fact lots of people didn't want to talk about it or didn't want to look at it... [The enthusiasm] was partly about wanting things to change but it was also about wanting deeper kinds of relationships. Wanting to share what I would see. Wanting to go back to people like my sisters who I felt like in some ways like I'd ripped them off cause so much about our relationship

had been about them taking care of me. Me not acknowledging their experience. It was an eye opener to realize there were lots of things, some of them little, some of them big, that I took for granted or just hadn't seen. Despite his enthusiasm, Ian actually moved cautiously into the feminist community. He was frustrated by the homophobia and incongruent behaviour of some profeminist men, and appalled by some of the more overt sexism he observed within the gay community.

I quickly moved into [a local profeminist men's organization] with a great deal of hope and excitement... It was a mixed group of gay and straight men... I felt quite quickly very disillusioned by the whole thing. I felt clear that some of the men were still behaving in ways that I found didn't recognize their privilege, that some of the men were still dealing with so much homophobia, that we could never get around to some of the reasons that we wanted to be there to talk. I found that there were a few of us who wanted to talk about issues like pornography, issues like male violence, and the group could never get that far because the men were often times very busy just sort of patting each others backs for being there in the first place. I watched some real power moves happen within the circle that I was involved with and I certainly don't want to paint that whole movement in

that way. But the group I was in and [in] some of the other sort of larger groups I also experienced some of that. It made me feel very sad and alone again because I had a lot of hopes that when I started seeing information come out - things like the first John Stoltenberg book. Some of the other stuff I had been reading at that time had brought so much excitement. I thought finally there's some place where people are going to be able to just share some of the same ideas I'm having right now. And I didn't find that happened and [so I] retreated back into my own world.

Over time, Ian seemed to grow more compassionate and accepting of incongruence in the community. He suggested that evangelism and incongruence are inescapable aspects of human development. In particular, he implied that it is common to experience an "evangelical" phase in one's consciousness-raising. It follows then, he argued, that we need to recognize and accept that the pace and ultimate stage of development varies from person to person.

As I have watched people in the past discover feminism or profeminism, what I saw often times was a real rigid way of thinking, a real evangelism. At that stage of one's development... [one becomes] politically correct... [not in the way that] it was taken over by the right, or by the [feminist] backlash movement. [Instead, by politically correct, I mean] often times,

when one begins to look at gender issues, and justice issues, then suddenly absolutely everything becomes framed that way. I don't know if you can recognize that experience in yourself, but often times when we're going through that, we're very difficult people to be around. We need to talk lots, and educate lots, and it hasn't necessarily yet become congruent... I also don't want to totally reject people who are in that place because I think it's part of a larger evolution and an important part... And just as I've also had friendships with women who moved from that phase and eventually into a radical feminist phase where they don't want any men in their lives and I have sometimes felt very personally hurt by that, at other times I have recognized that's something really important and necessary and is a valid choice for them at this point in their lives. I have no right to interfere with it.

Firm, yet Compassionate Action. The passage above illustrates Ian's tolerance for tension and conflict. He seemed to imply that there seldom is a *right* or *wrong* with respect to gender politics. Despite this tolerance for ambiguity, he was careful not to submit to pure relativism. For example, in his counselling role, he seemed to balance firmness with compassion. While responding in a gentle, compassionate, empowering manner, he nonetheless established important limits.

In his male batterer counselling program, clients were not welcomed into treatment unless they had already been charged, convicted and sentenced. The men also needed to go through a prolonged, comprehensive screening / assessment process in order to prevent defensive minimization of their abuse. He softened this task by artfully contextualizing it, explaining the rationale with compassion and firmness. In so doing he normalized feelings of anxiety, shame and the tendency toward dishonesty (incongruence) typically experienced by men confronting their own abusive behaviour.

Two-Spirited Identity. For Ian, however, incongruence was a part of who he was (a gay man) and what he had chosen as his life's work (counselling both survivors and perpetrators of abuse). In fact, as a gay man, he came to see himself in a somewhat strategic position between genders. And although this had previously been a source of considerable tension, alienation or incongruence between his personal and public personae, it was actually *congruent* with his professional role at a community health centre treating both perpetrators and survivors of men's violence. Ian came to regard his sexual orientation as advantageous; it empowered him to perform a bridging role in society, a role long-respected by aboriginal cultures.

The two-spirited person is how some aboriginal groups referred to gay people. And they were often seen as very important people in the community because they were seen as possessing both a male and female spirit. And as you read about it, they talk about how this is someone who has the capacity, because of their life experience, to move through both female and male groups. And in moving through in that way, being a carrier of information. Being able to talk to men about women's experience. Being able to talk to women about men's experience. And in some ways it sounds very hokey and flaky but I could really relate to that when I read about it. I feel like sometimes that's what the work is like.

Indeed, having worked professionally with Ian, I can attest to the validity of this claim and the advantages associated with the two-spirited role. Specifically, he demonstrated a capacity to challenge and nurture the male batterers with firmness and sensitivity. Perhaps more importantly, he seemed able to speak genuinely from the perspective of both privileged and victimized males. He was able to speak as one-of-them and as one who has been abused and persecuted by men.

Just as Ian was once able to connect with both the tough and gentle children in the school yard, he demonstrated a knack as an adult counsellor to

build bridges between men and women, gays and straights. Part of this, I suspect, is because as he put it, he learned to connect by being "cool". In other words, he developed charisma. While he successfully channelled his conflicts charismatically into socially respectable work, the charisma ultimately served as a defense. It was like a mask for his vulnerabilities, including his sexual orientation. It allowed him to externalize, listen and attend to others and in so doing, it merely delayed the inevitable, deflecting the pain associated with his own victimization and postponing satisfaction of his need for greater intimacy.

Male Defenses Matured & Adapted with the Formation of his two-spirited Identity

Over the course of his life, Ian acquired considerable insight into the life experiences which shaped his gender beliefs, attitudes and roles. And over the last few years in particular, he became more open-minded and accepting of people with alternative views, who were at different phases of gender-identity development.

As the following passage indicates, he even became more accepting of himself:

I think that, well, I have moved towards having a greater sense of humour and being less extreme than when I first discovered some of the readings and ways of thinking as I did way back when. I think that it continues to touch every part of my life and in every way in which I look at things. I think I have the ability to laugh myself now, laugh at some of the things

that in the past I might have been very rigid on... Whereas before what I had learned may have been translated into a strict set of rules in terms of how you talk; I think that it has more depth, now that I've lived with it for awhile and I've continued to grow in lots of different ways and I have the ability to laugh about it, to be light about it, and to hear people who have opposing views without being hostile.

Although Ian said he always had many friends, he recalled a period in his life when he actively sought, without success, deeper, more meaningful relationships with both straight and gay men. Aside from this expressed interpersonal need, Ian offered no details of the dynamics or quality of his relationships. Unlike most of the other men interviewed, who recounted important interactions with friends or partners, Ian revealed nothing of his experiences with friends. Perhaps he felt uncomfortable discussing intimacy for fear of homophobic reactions. If so, this may be a clear example of the defensive value of incongruence. After all, it undoubtedly allowed him to feel, and be, safe in a largely homophobic world. Ian seemed to transform his acting-out behaviour into more socially acceptable and productive activities (e.g., counselling). And although this professional sublimation of gender role strain had a politically correct edge to it, perhaps it was necessary to cope with systemic homophobia.

Developmental Summary

As indicated by the mix of highlighted and non-highlighted codes, comments and quotes in *Androgynous Male Role* and *Exploitation Dynamic* regions of Figures 17 and 18, Ian's relationship with feminism was rooted in complex family-of-origin dynamics. As the only boy in a family with two much older sisters and somewhat passive, gentle and uninvolved parents, Ian discovered at an early age that he was "different". He did not fit the athletic mode espoused by his father, he was nowhere nearly as talented as his sisters, and he spoke out more intensely than others in the family. While he failed miserably in his attempts to fulfil the father-son athletic bond, a bond central to the traditional family *Structure*, Ian's father was "too gentle to protest". Because gender roles were so loosely defined in Ian's family, he ultimately drew from both, becoming genuinely androgynous with respect to gender roles. Ian responded to the opposing, male/female influences (as indicated by the red arrows converging on the *Androgynous Male Role* box) by integrating aspects of each gender in charismatic, synergistic fashion. He did so by carving out his own niche in a manner that was somehow also "cool" and easy for others, both males and females, to identify with.

Insert Figures 17 and 18

about here

While this charismatic androgyny facilitated a bridging function, it also served to mask vulnerability. As indicated in the *Exploitation Dynamic* in Figures 17 and 18, Ian learned from his uncommunicative parents, especially his abused mother, to avoid intimate disclosure about painful *Experiences*. In short, he learned to deny vulnerability (see *denvul* in Figure 17) by keeping his painful secrets to himself. And yet, his family's liberal *Values*, along with its loose *Structure* and parenting style, gave Ian room to indirectly express the pain. He explored this freedom and expressed both his family's unspoken issues and his own inner conflicts by acting out (see *actout* in Figure 17) or speaking on behalf of others who were wronged. Thus, on the one hand, he seemed to push the boundaries of the family unit, or *Structure*, by running away from home, taking drugs, immersing himself in peer groups. And yet, on the other hand, he seemed to channel the conflict quite productively into efforts aimed at fighting for social justice. In summary, then, Ian's loose and permissive family structure, along with the family's liberal values served to reinforce his rather immature acting out

Figure 17.
Men & feminism
Ian's Codes

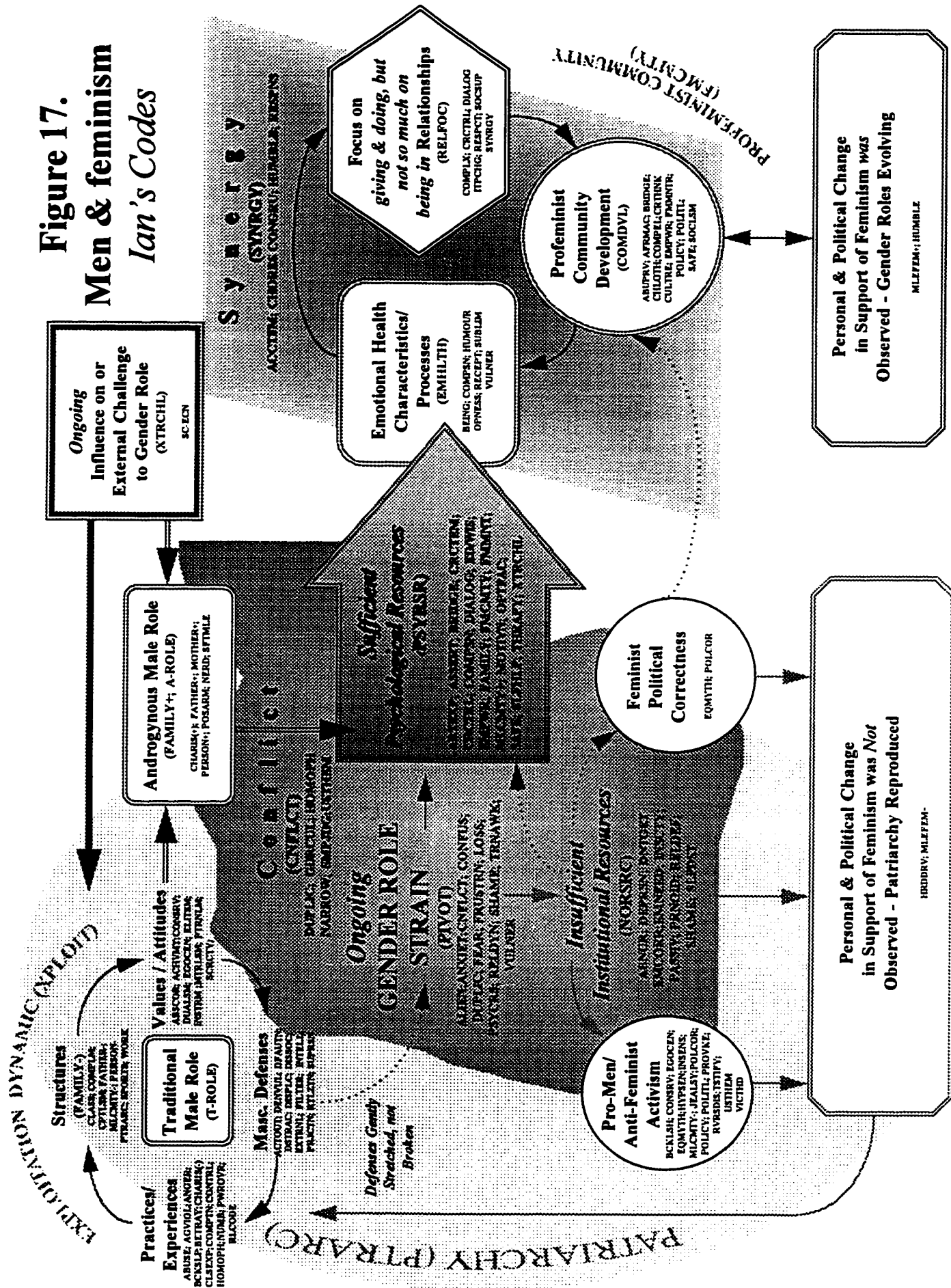
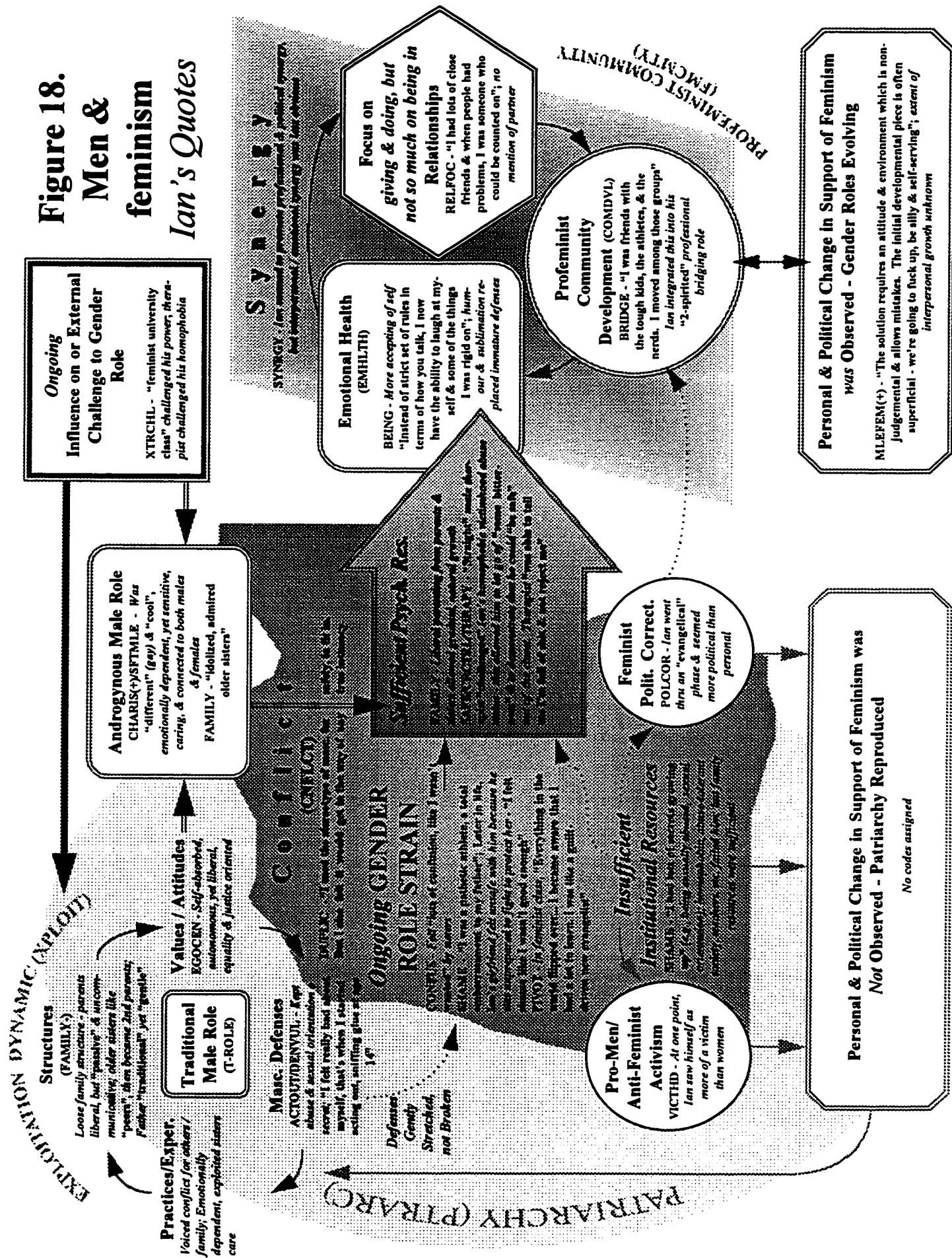


Figure 18.
Men & feminism
Ian's Quotes



defenses and egocentric attitudes. These attitudes and defenses, in turn, prevented him from recognizing how he had become emotionally dependent on his sisters - how he learned to see himself in the family as someone to be taken care of.

Although the freedom afforded him considerable space to enact these defensive patterns, the emotional support and tolerance for this behaviour also provided him with opportunities for exploring the painful effects of *Gender Role Strain* he had experienced throughout life. Despite the "cool" exterior, Ian eventually acknowledged feeling shame for his athletic ineptitude, rejected and abandoned by his sisters when they started dating, and "driven" to change the world as he began to discover feminism, and recognize the institutional sources of his pain (see codes, comments and quotes in the *Gender Role Strain* and *Insufficient Resources* regions of Figures 17 and 18).

After going through an "evangelical", rigid phase of trying to change the world (see *Feminist Political Correctness* circle), Ian discovered a need to explore his own part in reproducing patriarchy. But unlike the others interviewed, Ian was not challenged by a specific person. Instead, he was given the support and freedom he needed to discover and work through it on his own. With this freedom, he gradually found social justice in the peace movement, gender politics and insight in feminist scholarship and practice, and emotional healing in therapy.

As indicated in the *Sufficient Psychological Resources* arrow, the most important resource for Ian was the support and freedom offered by his family. This allowed him to grow naturally and along the way, he gradually discovered the appropriate tools for directing his healing journey. For example, he recently received feminist therapy from a straight man who "challenged" his egocentric, homophobic victimhood status, empowering him to let go of his long repressed "bitterness" and find safety being vulnerable out of the closet. This, in turn, permitted Ian to let go of both political correctness and his acting out behaviour, and replace these defensive styles with more mature coping mechanisms, involving humour and professional/career sublimation.

This maturing process is summarized in the *Emotional Health* box. Ian learned to accept who he was and even laugh at himself. He transformed his "cool, acting out" behaviour into a healthy and productive "two-spirited" professional counselling identity (see *Profeminist Community Development circle*). This transformation allowed him to openly integrate many aspects of who he was, including long-repressed shameful secrets (i.e., abuse victim and homosexuality) and produce something valuable for society in the process. Perhaps due to the combination of support and freedom he was given throughout his life, Ian experienced and processed conflict in synergistic fashion, integrating the personal

and political through the development and application of his two-spirited identity. However, as indicated by the partially highlighted *Synergy* codes and comments in Figures 17 and 18, the extent to which this two-spirited identity contributed to emotional and interpersonal synergy or well-being remained uncertain, particularly given Ian's failure to disclose details of his interpersonal relationships. In fact, as indicated in the *Focus on Relationships* octagon, Ian did not even mention his partner during the interview.

Conclusions

With considerable family support and freedom, alongside access to a wide assortment of psychosocial resources, Ian grew and developed gradually in relation to feminism. This freedom, support and access enabled him to explore and discover his own solutions for conflict. He first created niches for himself both in family and among peers. In these relatively safe places, he learned to tolerate, complement, or bridge conflict in the roles of mouthpiece for family conflict, peacemaker among peers, and a builder of bridges across gender. In hindsight, Ian himself acknowledged that he may not have survived if not for his sisters' caretaking. The family dynamics involved a curious mix of freedom, conflict and arms length support. Their support helped him to explore his identity and find his own place in the world. Perhaps this support explains why, unlike Frank, George

and Owen, Ian did not seem to struggle as much in response to feminist challenges. He did, however, experience ongoing gender role strain as a non-athletic, gay male. Perhaps the combination of ongoing strain and stable, social support explains why Ian's defenses did not fail. With gradual and stable support, his defenses matured, enabling integration of the conflict underlying the strain into his emerging 2-spirit identity. Specifically, his use of humour and career-oriented sublimation empowered him to find a safer, more fulfilling role in between patriarchy and feminism.

Some feminists have argued that this *in-between* position is the most one can expect of men in relation to feminism (e.g., Jardine & Smith, 1987). Certainly, Ian's professional role in counselling female abuse survivors and male batterers corresponded well with this in-between status. Furthermore, his two-spirited identity acknowledged the inevitability of conflict or incongruence, and in so doing, it reflected an element of profeminist integrity.

Chapter 13 - Vinnie

Vinnie was a white, heterosexual man in his late thirties. Unlike the other men interviewed, Vinnie was selected to participate in the study because he had been identified as an active participant in the *men's rights* movement. Vinnie was born and raised in Canada as an only child. At the time of the interview, he had been married for over five years. On the screening survey mailed to him prior to the interview, he indicated that his marital relationship was more negative and struggling than satisfying and positive. In 1989, he graduated with honours from a mid-sized Western Canadian University. For the past several years, he had worked full time as an accountant for a large financial firm, while his wife remained at home to care for their four year-old son. Vinnie reported an annual family income in the 40 - 60,000 dollar range.

Nervous, Unfocused, Yet Honest Interview Style

Vinnie presented in an open, honest and genuine manner on a variety of highly controversial issues that had been a source of considerable personal and political conflict over the last seven years. Perhaps because of the controversial nature of his discourse, Vinnie was extremely nervous at the beginning of the interview. He was surprised and unnerved by the unstructured format, indicating he "would have preferred a question-answer format."

He was easily distracted, pursued many tangents, and on several occasions, he seemed to respond defensively to my non-verbal responses as I listened and attempted to follow the affect and complexity of his discourse. For example, while he was discussing a series of events in rapid succession, I was looking up into the corner of the room as is my custom when following complex discourse. Vinnie was looking down as he described these events but when he caught a quick glance at me, he asked abruptly, "Why did you roll your eyes?" After I reassured him, Vinnie explained, "My wife gets angry at me when I roll my eyes, because a lot of times when I roll my eyes I am angry and sometimes when I do it, I don't know it's just a reflex." Vinnie also asked, on several occasions, when he was disclosing emotionally sensitive issues, whether I planned to construct "a psychological model" of him. Despite this anxiety, or perhaps because of it, Vinnie talked for a much longer period than the other interviewees. And unlike the others who typically discussed a wide-range of childhood and adult experiences, his discourse was restricted to a detailed description of a few key, recent personal and political conflicts. Discourse on family history or childhood experiences was conspicuously absent in his interview.

Ambivalent, Duplicious, Small-c Conservative Politics

Vinnie's propensity for speaking out in a provocative manner seemed to prepare him well for his role on the student council at university. He enjoyed the politics and seemed to revel in debates. He considered himself a "moderate" conservative; however, his position on any one particular issue was not entirely predictable. Although he supported equal opportunity for all, he vehemently opposed affirmative action because it discriminated against white males. He argued that although his "attitude morally [was] pro-life, theoretically it [was] pro-choice." By this, I think he meant *both* men and women should have the right to choose, but that he personally opposed abortion. These conservative, yet somewhat ambiguous attitudes, along with his outspoken nature and thirst for debate established his "reputation as a crusader" for men's rights and made him a prime target for the more vocal radical feminist representatives and lobbyists on campus.

Prior to his involvement in student politics, Vinnie had little awareness or interest in gender issues. Soon after he joined, however, a perennial controversial issue - the status of student funding for the Women's Centre - erupted on council. According to Vinnie, conservative and feminist councillors were divided on the question of whether or not to fund the Women's Centre, given its exclusive female-

only membership policy. And yet, while Vinnie initially opposed the motion to fund the Women's Centre, he argued he did so strategically in an effort to facilitate further discussion and debate. In fact, he subsequently moved to reconsider the issue, thereby re-opening the debate on funding. This ultimately led to passage of a motion officially recognizing the Women's Centre, thereby guaranteeing its funding as a legitimate student society. By re-initiating this process, not only did he confuse his political opponents, he also alienated himself from his fellow conservatives. Despite acknowledging some regret for his decision to reconsider, Vinnie seemed to take pride in his role of provocateur:

A lot of conservatives, who are philosophically in support of me said, 'Vinnie, you totally blew it!' And my contemporaries today, to whom I say, 'Oh by the way, I'd just like you to know a little secret. I was the person who got... who was indirectly responsible for getting them recognized.' And, you know, the response varies from: 'Oh!' to 'You idiot!' or 'What!!' [laughing].

While on the one hand he appeared to relish the attention garnered through his unpredictable and seemingly contradictory actions, he also resented the fact that he was never given much credit for his contributions

As time went on, I still had a reputation as a political conservative because nobody gave me [recognition]... I mean nobody on the board at all even mentioned once... my being so very critically instrumental in [funding] the women's centre... I didn't get a single thank-you.

Vinnie perceived the women-only membership policy at the Women's Centre as discriminatory. In response, he emphasized a need for matching such funds with monies for corresponding men's programming. Vinnie failed to understand the strong objections his political opponents voiced in reaction to his *equalist* proposals. Instead, he seemed somewhat offended by their anger.

One of our first meetings was a meeting of a subcommittee which was being asked to approve a motion to budget \$2500 towards Wen-do courses, which [when I] asked [I was told they were] self-defense courses for women. So I said, okay [we] are offering them for women only? I said I didn't like the idea of excluding anyone for any reason, especially when these are student funds that we're talking about. And if we spend it for one particular class of individuals, then we should similarly spend it on another class of individuals... [When] I asked are you spending \$2500 on a similar course for men, or even a co-ed course, their response was laughter. And that started, actually, making me angry. It never even

occurred to them. "What! Men don't need self-defense - they're the ones doing the raping!"

Unlike Frank or Ian, who came to appreciate the larger historical context for women's anger, Vinnie reacted with his own escalating hostility to these inflammatory statements. In fact, his frustration may have led him unwittingly to re-enact that which he was reacting to. Specifically, after vehemently protesting feminists' expression of "moral superiority" to men in one breath, in the next breath he accused these same women of being "sexist", "moral morons", "self-righteous lackies" and "misled by a fear of men". Thus, while Vinnie convincingly critiqued inflammatory male-bashing rhetoric for its unfairness and oversimplification, at times, he employed equally simplistic arguments to justify a perceived threat to the rights of white males. In particular, he seemed to believe that women and minorities were being afforded rights and privileges that he as a white male had no access to. For example, in the following passage, Vinnie chastised a peer, a man of African descent, for expressing pride in his skin colour, arguing that this was somehow analogous to claims of white supremacy.

[The refusal to acknowledge women's sexism towards men] was just like race issues being defined only in terms of whites against minorities. I don't like [the word] "white."... *Whites* is now a bad word. I know that it

shouldn't be a bad word.... I once had a minor debate with someone who talked about being proud of himself for his skin colour - being proud of himself for being black and I said, 'Well, what if I told you that I was proud of being white?' And he said, 'Then I'd call you a racist.' And to which I said, 'Why?' And he said, 'Because you're saying that you're proud at being white means that you're proud of centuries of domination and slavery' and [I replied,] 'Woo slow down here, I'm not really proud of myself for being white. I'm proud of my heritage.' ... I'm half English, you know, so I'm proud of the country that I came from. I'm angry at it too, but I don't like being told just because you're white it means, you know, you're proud of being white... I just think it's silly for anyone to say they're proud of their skin colour. [It's okay to say I'm] proud of my culture maybe, but... it doesn't mean I'm proud of my culture's failings or the failures of the people in your culture who had power. Anyway, that's why I don't like words like male privilege. I mean, for every privileged male, there are ten who aren't.

Vinnie seemed to be making a pitch against racial pride of any kind. In a similar vein, he criticized feminists for their apparent double standards. In particular, he implied that feminist rhetoric exaggerated women's oppression by overemphasizing the trivial and invoking reverse discrimination out of fear and hatred for men.

I do consider them anti-male. I do consider them fearful of men in general. I would even go so far to say that they are hateful through some of their various statements, like for example, a lot of the members from women's groups were talking about how they didn't like being called *girls*. But a lot of them [would say] 'Oh come on, here boys!' I actually raised that recently on the Shirley show on political correctness. And Judy Rebick - yes, none other than Judy Rebick - responded by saying [seemed to mimic a higher pitch, more shrill voice of a woman]... 'Well, it's because they're so angry at having been called girls and demeaned for so long ' to which, I would have replied, had Shirley had the policy of allowing people to respond to responses made by the panellists... 'Two wrongs don't make a right. Just because you're angry about something doesn't give you the right - just because people have treated you in sexist manner, doesn't mean it's particularly right for you to do the same thing.' So, I think that Judy Rebick's response was pretty pathetic, considering... she's very intelligent. Her selective attitudes are something that need to be re-examined. Like, she wouldn't say *that* about *men being sexist* towards women if *they'd* been treated in a negative manner. I'm sure that if a man called a woman a demeaning name, and [the man] then said it's because women call me this,

or because a girlfriend did this to me, she'd say that 'You have no right to treat women that way' or something like that. So, she too was... implicitly of the attitude that sexism equals sexism-against-women.

This objection to calling men "boys" paralleled his concern with black pride. In both cases, Vinnie seemed to invoke his very own version of political correctness. Specifically, he seemed to be applying his own kind of men's rights linguistic code, one based on a somewhat flimsy analysis which failed to consider historically based power differences. Black pride, based on the need for healing the shame induced by centuries of racism and oppression, cannot be equated to the white pride of Apartheid Afrikaners. Referring to gainfully employed white middle class men as *boys* is different from calling receptionists at the lower end of the pay scale *girls*. If an historical analysis of power had been undertaken, Vinnie may have discovered that two wrongs *can* make a right. However, in the context of relative equality between conflicting parties (as was likely the case on his university student council), Vinnie's demand for respect was undoubtedly legitimate. Unlike Frank and Ian, however, Vinnie failed to tolerate women's anger, or to appreciate how such expression could be such a fundamental element of women's consciousness-raising.

Politics as a Vehicle for Social & Community Involvement. Prior to serving on student council, Vinnie sought a leadership role in the first year orientation program. He described these early political experiences as crucial factors underlying his intense interpersonal and political involvement with controversial gender issues. He referred to this intense period, in which the political became personal and the personal political, as "the meat and potatoes" of his involvement with gender issues.

Vinnie explained that because he lived off-campus from first year through graduation, he found it difficult to connect or integrate with other students. This sense of isolation prompted him to become actively involved in the orientation program.

Apparently it was a real honour to be given a position as a *group* leader because it actually means you lead a group. *Activity* leaders help out group leaders, but that's their only power, so to speak. Group leaders have more power. [Being] somebody in a position of power, I'd have prestige conceivably... Although I had heard a lot of former group leaders talking about, 'We want to be group leaders so we can get chicks,' [laughs]... that wasn't my idea at all... I just wanted to meet people. I wanted to help people. I wanted to meet people, especially off-campus

students, because by being most of the time an off-campus student, I felt like an alien... [So when] I [became] a group leader, I met a woman there who I got along with fairly well but nothing happened. I had seen another of the group leaders, he was a really short guy, I mean he was the kind of person who, I thought is never successful with a woman. Then I saw him go and hug the woman in this group, someone really taller and someone who I consider really attractive - he just went and hugged her. He ended up getting elected as president of the student council. Anyway, he went around hugging women and I said 'My God, where does he get the confidence?' So one night after we raided another college (we just went around and turned on all the water taps - I organized the raid), I met this woman... She came back and you know, we were all running, we were running this way and she was going this way. But she ran and I hugged her, I couldn't believe it, I couldn't believe I did that. I thought a lot of it because it was the first time actually I had the confidence enough to do that.

Despite arguing that he had not been motivated by a desire to meet women, Vinnie attributed his increased confidence and success with women, at least in part, to his role as an orientation leader. He mentioned the importance of the

"power" and "prestige" associated with this role and found himself modelling the interpersonal behaviour of other leaders. He even implied that losing his virginity was somehow connected to his role as a leader. Specifically, he said with "my being a group leader, [it] was the first time for me. I'll leave it at that." Vinnie admitted that his interest and enthusiasm for leadership activities were fuelled by feelings of insecurity, loneliness, alienation and a growing sense of despair over his virginity and romantic inexperience.

Vinnie claimed he became much more confident and interpersonally secure following his first romantic relationship. And although this first relationship was short-lived, he saw it as pivotal - without it he "would never have had the confidence to make a romantic advance towards a woman." Since then, he was intimately involved in two serious relationships - both rife with conflict. The first relationship with Fran ended badly, and the relationship with his wife was, as he indicated on the interview screening survey, "more negative and struggling than satisfying and positive." Aside from his success with establishing intimate relationships, Vinnie revealed almost nothing positive in the relationships or about his partners. Instead he devoted most of the interview to a detailed, if not somewhat rambling discussion of his political and relationship *conflicts*.

Abortion Crisis

Soon after Vinnie and Fran began dating, she became pregnant. Vinnie recalled feeling excited by the prospect of being a father and suggested that, for him, fatherhood represented an unfulfilled childhood need. In contrast to Vinnie's paternal urges, Fran was clearly not ready to have a child. She immediately expressed her intent on having an abortion. Vinnie accompanied her to the mandatory pre-abortion counselling sessions but felt confused and marginalized upon discovering his participation was unwelcome. He disclosed feeling especially hurt by Fran's apparent reluctance to "stick up for him" or support his involvement.

And then [when] it happened for a third time, I complained to her about it.

I said why don't you help, why aren't you helping me, why don't you say anything. Around that time, she started throwing up, she didn't handle it very well, partly it was her fear - her fear of being pregnant that did this...

But like I said, I asked her [anyway, but] maybe I wasn't forceful enough, I'm not forceful as in violent or anything... I [simply] wasn't assertive enough. But she said 'Well I think their attitude is that I'm the woman, I'm the one who's pregnant and I need it more.' I stopped at that but it didn't feel right, I didn't let go of the fact that my feelings hadn't been addressed and that I'm important because I'm the boyfriend. That feeling of

unimportance got worse after her next appointment when she got the referral form for [the abortion]

Vinnie claimed he understood Fran was pre-occupied with her own personal feelings about the pregnancy and that this was preventing her from acknowledging his feelings. And at several points during the interview, he even acknowledged that she had a right to control her own body and make the decision herself. Despite acknowledging this, he seemed to focus far more attention on his own needs - his feelings of being unfairly treated, his victim status.

After it was all over, she came and sat down and I started crying on her lap... and she said, 'Oh I understand you're happy because it's all over and I'm okay and everything is gone.' Basically what her attitude was, was that I was crying just out of relief that everything had gone well. She couldn't be more wrong, 'My baby's gone!' And I was just thinking, 'What a fucking insensitive bitch'. I mean that was just a moment of anger... I didn't [actually] say [it]. I was feeling [like saying] 'You insensitive bitch. I later got over that feeling of anger and just put it down to her being upset...over the experience... [but] I think she genuinely thought that I wouldn't have any emotional problems about it because when we had

spoken about it I had agreed, I had nominally agreed that if a pregnancy happened that this would be her course of action.

Following the abortion, Vinnie's feelings seemed to oscillate rapidly between "denial" and distrust. At one moment he found himself saying "that wasn't my baby that died," it was another man's. He imagined it belonged to a friend of Fran's named David, and Fran simply wanted an abortion to cover up her infidelity. At other times, he worried that she did not want to bear his child because he was not *man enough* and that, unlike him, other "men have this godlike power" to seduce women, including Fran.

Vinnie admitted he soon became "obsessed with the idea of having a child." He exerted increasing pressure on Fran to commit to their relationship and begin having children. When she failed to comply, he proposed she consent to a procedure for extracting her eggs so that he could father her child through the assistance of a surrogate mother. After considerable pressure she consented, but at the last moment she changed her mind. According to Vinnie, this about face, along with his unresolved feelings about the abortion, led him to become obsessed with all things remotely connected to babies or parenting. The obsession escalated to a point where he began losing friends and even lost his job for making inappropriate comments to parents about their babies.

After the operation [i.e., abortion] I was starting to get a little more distraught, I couldn't put my mind on it, put my finger to it. It was just that I couldn't bear the sight of babies or pregnant women and the only thing I hated more than kids or pregnant women was men who were talking about their pregnant wives...because I was thinking of them along that model of men who have power, this magical power... so much power that they made her want to be pregnant or that they were better than me... One of the things that Fran was talking about was sociobiology - that a woman will want to have a child with a superior male and obviously her act of not wanting to have a child made me feel inferior, she doesn't even realize that I felt that way. I mean she herself had told me that she had given me one of her best essays, "Why We Love Our Children," because they are an extension of us and they are our future basically and she said... a woman will want to have a child with somebody who she sees as giving her good children. And instantly I felt like an inferior being and I hated pregnant women and I hated babies and children and especially, above all, my hatred was for men who had pregnant girlfriends or wives, what have you, and that immediately boiled over into my work. At work, I really couldn't focus on anything and especially whenever there were baby

showers, I would put some really inappropriate comments on the office cards for them... I had been so desperate over the loss of the child that year that I became obsessed with having a child quickly because I didn't know how long she was going to hold out on getting married; what if I died before then or something? I had all these thoughts of mortality. So, I was really obsessed with pinning her down to some sort of schedule: 'Okay, if you're not sure when you're going to get married can you at least tell me when, give me some rough idea when, so I'm not going into this relationship thinking that all you want is fun?... [When I asked her] if she agreed in principle with the idea of eventually getting married, she just broke down and she cried a little and she said you're putting way too much pressure on me... And a couple of days later, she said I think we should just be good friends... After that happened, all hope of having a child by her just faded, just died... I wanted a child badly, not just any child, but one with her because I thought that she was an ideal woman. She was intelligent and beautiful and very compatible with me except in regards to this one particular issue.

Vinnie may have realized in hindsight that all hope had not really died, that instead, he continued to deny strong feelings of anger and resentment towards

Fran. They maintained their relationship for a while (albeit less intimately), but at the same time, Vinnie began to explore the potential for seeking social and political support of other men who felt sidelined or victimized by policies and decisions which, from their perspective, favoured women and feminists in particular. In other words, he sought to resolve the conflict with Fran indirectly and in a public sphere. He joined a men's rights group and found kindred spirits among those white males who felt they were being prejudiced by social institutions, especially around custody issues and charges of assault.

When he described some of these issues to Fran and suggested that "men have so little rights," she apparently responded by saying, "Well, nobody said life was fair." This incensed Vinnie.

I said men don't really have that many rights especially in regards to reproductive issues. I said, you know, the woman gets pregnant - if she doesn't want it then its okay, she can go to the hospital. But if a man doesn't want the child, it's too bad for him because he has to pay for the rest of his entire life whether he wants the child or not. And she said, 'Well nobody said life was fair.' We never spoke again after that. I had been talking to her about the idea of starting something at [the men's rights organization], a counselling group. I also asked her what she would do if I

went public. 'If you do you're a dead man', she said, 'You're a dead man,' which could be taken as a death threat. When she said that, that moment there, that very moment I decided I'm going public and I'm putting my name to it and I don't care if she's angry about it.

Vinnie submitted a piece to the student paper which described these events, including details of the abortion. He admitted that he wrote it out "extreme bitterness." He compared his situation to the Chantelle Daigle / Gregory Dodd case, which was, at the time, a high profile Quebec court case addressing the question of paternity rights to an unborn child. With reference to his own case, Vinnie posed this rhetorical question, "Was a measly nine months too much [to ask]?" He was, admittedly, out of control at this point because in addition to publishing the details of their conflict, Vinnie set out to publicly humiliate her by presenting the article in person at a campus cafe.

The article came out... exactly one year after her trip to [the] hospital. I brought a black trench coat and a black tie and took it to [the cafe] with me and she didn't realize that I had written this article until someone had brought it to her and said 'Fran, look at this.' When I saw her, I smiled because I felt, 'I'm getting you back you fucking little twit.' I felt so much anger, I still felt so much anger at her, not so much because of what she

did, but again because of how she did it, and also because of her high and mighty attitude of 'Nobody said life was fair.' I realize I'm being unfair, really unfair towards her by saying all these, these really evil things because I realize that her short-sightedness was not out of spite, but just because she was in a bad, terrible situation. Part of me thinks that another reason why I felt so angry for her was because she was acting like she had no feelings over what happened.

Vinnie was hurt in this relationship and his hurt was funnelled into publicly expressed rage. On the one hand, as he put it himself, he "became an instant star" among men's rights activists. And yet, on the other hand, he lost his job around this time and ultimately admitted himself to the hospital when he "finally broke down".

This crisis, culminating in a breakup with Fran, losing his job and an emotional "breakdown," seemed to set the stage for a new beginning. It was a turning point. After seeking professional help and establishing a new relationship with his soon- to-be wife (Molly), Vinnie found himself "calming down" and becoming far "less bitter" towards Fran. He seemed surprised to discover that even Fran was somewhat more sympathetic than usual towards him during his period of vulnerability. And despite his "instant" fame among men's rights

activists, Vinnie eventually withdrew from the organization after disagreeing on what he perceived were somewhat extreme, immoral policies and actions.

Developmental Summary

As indicated by the preponderance of highlighted codes, comments and quotes on the left-hand side of Figures 19 and 20, Vinnie's values, patterns of relating, and coping strategies were consistent with a traditionally masculine gender role (as depicted in the *Exploitation Dynamic* area of Figures 19 and 20). He identified himself as a moderate conservative and seemed committed to traditional political *Structures* and processes for upholding justice. He appeared to enjoy participating in vigorous adversarial debates, engaging in pragmatic, dualistic reasoning, and practising both strategic and reactionary politics (see *Practices/Experiences* region of the *Exploitation Dynamic* in Figures 19 and 20). He also valued control, power-over others and the "prestige" associated with that power. These values, along with the underlying assumption of resource scarcity, seemed to influence the nature and course of his interpersonal relationships as well as his political actions. His inferior feelings in relation to other men and their seemingly "godlike power" to seduce women, together with his "obsession" with "having a baby by Fran" suggest a competitive attitude and a presumption of

scarcity (see *Values/Attitudes* region of the *Exploitation Dynamic* - in particular, see *scrcty* code in Figure 19).

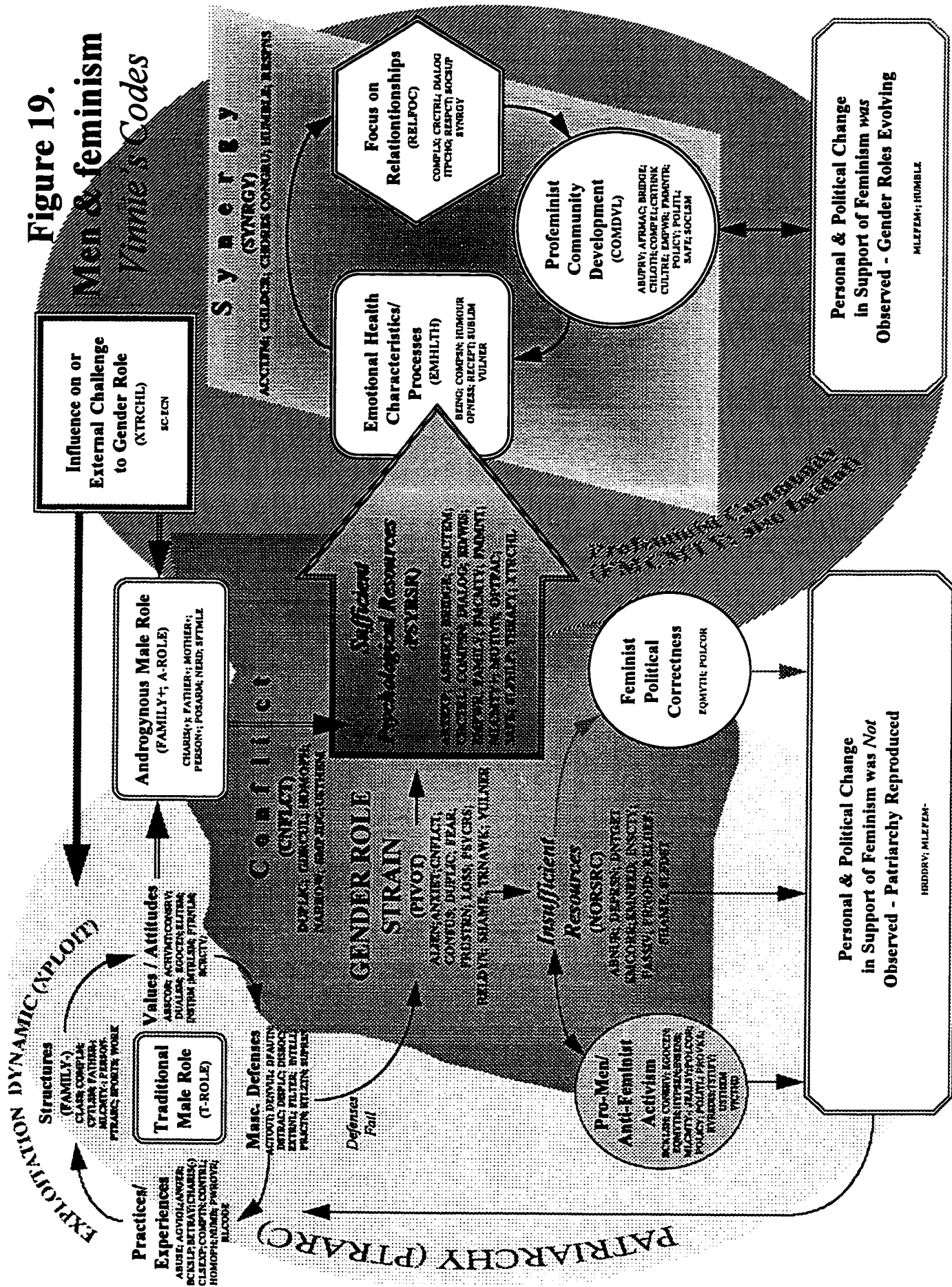
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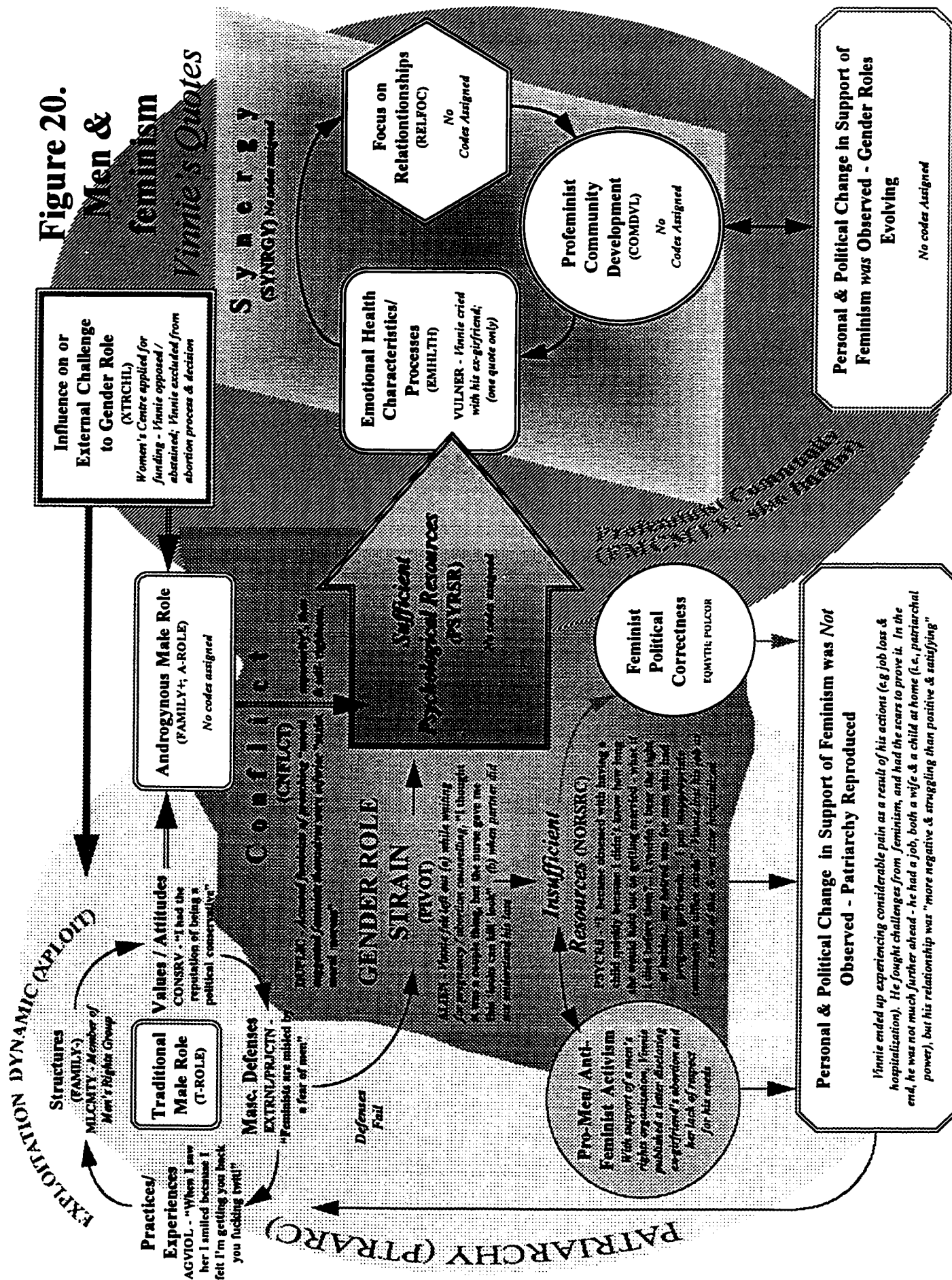
Initially, Vinnie seemed to cope with his "low self-esteem" by seeking positions of power and public influence. By serving on student council, speaking out on television, writing for the newspaper and participating in a social action group, Vinnie boosted his self-confidence enough to initiate intimate relationships. The student council structure and environment seemed well suited to his outspoken nature, conservative values and traditionally masculine characteristics. Because he felt in control and at home there, he was able to withstand, perhaps even thrive off the challenges posed by feminists (see *External Challenge to Gender Role* in Figures 19 and 20).

But when challenged by Fran (an independent, strong-willed woman) on a more intimate level, Vinnie's insecurity resurfaced. His defenses failed. Particularly when she sought, then obtained her abortion without requesting or welcoming Vinnie's input, he felt powerless and out of control (see *Gender Role*

Figure 19.
Men & feminism
Vinnie's Codes



Men & feminism



Strain region of Figures 19 and 20). He attempted to respect her right for controlling her own body, but this conflicted with his need for relationship security. Keeping the baby represented that security for Vinnie. Without Fran's reassurances or support for his feelings, Vinnie's fears escalated. Initially, he sought support from a men's rights organization; however, in following their advice, the conflict with Fran only escalated (see codes and comments in *Pro-Men / Anti-Feminist Activism* circle in the bottom of Figures 19 and 20). He cranked up the pressure for commitment and eventually lost himself in a kind of paternal obsession. In the end, the dual challenges posed by the abortion and relationship breakup proved too great for Vinnie. He lost his job and "broke down" emotionally (see codes and quotes in the *Insufficient Resources* region of Figures 19 and 20).

Vinnie eventually parted ways with the men's rights organization. Recovered from his "breakdown", but exhausted, and without a community to support his gender-related activism, Vinnie seemed to retreat back into a somewhat more stable patriarchal relationship pattern. As suggested in the *Patriarchy Reproduced* rectangle at the bottom, left-hand side of Figure 20, Vinnie was not much further ahead - he had a job, both a wife and a child at home, but his relationship was faltering. In short, the power and pain of patriarchy were being

reproduced, as indicated by the red arrow recycling back into the *Exploitation Dynamic* in Figure 20.

Conclusions

Somewhat like Jean, but unlike the remaining participants, Vinnie provided only a recent snapshot of his life experiences with gender issues. He revealed virtually nothing of his childhood or family history. Although Vinnie's discussion was restricted to a relatively narrow range of recent personal and political gender-related events, he disclosed more intimately than the others. He openly discussed deeply personal details, and sometimes even embarrassing, shameful aspects, of his experiences dealing with controversial issues. Thus, while it was less obvious how he *got to* where he was with respect to gender issues, he did paint a revealing, intimate picture of his then *current position* in relation to the issues.

Vinnie neither identified, nor sought out particularly novel solutions for the conflicts he was experiencing. Having been excluded from the pre-abortion counselling process, he attempted to deal with them singlemindedly, persevering with what he saw as the only solution - having a child by Fran. He saw her as the only resource, but she could not give what he needed. And then when he turned to the men's right's group, they encouraged him to vent his frustration, but in a manner which left him further isolated from the intimacy and emotional security he

so desperately craved. Ultimately he burned himself out, received professional help in the hospital, and then fell into a less personally and politically challenging relationship. He ended up with a child, a career, and a wife at home, but still unsatisfied. In terms of gender-role identity, he seemed to come full circle, having engaged a vicious battle with feminism only to retreat calmly and quietly into traditional family life.

Chapter 14 - Discussion

Two related themes emerged in the analysis. First and foremost, incongruence, or conflict, was at the core of the men's experiences with gender issues. In particular, the experience, acknowledgement and acceptance of conflict was pivotal in the change process. Secondly, a complex dynamic involving power, pain and psychosocial resources encompassed this pivotal vulnerable experience.

These dynamics are consistent with contemporary theory on masculinity (e.g., Brod & Kaufman, 1994). According to Kaufman (1993, 1994), changes in the balance between men's privileged power and their experiences of vulnerability have begun to weaken masculinity, or *crack the armour* which defends men's power over others. Challenges from feminism have, in some cases, diluted men's privilege, disrupting the power-pain equilibrium which maintains patriarchal exploitation. Once bearable given the spoils of patriarchy, men challenged by feminism have begun to discover and question its cost. The institutional structures, social values, personal practices and psychological defenses which once supported the exploitive, power-over engine of patriarchy have been destabilized. On a psychological level, defense mechanisms that once greased the wheels of patriarchy while hiding the pain, have weakened. Probably as a result, more men

than ever before have begun seeking professional help to cope with the pain (Kupers, 1993).

The model I developed from intensive analysis of nine men's experience with gender issues traces paths of transformation from patriarchal masculinity towards more open and vulnerable ways of being male. My model is remarkably consistent with one proposed, yet not substantiated, by gender-role-conflict researchers, O'Neill, Good, & Holmes (1995):

First, there is the shift in the person's psychological defense system about sexism and recognition of deep emotions about one's personal gender role. Second, false assumptions or illusions about gender roles are confronted through readings, experiential learning, or personal dialogue. Third, this new learning may produce "psychological warfare" within the person as he or she struggles with the old self and the new, emerging gender role identity. Lastly, resolving gender role conflicts and making gender role transitions may require the manipulation and creation of healthy symbols of masculinity and femininity that transcend the traditional stereotypes (p. 169).

Substitute my code, *External Challenge*, for O'Neill et al's word, "confronted"; my codes, *Education* and *Corrective Relational Experience*, for their "readings

and experiential learning” my *Double-Life* or *Conflict* concepts, for their term “psychological warfare” and then simply extend O’Neill et al’s “creation of healthy symbols of masculinity and femininity that transcend the traditional stereotypes” to include *Synergy*, *Community Development*, *Feminist Mentoring*, and *Bridging* and one has a roughly accurate summary of my model of profeminist transformation.

In the paragraphs that follow, I relate the core concepts and themes of my project to current theory in men's studies. In particular, I discuss the value of, and difficulties associated with embracing conflict, or taking a position of incongruence in relation to feminism. This task was difficult for some of the men studied but not others. It was difficult for the men raised in patriarchy because they learned to hide their pain in order to survive and succeed at exploitation. Embracing conflict was natural, and as such, less difficult for men raised on the fringes of patriarchy.

Based on an integration of my data and relevant theory in men's studies, I have organized the discussion into six sections. I begin by revisiting the problem of *men in feminism* to explore the potential value of this contradictory relationship. Second, I outline some of the visible and not so visible mechanisms (values, psychological defenses, practices/experiences and structures) which seem to maintain power and patriarchy in men's lives. Third, I explore in considerable

depth, men's shame-based "contradictory experiences of power and pain" (Kaufman, 1994). Fourth, I introduce ways that men have begun challenging their own power while acknowledging the underlying pain. Specifically, I explain how personal and social change were achieved by participants' willingness and capacity to embrace the inherent conflicts and ambiguities of power, pain and intimacy in both interpersonal and community contexts. Fifth, I explore both family and socio-political factors underlying the development of more relationship-focused ways of being male. Finally, in an effort to sustain the dialectical hermeneutic process I initiated with this project, I conclude by inviting input and dialogue on the emerging model from diverse perspectives.

Men and Feminism: A Fruitful Contradiction

Incongruence, tension and conflict were apparent to me from the day I embarked on this project. My role as a man, supervised by a man, researching men in relation to feminism is problematic. Or is it? I begin this final chapter with an exploration of the controversial relationship between men and feminism.

What exactly is the nature of this relationship? Can men be feminists? These questions, first raised in the anthology, *Men in Feminism* (Jardine & Smith, 1987), whispered, nagged and danced around in the back of my mind throughout the course of this project. In analyzing the data, I found myself drawn toward,

and distracted by such questions repeatedly. *Is this man feminist* and if so, *how is he feminist? What does it mean? Where does he stand in relation to women in feminism?*

Stephen Heath, one of the contributors to *Men in Feminism*, responded that men can only honestly assume a position of "admiration" in relation to feminism. My data seem to support this in two ways. First, virtually all of the men interviewed admired feminism or felt deep respect for feminists themselves. Frank recalled being "fascinated" by the "other culture" of women's experiences. Allan, Charlie and Jose were impressed, even "in awe" of women's strength, compassion and skills for relating to others. Frank, George and Owen consumed feminist writing voraciously. Secondly, several of the men seemed stalled in an awkward and uncomfortable place only slightly beyond the frayed edges of patriarchy, but with a yearning for greater intimacy and community. Although Frank, Jean and George embraced feminism enthusiastically, their movement away from patriarchal habits, attitudes and coping styles seemed uncertain, and at times, incongruent. Certainly these men were not *in* feminism. But, then again, who is?

Heath (1987) argued that there really is no fixed place *in feminism*. Feminism, he insisted, is a collection of voices, it is diverse. There is no security. It is necessarily conflicted or disruptive, especially for men. It is complex. But

ultimately, *being* incongruent is natural, honest and synergistic from this perspective. And as Heath pointed out, congruence is perhaps just an illusion.

Being properly correct is purely theoretical, pure theory; the reality is different, is unceasing, contradictory, difficult, heterogeneous, impossible, everyday. My problem as a man is not being properly correct. As Jardine [same volume] suggests, men can be extremely good at that, staking out their right place (Heath, 1987, pp. 44-45).

Paul Smith (1987), co-editor of *Men in Feminism*, took it a step further. He suggested that simply by virtue of their *not-in-feminism* status, men are in a position to make important, if not unique contributions to feminism.

In the context of academic feminist theory, these men might perhaps do something akin to what women do within theory more generally: that is, they can be there to help to subvert, unsettle and undermine the (seemingly rather fast to settle) laws of the discourse. Not, of course, to undermine feminism itself, but only a process of settling, solidifying. This they might do purely by virtue of existing in it as a difference. If it were ever needed, their difference might act as a reminder of the material fact of difference, the real consequences of which is feminism's material cause (p. 39).

Although this, I believe, overstates men's role in relation to feminism, I do think there is value or virtue in embracing conflict. Feminism is a place where men are vulnerable, where their conflicted role, status or privilege in relation to feminism becomes conscious. Being able to tolerate, or stay with the conflict, is reflected in my data-driven construct, "being" (a micro-category in the *emhlth* macro-code family). As suggested in Figures 2-20, all the men I interviewed experienced conflict in relation to feminism. The difference between the profeminist men and the one men's rights participant is that the profeminist men (a) acknowledged, accepted, and in some cases embraced the conflict, and (b) were resourceful, recognizing the opportunities for growth in connection with others and feminism itself. The men's rights activist was neither accepting of conflict, nor was he relationship-focused.

Men's Invisible Pain: A Recipe for Exploitation

Stephen Bergman, husband of the Stone Center's Janet Surrey of *self-in-relation* theory, argued that *being* vulnerable and embracing conflict is essential for relating:

Staying connected through conflict can release enormous creative energy.

Yet men often wind up being deadly afraid of conflict - perhaps more so

than women - so much so that they have to start fights and wars instead of engaging in it relationally (p. 75).

Rather than fighting or attacking problems, the solution is, at least to some extent, simply to be with the conflict, to acknowledge one's humanity and fallibility. But to do so in relationship, according to Bergman (1995), is terrifying for men. He argued that "especially when they are in relationship, some men are in a hurry to get somewhere else" (p. 75).

Kaufman (1994) argued this defensiveness is a crucial component in the reproduction of patriarchy. It masks men's pain, makes it invisible to both those seeking power and those who answer to it. Although the pain remains unacknowledged it nonetheless drives men to seek more power over others in order to further defend threats to this power and the increasing vulnerability associated with climbing the power ladder.

Masculine Defenses. Several of the men, Frank, George and Owen in particular, referred to maladaptive coping strategies (i.e., defenses) which, until recently, had kept them locked in a pattern of unsatisfying relationships. In the following paragraphs, I highlight these defenses and link them to current psychodynamic theory on men's development - theory which is well informed by feminism and the new men's studies.

As Bergman (1995) suggested, men become easily distracted in, and disconnected from relationships. George wanted better relationships and he believed the solution lay in connecting with his feelings. He recognized that his once compulsive help-seeking and incessant daily activity schedule represented a tendency to distract himself from feeling or simply *being*. He was *doing* to avoid *being*.

Levant (1995) suggested men are socialized to avoid feeling, to be alexithymic, or unable "to describe [their] feelings in words" (p. 238). He argued that instead of experiencing feelings genuinely, in the here and now, men are often "distracted" from feelings, or they experience a rapid "cognitive shift" which leads them to flee the moment and take action (p. 239). Related to this cognitive shift is the tendency to *filter* or tune out information which challenges men's privileged status. The codes, *cognitive filter* and *male dissociation* reflect a tendency observed in the men's experiences to disconnect from experience.

Frank admitted filtering, or tuning out the fact that his apartment never got dirty. At the time, cleaning was not relevant to his, as yet unquestioned, privileged status in relation to his partner. In a slightly different vein, the "distractions" George discussed typically involved impulsive action; doing things without much affective experience or cognitive awareness. They involved acting in a semi-

dissociative state to the point of numbness. Whether it was cognitive filtering, or distractive, dissociative action, these men were (a) disconnected from affective experiencing, and (b) isolated from other people. In short, these masculine defenses produced both affective and interpersonal isolation and, in so doing, they masked each man's pain.

Pollack (1990) suggested that the concept of autonomy is vastly overrated in developmental theory. He saw it as more like an albatross than a milestone of development. More specifically, like distraction, it is a masculine defense “against self-encroachment” or feared engulfment in relationships. It operates in “narcissistic” fashion by “walling off [emotion] in a world of defensive self-sufficiency, a pseudo-autonomy, that has been entirely dependent on others for its sustenance” (p. 320). It produces achievers who exercise power over those they depend on for unacknowledged emotional needs.

As indicated in the top left hand portion of Figure 2, Levant’s distraction from affect and Pollack’s defensive autonomy, narcissism, walling off and emotional dependency are evident in the four components of the patriarchal exploitation dynamic, a dynamic which depicts patriarchy in balance. The pain-power equilibrium keeps the interplay between values, practices/experiences, defenses and structures working smoothly. Traditional patriarchal values, like

Frank's instrumentalism and individualism, or George's materialist approach to healing, help shape masculine defenses, like defensive autonomy or distraction. Such defenses restrict or funnel behaviours and experiences (e.g., controlling, aggressive, active, numb) in a way that coincides with patriarchal values. And of course, these restricted, controlling behaviour patterns become the building blocks for exploitive patriarchal institutions (e.g., stereotypical complementarity in families, exploitive patriarchal work place). These institutions, in turn, market conservative, traditional values and the cycle continues, possibly becoming even more entrenched.

When wielding *power-over* others, one must be constantly on guard, especially as resentment builds among those being dominated. Dominating *others* makes one vulnerable to criticism or attack from *them*. As Kaufman suggested, "the assertion of power is a response to fear and to the wounds we have experienced in the quest for power" (p. 149). Increasing power produces increasing pain which, in turn, elicits increasing dominance over others. Pain increases the craving for power and increased power comes only by suppressing more pain. This dynamic reinforces complementarity in relationships, because as men's *power-over* increases, women's submission deepens. Kaufman argued that as pain associated with increasing power mounts, so does the tendency to

“suppress emotions.” This, he continued, leads to greater “emotional dependency.” And “by losing track of a wide range of our human needs and capacities and by blocking our need for care and nurturance, [we as] men lose our emotional common sense and our ability to look at ourselves” (p. 149). The result of such emotional suppression, according to Kaufman, is either externalized in the form of unexpected, violent outbursts (e.g., battering; rape) or inwardly directed pain in the form of self-hatred, self-destructive behaviour, physical illness, or debilitating addictions. While both Frank and George admitted to the former (destructive anger, abuse) they chose not to elaborate. George did, however, describe in great detail a history of self-destructive behaviour (suicide attempts) and multiple addictions. He saw both of these as distractions from feelings.

Kaufman argued that emotional suppression isolates men. He suggested that the pain of isolation is masked, or smoothed over by a wide variety of the homosocial institutions of male bonding (clubs, sports, professions, etc.).

[They] are a means to provide safety for isolated men who need to find ways to affirm themselves, find common ground with other men, and collectively exercise their power... In a strange sense, this isolation is key in preserving patriarchy: To a greater or lesser extent it increases the possibility that all men end up colluding with patriarchy - in all its diverse

myths and realities - because their own doubts and sense of confusion remain buried (p. 151).

In other words, homosocial activity perpetuates a *collusion of silence*. Men talk a great deal about material things, activities and events, but not so much about feelings in relationship, about their common fears or vulnerabilities in relationship. While men *do* many things with friends, they are less inclined to *be in relationship* with them.

Although George saw himself and others as distracted, perhaps even dissociated from suppressed *feelings*, he failed to recognize his isolation, or as Bergman (1995) suggested, his pattern of disconnecting from *people*. No matter how hard he worked in therapy and self-help, George's interpersonal and community life remained impoverished. George was distracted from *feelings-in-relationship*. He seemed almost obsessed with fixing an isolated, objectified problem - in this case impoverished affect. He applied *technique* rigorously and singlehandedly in his quest for healing. This over-emphasis on *doing* and achieving autonomously, rather than *being*, isolates men, pits them against one another and in so doing, precludes acknowledgement, affirmation and release of stress associated with everyday problems and conflicts.

Origins of Shame Avoidance. Pollack (1995a) and Bergman (1995) argued this tendency for distraction and disconnection is learned early in life. Drawing on both Gender Role Strain theory (Pleck, 1981) and feminist psychoanalytic writing (e.g., Chodorow, 1978), Pollack proposed boys "suffer a traumatic abrogation of their early holding environment... a premature psychic separation from both their maternal and paternal caregivers" (p. 35). According to Pollack, Freud's portrayal of the Oedipal conflict is incomplete.

The story of Oedipus is about a young boy betrayed and abandoned to die by his own mother and father. It is not Oedipus's unconscious lust for his mother or jealousy of his father that sets the stage for his downfall, but his parents' hurtful rejection of him... The point is not to vilify Jocasta or cast aspersions on Laius - to condemn mothers or fathers - but rather to highlight that men may either feel or unconsciously experience a sense of having been abandoned, betrayed or hurtfully separated... Because of this gender role trauma and the fact that the only socially sanctioned form of emotional expression for men is anger, men are "obsessionally concerned with maintaining an independent self and have a panoply of intrapsychic defenses, such as unconscious anger or rage toward women, condescension toward anyone in a caretaking role, overvaluation of independence,

devaluation of the need for connectedness, stoic denial of sadness or pain, with an inability to mourn or grieve loss and a walling-off of the core vulnerable self (pp. 45 & 47).

The "abrogation" need not be dramatic. For example, research suggests that from an early age, baby boys are discouraged from expressing feelings in relationship. More specifically, parents respond to infant boys' crying behaviour with more constraint or by de-emphasizing emotional expression (Tronick, 1989). According to Krugman (1995), this differential, withholding response leads boys to feel overwhelming shame, or inadequacy, because at a far too early age, they experience pressures to move away from an "anchoring maternal connection and toward an often uncertain and, at times unavailable connection with a paternal figure" (Krugman, 1995, p. 106). Shame associated with needing mother leaves boys feeling babyish and inadequate. Osherson and Krugman (1990) wrote:

There is little worse than being seen as too close to mom, of needing her too much. Being called in earlier than others from the playground, having mother bring a forgotten coat or lunch into the classroom, shames the boy, as these acts of nurturance challenge his struggles for autonomy. In family contexts where father is physically or psychologically absent the boy too

will struggle with the shame of identifying with a father perceived as rejecting, disinterested, or himself inadequate (p. 327).

Shame, Defenses & the Masculine Role. The conflict between dependent yearnings and the press for autonomy lays the groundwork for a narcissistic interpersonal style (Krugman, 1995). This is exemplified in my data by the codes *defensive autonomy, cognitive filter, male dissociation, distraction, egocentrism, externalization* and *achievement*. Boys learn to erect "walls, shells, or fronts that seal off the vulnerable self" from further abrogation because to admit or express shame would meet with further rejection, ridicule, or exploitation in an increasingly competitive, yet unchaperoned social milieu. In adulthood, this narcissistically-oriented defensive autonomy and denial of vulnerability are manifested "as patterns of extreme self-centredness, grandiosity, and contempt for others" (Krugman, 1995, p. 116).

While this style could be seen as adaptive in a misogynous, patriarchal society, it is far less accepted today. Men like Frank, George and Owen are being asked to learn how to grow and participate more fully in relationship *with* others. Men, like Vinnie, who are less willing to bow to this feminist pressure, may find themselves besieged, or backed into small camps of politically defensive, reactionary men. Vinnie's experience with his ex-partner's abortion and his

vengeful reaction to her lack of compassion for his feeling left out, discounted and abandoned in the decision making process had a contemptuous, egocentric and one-upmanship flavour to it. With the support of a small men's rights community, Vinnie's shame, along with his feelings of exclusion and abandonment, was bypassed, quickly transformed into barely controlled rage and a condescending, yet ultimately unsatisfying power-over dynamic. Perhaps Vinnie's nervousness during the interview session was a function of this bypassed shame.

Krugman (1995) and others (e.g., Block Lewis, 1971) distinguished between shame and guilt. Shame is more relationship-based - a function of rejection or abandonment - while guilt is competence, achievement and conduct-based. Block Lewis suggested guilt is a shame derivative. In other words, unintegrated shame, or repressed shame is transformed into guilt by focusing on a specific transgression, thereby externalizing and localizing the concern (Block Lewis, 1971)

George's tendency to become distracted by *doing*, rather than *being* reflects this transformation of shame into guilt. Specifically, he felt guilty for doing too much therapy, for watching too much television and for masturbating too much. He then relinquished the guilt by externalizing the problem; thereby discounting the value of the activity. He came to see the activity itself as problematic. Therapy

was a fraud. Ironically, given George's commitment to *being*, rather than *doing*, George inadvertently shifted his focus from relationship-based shame to guilt-ridden activities. Missing, of course, from George's emotional experiencing activities, or his *being-emotional*, was the need to *be-emotional-and-intimate-with-another-person*.

Although to some extent shame is an adaptive affective signal for balancing "autonomous and regressive strivings" (Osherson & Krugman, 1990), the result is too often an imbalance in favour of autonomy. Add to this imbalance recent challenges to men's power and autonomy from women and the shame-based defensive strategies fail.

Frank, Jean and George seemed to be feeling these challenges most acutely. Although I learned little about Jean's personal life or family history, according to Pollack's thesis, both Frank and George survived a traumatic abrogation of their early holding environments. Kaufman's power-pain theory assumes such suffering serves either as "an impetus for the individual reproduction - the acceptance, affirmation, celebration, and propagation - of men's individual and collective power" or as an "impetus for change" (pp 142-143). A little of both, I think, were true for George and Frank. The key, as I see it, lies in the extent to which relationships (both intimate and community) support such change.

George, somewhat like Oedipus, was abandoned, or at least emotionally neglected and physically abused. He learned, according to the emerging theory, that it was safer to disconnect from his feelings and his immediate relationships in order to survive. He “reproduced” his victimhood, by abusing his son. The pain, however, was undeniably a powerful motivator for his seemingly relentless quest for self-healing. Although recently conscious of the wound and aware of the importance of experiencing vulnerability - undeniably a crucial step in healing - he seemed stuck, energetically yet fruitlessly spinning his wheels in an emotionally intense state of intimate deprivation. In short, George had apparently never learned how to connect, or how to grow-in-relationship.

Frank learned early in life to disconnect from the “culture of women”, to disconnect from his “accommodating,” caretaking mother and to disconnect from the pain inflicted by his dominating, abusive father in order to identify with his power. He inadvertently learned to accept the abuse, and then follow more or less automatically in his abusive father’s footsteps. In so doing, he reproduced the pattern of men’s *power-over* others.

Despite this initial reproduction, both Frank and George seemed to move significantly beyond their patriarchal beginnings. They did this, I think, by acknowledging the pain they suffered, by engaging the conflict. As Kaufman

suggested, pain served as a motivator. Frank's acknowledgement of his pain was evident in his intellectual fascination with feminism, or the "*other* culture", as he put it. This interest, he admitted, long preceded any real change in his attitude or behaviour. He dominated in relationships for years. This changed only upon marrying several years ago. Perhaps this was because, unlike his mother, Frank's partner was not content to "accommodate" him, she stood her ground, challenged his dominance. Interpersonal conflict escalated. She refused to absorb it all. In seeking counselling, they committed to a process of staying with the conflict, acknowledging and engaging it. In this vulnerable space, Frank was "horrified" to discover that he "was the problem" - that his power and domination were in fact, signs of powerlessness, indications of an endless automatically inherited cycle, an uncontrollable reproduction of his father's dominance.

Like George, Frank acknowledged the pain and came to recognize the destructive patterns of relating. And while this, especially Frank's acknowledgement of duplicity in his relationships, was undoubtedly an important, if not *the* most crucial step in a more relationship-focused style of being male, neither Frank, nor George were able to take this insight honestly or completely *into-relationship*. Frank never did reveal to his partner how he betrayed her, he had not yet been *vulnerable-with-her*. While George was regularly vulnerable with

his self-help partners, he was not yet *naturally*, nor intimately vulnerable with anyone.

Perhaps both Frank and George were still in need of some kind of “corrective relational experience” (Addison, Glazer, O’Neill, 1994), a community, like Jose’s that values and nurtures relationships, and in so doing establishes a safe place to lower their armour and grieve the loss of their traumatized childhoods. Or were the benefits, the fruits of patriarchy still so sweet or rich that they continued to mask the full extent of each man’s pain and loneliness - their vulnerable self-in-relation?

Challenging the Power-Pain Equilibrium with Compassion

According to Kaufman (1994), the reproduction of patriarchy is maintained through a power-pain equilibrium. Psychological defenses mask the pain and stimulate the drive to power. They hold only as long as pain and power are in equilibrium. Once the pain exceeds the power, the masking defenses are broken.

The rise of feminism has shifted the balance between men's power and men's pain... As men's power is challenged those things that come as a compensation, a reward, or a lifelong distraction from any potential pain are progressively reduced or, at least, called into question (Kaufman, 1994, p. 154).

The implication is, of course, that the pain begins to outweigh the diminishing rewards. The pain is felt because the defenses, and that which is being defended (i.e., men's dominance), are challenged. The defenses fail. The dynamic enters awareness. The rewards are then questioned, power is relinquished and avenues for healing the pain are sought.

Typically and traditionally, psychologists only focus on diminishing the pain without challenging the power. The danger here is that support without challenge will only reinforce men's privilege and the unacknowledged emotional dependency which shores up that privilege. Instead, therapy must aim to challenge men's power and provide a safe environment for integrating the shame, embracing the conflict, and accepting one's vulnerabilities.

In the midst of therapy initiated by his partner, Frank began to question his value of independence, his "double-life", the hypocrisy associated with engaging feminism and having an extra-marital affair. Upon separating from his wife, George assumed full custody of his son. With the challenges and responsibilities of parenting thrust upon him, George began to question his assumptions about women's work and men's roles. While both men began questioning their privilege and acknowledged their pain, neither the challenges nor support for these changes seemed adequate or sustained.

Synergistic Community Resources: Bridging the Gap between Patriarchy and Feminism. We need to bridge the pain and the power. Ian argued fervently in favour of this. He himself, as a gay man serving both straight males (batterers) and straight women (abuse survivors), lived a bridging role. From this vantage point, he expressed great dismay and disillusionment at the gulf separating profeminist men who seem to hold, indeed hoard many answers (alternative ways of being male) while the vast majority of males remain trapped in a cycle of patriarchal exploitation. He dreamed of the day that profeminist men, perhaps women as well, would do more to open their communities to those exploitive men who are ready and willing to become vulnerable.

Kaufman (1994) emphasized the importance of diversity, or synergy in constructing new, more compassionate masculinities. He suggested that:

The notion of contradictory experiences of power, in the plural, provides an analytical tool for integrating issues of race, class, and ethnicity into the heart of profeminist men's organizing. It allows us to sympathetically relate to a range of men's experiences, to understand that men's power is not linear and subject to a variety of social and psychological forces (p. 157).

Creative solutions are more likely to come from opportunities to embrace conflict in diverse communities of relationships. Challenging men to change must be done

not just by courts, counsellors or other authorities / professionals. It must be done in loving, socially responsible communities.

Jose grew up experiencing compassion within a climate of socio-political repression, strife and instability. He was especially close to his mother and seemed to carry forward the warmth, trust and compassion he experienced as a child with her, through his painful, tortured life in fear of, and in hiding from, the brutally oppressive Pinochet regime. In Canada, he established an art gallery that became a diverse community of "doctors, lawyers, carpenters, and housewives." They became "a very dynamic group," an intimate community, a sanctuary. And yet, like any safe place, there were limits. Participants who threatened the safety (i.e., a man who was abusive and sexist) were challenged, but not without compassion. Jose admitted that challenging this man was difficult. It required firmness and patience. It involved embracing conflicting needs of sanctuary and tolerance. The group supported the abusive man for a while. They gave him an opportunity to discover the pain, acknowledge and integrate the shame. At the same time, however, members confronted him, working hard to encourage changes in his behaviour. Only once it was clear that he did not want to change, despite the support, did they ask him to leave.

For a couple experiencing marriage difficulties, the gallery was the first place they turned to for emotional support. Jose admitted feeling "torn" and caught in the middle of the conflict because he was close to both of them. Nonetheless, he persevered, finding ways to support both. Perhaps Jose's success was a function of his life-long experience coping with more than his share of relationship complexity, conflict and ambiguity. His healthy relationships were based on his capacity to embrace conflict, accept it as inevitable, and then work constructively through the tensions. In reference to being-with this couple in need, Jose said this:

It was very difficult for me too, very difficult and very complicated - being torn and being here or there whenever they needed us. This is the way that I feel a friendship should be. I do the same thing if I have pain, a lot of pain. At such time, I go to my friends. I tell them how I'm feeling. So I guess the thing, overall, is to talk to each other, to listen.

Unless a community can respond with compassion and demonstrate tolerance for conflict and ambiguity, challenges are likely to be delivered harshly, in ways that elicit defensiveness. Harsh responses and the resulting defensiveness can be at best immobilizing (witness Jean's paranoia regarding political correctness) or at worst both self and socially destructive (witness Vinnie's anti-

feminist men's rights activism and personal vindictiveness). Firm, yet compassionate action - challenging men while holding or supporting them, rather than judging or disposing of them - is more likely to induce personal and social change than either challenging or supporting alone. Perhaps Jean would have been less paranoid if others took the time to explain their challenges, to raise his gender consciousness. Challenging without compassion leads men to frenzied reactions, including guilt, backlash or paranoia. Challenging and acting compassionately are not necessarily incompatible. Indeed as Kaufman (1994) suggested, they work hand in hand:

In our public work, in our challenges to sexism and homophobia, to racism and bigotry in our daily lives, we must not shrink from a politics of compassion. This means never losing sight of the negative impact of contemporary patriarchy on men ourselves even if our framework sees the oppression of women as the central problem. It means looking at the negative impact of homophobia on all men. It means avoiding the language of guilt and blame and substituting for it the language of taking responsibility for change (Kaufman, 1994, pp. 158-9).

Once men acknowledge their participation in patriarchy, or once they become conscious of their contradictory experiences of pain and power, how

might change unfold? How can the conflict be resolved? A comparison among several of the conflicted and less conflicted men I interviewed suggests that when humbling experiences were acknowledged or embraced in relationship, conflict was resolved and growth ensued. Jose, Charlie, and Allan, in particular, focused almost exclusively on relationship issues in their interviews. This is not surprising given they had experienced and successfully resolved a number of gender-related issues on both intimate and community levels.

Krugman (1995) suggested that without a relationship base, men's shame cannot be integrated. As a result, it is by-passed defensively, resulting in the construction or reinforcement of a narcissistic, autonomous and exploitive personality style. Just as the problem has less to do with either a single early traumatic event or inaccessibility to feelings than it has to do with "disconnecting from the very process of growth in relationship" (Bergman, 1995, p. 74), the solution has more to do with making long-term commitments to relationship-based learning, immersing in a community that is relationship-focused, than it has to do with any particular therapeutic technique or self-help strategy. Thus, although feminist dynamic psychotherapy aimed at providing a "corrective relational experience" (Addison, Glazer, & O'Neill, 1994) could help launch a more relationship-focused learning process, connection with, or construction of a more

intimate and caring community, one in which men can lower these disconnecting defenses, and be vulnerable with others, is essential for supporting sustained change and the “growth in connection” characteristic of healthy, diverse communities (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991).

Bridging the gap with humour. Humour seemed to play a key role in bridging the gap between patriarchy and feminism for Charlie, Owen and Ian. Perhaps this is not surprising given that humour has long been recognized as a mature/adaptive defense mechanism (Vaillant, 1986). It is a healthy tool for both delivery and integration of complex, conflicting needs and messages. Laughing acknowledges ambiguity, allows one to be and stay with conflict. Owen's comedy enabled members of diverse audiences (e.g., men, women, jocks, sensitive new age guys, etc.) to lower their guard collectively. This meant that members of the audience were more open to hearing challenges and more willing to connect empathically with the sensitive pieces on sexual assault and sexual orientation.

Of course, this is not to say that all humour is so valuable. I think what made Owen's production so effective was that it was well researched. He developed it originally from personal experiences but then turned to a variety of community organizations, in particular feminist groups, for input. He refined the production for months and in so doing, the process became synergistic, the

product became greater than the sum of its parts (Katz, 1984). In the development process, Owen embraced conflict, he reached out for input and criticism from parties that were not necessarily supportive of his project. In so doing, he expanded and enriched his community of resources.

The show also seemed to empower audiences to manage taboo or seemingly irreconcilable gender conflicts in a more balanced fashion by promoting both serious dialogue and playful exploration. Ross (1992) suggested that if men could reframe conflict or life struggles "not as contests but as play," they would be far more comfortable and content. Owen's comedy cabaret performances did so by shedding gender reform of its crusty, politically correct rhetoric to project his message in a slapstick, "in your face" manner that was at once disarming, stimulating, provocative and entertaining.

Challenging My Power as Researcher. In writing this section, I reflected upon my own use of power, particularly in relation to the men I interviewed. I detected an element of critical judging, especially in my case presentation chapters. I began to wonder why I was doing this. Had I failed to integrate my own shame as a man? Was this why I was enacting power-over the participants? Possibly.

Especially while writing the case presentations, I became aware of growing discomfort with my own writing style which seemed, upon reflection, overly

clinical, comparative and reductionistic. I recognized my inclination to locate or fix participants at a specific place in feminism. My placing, or more accurately my attempts to trace their paths through the model inevitably, and perhaps unavoidably, led me to compare and contrast participants. I even found myself, at times measuring them along a congruence/ incongruence (or *Conflict / Synergy*) dimension. Ranking, like this, implies competition. While Heath (1987) admonished men who compete at being more feminist than others, Bergman probed deeper, exploring this tendency with a measure of compassion:

Little boys soon learn from the culture to compare themselves to others... and with comparison can come competition, aggression, and perhaps violence. Western, middle-class males are often obsessed with comparison and competition. Rather than being encouraged to be in relationship, the emphasis is on becoming someone special. Compare, don't identify. The boy is placed in a terrible bind: on the one hand, he feels the pressure to disconnect for self-achievement... on the other hand, he still has a strong yearning for connection. This "relational paradox" [is] at the heart of normal male development (young boys becoming agents of disconnection to preserve themselves) (p. 75).

This stereotypically male competitive behaviour - this *I'm better or bigger than you* reflex - is a defensive manoeuvre. It presumes, predicts, and reinforces both social comparison and self-judgement according to an arbitrary, ideal standard. The competitive urge could be an habitual, knee jerk defensive reaction - a pre-emptive strike against anticipated anxiety associated with guilt, shame, or projected failure. I suspect admonishments, like Heath's, elicit only more defensiveness. Anxiety, associated with such judgements and the resulting gender role discrepancy (the discrepancy between one's self-appraisal and the ideal standard), is avoided defensively by displacing or projecting the failure to meet standards onto others (Pleck, 1995; Pollack, 1995a). Admonishing, criticizing, expressing moral outrage at men's exploitation and violence is easy. Challenging with a loving embrace is not.

With respect to my critical analytic case presentation style, once I realized there was no one *right* place to be in relation to feminism, it was easier to let go of the competitive / comparative urge. If there is no one right place to be, there is less possibility of being judged and there is no single, virtually unattainable goal, or prize to compete for. There is no *correct* way of being congruent, or incongruent for that matter. Instead, as Heath suggested, if "reality is contradictory," then conflict, incongruence and uncertainty are normal, natural and real. Men are

typically uncomfortable with such uncertainty and have a tendency to defend against these truths.

However, many of the men I interviewed openly acknowledged experiencing conflict, or being incongruent. The acknowledgement is an indication of their movement, that their defenses were down, had been lowered, or had failed. Rather than judging them for being in limbo, I believe we should celebrate the extent to which they were tolerating the ambiguity. This means embracing the value of committing and submitting to the long-term struggle for change, not settling for a simple act of confession. Sincere attempts, however tentative, at coming out, opening up and admitting one's privilege, as both Frank and George did (Frank admitting his affair and George acknowledging his abuse), should be heard with compassion, and challenged with firmness. Vulnerability needs to be reinforced and gently, firmly urged into action. Without compassion, defensiveness will ensue. Without firmness, disclosure may simply slide into confession. And as Bristow (1992) submitted, "There is always something irritating about straight [profeminist] men - ones with greater entitlements than most - opening up their psychical wounds as a cover for the damage they have been permitted to do in the violent practices of everyday life" (p. 74). *Don't confess, just change*, he seems to be saying. Confessing implies acknowledging

guilt but not responsibility. And yet, how does one *just change* without becoming immobilized by guilt? Perhaps the solution lies in relationship-focused change.

Relationship-Focused Men's Development

In the paragraphs that follow, I outline some of the unique developmental landmarks observed in my interviews with men raised on the fringes of patriarchy, namely, Allan, Charlie, Jose and Ian. Although these men certainly experienced less dramatic and less recent conflict with feminism, unlike the other six participants, they grew up receiving modest challenges from *both* sides - from both patriarchy and feminism. Through it all, however, they (especially, Allan, Charlie and Jose) distinguished themselves with the primacy and depth of relationships in their lives. Challenges and the resulting conflict, whether it originated from the oppressive patriarchal Pinochet regime in Chile or from a sister's feminist friends, were experienced, explored, engaged openly and honestly within the context of intimate relationships.

Family Influences. Not surprisingly, what men learn from their family-of-origin affects the nature and extent of the conflict or incongruence they experience in relation to gender issues and challenges. Frank, Jean, George and Owen, all of whom were raised in traditional paternalistic or male-dominated families, were far more immobilized by recent gender challenges than Allan, Charlie, Jose and Ian,

each of whom were raised in egalitarian or female-oriented families. Those raised in patriarchy experienced rigidity and less diversity in role dynamics; whereas those raised on the fringe became quite accustomed to role flexibility. Challenges to roles were perceived as more threatening for the former, and a matter of course for the latter. In short, contemporary gender role strain (Pleck, 1981, 1995) associated with changing role expectations was greater for those raised in patriarchy, than for those raised on the fringes.

Narrowly and rigidly defined roles and family codes of conduct left the more traditionally masculine profeminists less equipped to respond to challenges from feminism. Frank's rigid identification with his dominating father and his disconnection (or "dis-identification") from his accommodating mother (Pollack, 1995b) made him a prime target for *challengers*. George learned to avoid intimate connections of all kinds, probably due to the abuse suffered from both his parents. Without basic relationship skills, George was not in a position to act constructively upon the challenges. Owen's traditional, working-class, immigrant family background left him unprepared for radical feminist rhetoric received from his middle-class co-workers. He lacked the social awareness, the more liberal middle-class consciousness, of his peers. Without this perspective, he made little sense of their rhetoric. Their challenges left him confused, bewildered, alienated and

immobilized. Until recently, none of these three men had much exposure to feminist challenges, let alone feminism itself. As such, none had seriously considered the possibility of alternative constructions of masculinity. And if deconstructing masculinity was unfamiliar turf, responding constructively to the challenges was even less likely. They simply lacked sufficient insight and resources.

In contrast, Allan, Charlie, and Jose had lived their entire lives in between patriarchy and feminism. Allan grew up in a conservative, yet non-traditional family with two working parents. Perhaps more importantly, he learned to cope with being different (non-athletic, introverted, *nerdish*) in an extremely strict, and at times cruel, English boys school. He "quietly rebelled" by finding a niche in-community with other social outcasts. In a sense, he learned to tolerate conflict, accept his incongruent status as a less traditionally masculine boy. As a teenager, he readily acknowledged his impoverished relationship skills and approached his sister in an effort to fill the learning gap. In his relationship with his sister, he learned not only how to understand and relate comfortably to women as friends, but perhaps more importantly, he grew to respect and admire them for their interpersonal wisdom and skill. In short, he learned to accept vulnerability, to

seize opportunities for growth with-others and to draw on their strength. In the end, vulnerability represented a strength for Allan, not a weakness.

Charlie also admired and related well with his sister. Unlike him, she attended university, developed verbal skills and connected with a sophisticated, intellectual crowd. Instead of feeling threatened by the differences, Charlie regarded her cosmopolitan values, interests, and activities as resources, or opportunities for expanding his own horizons. In times of emotional crisis, the first person he typically reached out to was his sister. He also consulted with her regularly on the subject of relationships.

Charlie appeared to seize these opportunities without ever pausing to question his own status as a high-school educated farmer. Instead, he seemed quite secure in his role. Perhaps this was because, like Allan, he found his niche within the gender divide. He was comfortable in both the stereotypically masculine world of sports and farming, and in the more sensitive world of relationships and relationship conflicts. He learned how to integrate both. After hockey games, he was the one his team mates approached to discuss relationship problems. On the other side of the gender divide, he became more actively involved in supporting a battered woman in the community. However, he was careful not to overstep his role as a man in this somewhat conservative rural community; he worked his

connections from behind the scene, helping to mobilize those (e.g., his mother, a lawyer) who could support her with greater credibility and a more reasonable chance of success.

Charlie assumed both these roles with finesse. He challenged the male stereotype, moved the community forward, while still paying respect to the community's unwritten code of conduct. He stretched the male code without being too different. He did not give up his masculinity, nor did he become effeminate. He was both sensitive and well-protected. Challenges from both sides were accepted, but at times he let them slide "like water off a duck's back". "There are things that do get through my chinks and armour," he added, "but I've got enough of them that I'm never going to let the enemy know they got the better of me." Charlie lived comfortably in between men and feminism.

Jose credited his mother for modelling an ongoing process of egalitarian dialogue. She taught him that it was possible to relate to others, even those with less power and responsibility with both respect and openness. More importantly, she taught him that those with less power have much to give. She valued and encouraged her children's creative, critical input into family matters and decisions. Together, she and the children challenged their father, a firm yet gentle and benevolent patriarch, to gradually relinquish his authority. In short, Jose learned

from his family-of-origin the importance of justice, compassion and social change. These family-based teachings provided him with tools that more than likely enhanced his capacity to negotiate and survive months of torture and imprisonment.

Ian's relationship with feminism was rooted in complex family-of-origin dynamics. As the only boy in a family with two much older sisters and somewhat passive, gentle and uninvolved parents, Ian discovered at an early age that he was "different". On the one hand he was privileged as a male - both his physical and emotional needs were well taken care of. This privileged status extended to domestic chores. Ian carried the sense that he was "someone to be taken care of" right through to adulthood.

On the other hand, several important *differences* (like his athletic ineptitude, his perceived lack of talent, his experiences with sexual abuse, and his awareness of being gay) left Ian with "shameful" secrets. And yet, unlike Frank or George who were raised in patriarchal families, Ian's family supported him, differences and all, whether acknowledged or not. Perhaps because of this, his shame defenses were more mature, more adaptive and productive. Specifically, he expressed frustration in the family by speaking out more intensely, to the point that he became the mouthpiece for conflict in the family. To some extent, he learned to

thrive on conflict. Perhaps this is why he "acted out" as a teenager. Ian felt, and acted upon a need to seek excitement and danger in radical, counter-culture peer groups and activities which were, of course, the norm at the time. He could be different, express his outrage, engage in social action, and still fit in. His shame was at least partially integrated through a process of sublimation. Specifically, he transformed the sense of being less than human into social action aimed at challenging society's views on marginalized people.

Perhaps because of this residual defensiveness, Ian revealed less about his intimate relationships. This could be interpreted as indicating less acceptance or integration of conflict *in-relationship*, or it might simply be an artifact of anticipated homophobia. I suspect some of both are true. Although both openness and social tolerance were modelled in his family, intimacy and disclosure were not. This, along with the marginalized status of gays and lesbians in mainstream academia, might help explain his lack of discourse on intimacy.

In summary, Ian, along with Jose, Allan and Charlie, learned from family members to embrace, explore, and voice interpersonal conflict through intimate dialogue or social action. Aside from Ian, all of these androgynous profeminists focused considerable energy on nurturing and developing relationships.

While these themes are consistent with those reported in Christian's (1994) study of anti-sexist men in England, my analysis reveals deeper, more complex patterns. Like Christian, I found that a majority of the profeminist men interviewed "experienced a combination of two interacting and reinforcing influences in their lives: early life experiences which departed from conventional gender expectations; and adult experiences of feminist influence, usually in a close relationship with an active feminist" (p. 183). Of the six major themes reported by Christian (i.e., lack of identification with conventional fathers; identification with nurturing fathers; experience of strong mothers; parents who do not conform to conventional gender roles; the influence of elder sisters; and childhood friendships with girls, or both sexes), my results supported all but one. None of the men reported childhood friendships with girls.

Unlike Christian who conducted a purely descriptive analysis, I have delved deeper, to construct a more comprehensive model of profeminist development. By digging deeper, I discovered dimensions which distinguished some profeminist men from others. In particular, I have noted fundamental differences between the profeminist men who were raised in patriarchy and those who were raised on the fringes. Secondly, my deeper analysis has revealed that although the men raised in patriarchy experienced more conflict or incongruence in their personal

transformation process relative to their androgynous counterparts, all experienced significant tension in relation to feminism. The men raised outside of patriarchy had less access to power to begin with, probably because they were raised to share power. As a result of the combined effects of this relatively less powerful status and their greater emotional support, these men experienced vulnerability and learned, as children, how to work through conflict in-relationship with their more nurturing family members.

The key developmental determinants which seemed to correspond with satisfying gender-related change, were the extent to which men had access to shared power and had been exposed to conflict in open, supportive relationships. The degree to which they were able, willing or compelled to acknowledge their emotional pain *in-relationship* seemed to correspond closely with their power status. Jose, Charlie and Allan, none of whom learned to dominate as children, were able to integrate vulnerability and shame in the process of relating to others.

Perhaps not surprisingly, then, these three men focused, more so than others, on relationships during their interviews. Furthermore, their association with feminism seemed most congruent, or free from conflict. In contrast, the other profeminist men, Frank, Jean, and George, had only recently begun to feel gender-related vulnerability. As such, their seemingly abrupt challenges from feminism

were experienced as more devastating and immobilizing. Similarly, their access to resources and their capacity for reaching out and *being vulnerable in relationship* was less developed. This is not surprising since these men were deconstructing a life-time of patriarchal, exploitive socialization. What they needed was consistently firm, yet sensitive challenging and both access to, and participation in, supportive and receptive communities.

Sociopolitical Influences & Actions. Unlike Christian's (1994) analysis which emphasized only *personal experiences* associated with gender issues, my analysis emphasized both *personal and political* relationships with feminism. Although Christian *did* identify the theme, "influencing other men" (i.e., challenging others), he assigned it only minor status. And aside from this single theme, his analysis was restricted to descriptions of personal experiences. He made virtually no references to *social action*.

In contrast, four of the nine men I interviewed reported political activities related to gender issues that were central to their profeminist experiences. Jose was raised in a mixed class family. As a military officer, his father was part of the ruling class in Chile. His mother was an orphan, turned servant, turned officer's wife. His father served first under Allende's socialist government and subsequently under the repressive Pinochet regime. Jose grew up with these dual influences in

an era of sweeping political change. As a young man, he had committed himself to the socialist cause. Following the Pinochet coup, he was tortured and exiled. In the midst of this crisis, he divorced the woman he loved and bid farewell to his daughter so that they could live more securely and peacefully. Clearly, Jose sacrificed a great deal for his socio-political beliefs.

These torturous, potentially traumatic experiences taught him to tolerate and accept individual differences and social discordances on the one hand, and embrace conflict with a commitment to progressive social change on the other. Through these experiences, he learned to exercise *compassionate action* (Dass & Bush, 1992). He did so by applying the wisdom and compassion (gleaned first from his family-of-origin experiences and then later through his socio-political struggles) to his work as art director and ipso facto community leader. In a sense, Jose's art gallery was a naturally-occurring project in profeminist community development. Unlike the white, middle-aged, heterosexual participants of the so-called men's movement, constituents of Jose's community bridged class, cultural and gender boundaries. It was truly a synergistic community (Katz, 1984). It was a community founded on diversity rather than homogeneity.

Ian seemed to take his community development role a step further. He identified with the Native North American notion of gays as two-spirited people,

who by virtue of their place (intersecting traditional masculine and feminine cultures), were specially qualified to perform a gender *bridging* role. By this he meant that his *in-between* status made him more accessible to both men and women. As such, he was better positioned than many to help resolve gender-based issues.

I observed Ian successfully carrying out this function. He seemed to be somewhat of an enigma to the male batterers who came for counselling. Although unstated, I sensed they saw him as *other*, as androgynous. His style was at once firm, gentle and compassionate. He had a charming, charismatic way about him, something he admitted he learned to do in order to fit in. As a child, he got away with being different by being “cool”.

Ian was skilled at bridging. He demonstrated a natural capacity to penetrate, work around or through the conflicts. He somehow joined conflicting parties (batterer and victim, misogynist and feminist) through appeals to their underlying shared humanity. Perhaps, like any good mediator, he spotted the unforeseen common ground and projected realistic win-win scenarios for the potential adversaries.

Connell (1995) argued that mediating, or forming “alliances” amongst conflicting interests is the only way to effect substantial profeminist change.

Change, he maintained, will only occur through a "disunity" of men, not through "solidarity". This is because there can be no solidarity against men's commonly held interest, *power*. According to Connell (1995), approaches based on solidarity have been tried and they failed miserably:

There is a rigorous logic to the trends of the 1980s: the more men's groups and their gurus emphasized solidarity among men (being 'positive about men', seeking the 'deep masculine', etc.), the more willing they became to abandon issues of social justice" (p. 236)..

Instead, there needs to be tension among masculinities. The solution lies in a politics of *alliances* among diverging groups. Connell suggested alliances with labour and gay men are essential and potentially powerful. He was encouraged by strengthening alliances between working men and women in labour organizations who have begun drawing links between sexism, classism and patriarchy. Connell was also optimistic about the increasing diversity of membership in AIDS lobby groups and suggested that heterosexual profeminists should make more substantial links with these organizations.

Certainly this alliance argument is consistent with both Jose's eclectic artistic community and Ian's two-spirited professional role. Ian expressed disappointment with the insular attitude of the mainly heterosexual, profeminist

men in his community. He longed for the day when profeminist straight and gay men would join forces and reach out more concertedly to all men, particularly those who are exploitive. Both men seemed to value diversity or disunity and they cherished the synergy associated with embracing tensions and building alliances.

Owen's "one-man show for studs, wimps, nice guys, jerks,... and women" reflected a concrete attempt to build alliances. Especially in developing his theatre production, Owen went to great lengths to integrate conflicting perspectives, including those from friends, victims of abuse, counsellors and feminist organizations. He worked and re-worked the play in synergistic fashion. He resisted temptations to tone it down, or reduce it to the lowest common denominator. Instead, he chose the much more challenging course of embracing the conflicts and tensions stemming from the wide variety of community organizations he consulted and the diverse audiences he performed for. By writing and producing in this dialectical mode, he successfully constructed a play with a powerful and progressive message, a message delivered in a fashion that transcended conflicting perspectives.

In contrast to Jose, Ian and Owen, who worked to build alliances, Vinnie's men's rights activism caused division; it cultivated a poisonous *us-them* mentality. Men's rights activism, like the mythopoetic movement, is not about movement at

all. As Connell (1995) argued, movements are all about solidarity and the only basis for solidarity among white, middle class, middle aged heterosexual men, is their privilege. It should not be surprising, then, that men's rights activism cultivates division and conflict, but not resolution. Rhetoric and coercion are the means, and power and control are the ends. Unlike profeminist struggles, there is little room for dialogue, negotiation or staying with conflict. In blindly exercising control and dominance over their foes, men's rights activists mask the underlying disunity to obtain little more than the illusion of solidarity and a promise of stability.

Chapter 15 - Conclusions

Based on an intensive analysis of transcripts from nine interviews on men's experiences with gender issues, I developed and organized my data into 13 major themes. Each of these major themes represents a family of sub-themes, or concepts which were grounded in the raw interview data. These major themes were organized schematically to represent the developmental course of the men's experiences with gender issues, beginning with their socialized gender role orientation. Although the model was grounded in (i.e., developed exclusively from) the data, I discovered, only upon completing the analysis, that it was remarkably consistent with emerging theory on masculinity and men's psychological development / mental health.

Essentially, I found that the men interviewed were either raised in traditional, patriarchal families or in less traditional, and less clearly defined, androgynous family environments. Although both groups of men experienced aspects of gender role strain or incongruence, men raised in patriarchal environments experienced greater strain and more difficulty working through conflicts arising from recent challenges to their masculinity. On the other hand, although the men raised in non-traditional, androgynous environments experienced less strain, they reported experiencing a life-time of minor challenges from both

sides, from patriarchy and from more female-oriented communities. As a result of this more prolonged process, the androgynous men learned how to integrate conflict and shame efficiently and effectively within the context of rich relationships established on both sides (patriarchy and feminism). In contrast, the men raised exclusively in patriarchy (who were only recently challenged by feminism) seemed engaged in a much more serious identity struggle. They were stuck in a somewhat confusing, vulnerable space *between* patriarchy and feminism. Several of the androgynous men helped bridge the gap in their communities, forming alliances, and creating synergy through a process of conflict engagement and conflict resolution.

Perhaps the most central theme of this study involves the value of embracing conflict, or acknowledging incongruence and vulnerability, in the context of a firm but compassionate community. Men's power needs to be challenged and men themselves need to be permitted, perhaps actively encouraged, to experience and integrate their long repressed, deflected pain in the context of healthy, intimate relationships. This dual process, challenging power and encouraging vulnerability must be conducted *in-community*. I suspect the necessary balance of firmness, vulnerability, compassion and support can only be sustained in a richly diverse synergistic community, one in which the sea of

tensions and conflicts are engaged on a daily basis, so that the process of engaging conflict becomes natural, productive and self-sustaining.

Strengths & Limitations.

One of the certain strengths of this study lies in the development of a graphically-based model which captures both the complexity and awkwardness of men's relation to feminism. The model serves a heuristic function. It highlights the tenuous relation between men's power and pain. It underscores the necessity of challenging men's power and facilitating their healing within a larger, diverse, yet intimate and synergistic community. Finally, it is consistent with both the data and the emerging theory.

Conversely, this far-reaching, yet comprehensive quality points to one of the greatest weaknesses of this study, namely its potential for misuse. It would be tempting to generalize or reify this construction. However, it is after all, based only on a study of nine men. The conceptual categories are probably not yet saturated. And despite my careful, near obsessive attempts to ground my observations in the data, it is ultimately only *a construction*. It is *my* construction. Another researcher might well construct it differently. It represents my construction of a healthy, more ideal way of being male.

This model does *not* describe men's development per se, nor does it imply men should develop like this. It probably does not even describe the nine men's development as they would see it. How could it? They did not spend years analyzing the data and they are not me. I do not believe it is important whether it represents *the* truth. However, I *do* believe it represents *a* truth, and a compelling one at that. By this I mean that I believe it will speak to others, both men and women. This is not to say they will agree with all of it. I would be disappointed if they did. Instead, I hope and expect it will stimulate dialogue, questions, clarifications, and answers which raise more questions. I hope it will provoke - cause tension that promotes creativity. I also hope it will encourage personal and social change. Given that it underscores the value of engaging conflict, tension and ambiguity, I would be disappointed if it is merely taken at face value.

Finally, I did not fully analyse the influence of sexual orientation, culture or socioeconomic status. Instead, my reflexive analysis was rooted in what I know best - the experience of a white, heterosexual, middle-class male trained in clinical psychology. My life experiences and my professional training were such that a focused, intensive, yet ultimately narrow, Eurocentric analysis was possible. Depth of analysis is the strength of this focused work. The limited extent to which

it actually speaks to men of varied, non-white socio-cultural backgrounds may represent its greatest weakness.

Implications & Future Research

There are endless possibilities for further research in this area. Aside from this thesis and Christian's (1994) study, there are, to my knowledge, no other exploratory research studies on profeminist men's experiences. As I have already mentioned, a growing literature documents many of the problems with traditional notions and constructions of masculinity. Less effort has been devoted to generating solutions.

Perhaps the most logical next step in my own program of research would be to actively seek or stimulate dialogue on my model and to document, analyse and integrate the reactions and ideas this generates. I could do this by inviting scholars writing in the area to test or explore the relevance of the model to men they have studied. Are there components missing? Could it be reworked? Does it stimulate new ideas? Another approach might involve distilling the themes, and simplifying the model for public consumption and reaction. Would this distilled version speak to men of varying socio-cultural backgrounds, to women, to feminists?

I am also interested in focusing more specifically on men's experiences of vulnerability, of tolerating ambiguity, or of being in relationship without always *doing*. Perhaps one way to do this naturally would be to study diverse, synergistic, egalitarian communities. Again, I am interested in discovering and studying what may already be working.

Implications for Counselling & Psychotherapy. Although I realize there is no *right* way of being male or profeminist, therapists and counsellors inevitably base their practice on implicit or explicit *ideals* of human functioning. The model I developed outlines a healthier, more ideal way of being male. The profeminist ideal I propose involves the following personal and interpersonal qualities (a) active support and responsibility for equality in private and in public, (b) openness to challenges of masculine identity, (c) comfort with vulnerability and tolerance of ambiguity, (d) emotional expressiveness, (e) focus on relationships, and (f) participation in a synergistic, reciprocal, politically active, feminist community. As I see it, all of these components are vital because in combination they produce sustainable and synergistic growth. By synergy, I mean that in combination, these qualities of receptiveness, interdependence and responsible action produce a dynamic for personal and political growth that is greater than the sum of the individual components.

Based on my analysis, review of the literature and clinical experience, I recommend that therapists who work with men develop techniques and intervention styles that help men break out of the defensive cycle of exploitation which is the life blood of patriarchy. As is the case with my model, these recommendations are not based on generalizable data. They do, however, make theoretical sense. Obviously, more research is necessary to validate the therapeutic strategies and interventions outlined in the following paragraphs before they can be confidently integrated into mainstream psychology.

By definition, psychology has focused on the individual in isolation. This isolating focus has reinforced patriarchal values and institutions. Although feminist psychology emphasizes (a) the importance of contextualizing and deconstructing traditional theories of development, and (b) the centrality of both relationships and communities, these constructive criticisms are not typically translated into concrete therapeutic strategies, nor do they find their way into many treatment manuals.

In a sense, I am suggesting that therapists explore the various ways that they themselves as professionals may break out of an age-old cycle in psychology, one that reinforces traditional roles and values (e.g., autonomy and achievement). By reaching beyond the insular realm of individualism, therapists can facilitate the deconstruction of patriarchy. In the ensuing uncertain space or void, they may join

with clients to reconstruct an identity which is not so restricted, one that integrates the full range of human experience, including vulnerability, intimacy, relationships and community.

The first therapeutic task involves recognizing the cycle of exploitation and identifying how a client, and perhaps how the therapist might fit into it. What are the clients' values, what are his masculine defenses, how does he experience and practice exploitation or dominance, what institutions, structures, or dynamics reinforce this? And then, the therapist might ask, 'Where do I fit here? Is therapy an institution that reinforces or challenges this cycle, or does my style and technique reinforce it?' Assessment on this exploitation cycle (see Figure 2) will help the therapist identify the specific nature and extent of a client's contradictory experiences of power and pain, and project how this dynamic might play out in therapy. The challenge for the therapist is, as I see it, to commit oneself to a delicate process of negotiating or balancing the need to (a) challenge men's traditional roles, their power, values, defenses and practices, and (b) provide a safe holding environment for both experiencing and integrating vulnerability.

Specific Therapeutic Tasks. In the following paragraphs, I outline specific therapeutic issues and tasks which were informed by my analysis, experience and review of the literature. While many of these tasks are typical fare in brief dynamic

psychotherapy, the emphasis is stronger on several key issues, namely, joining sensitively, staying with the conflict and developing relationship skills.

Connecting, listening and being-with the client, being right where he is on his developmental journey, is essential during the early stages of therapy. This is crucial for the development of trust and to circumvent masculine defenses which typically oppose every aspect of the therapeutic endeavour. Therapists should join, initially, only on familiar turf. Specifically, they join by *doing things with* clients, as opposed to *being*. This can be accomplished using structure, task-oriented homework assignments, diagrams or lists. Essentially, the therapist meets the client on the presenting level, by providing requested symptom-based, prescriptive resources. Gradually, however, the approach is shifted away from *doing things*, from following fixed rules and procedures to a more flexible, ambiguous and open process of *being in relationship*. Such shifting can be accomplished through the gradual introduction of more progressive resources on men's development (e.g., books by Osherson, 1992, Ross, 1992).

Joining carefully is necessary because even the slightest challenges to masculinity may be threatening. To prevent defensive flight, a therapeutic relationship founded on hard-earned trust is essential. The client will lower his guard slowly, but only if challenged in a safe relationship. Developing trust,

joining and becoming vulnerable are essential for the construction of a corrective relational experience. It is important, however, to explore aspects of this presumably new, vulnerable, *here-and-now* experience, particularly given that the therapist is a person with power. Because exploring vulnerability with a powerful male therapist is likely to feel extremely threatening at first, it is important to recognize and respond to such defensiveness supportively.

It may be necessary to begin emotional experiencing work at a basic psychoeducational level. More specifically, it is worthwhile to teach some men the vocabulary and function of feelings as well as skills for recognizing them. One way I often begin this is by encouraging men to attend to, and describe their most basic physiological sensations. This is particularly helpful when I observe defensiveness. As the therapeutic alliance solidifies, more frequent and more emotionally specific inquiries of the client's experiencing are possible. When therapeutically appropriate, the therapist may choose to model this exploration process more directly by disclosing his/her observed feelings in relation to the client. For example, if the therapist genuinely feels touched by the client's disclosure of a sensitive or vulnerable moment, this could be shared. Not only does this effectively model both emotional experiencing and expression, it also models openness. Conversely, withholding expertise or other information

increases masculine defensiveness. It invokes shameful projection. As such, therapists should discuss issues raised by clients openly and genuinely. Finally, the interpersonal value of expressing vulnerability can be actively demonstrated by sincerely and self-assuredly acknowledging one's mistakes.

Despite this more open and sensitive therapeutic style - or perhaps because of it - male therapists may expect patriarchal transference from male clients. They may project onto the gentle, non-threatening male therapist the image of a rejecting, critical, impatient, shame-inducing, achievement-oriented father. If this is accepted sensitively and patiently, it would be possible to examine the origins of the transference collaboratively. For example, clients could be encouraged to explore ways they had previously experienced shame-inducing responses from males (or females). The *here-and-now* transference could be reframed as previously well-learned reactions prescribed by patriarchal expectations. Female therapists, in contrast, are likely to model strength and assertiveness. And for obvious therapeutic reasons, they will likely resist gender-stereotyped pulls to rescue or protect them from emotional pain. These professional responses may elicit sharp negative transference reactions (e.g., that of a cold, emasculating *femi-Nazi*).

For both male and female therapists, exploring transference reactions is crucial, especially when working with men whose emotional and interpersonal lives have been severely restricted or impoverished. In such cases, exploring the dynamics of the therapeutic relationship becomes central in facilitating a much needed *corrective relational experience*. Interpreting the transference also provides a valuable opportunity for exploring gender issues, the pain/power dynamic, and healthier alternatives. With this socio-cultural insight, men can be encouraged to become more involved in diverse, mixed gender relationships and communities where the focus involves balance in doing and being with each other.

In summary, depending on the initial exploitation-cycle assessment, therapy for men focuses on deconstructing masculine identity, providing a corrective-vulnerable-relational-experience, and promoting a diverse, healthy community of relationships. These foci reflect the core constructs in my analysis of nine men's experiences with gender issues. Specifically, by simply attending to the power-pain exploitation dynamic, therapists begin the process of gently challenging men. And by joining respectfully with male clients (i.e., without directly challenging their defenses), the therapist encourages, perhaps even models the process of embracing conflict, uncertainty and vulnerability in relationship. Finally, by focussing on relationships and promoting participation in diverse communities, the therapist is

encouraging anti-sexist community development, or the construction of non-patriarchal communities.

Closing Comments

This project has in many ways been my life over the past five years. I have struggled personally and politically with many of the issues discussed and explored here in at length. Given the fact that I have been consumed with full-time clinical practice in addition to this research, perhaps it is not surprising that I find myself still stuck in the middle - feeling incongruent, feeling like I am still partially in the exploitation cycle hiding my pain and holding onto power. In addition to this professional work, I have committed myself to sharing (as much as possible) both domestic and parenting responsibilities. These professional and family commitments, along with frequent, long-distance relocations, have left me with few opportunities for nurturing or developing in myself that which I so often preach to others. Specifically, I have had neither the time, nor energy to invest in relationships, including my own marriage. Perhaps more pointedly, I have been so busy *doing* and *achieving* that I have left little room for *being-vulnerable-in-relationship*.

The bottom-line is, however, that I *chose* to do these things. In re-locating, I *chose* to be out-of community. In taking a full-time job prior to

completing my dissertation, I *chose* work over relationships. This takes me back to Bristow's (1992) remarks. *Just change, don't confess*, he seems to be saying. *Right*, I respond. *But please be patient and more importantly, help me out*, I add. After all, the answer lies neither *in feminism*, nor *between men and feminism*. It lies with feminism, with men, with others. It lies *with*.

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Appendix A - Nomination Letter

April 23, 1993

Dear [Nominator]:

I am writing to follow-up on our recent telephone conversation. A few weeks ago, I spoke with you about my doctoral thesis. Specifically, I asked if you would be willing to assist me in identifying and/or recruiting men, who in your opinion, are engaged in a positive struggle with gender issues (e.g., adapting to changing roles, supporting women's rights, etc.). For your consideration, I have enclosed an outline of the proposed study which has been approved by my dissertation committee and the university research ethics committee.

I am particularly interested in interviewing men of various backgrounds who *you* would describe as especially understanding, sensitive, supportive of others, and seriously committed to gender equality and/or women's issues. Because I value diversity, I would like to get in touch with men of varying ages, classes, ethnic/minority backgrounds, and sexual orientations. So, if possible, I would like you to nominate a few men with backgrounds that diverge in some way from the typically white, middle-class, professional, profeminist male. Of course, this is not to say I am completely uninterested in white, middle class professionals. I *do* plan to include a few of these men along with others from a variety of backgrounds.

I would like you to either send their names, addresses and/or phone numbers, or ask them to contact me at 665-0512 (anytime - there is an answering machine) or 966-6698 (during the day off and on). Feel free to forward a copy of this letter (and the enclosure) to potential nominees.

Thanks for your help. I will be in touch with you in several weeks. If you have any questions or comments I would be glad to discuss them with you. I value your input on this project and the topic in general.

Sincerely,

Peter Cornish, M.A.

Appendix B - Demographic Screening Survey

Background Information

For each of the following questions, please fill the blanks, or circle the letter beside the response that most closely describes your situation:

1. **Name:** _____
2. **Address:** _____

3. **Phone:** _____ (day) _____ (evenings)
4. **My age falls in the category of...**
 - a) 18-25 years
 - b) 26-35 years
 - c) 36-45 years
 - d) 46-60 years
 - e) 60 years or more
5. **What is your occupation? (What was it if retired?; What could it be if unemployed?; Are you a full-time care-giver, home manager, house-husband?)...**

6. My family income falls in the category of...

- a) \$10,000 or less
- b) between \$10,000 and \$20,000
- c) between \$20,000 and \$40,000
- d) between \$40,000 and \$60,000
- e) between \$60,000 and \$80,000
- f) over \$80,000

7. The highest level of education that I have completed is...

- a) Elementary/Junior High School
- b) High School
- c) Technical/Vocational/Trade School
- d) University
- e) Post Graduate University

8. I was born in...

- a) Canada
- b) Other (Please Name) _____

9. I lived in my birth country...

- a) 5 years or less
- b) 6 - 10 years

- c) 11 - 20 years
- d) more than 20 years, but not all my life
- e) all my life

10. I have lived in Canada...

- a) since birth
- b) 5 years or less
- c) 6 - 10 years
- d) 11-20 years
- e) more than 20 years

11. My first language spoken was...

12. Do you consider yourself to be a person of colour and/or part of a minority group?

- a) Yes (specify which racial group you identify with):

- b) No

13. I consider myself to be...

- a) bisexual
- b) heterosexual
- c) homosexual

14. My marital/relationship status is...

- a) married
- b) separated
- c) divorced
- d) single
- e) living with someone
- f) otherwise coupled

15. How often have you been married or seriously committed to a long-term relationship?

- a) never
- b) once
- c) twice
- d) more than twice

16. If currently involved in a relationship, how would you describe the relationship with your partner or spouse?

- a) satisfying and positive
- b) more satisfying and positive than negative and struggling
- c) more negative and struggling than satisfying and positive
- d) negative and struggling
- e) not in a relationship at this time

17. Do you have children?

a) yes (specify how many) _____

b) no

18. My status about being a parent is...

a) I am a parent who is significantly involved in my children's lives.

b) I am a parent who wants more involvement with my children, but I am unable at this time because of certain circumstances.

c) I am a parent who has chosen little or no involvement with my children.

d) I am not a parent.

e) I do not wish to be a parent.

f) I hope to/expect that I could be a parent at some point in my life.

Appendix C - Code Definitions

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments¹⁸.

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Abnur (14)	Absence of nurturance in family-of-origin or current relationships.	"I pick people that are unable to listen to me or care about me" (George)
Ab Scor (13)	Absolute correctness (opposite of post-modernism); assertion that there is a single truth, a right & a wrong	<i>According to Jean, the answer to political correctness lies in empiricism or science: "The question being raised is to what extent we should be politically correct versus 'correct-correct'"</i>
Abuprv (13)	Abuse prevention; prevents or suggests ways to prevent abuse of women	"Yeah I can bath you, but your masculine organs, you wash" (Jose)
Abuse (43)	Interviewee experiences or witnesses exploitation, cruelty,	<i>Frank's father said, "You're no good, you never have been, you</i>

¹⁸ *Supercodes are printed in uppercase and microcodes in lowercase characters.*

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	abuse, torture, infringement of basic human rights.	never will be"
Acctfm (8)	Being accountable to women, & possibly serving female community	"I had feminist researchers, rape crisis workers, [etc] as my consultive committee" (Owen)
Achvmt (28)	Achievement value or orientation	"Most of my friends are still heavily into making money, career-oriented" (George)
Actout (6)	Acting out	"That's when I started acting out... doing drugs at a really young age" (Ian)
Afrmac (12)	Affirmative action	"There shouldn't be jobs [exclusively] for women or jobs [exclusively] for men" (Jose)
Agviol (26)	Aggression and violence	"When I saw her, I smiled because I

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	ranging on a continuum	felt like I'm getting you back you fucking twit" (Vinnie)
Alien (33)	Feeling threatened or alienated by women or feminism	"She had points of view that were almost entirely alien to me" (Frank)
Anger (27)	Anger (varying references to exploitive, aggressive, distancing anger)	<i>Learned to express rage like father & wife</i> "would accommodate me because she didn't want to upset me" (Frank)
Anxiet (22)	Anxiety	"For the type of man I am, it means expressing feelings tentatively, almost nervously" (Allan)
Artexp (25)	Reference to artistic activity or expression relevant to gender role change / healing	"They're not artists, but they say we have to paint together. We paint quite often" (Jose)
Assert (57)	Assertiveness (i.e., respectful	<i>Charlie learned to be assertive from</i>

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	assertion of needs, limits, boundaries)	<i>his sister & through union workshops</i>
Bcklsh (17)	Dualistic, simplistic, angry, knee-jerk, anti-feminist reaction. It involves a battle between extreme single issue ideologies.	"When I saw her, I smiled because I felt like I'm getting you back you fucking twit" (Vinnie)
Bckslp (26)	Backslapping, tough-love, male bonding or communication (literally, men can only greet each other with powerful, playful or slaps on the back).	"The sort of mild aggression, or teasing that implies suppressed aggression among men - I don't like it personally, and also politically" (Allan)
Being (37)	Taoist, intuitive, go-with-the-flow, intuitive, forgiving,	"You don't need to do anything to get in touch with your feelings - just

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	self-accepting attitude	stop doing stuff, just stop distracting and your feelings are right there" (George)
Betray (15)	Feeling betrayed or betraying others (an in-vivo category)	"The affair with the married man was clearly, you know, a betrayal of me anyway, but it was also her pattern repeating itself" (George)
Bridge (6)	Performing a "bridging" function between men and women	"Two-spirited people were seen as possessing both a male and female spirit... this is someone who has the capacity because of their life experience to move through both female and male groups [as]... a carrier of information" (Ian)
Charis (17)	Participant (or significant	"I excelled at being cool... I was

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	other who has served as an influential role model) is likable / lovable, caring, sensitive, compassionate	friends with the tough kids, I was friends with the athletes and I was friends with the nerds and sort of moved amongst those groups, although my primary involvement was with the cool, tough kids" (Ian)
Chldcr (23)	Enjoying, learning and growing from sharing the responsibility for childrearing	"But suddenly to become a single parent, I had to take care of a child. It's like holy shit!" (George)
Chgbk (15)	Personal and/or socio-political change blocked when communication poor	"All the people that should have known the situation were never talking and they just weren't talking" (Charlie)
Chloth (40)	Challenging other men requires critical, yet creative,	"I believe that working suddenly, doesn't work. [I prefer] more the

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	open-minded & compassionate approach which neither condones, remains silent to, nor participates in sexism or patriarchy	back door [approach] because I think people are more receptive when they aren't getting bombarded from the outside" (Charlie)
Chores (21)	Committed to an equitable division of domestic labour	"I suddenly realized that there's dishes to wash, there's clothes to wash, there's food to buy, and you gotta think about a meal ahead of time" (George)
Class (14)	Socio-economic class	"I was just this straight young working class guy who couldn't communicate about my feelings. So it was difficult" (Owen)
Clsexp (19)	Working class communication	<i>George, Charlie & Owen (the only</i>

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	style could be mistaken for political incorrectness	<i>men from a working class background) all expressed strong more aggressive language (i.e., cursing, swearing)</i>
CNFLCT (43)	Psychological conflict, stress or frustration	"We were just constantly fighting, doing a lot of damage to each other any time, over any little issue" (Frank)
COMDVL (25)	Community Development: Actively seeking, or striving to build a profeminist community	<i>Our group at the art gallery, "we try to help in the community, we work a lot with women's shelter, we do things for the food bank"</i> (Jose)
Compel (16)	Powerful and compelling experience or discourse	"She was tortured previously - the & what they did to her was put a tube into her vagina and throw a

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		solution of ground glass. They tortured me too. I was in lots of pain all the time" (Jose)
Complm (41)	Complementary personality traits in relationships (e.g., dominant male, accommodating partner)	"I always would make the request of my wife not to accommodate me because I realize I was being relatively pushy" (Frank)
Complex (44)	Participant acknowledges intricacy and complexity of gender issues and men's role in feminism.	"I moved amongst [various] groups... I was kind a peacemaker in some ways. I saw this in my father who in some ways fit the stereotype of masculinity, but he was also gentle & had a real sense of justice - he was a complex person" (Ian)
Compsn (20)	Compassion / humanism:	"[The solution lies] partly around

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	Genuine understanding, acceptance, & forgiveness of others, yet not tolerating abusive behaviour	having an environment which is non-judgemental, which is open and allows for mistakes" (Ian)
Comptn (10)	Competitiveness is a barrier to profeminist change	"I think it's liberating to be relieved of that obligation to compete" (Allan)
Confus (42)	Confusion or tangents experienced within the session or referred to in prior experiences	"I'm trying to be a polite guy and these women aren't willing to accept that & in fact, they're criticizing me, & talking about patriarchy and feminism. What the hell is going on?" (Owen)
Congru (40)	Profeminist beliefs and activities are politically/	"We try to help in the community, we work a lot with the women's

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	personally or privately/publicly congruent; profeminist integrity	shelter... We try to practice a little bit of what we say" (Jose)
Consrv (22)	Personally or politically conservative	"I was brought up in a very conventional, conservative medical school in London" (Jean)
Contrl (27)	Psychologically controlling	"I was telling her what to be not explicitly, but implicitly & I didn't see other sides of her" (Frank)
Cptlsm (20)	Profeminism is at odds with capitalism, class organization, materialism, work ethic, achievement-orientation	"The way the patriarchy's struc- tured, it says pull up your boot- straps & you can do it, anybody can become president" (George)
Crctem (8)	Corrective emotional experience, without	"If you stop distracting - put somebody in those black box

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	relationship growth	tanks - their feelings will be right there" (George)
Crctrl (33)	Corrective relational experience - pivotal or significant relationship episode encouraging embrace of healthier interactions with others	"The pivotal point is when I had an argument with my lover & it was so strikingly familiar to the kind of arguments that I had with my wife. I began to realize I was [responsible]" (Frank)
Crthnk (28)	Critical thinking - A non-judgmental, compassionate self-critique, and critique of profeminism are crucial to openness, flexibility, insight into the complexity of gender solutions	"I felt a certain solidarity with women who were fighting for some kind of place in the university where gender relations would be critically looked at and studied as a factor in social and cultural... our social and cultural existence" (Allan)

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Cultre (37)	Diverse ethnicity, sexual orientation, or shared community differences	<i>All participants, except Frank & Vinnie, had cross-cultural or gender-role-bridging experiences</i>
Defens (38)	Masculine defensiveness	<i>"You have to be on your guard" for accusations of political correctness" (Jean)</i>
Denvul (38)	Originally simply "denial"; later "denial-of-vulnerability" (from Krugman, 1995 in Levant & Pollack (1995) "A New Psychology of Men)	<i>"I was unwilling to admit, because it was a weakness, that I love my wife very much, that she was incredibly important to me. That struck at my independence" (Frank)</i>
Deprsn (9)	Depression or despair	<i>"I would cry every day. I'd go out in the street & run into friends and they'd go, 'So, how are you doing?' And I go, 'Oh terrible.' And</i>

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Dfautn (11)	Originally simply “independence”; later, “defensive autonomy” (from Levant, 1995 in Levant & Pollack's "A New Psychology of Men)	I'd start crying” (Owen) “I was asserting my independence, taking off, doing my own thing, the hell with you, I can do without you if I have to [despite] obviously loving this woman very much” (Frank)
Dialog (30)	Dialogue - open, honest, constructive communication with significant others	“It's taken a big load off myself, once I learned to say what I'm feeling, to communicate my feelings” (Jose)
Displc (9)	Displacement defense mechanism	“I take out my anger on objects or kicking things. Of course, if people see that, they'll think that you're at a risk of being violent against

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		women" (Vinnie)
Dissoc (9)	Masculine dissociation involves "going on autopilot" (e.g., going into uncontrolled fit of rage, or on a senseless drinking binge), impulsively "doing" without awareness, being numb	"When you're in the situation, you can't even begin to form the questions in your mind. The compulsion not to think is there. And it's like the question won't even arise" (George)
Dntget (36)	Some men simply "don't get it", don't understand or appreciate the social or historical context underlying the necessity of feminism	<i>Mostly assigned to passages in Vinnie's transcript which implied little appreciating of power imbalance;</i> Frank: "I always idealized myself as being somewhat sympathetic to the women's movement, but I didn't know what I

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		was talking about"
Dstrac (45)	Distraction or disruption: Men defend themselves from emotional vulnerability or intimacy by distracting themselves with activities (by "doing things") rather than simply "being with" others	"All I can say is that when I stop distracting, my feelings are all right there" (George)
Dualsm (21)	Dualistic, categorical, black and white reasoning	"If it's [the relationship] not going to be right, then I'm gonna get the hell out of here" (Frank)
Ed/wis (41)	Profeminist knowledge involves formal education, relationships, common sense, folk-wisdom	"I started reading books on feminism and feminist theory & all of a sudden, I became dead serious about finding out everything I possibly

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Egocen (30)	Vanity, egocentrism, narcissism, entitlement, self-pre-occupation	<p>could about relationships" (Owen)</p> <p><i>Two separate quotes from George:</i></p> <p>(a) "I've been living on crumbs. I deserve the whole God damned cake!" (b) "I look at my friendships like a solar system - there's people who are on the moon - they're close, in the same orbit, & there's people that go up farther and farther out"</p>
Elitsm (2)	Elitist patriarchal institutions, atmosphere or attitudes	<p>"The expectation was that one would go on to Cambridge or Oxford. They weren't really interested in any university other than Cambridge or Oxford" (Allan)</p>
Emcorr (13)	Emotional correctness -	"It's manipulative how some people

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	artificial or superficial emotional experiences	use movement and sound to get emotions going that people aren't connected to, like [at fundamen- talist] churches... it's very manip- ulative" (George)
EMHLTH (27)	Healthy, appropriate emotional processing and expression	"I'm not afraid to talk about feelings. I tell my friends or anybody. If I'm down, I'm down. If I'm depressed, I'm depressed. If I'm sad, I'm sad" (Jose)
Emneed (40)	Emotional, intimate, and/or interpersonal needs unsatisfied or undeveloped	"Now I realize how much I starved for positive strokes, but I found that whenever I asked her directly for what I needed, she always would say no" (George)

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Empowr (24)	Empowerment involves power-with others, interpersonal, interdependent, relationship-focused resourcefulness	<i>Charlie empowered community to support an abused women by making his "connections" available to the traditional social support network (i.e., women, his mother)</i>
Eqmyth (34)	Superficial vs genuine perspective on equality & gender issues	"With gender issues, I don't think there is a problem because girls do much better than boys in most colleges. So, to me, there's no problem with gender" (Jean)
Extrnl (6)	Externalizing defense	"Up to this point I remember thinking my wife is the one who's the problem - it's not me" (Frank)
FAMILY (57)	Healthy, non-traditional family-of-origin (+) is a	"We have a huge, very close family. Most people have great respect for

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	profeminist resource vs traditional family is liability (-)	my mother - they admire her. They realized, the effort that she made. She would pretend like [all our cousins] were her own children" (Jose)
Father (26)	References to traditional (-) vs non-traditional (+) father figure	"My father, he's a very interesting man too because even he looked to the other people to be very strong, [but] he's very soft" (Jose)
Fear (32)	Fear of being abused in patriarchy, accused of sexism, or engulfed in relationships	[The problem stemmed from] "my need to feel free & to feel independent & my fear of being committed to her & getting too close to her" (Owen)
FMCMTY	Being involved with, or	"A lot of the credit would go to

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
(51)	immersed in, a female community or having access to feminist resources.	women I have known who I suppose educated me, such as my sister, the woman I had a close relationship at university, and my wife" (Allan)
Fmidnt (44)	Profeminist identity	"I felt a certain solidarity with women" (Allan)
Fmmntr (13)	Feminist mentoring; humble appreciation, respect and/or fascination with and commitment to learning from a particular woman, group of women in general	"I was always slightly in awe of my sister" (Allan)
Frstrn (15)	Frustration or disillusionment with inadequate resources or both one's personal and	"I was really fed up with the fact that I was in two men's groups over a period of six years & I wasn't able

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	political change efforts	to change the things inside me that interfere in my relationship with the woman I love" (Owen)
Gdrcul (40)	Gender is in some ways a cultural variable [in-vivo]; in addition to the etic/emic limitations, men's understanding of feminism is limited by a power-differential barrier (oppression)	"[As a woman,] she grew up in a substantially different culture which was hidden from me, [given] that my predominant culture was [that of] a white, middle class male" (Frank)
Homoph (17)	Homophobia defined broadly, including heterosexism expressed &/or experienced	"I have to admit that I'm not fully at ease yet with close relationships with either gay men or gay women" (Allan)
Hrddrv (24)	Aspects of masculinity hard-	"[Abusive] parents were just repeat-

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	wired early in life and as such, change takes hard work, time, energy and may be minimal in the end	ing exactly what was done to them. Like, I've repeated abuse on my son in the same way. I frequently use the idea of a computer hard drive - when you're born that hard drive is stamped in the first two years. I /don't care what you do, you'll get back into that program & repeat it" (George)
Humble (19)	Profeminism, reconstructing masculinity in an honest, genuine and congruent way requires humility	"I'm only right now scratching the surface" (Frank)
Humour (27)	Humour was used in 3 ways: (a) as a means of coping with,	"[Humour] was the key to the whole thing. I wanted to make it humour-

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	or accepting complexity and ambiguity (b) as a disarming tool for cutting through defensiveness (c) as a way of distancing from and laughing at others.	ous because I knew that's how I would open people up. I would open them up and hit them with the heavy stuff and then throw in some more laughs so they wouldn't feel too bad about themselves" (Owen)
Hypsen (18)	Hypersensitivity to challenges & /or to cues regarding one's safety in defying patriarchy and pressures to be masculine	<i>Vinnie asked me defensively, "Why did you roll your eyes?" while I was looking up as I considered his complex discourse</i>
Inscty (42)	Insecurity, low self-esteem	"I was desperate, I had severe problems with self-esteem and I just wanted to grab the first woman who seemed interested in me" (Vinnie)
Insens (13)	Insensitivity, cruelty, lack of	"I wrote a public apology, but the

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	empathy or compassion for others (opposite of compassion)	whole article was still about men's issues. That went nowhere with her because she just viewed it as going public again, as though I was throwing salt in the wounds" (Vinnie)
Instrm (26)	Pragmatic, instrumental values	"When I first met her, it was fair to characterize me as reasonably, well very domineering, very forceful, very tasked orientated" (Frank)
Intell (33)	Intellectualizing defense	"People tell me I'm very articulate & very clear and I will use that against her - jump right in [during an argument], won't even let her finish [what she is saying]" (Frank)
Itpchg (14)	Interpersonal change or	"My relationship with my wife has

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Itvtrup (9)	growth	<p>changed dramatically since I met her... I became more and more open to being challenged... I'm learning right now to sit and listen a lot to her" (Frank)</p>
Itvtrup (9)	Rupture of interview process	<p><i>Vinnie was easily distracted, was self-conscious about this, even asked for the machine to be switched off for 10 minutes so that he could collect his thoughts</i></p>
Jealsy (9)	Jealousy	<p>"I felt that some men have this inherent magical power to melt woman in their hands - probably something which really deeply made me afraid, because I said 'Why the</p>

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Loss (10)	Grief or loss of person or relationship	hell don't I have it?!'" (Vinnie) "It's was just like losing a loved-one, but if this is the best the world can do to hurt me, hey I'm surviving. Like I still got the farm, what the heck, away you go" (Charlie)
MlcmtY (63)	Traditional male communities (even modern men's groups) are typically relationship-deficient by virtue of emphasis on simply "doing" things together as opposed to being-with	"In the men's groups we didn't have the skills, the resources among ourselves to be able to go as far as we needed to go to do the personal work" (Owen)
Mlefem (56)	Men cannot be feminists in the same way that women can.	"There was an article which said, 'Well you know, you can't trust

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	However, under the right conditions (current environment/community context, early socialization experiences, personality style), men can support it	heterosexual men yet, even those who purport to be feminist.' And you know they're right. We can't just shrug off decades of social-ization" (Allan)
Mother (22)	References to traditional (-) versus non-traditional (+) mother	"So, [as a 14 year old mother] she was like another child playing with us on the floor. So she grew up [alongside] us & learned to believe in herself & to accept our love because she never had somebody love her the way we did" (Jose)
Motivn (25)	Key, typically relationship-focused motivational force	"The first stream of motivation came in marital therapy & the second

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	underlies profeminist change	came from my work situation where I was basically working amongst only women" (Frank)
Mtrlsm (5)	Materialism, consumerism, wealth	"Most of [my friends] are still pretty heavily into the system, in terms of making money" (George)
Narrow (10)	Closed mindedness, restricted, unfairly biased or rigid perspective	I think [that the Women's Centre female-only membership] is sexist & I think it is motivated by a fear of men" (Vinnie)
Nerd (15)	Identifying oneself as socially-awkward, non-masculine, or in some way on the periphery of masculine stereotype as a child	"I must have seemed to her a total clutz a sort of withdrawn intellectual, a sort of nerd" (Allan)
NORSRC	No resources super-code	<i>A code family label - no</i>

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		<i>independent quotations</i>
Numb (10)	Numbness: the emotional consequence of masculine defensiveness	“People talk about not having their feelings, I know men that are really numb & I've been really numb” (George)
Opness (50)	Flexibility, perspective (including historical), openness to experience & vulnerability, trust, go with the flow attitude, tolerance of ambiguity, virtue/naivete	“I was becoming more and more open to being challenged” (Frank)
Optfac (46)	Hope, optimism, vision, fascination enthusiasm, motivation, excitement associated with feminism.	“And then it moved into what I find to be a fascinating stage where I began to realize that there were things that she valued, world views

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		that were equally valid & almost entirely alien to me" (Frank)
Passiv (14)	Passivity	"I didn't protest anything, I didn't say anything. I mean I was thinking 'Thanks a lot, thanks a bloody lot, thanks for nothing.' I was just thinking this, managing to keep a straight face" (Vinnie)
Person (15)	Personality - Gender attitudes are a function of personality characteristics shaped within (-) or outside (+) of patriarchy	<i>Jean's dominant personality:</i> "I can think of three broad areas I'd be approaching, and maybe you can write them down so that you can remind me later to come back to them?
PIVOT (43)	Crisis or jolting key event or	"The pivotal point is when, in my

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	new experience (dramatically at variance with previous experiences) promotes opportunity for insight, realization of priorities (vs dstrac), synergy, & commitment to profeminist gender growth	mind, I had an argument with my lover and it was a very heated argument, so strikingly familiar to the kind of arguments that I had with my wife" (Frank)
Polcor (57)	Political Correctness - confusing, or simplistic, superficial feminist rhetoric without substance or integrity	"In one meeting, we all have to be politically correct all the time and not to offend anyone; whereas on the other meeting, we like to offend each other. We want to tell the truth, not be restrictive in any way because we want to make sure that what comes of the meeting is

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Policy (25)	Advocating profeminist policy change	<p>scientifically sound. We couldn't care less about anything else" (Jean)</p> <p>"[It seemed like] nothing was implemented here in Canada. It was all policy. There's such good publicity that people overseas believe that it is happening here. And to me that was a big disappointment" (Jean)</p>
Politl (66)	Political activity/activism - typically relationship- or community-based	<p>"Everybody shouted we have to change ourselves, the family, relationships with women. In Chili, in the 1960s, it was the big talk. We were discussing it. And in the 70s, we put it into practice. And once you had that experience, they could</p>

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		kill all the people that they killed, but you couldn't go back. It's ingrained into the people" (Jose)
Posarm (8)	Positive armour (a healthy defense): a certain degree of toughness or armour is necessary for protection from patriarchy, especially for gay men	"I was having feelings towards other boys. It didn't take very much to know that that was not something one could talk about" (Ian)
Prjctn (16)	Projection defense mechanism	"I think [female only collectives] are sexist and this is motivated from a fear of men" (Vinnie)
Prnoid (17)	Paranoia, or fear of being accused, without foundation, by feminists of being sexist	"You need eye-contact in teaching, but would you do it in the class to the girls, especially in the summer,

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		<p>they might be scantily clad. I treat everyone the same. I might look at you like that, but in a classroom situation, I don't know what it would be perceived as. I'm not trying to be paranoid. I've not done the wrong thing as yet. But you never know what impression they might get" (Jean)</p>
Procss (13)	Shift in, or comment on, the interview/analytic process	<i>Especially obvious in Jean's & Vinnie's transcripts</i>
Provke (3)	Challenging others (feminists or non-feminists) in a provocative, adversarial manner, often leading to	<i>In reference to Fran's decision to have an abortion, Vinnie said, "I went public, I said 'Couldn't she have fought, couldn't a measly nine,</i>

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	conflict and division as opposed to resolution	was a mesley nine months too much?'"
Psycrs (31)	Psychological distress, self- doubt, confusion or crisis or conflict - possibly to the point of emotional breakdown	"I got to the point where every single day I was being consumed by the feelings, by the confusion of & thoughts around what had happened to me, what I had done to myself or what she'd done to me. And I was looking for ways out. So, alcohol was one way to numb the pain" (Owen)
PSYRSR	Healthy psychological re- sources supporting profeminist change	<i>A code family label - no independent quotations</i>
Ptrarc (40)	Patriarchy	"At a very core level, things that go

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		wrong are my fault and this society, the way patriarchy's structured, it says, I mean, pull up your bootstraps" (George)
Ptnlm (16)	Paternalism or condescension	"One of them said to me, 'You're the man in this crew - you're supposed to decide.' I suddenly realized I don't want to do this. I said 'I'm not the leader'" (Allan)
Pwrovr (33)	Power-over: Dominant zero-sum relationships	<i>Ian explained his "disillusionment with feminist men's group:</i> "I watched some real power moves happen within the circle that I was involved with. I saw men humiliate each other or bad mouth each other

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		behind their backs”
Recept (46)	Receptiveness to input from others and willingness to learn from one’s own experiences	“I interviewed friends, ‘So, how come you got such a great relationship, eh?’ I would write these things down what makes for great relationships” (Owen)
Reldef (34)	Relationships identified as important, yet deficient there is a hunger for relationship, but existing quality & depth is inadequate	“I pick people that, for reasons of their own history, are unable to listen to me, and care about me” (George - reldef & reldyn)
Reldyn (41)	Relationship pattern or dynamic recognized	“And in a year & a half, all the pain in my childhood was clear & was manifesting itself in my relationship with her” (George - reldyn & reldef)

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
RELFOC (79)	Relationship-focused, strong value of, and commitment to deep friendships	"All of a sudden, I was like dead serious about finding out everything I possibly could about relationships" (Owen)
Respect (29)	Deep respect for others, especially women.	"Most people they have great respect for my mother today. They admire her. They realize, the effort that she made" (Jose)
Resps (40)	Holding oneself personally and socially responsible and accountable for role in patriarchy and in feminism	"All the relationships I had up to that point were second to the political work that I was doing, but [that changed with] the woman I [fell] deeply in love with. [This marked] the first time that I tried to make an effort to balance a personal relation-

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Rlcode (46)	Patriarchal, chivalrous, or traditionally-masculine relationship code	<p>ship with my politics" (Owen)</p> <p>"There was a code, which I somehow knew very indistinctly [concerning] the traditional kind of chivalric way of going about dating. It was a code, but not one I was familiar with. Also, it was a code that was coming under attack" (Allan)</p>
Rtlztn (9)	Rationalization defense	<p>"I talked about the 'girls' I worked with & she lambasted me in the middle of that lunch & I defended myself by saying, 'Oh well, you're just like a bureaucrat, you're dealing more with words than substance'" (Frank)</p>

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
Rvrdis (7)	Accusation of reverse discrimination	“They don't like to be called girls, but a lot of them - “Oh come on, here boys!”” (Vinnie)
Safe (14)	Interpersonal context, dynamics, environment safe for being vulnerable, challenged, or for challenging others	“I realized that I could not stand up on a stage and say, ‘Well, I want to talk to you now about date rape. Listen.’ Nobody would listen. But humour is a disarming weapon” (Owen)
Sc-ecn (13)	Socio-economic forces underlying men's participation in feminism	<i>Jean assumed much domestic responsibility when he was a freelancer & wife worked at office; George became feminist after assuming custody of son</i>
Scrcty (10)	Pre/Anti feminist relationships	“[Others had] this inherent magical

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	are based on a scarcity model of relationships (i.e., there is a limited amount of love and caring to give, and amount is distributed according to merit/accomplishments and arbitrarily determined value)	power to melt women in their hands... Probably something, which really deeply made me afraid, because I said 'Why the hell don't I have it?! I mean what's wrong with me that I don't have it?'" (Vinnie)
Sftmle (32)	Soft Males, life-long profeminists are gentle, non-aggressive, sensitive, relationship-focused, tolerant of conflict/ambiguity, and assume role of peacemakers or caregivers	"I must have seemed to her a total clutz and, you know, sort of withdrawn intellectual, a sort of nerd" (Allan)
Shame (43)	Shame	"I was aware of my homosexuality

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
		at a very young age and when a kid, I think, carries a secret and a fear and a shame" (Ian)
Sifdst (13)	Self-destruction [in-vivo] or suicide [in-vivo]	"And then I realized that I was on a self destruct course and I had to stop and so, I started reading feminist literature" (Owen)
Slfhlp (23)	Self-help or self-help literature	"I went to my first group meeting & it was very strange & I was really shy, awkward, & I cried a lot & the guys were really supportive & afterwards I thought, 'Wow, this feels great'" (Owen)
Smpjdg (16)	Overly simplistic, conserv- ative, dismissive rule-based,	"It's funny because she said that she wouldn't care about any child she

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	cookbook judgemental reasoning and/or justice that is non-contextualized	had & she didn't want to bear the child, but then suddenly she said, 'There's going to be a child who's mine and the child is going to be asking about her mommy.' I was starting to get angry because I saw her as being hypocritical" (Vinnie)
Soclsn (16)	Reference to socialism or radical, left-leaning social activism	"In Chile, we had the power to pass that legislation. If you had more then, let's say 20 workers, you had to provide space for a daycare" (Jose)
Socsup (35)	Social support; men need a supportive community for successful and congruent	"And because in the relationship I have with them, if they need me I will be there because when I need

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	profeminist change	them they will be here" (Jose)
Sports (10)	Reference to athletics, participation, disinterest, or alienation from sports.	"I was a pathetic athlete and a total embarrassment to my father" (Ian)
Sublim (9)	Sublimation - a healthy/mature defense	"Some [people who are abused] grow up to repeat it. Some grow up to be protectors and people who react against it. I think that on a sub-conscious level I came to a place where I had to react against" <i>through social activism & professional activities</i> (Ian)
Suprsn (19)	Suppression defense	"It was extremely inhibited, certainly by Canadian standards, it was an inhibited relationship" (Allan)

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
SYNRGY (43)	Community synergy helps ensure integrity, balanced and congruent profeminism because it involves an interactive, cooperative, intimate process amongst diverse people who, together, produce something that is greater than the sum of individual contributions	“Here, it's quite common that men [cannot have platonic friendships with women] because the society will fear that. You are missing half of the opportunity to have wonderful friends. I can double the amount of people I am close to” (Jose)
T-ROLE	Traditional male sex-role characteristics, including values, defenses, experiences/practices	<i>A code family label - no independent quotations</i>
Thrapy (31)	Interviewees refer to their participation in psychotherapy	“One stream of motivation [for profeminist change] came from

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	or counselling.	therapy" (Frank)
Tmawk (20)	Transitional, pre-feminist awkwardness, ambivalence, or vague sense of something wrong	"It was sort of a very transitional period in which I began to realize things I've already talked about - the importance of my wife and things like that" (Frank)
Tstify (15)	Testifying emotionally and dramatically (e.g., on Oprah) supports the illusion of an easy path to purification	"I actually raised that recently on the Shirley show on political correctness" (Vinnie)
Usthem (17)	A seige mentality between men and women (particularly involving men's rights vs feminist groups)	"I asked are you spending \$2500 on a similar course for men & their response was laughter. And that started making me angry" (Vinnie)
Values	References to value system	<i>A code family label - no</i>

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	and/or changing values	<i>independent quotations</i>
Victhd (16)	Anti-feminist activity is justified by identifying with victimhood status	"My feeling is that people who are white, Caucasian, and male are being punished in a sense for the sexism and racism of people in the past who excluded women and minorities" (Vinnie)
Vulner (69)	Becoming vulnerable, taking emotional risks is necessary for progressive reconstruction of masculinity	"There's a little bit of discomfort talking about this affair I had... It's something that I've never admitted to my wife and I'm feeling very uncomfortable even saying that right now" (Frank)
Work (18)	Career development and/or employment setting's relation	"I was brought up in a very conventional, conservative medical school"

Table C1

Code Definitions, Sample Quotations and Comments (continued).

Codes	Definitions	Quotations & Comments
	to patriarchy and the reconstruction of masculinity	(Jean)
XPLOIT (19)	Exploitation or dominance of others	“It was fair to characterize me as reasonably, well very domineering, very forceful, very task-orientated” (Frank)
XTRCHL (37)	External challenge to men's gender role and masculinity (e.g., from women, boy friend, partner, workplace, friends, university, childcare, etc.)	“My attitude was basically I'm trying to be a polite guy & these women aren't willing to accept that & in fact, they're criticizing me, & they're talking about patriarchy & feminism” (Owen)