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CLASSICS IN MALE STUDIES

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REVIEW ARTICLE

"THE GUILTY SEX" REVISITED

Or

THE SILENCE OF THE WHAMS

Stephen Koch

The antique essay reprinted here appeared first as the lead article in the July 1975 issue of *Esquire*. It was written when I was thirty-three years old, and until recently, I had not even once re-read it since the distant summer day when it was published. But recently, while moving a mildewed banker's box from one pile to another, I happened to spot "The Guilty Sex" wedged in its papery grave. I pulled out the brittle curling Xerox, slipped off the rusted paper clip, and dared myself to re-read it.

I braced myself.

Though some of the prose made me wince, I was pleasantly surprised—pleasantly as-tounded—to discover that the coherence of "The Guilty Sex" has somehow survived the decades. I don't renounce or regret a single word, and I find I am proud of the very young man who worked on it so hard.

To attribute this tenuous survival to the genius of prophecy would be preposterous. In fact, "The Guilty Sex" is not even particularly original. Yet it was very hard to write. The opinions it con-fronted were powerful, unforgiving and everywhere in the air. I was grappling with very powerful ideas; I knew that if I challenged them, I could not permit myself even one loose move. I had to wrestle the bruisers to the mat without one lapse of logic or intellectual integrity. It was a difficult fight, and a personal one. Though I believed my thoughts were based in objective truth, I knew ob-jective truth would not be enough. It would be so much clattering noise unless it was rooted in my own real life as a man. The political was indeed personal. Authenticity must speak from experience.

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 Forty years later, the guilty sex is seen as guiltier than ever, and men and women are rarely perceived as ethical equals. Whenever either the popular or elite cultures address the moral status of men as men, they quite consistently drape men and manhood in a kind of collective culpability. In education, entertainment, religion, criminal law, tort law, medicine, the press, family life and in-timate relations between the sexes—in short wherever the moral life is tested—some fundamental moral inferiority of the male sex is taken for granted. In "The Guilty Sex," I remarked that feminism had redefined "Woman" to indicate not the human female but a heroic condition. "Woman" was valiantly struggling to right the imbalance between women and men. She was moving from bondage to freedom and justice. This did not exactly make men into "the enemy" but it did buttress the im-plication that men—all men—are enmeshed in the inescapable trap of their guilty masculine priv-ileges. To be sure, individual men might be tolerated, admired, and even loved—but the prevailing *collective* morality was shrouding the masculine half of humanity in the gloom of an unidentified primal transgression, some tremendous, aboriginal masculine sin, an originating crime which alone can account for the evil of the two genders' unequal roles in history and society.

That is how it seemed in 1974, and it is much more emphatically true today.

And? Outside a feminist utopia, the guilty sex remains beyond forgiveness, and the unequal moral status of the genders, the perception of all men as stained with guilt in relation to all women, cannot be corrected by resorting to the slippery platitudes of egalitarianism. If women have always and everywhere been oppressed, men have always and everywhere been their oppressors. Such a vast and ubiquitous wrongdoing cannot be redeemed merely by cooking, cleaning, and changing diapers. It is bred in the bone.

And it is increasingly institutionalized by the press and by the state. To take just one example of modern moral rhetoric: a notable achievement by a woman usually shines in two lights: praised first for being the achievement it is, and second for being a righteous step in the liberation of hu-manity, achieved moreover against unfair odds. Response to an equivalent achievement by a man will be quite different. It may be acknowledged and even widely admired. And yet it will also be viewed as one more example a corrupt society's same old, same old—and often viewed as the payoff

of a rigged system of male privilege, and so to some degree unearned. The woman's accomplishment is suffused with the glow of a gendered virtue. Gendered virtue is a form of pride no man should enjoy under any circumstances. Meanwhile, the slightest suggestion of any moral quality primarily relevant to men—some virtue unique to manhood— is brushed aside with disgust.

To be sure, though men are universally and uniquely guilty, much feminist doctrine concedes that men *can* be virtuous, but only by manifesting virtues they share with women. And sharing doesn't really help much. Soft feminist propaganda sometimes lures men by promising kindness and partial remission of the sin of their existence if they accept, and try to eliminate, a fundamentally invidious self-image. What's offered is a kind of cozy toleration; "we love you anyway, sweetie. You are more to be pitied than censured."

But genuine forgiveness?

In fact, men are not condemned for what they have *done*. They are condemned for what they *are*. There can therefore be no true forgiveness. They are afflicted from birth with what Lionel Tiger has shrewdly called "male original sin." This inherent culpability is not derived from individual actions. The presumption of guilt is universal.

This can be politically very useful. The reason is simple. The moral establishment cannot afford to relinquish that tremendous power over men that it gains mongering this guilt, so long as it is done softly, softly. By invariably presuming some vague, atmospheric, universal but almost unstated culpability, men are made malleable, silenced and made compliant by an equally vague, atmospheric, universal but almost unspoken sense of shame.

With inarticulate shame inculcated as a prime motivator, the doctrine of the guilty sex it not always invoked to promote what the church calls some general "amendment of life." It is not invoked to promote ethical equality between men and women. More often, it is invoked to promote the relentless demoralization of the male sex.

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To be sure, very few of the more important players in the current moral establishment would explicitly endorse collective and irreparable gender guilt. For one thing, that would end its political usefulness. Many of the players might even be disconcerted or troubled to hear that their good deeds require disseminating indiscriminate semi-rational guilt. The governing board of NOW does not meet and ask, "How can we deepen masculine self-contempt and shame?" Shame does not like the light. It fares badly when open to discourse. It consolidates its power in silence.

In any case, the movement's ideology of guilt is accepted by the general public only occasionally. All men are seen as potential rapists-in-waiting only when some horrendous rape fills the news. Most people presume that there are good men around somewhere. Though the balance of public morality has clearly shifted toward misandry, real people still lead their moral lives in their own ways. Men are steadily portrayed as incapable of nuanced emotion. And yet in real life half the human race exhibits a wide spectrum of feelings without anyone noticing the contradiction. Meanwhile, real mothers love real sons. Real achievers permit themselves a surge of self-respect, even though they are male. Shameless heterosexuality flourishes. On all levels, men and women can and

do engage in lived life easily, constructively. They can and do respect and admire one another. They can enjoy one another, and maybe have some fun together. They can even love one another.

Yet the relentless ideology goes from strength to strength. There is no move to get the guilty sex off the hook on which it is impaled. Men are presumed to be guiltier than ever, and guilty through strategies I could not have imagined in 1974.

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IDENTITY POLITICS

If this phrase had any currency forty years ago, I knew nothing about it. I zeroed in on the guilty sex by catching the inescapable overtones of the time's feminist rhetoric. And I was especially struck by how successfully it absorbed especially the collectivist rhetoric of youthful radicalism between 1962 and the mid-seventies, what I call "the Movement."

Today, this logic looks arcane. By now, the logic of identity politics is so widespread and mindlessly applied that it can pass for universal truth on talk shows. That logic is simple. For identity politics, the pre-eminent issue defining any exercise of power and justice is recognition of the systemic oppression of generic populations—blacks, women, gays, foreigners. This oppression is universally attributed to the bigotry of the group's socially generic opposites; i.e. whites, men, heterosexuals, and people born American. Moral action consists in identifying this kind of collective oppression and trying to eliminate it.

The most important and persuasive example of identity politics at work was when the civil rights movement confronted the obvious outrage of systemic oppression of African-Americans by whites. That crucial confrontation has served as the paradigm for every kind of identity politics since then. That much was clear to me in "The Guilty Sex: " *In one of its most brilliant early tactics—and perceptions—feminism simply appropriated that obsessive political language of victimhood, innocence and guilt, and with a little touching up, transformed it into a sexual language. That transformation was especially easy since the political talk was heavily overlaid with psychoanalytic assumptions that understood oppression and repression in very much the same way. And it all fitted as a sexual language. It worked. The rhetoric against racism became the rhetoric against sexism with only minor alterations. The repressive ego, the male ego. Oppression, the oppression of women above all. False freedom, so-called sexual freedom. Purifying rage, the rage of women. The hated establishment, so obviously the establishment of men."*

In the grand forum for identity righteousness, any generically oppressed group is assumed to have a malevolent generic oppressor. Individual exceptions are irrelevant, and the presumption of collective guilt by implication is the foundation on which all identity politics rests. In this moral realm, innocent African-Americans, women, homosexuals, and immigrants must be oppressed by guilty whites, heterosexuals, Americans and men, because victimization gives both their "identity." Everyone is either a victim or a victimizer, and almost everyone is guilty of something.

But one group alone is *absolutely* irredeemable: white, heterosexual, American men, or as I call them, WHAMS. Every aspect of their "identity" condemns them. Four strikes and you're out. Held back by shame and inarticulate resentment, the WHAMS rarely protest, and when they do

protest they do so defensively and awkwardly. Sheepishly explaining, when they can, how they concur with the latest turn of damnation, they stoically endure the stream of insults with what we might call the silence of the WHAMS

THE DISPOSABLE MALE

One of the few *almost* original insights in "The Guilty Sex" is that there can be no gender equality without identical roles in fatherhood and motherhood. I gently mocked this biological impossibility by suggesting that feminist egalitarianism was at bottom a search for "the totally accommodating husband."

No extensive research is needed to see that a very substantial sector of feminist opinion would greet my gentle joke with outrage. Only a cursory reading of the pronouncements of Andrea Dworkin, Robin Morgan, and Gloria Steinem reveals implacable hostility to any presumed union between fathers and mothers occasioned by childrearing, with the worst union of all being (gay marriage excepted) marriage. Marriage has always been denounced as *the* instrument of female dependence on men. And while the desired independence may not require separatism, any capitulation to classical reproductive roles has been widely rejected.

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Forty years later, in a trend now viewed as inevitable as gravity, the majority of children born in the United States are born to unwed mothers. Only a fool would call feminism responsible for this multi-causal disaster. In fact, its role is probably negligible: certainly it is secondary to overpowering issues of culture, class and race. Even so, both feminists and the rest of us have as much to learn as to lament about the collapse of the paternal role in America.

Typically in the families of these classes and cultures, a wanted or unwanted child is born to a very young mother without the means to support her child. Nor does the often terrified and very youthful biological father. He often had no clue that a baby might result from his (usually) furtive romance, and is overwhelmed and incapacitated by the urgent responsibilities that come with the new life. He falters. He flees. He denies. In consequence, he is soon seen as either an unnecessary presence or an inexcusable absence. Either way he becomes unnecessary, immature, irresponsible, or a burden. A disposable burden.

Some studies, especially ones sponsored by feminists, brush aside this all too common pattern as merely unfortunate, and insist that the father role is incidental or even irrelevant to successful child-rearing.

Anyone who believes this should ponder the sociology of this country's African-American population. There, irresponsible fatherhood or just plain fatherlessness has been endemic for several generations. Those tempted to see fatherhood as merely incidental to maturity should muse on *the* single statistic in a field littered with statistics, that I myself find most chilling in a field littered with statistics.

There are presently more African-American men between 18 and 25 in prison than there are in college.

Meanwhile, the white working class is rapidly falling into the African-American pattern.

What does this portend? I am no prophet, and can only respond through my conviction that successful manhood involves successfully navigating work, fatherhood, and sexual love. To remove fatherhood from this tripod is to see it fall over, while work and sexual love collapse with it. To borrow a phrase from Paul Goodman, to grow up male in this context risks "growing up absurd." "Little man, what are you going to be when you grow up? A fireman? A physicist?" He cannot know that very likely when he grows up he will be without bonds, and without a role. When he grows up, he will be irrelevant.

THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

Almost everyone agrees that the sexual revolution initiated by my sixties generation could not have happened without The Pill. Many men—certainly many men in the Movement—seized upon it as liberation perfected, and many sexual revolutionaries in and out of the Movement were far more "male chauvinistic" than their bourgeois uncles in New Jersey. Stokeley Carmichael caught the beat in 1964 when he said: *The proper position of women is SNCC is prone."* Such attitudes were commonplace in the ranks of sixties radicals. They played no small role motivating radical feminism's triumphant revenge, first endowing it with the power to help splinter the Movement from within, and later crush the splinters into oblivion.

Yet in 1975, some aspects of he sexual revolution were far from obvious, at least to me. I could never have guessed that the coming thing would be a curious pairing of punitive puritanism with complete sexual irresponsibility. The boy at his college dorm party feels free to plunge into meaningless, all-but-anonymous sex, with any woman who happens to flash him a smile. He loses track of how many women he has slept with, remembering their names no better than they remember his.

A couple of years later, the same fellow may be working in an office where he can jeopardize his job, and even his career, by lingering too long over a look at a co-worker's cleavage, or by making offensive wisecracks, or by permitting himself something called "inappropriate touching." Not one of these things would have occasioned even cursory notice at that dormitory party.

In truth, the college promiscuity and the workplace puritanism are bound together by a common motive. Both are means of maintaining women's all important "independence." They stand as baffles, often very effective ones, between vagrant desire and the bonding between men and women that many feminists regard as dangerous—far more dangerous than mindless promiscuity in school or Draconian puritanism in the workplace.

Sex without bonding and work without flirtation may seem very different, but they serve the identical end.

THE "RAPE CULTURE"

In order to enforce puritanism while enfranchising promiscuity, it has become necessary to criminalize some of the freedoms the sexual revolution unleashed, and in the process an obsessive concern of with different varieties of rape and near-rape has moved in directions that are even more radical than the famous pronouncements of my contemporary, Susan Brownmiller.

The law's response to a man forcing intercourse on a woman through violence should not necessarily be the extreme penalty of law. But is should be severe.

In fact, it isn't. The relation between rapes and convicted rapists is oddly skewed. This is not the place to enter the thicket of propaganda that surrounds us on the subject; nor is it the place to examine some very questionable statistical claims, or seek to define what constitutes the ultimate crime of the guilty sex.

There is a wide disparity between propaganda on this subject and any genuine response to it. For example, the Violence Against Women Act (in both its avatars) appropriates large sums of money to fund the study of violence against women, or the creation of safe havens for battered or raped women, or the dissemination of information warning against it, or making the subject part of the school curriculum. It primarily funds a set of more or less desirable bureaucratic institutions to address the subject. This bureaucracy is amply endowed. What it omits, or renders negligible, are funds aimed at the apprehension, trial and punishment of the rapists. Any bureaucratic response bureaucratic response to rape has priority over actually apprehending the criminals.

Not long ago, a very intelligent and forward looking feminist legislator, Liz Krueger of the New York State Senate, sent a letter to constituents like me urging support that would be state legislation parallel to the national Violence Against Women Act. In this letter, Senator Krueger repeated Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi's claim that a study by the national Centers for Disease Control (CDC) had revealed that 20% of American women will be raped at some point in their lives.

I am in no position to verify or contest this claim. Yet even in my ignorance, I wrote to Senator Krueger noting that such a very large figure tells us that some very large percentage of American men are rapists and felons. One can only guess the percentage: fifteen percent, ten percent, five percent? Surely not less that five percent.

Arresting, trying and convicting 5% of the American male population would fill the jails with 7,000,000 felons. Successful prosecution of 10% of the men in America would put 14,000,000 rapists behind bars. I asked whether the Senator supports investigation, prosecution and incarceration on so massive a scale?

If not, why not?

The Senator answered that she believed all men duly convicted of rape should be incarcerated. Who doesn't? That was not my question. My query asked why the CDC study did not mobilize a massive dragnet to arrest the many millions of men who, according to their statistics, *have* to be guilty. Why has there been no move to punish them *en masse*? It should not be overwhelmingly difficult to convict some significant number of these criminals. Most victims of rape know the assailant

or can easily identify him. Even by sticking to strict rules of evidence, surely many hundreds of thousands among those millions of rapists could be prosecuted and punished.

Yet I doubt even Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi or Vice-President Biden would endorse concerted police action seeking the arrest of ten percent, or even five percent, of America's male population. I doubt they would want their names on the massive number of trials and the huge expansion of the prison system such a thing would entail. To be sure, it would put statistics now seen as irrefutable to some real test. But it would surely be politically unpalatable to the male and female voters in the United States to see five percent of their sons, brothers, husbands under subpoena and facing long prison terms. It would not play at all well with the electorate.

But even so, why not? Why should mere unpopularity stay the hand of justice, given such a massive criminal phenomenon?

Of course, I have concocted these delirious daydreams by linking logic to pure fantasy. Nobody wants to see some vast American gulag of husbands and sons. I have raised the issue to note that the current obsession with the crime is accompanied by something resembling indifference to its punishment. It seems to me that the trend is toward demoralizing the guilty sex, rather than seeing that justice is done. And I use the illustration to suggest how the now forty-year-old presumption of masculine guilt increasingly sees men as living on a spectrum defined by mindless violence, as it creeps toward suggesting that men are not only the guilty sex, but the criminally guilty sex.

Some such thing surely motivates much of the talk about the "rape culture."

Let us leave aside the feminists who insist that rape is "not about sex," and turn to those who focus on one genuine biological fact. Sooner or later, all male sexuality takes the form of phallic assertion: arousal, erection, penetration. To many, a phrase like "phallic assertion" is simply a polite term for phallic aggression, which in turn can be defined as a violation. They therefore conclude that masculine sexuality, even at its most benign, must be judged in the light of an inherent criminality. The culture men have made is in essence a culture of rape. The boy in puberty struggling with the overwhelming new force of his desires should be understood not as being drawn toward love, or pleasure, or human connection or paternity. He should be seen as being drawn onto a spectrum that is essentially criminal.

The guilty sex has come a long way.

The Guilty Sex:
How American Men Became Irrelevant

STEPHEN KOCH

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Not long ago, during a radio talk show — the kind with people calling in to explain their philosophies of life — a thirtyish on-the-air sage and a listener were exploring (for a change) the cruel conundrum of becoming an ethical being in a society rotten with macho. Groping his way, the commentator ventured, "Well, I think we — we men . . . " "Men!" The listener blurted the word again, startled, pained. There was a brief silence while the ugly sound sank in. Then they both giggled.

   That shocked verbal blush may seem strange, but is it really? After all, the word "man" has acquired a rather nasty sound. The last five years [1970-1975] have divested it of the old heroic ring; certainly it's no longer okay to talk about being one with any flourish of pride. (It is okay to talk about being a "person" or "human being," but that is slightly different.) Yet these two full-grown members of the male sex positively gagged on the word. Inevitably, the conversation had been all about what's wrong with men. As the most powerful general idea of our time, feminism increasingly dominates *any* discussion of sexual identity or what goes on between men and women — and the feminist discussion of men is mainly about what's wrong with men. But I'm willing to bet those two surviving sons of the counterculture felt their shameful jolt of recognition jumping up from a deeper level of their minds than that. Remember that the old counterculture was based on a deep romantic link between freedom and victimization, that its whole array of "alternate lifestyles" was based on a notion of liberation from a set of repressors, oppressors. For the drug culture, the blind repressive "ego" was to be "obliterated." Politically, the oppressor was the great collective ego of the American

middle class, the oppressor establishment. Reality meant victimization by them. Freedom meant liberation from them. Victims were innocent: repressors, guilty. Overturning them was going to mean a new life (that was never doubted), tender, rich, sensual, pure, purged, *innocent.* Innocent above all. As for victims and guilty oppressors, they were certainly not hard to find.

Remember too that back in those grand glamorous systematically alienated and paranoid days of the Sixties, long before feminism, the weakly fathered and fatherless sons of the counterculture had already begun their attack on the Manhood they'd learned (but not lived) in the green, empty American suburbs of the late Fifties and early Sixties. They'd already begun to view "men" as "them" — the others, those jocks and sons of jocks whom every campus protest instinctively understood to be the Enemy. The very image of the unliberated, anguished, unlivable ideal.

Manhood — a kind of joke, something to be flamboyantly swept aside. That ideal was plainly immoral, or else why were we in Vietnam? It was also unreal, a living death, a shame-laden ideology of happiness plainly unhappy; of fulfillment, plainly unfulfilled; of strength plainly stupefied, impotent, or, when potent, destructive. Who among those fiery sons, with their vague and blasted eyes, really connected with his father; who even knew, let alone admired, what the father did in that invisible city of his? Fatherhood meant delivering, or not delivering, checks. It meant being around, or being unwelcome when around. It meant either shouting, or that soul-crushing silence most deeply installed in the soul of any red-blooded American boy: Dad mute behind his newspaper, Dad losing an argument. Dad standing alone watering the lawn, wooden as a dead post — while inside the household lived that real life in which he didn't count. Fatherhood, and to that degree manhood, meant being feared, or ignored, or despised, or pitied, or hated. Such was the Manhood one was supposed to "achieve." "Be a man," the tender initiate was told. *That* man? *Never again. We* would have an alternate, liberated humanity.

Fancy talk, of course. Except it was based, hysterically based, on some very real perceptions. All the same, the great bird of liberated innocence never really flew. On the contrary, what one senses now among the men of that generation is a kind of numb, embarrassed silence as the vultures of guilt and shame settle in, home to roost. It turns out that while those children of the first television generation were floating their amazing, disorienting visions in the electronic air, Time sat watching, doing what Time does best: waiting for its eventual victory.

It seems to me that time claimed its victory over the men of the old counterculture through feminism, and that, from a moral point of view, it was feminism — even more than the Kissinger truce or the crack-up of the drug culture which killed the counterculture. Feminism was the last major intellectual movement to be born (more properly, reborn) in the counterculture. It emerged in a wildly schismatic moment when many of the most deeply cherished fantasies of emotionally polymorphous and socially polyvalent Liberation were running into rocky times; the atmosphere was dense with moral hysteria; above all, the all-important purity supposedly investing the community of Victims became more and more obviously questionable. Deeply drenched in the counterculture's personal and political language, its attitudes, its ethics, the movement's feminist sisters alone were equipped to do what no one else could: deliver the coup de grace by driving the knife into the heart of the counterculture's principal dream — the radical romantic dream of innocence. For that dream of innocence, however ardently pursued, was also an innocence bluff, and feminism alone was equipped to see it and call it. Remember that the language of the time was utterly obsessed with

guilt and innocence: Think back, take any given issue of, say, *The Village Voice* (not to mention any more hard-core countercultural publication) between 1965 and 1971. *The* theme of any given major article was simply this: Who is good? Who is bad? The goodies and baddies were rotated for variety, but the basic theme never changed. In one of its most brilliant early tactics — and perceptions — feminism simply appropriated that obsessive political language of victimhood, innocence and guilt, and with a little touching up, transformed it into a sexual language. The transformation was especially easy since the political talk was heavily overlaid with psychoanalytic assumptions that understood oppression and repression in very much the same way. And it all fitted as a sexual language. It worked. The rhetoric against racism became the rhetoric against sexism with only minor alterations. The repressive ego, the male ego, Oppression, the oppression of women above all. False freedom, so-called sexual freedom. Purifying rage, the rage of women. The hated establishment, so *obviously* the establishment of *men*. A moral language already obsessing hundreds of thousands of men suddenly clicked in the minds of their sisters. They were able to turn and say: "We have at last met the enemy, and he is *you!*"

Of course. The co-opting shock was extraordinary. The time had come for the proverbial scales to fall from the eyes. *Of course.* Found out. The real meaning of all that obsessing over innocence, the real meaning of the freakery and the mind-blowing and the sexual "liberation." *Of course:* There's a guilty "them" all right, but *I* am one of *them.* Faced with the revelatory attack, one might abjectly or enthusiastically agree. One might try to prove again and again what a very good boy one was. One might disagree, defiantly put on a big display of bad-boyism. None of that mattered. Those men had spent ten years inventing a moral language which they suddenly found describing — themselves. *Of course.*

Because men are the guilty sex, that is not only the message of feminism, it is what the whole obsessional moral language of the Sixties has at last settled down and resolved itself into saying. That moral language always needed a "them," and men fit the bill. True enough, there is nothing very new about men's role as the guilty sex. Half the items in feminism's catalog of contempt were already strewn around us, many as old as Huckleberry Finn. There is nothing new in the vision of men as brutal, bemuscled weaklings, cloddishly incapable of appreciating the Higher Things; rough creatures tracking up the rug with their childish, animalistic emotions. During the nineteenth century, men were the guilty sex because they were the sexual sex; in the twentieth, they are the untender, faithless sex that ruts without love, They are the dishonest sex, destructively competitive, stupidly in continual need of massage for their fatuous pouting male egos. Animals. Children. Longer than anyone can remember, ideas like this have been mixed with many a mother's milk. But the feminists filled up the cup of their mothers, refining the old-fashioned angry contempt into a modern politicized rhetoric, with some crucial additions. Above all, men are also *unnecessary:* Whatever value a member of the guilty sex might have for a woman, it should, must, not be social, emotional, or economical dependence. Add other details: Big talkers though they are, men can't take the heat — men are terrified of a sexually liberated or competitive woman. "Their poor egos, you know." Add: In personal relations, men are frightened cripples, incapable of a "committed relationship," the current code word for marriage. When not guilty in their false, but oppressive, strength, they are guilty in their unreliable, infantile weakness. Add: Even "good" men are infected with the masculine disease with little hope of cure. Their "conditioning" is too deep. Add: Since by nature or training men are less sensitive than women, they are also less intelligent. At best, their intelligence is less good, less

true, less beautiful. Add: In every way that matters, women are stronger than men, they have fewer "ego problems." Roll over Beethoven. Anything you can do, I can do better. Snakes and snails and puppy-dog tails.

The old counterculture used to make a great display of despising the exercise of power and the pursuit of success, but it's no paradox that emerging from that atmosphere, feminism makes an equal but opposite display of enthusiastically admiring any sign of women's power, personal strength, or success. The counterculture viewed such desires as arising from the nasty conformist hunger of the evil ego, something to be surrendered, transcended, obliterated. Here we come close to the center of the counterculture's deepest moral hysteria, its most extreme disorientation — its desperate hash of confusion about the moral values implicit in either strength or weakness of ego. Despite all the talk, the guilty secret was, of course, that ego strength was much more desired than it was despised. The *real* problem with the wicked ego that so obsessed the scene was not its excessive strength, but its unworkability, unattainability, unlivability. It was, of course, never "obliterated" — only further damaged and confused. And damaged confused *egos* turn egomaniacal. This contradiction, more than anything else, produced massive dishonesty —career dishonesty, political dishonesty, emotional and sexual dishonesty, which the feminists, once their revelation came, were not slow to point out. What was their revelation? That the precious "ego" at the center of all the fancy talk, the brilliant energy, the evasion and dishonesty was actually the "male ego." And so it was, so it was — exactly that suburban ego that, appalled at its options, had embarked on its flamboyant search for innocence that came to an end in the desperate dishonest morass of the guilty sex.

Meanwhile, though feminism keeps on clinging fiercely to the old-fashioned moralism about the evils of the hungry, nasty (male) ego, it very intelligently has no interest whatever in transcending surrendering, or obliterating the female ego. Hardly. Psychologically, the whole operation resembles a vast, systematic rescue mission for the battered and ignored female ego, with results rather like a new, chic boosterism, more and more orchestrated with good old-fashioned American success stories. Central to this perhaps necessary boosterism has been feminism's reinvention of the word "woman," so that it no longer means the adult female but "Woman," that is, an essentially heroic moral condition. As in Helen Reddy's song, "Woman" means an at once nourishing suffering, purifying rage, from determination, outraged victimization, clarity of vision, self-reliance, self-knowledge, richness of passion, action, power. The classical heroic virtues, in short. This heroism is now sexually exclusive: Men have no part in it. They do not participate in these virtues. But men are necessary to the heroic epic of feminism. The vision of Woman cannot survive a day without the vision of the guilty sex, and if the guilty sex had not existed, feminism would have had to invent it.

All this is half symptom, half strategy. Feminism's rescue mission has been significantly successful, and in such a heartening and exciting way that one feels like not noticing that it is built on a certain amount of rhetorical dishonesty. Among many other things, it has indeed shown many women the way out of the inspired infantilism and bewildered self-hatred of the old counterculture, surely why everybody is so fascinated with Jane Alpert's trip up from underground. Meanwhile the men — and especially the most intelligent and perceptive of two generations — find themselves still stuck with the perception that transfixed them from the first, now reinforced by feminism and ten years of failed "alternatives." They confront what they have always confronted: that this culture offers less and less to make any mode of "being a man" accessible, promising, gratifying, endurable. What's

more, they are stuck with a problem: the unshakable belief that the only *nourishing* freedom belongs to the victim, that freedom *means* the victim's process of self-liberation. And if the precious all-prized right to view oneself as a victim is withdrawn — as feminism has definitively withdrawn it from men — what then? The moral language offers no help to the guilty sex. Meanwhile, the options stink. You can't go home again. Then there is the nauseating primitivism of a macho fantasy completely cut off from reality, or some reactionary establishmentarianism. Or the pretty sentiments of feminist rhetoric about "equal human beings," actually underwritten by deep assumptions about heroic Woman and the guilty sex. (Not to mention some new dishonesties and vanities, rather like the old counterculture's, about freedom and power, dependence and independence, which are beginning to emerge.) The revolution to come? "Life is short; it must be lived. The fact is that hundreds of thousands of men find themselves teetering on one side or the other of thirty, confronting nothing but guilty options, caught in a triumphant trap (significantly of their own making) of damned if you do and damned if you don't, still the guilty sex, still completely unsure of who or what it is okay to be (either for themselves or for women), confronting guilty hardness or guilty softness, guilty sex or guilty sexlessness, guilty manhood or guilty lack of it, guilty failure or guilty success.

A nifty dilemma. The greatest silencer of all is shame. It works much better than fear, much better than doubt. We are currently surrounded by an immense, interminable discussion; American writing now is almost totally dominated by the how-to books of alienated sexual identity. But at the center of this discussion there is a silence — a silence about the *actual* masculine experience. And I suppose it could be figured that silence exists because the whole discussion rests upon a notion of masculine failure and guilt; that without that silencing notion, the discussion would come to an end; certainly the terms would change so dramatically as to become almost unrecognizable. But the discussion is not going to end; there is no real reason why it should. More important, it seems to me, is that the problems of sexual identity men currently confront are older and bigger than feminism, and (no doubt because nothing is harder to discuss) nobody seems really prepared to define them. Take, for example, two of this year's [1975] most conspicuous entries. They are not exactly inspiring. Emerging from the right wing, George Gilder's *Naked Nomads*. And then, from the opposite pole, Marc Feigen Fasteau's *The Male Machine*, which comes to us chugging directly down the feminist main line.

Feigen Fasteau's book makes one wonder if it is even possible to speak at all accurately or honestly about the masculine experience from the feminist position. It also raises some severe questions about the character of the people who claim to be that movement's seers. Still, I can recommend *The Male Machine* to any man who fears that embracing feminism means abjection, self-hatred. For, truly, this is no work of self-hatred. It is, on the contrary, one of the most complacent, self-admiring, and snobbish books with any claim to seriousness I can recall having read. It claims to be a rich, deeply personal testament straight from the soul of Feminist Man. This is exactly, and very obviously, what it is not. Yet in her unctuous introduction, so impressed is Gloria Steinem by the way Feigen Fasteau has "lived and tested" his Thought that she suggests it is more profound than the comparatively shabby and inferior contribution of Karl Marx. It takes a moment for this utterly amazing observation to sink in. Oddly, I didn't laugh. I just stared.

Instead of being the new *Das Kapital, The Male Machine* turns out to be a lazy little two-hundred-twenty-five-page cartoon, labeled MEN. It is not original with Feigen Fasteau of course, it

is the standard feminist cartoon cleaned up a bit for masculine consumption. But it is about the Big Subject, and, in its platitudinous way, it does mark out some major areas of concern. I was even sometimes tempted to applaud, as one is always tempted to applaud a demagogue, however vacuous, addressing one's own pain. Perhaps I should say that, like how many hundred thousand —how many million? — others, I too have lived in some considerable pain with every aspect (except fatherhood) of the masculine dilemma Feigen Fasteau discusses — and several he does not. Like them, I too have felt mutilated, baffled and enraged by plenty of the prevalent middeclass notions of manhood. It is indeed difficult to either surrender or fulfill the desire to be recognized, loved and admired as a man; difficult to surrender or fulfill the absurd sexualized fantasy of wisdom, self-confidence, attractiveness, focus of identity, fulsomeness of love, totality of competence, personal power and success one is supposed to want. Like a million others, I have found the mystery of sexual identity baffling indeed. Like them I have known considerable fear and pain over sexual humiliation, guilt over humiliating. I have sometimes confused and betrayed myself trying to "be a man," and likewise trying not to be. I have indeed craved, despised, and been refused entry into the great magic circle of mutual masculine approval. I have known a certain amount of self-recognition, not all of it totally false, I hope. During childhood, an all-loved, all-feared father dies young; on the baseball diamond "he swings ıike a girl!" Growing up, love. Marriage. Deep dependence. Divorce. Confused and not so confused affairs ending badly or at least ending. Homosexuality. Heterosexuality. No sexuality. Some very rough romps with the muscular demons of self-destruction. Some surges of strength, some growth, some collapses in weakness. Discovery of some strength in weakness, and vice versa. Some numb cynicism. Some faith, Some failure. Some success. Some love. Some being loved. A life, in a word.

I raise these crucial banalities (they compose every life, after all) not out of any confessional vanity (God knows we've had enough of that), but to suggest why Feigen Fasteau's book is so peculiarly irritating, so remarkably empty. He addresses what everyone knows to be one of the most anguished questions of our time. Yet it does not seem even once to have occurred to him that anybody with the slightest capacity for feelingful self-knowledge, moral insight, or emotional intelligence might actually read him, Hence the cartoon, MEN, which runs roughly as follows:

Men are creatures of questionable humanity living a lie: namely, that they are superior in every significant way to women. This lie makes men incapable of tenderness, intimacy, self-knowledge or friendship. True love eludes us. Even if we want more, our masculine delusions make us incapable of meaningful self-expression, self-surrender, or genuine intellectual exchange, especially with women. We like women only when dominating them; we are deeply threatened by any emotional exchange that doesn't result in their submission and our glorification. Our work and careers are arid and destructive: Whatever we feel for our fellow human beings is completely subordinate to our desire to prove ourselves Big Deals. As fathers, we disregard our children except to brutalize them. We cannot allow ourselves to understand how a child might think or feel. We are sexually unsatisfactory: When potent, we are rough and thoughtless. When impotent, we are crashing bores. (We are impotent more and more often because we're scarcd of women's "true" sensuaıity.) We are crude: Eros for us is a matter of low sex. Living our lie, we are responsible for most (if not all) the evils of this world. And yet — yet we are not completely bad. Our occasional vague insights into our buried humanity make us confused and unhappy in our crippled condition. But we can't admit those insights. Except for a few of us (like Feigen Fasteau, who acquired his keen moral insight from his wife), we have no capacity for self-knowledge, admitting all that is worst in ourselves and despising

all that is best. We are, in short, the guilty sex.

But Feigen Fasteau is all brotherly solicitude; he feels we are more to be pitied than censured. After offering this standard cartoon, he holds out a second standard cartoon as salvation. Stop thinking that we are superior to women, give up the male ego's craving to be thought a Big Deal and discover — I like that *discover* - our vulnerable humanity.

And how has Feigen Fasteau himself "lived and tested" these Profundities? Well, it turns out that the rewards of masculine ego surrender are remarkably enviable. On the dust jacket, we see that he is a very handsome man. Then Steinem glowingly reports that, unlike Marx, Feigen Fasteau moves "in the upper legal and political circles of New York and Washington," a fact she feels has enormously enriched his mind, From Feigen Fasteau himself, we learn about a splendid record at Harvard, how he was a brilliantly promising as assistant to Mike Mansfield, how he was a mover and shaker on the *Harvard Law Review.* But mere status could not hide the truth that beneath the dazzling exterior, Feigen Fasteau was also a classic masculine cripple. For example, he solemnly confides that he wasn't especially open in friendships with men. That he sometimes behaved badly when he lost arguments with his wife. For (crucial event) there *is* a wife. As a bountiful providence would have it, Marc was able to marry Brenda Feigen Fasteau. Brenda also moves "in the upper legal and political circles of New York and Washington." She is a feminist, brilliant, and deeply in love. Love brings hope. Under the ministrations of the peerless Brenda, Feigen Fasteau has now been able to achieve new openness, new richness of feeling, and membership, with Brenda, in the Harvard Club. Let's see, what other personal truth does he impart? Oh yes, he and Brenda Bummer in East Hampton. People play a rotten sexist tennis game out there. Anyway, on the basis of this remarkable Achievement, he has written his book. It is rapidly making him famous, and, though its theme is self-surrender, it has left his own self-esteem sufficiently intact that he suffers himself to be favorably compared, *in* its introduction, to one of the ten or fifteen most brilliant and significant minds in the entire history of humankind,

I submit that this nauseating display of almost mindless vanity is the *real* content of Feigen Fasteau's message to our bewildered world. Let's hope the nation's file clerks and gas station attendants will take his message to heart and outgrow their ridiculous obsession with their contemptible little egos. While we wait, let us think more about our mentor, our guide, our ideal. Is he truly the ideal liberated man? Or is he perhaps the ideal member of the Harvard Club? Nay, more, the *real* vision here is (feminists take heart) *the ideal husband.* Why, a woman would have to be c*razy . . .*

One tosses Feigen Fasteau's book aside to pick up George Gilder's *Naked Nomads,* a meditation from the right wing. Gilder *also* (this is getting monotonous) moves "in the upper legal and political circles of New York and Washington." Yet, though a conservative, Gilder differs from the liberal Feigen Fasteau by showing some slight sensitivity to the special problems of men with incomes under $50,000 a year, surely one small step forward for revolutionary thought. In fact, in his reactionary way, Gilder is as tortured as Feigen Fasteau is complacent. In a way, they both agree: Both believe that decent manhood is basically a matter of a really good marriage. But Gilder (who is unmarried) is actually saying something really troubling, something with real substance.

Gilder quotes Margaret Mead: "The recurrent problem of civilization is to define the male role." Certainly it is the problem that has recurred right now. Why the male role in particular? Because only men can ever be considered socially unnecessary. Whatever the theoretical or real arrangement,

whether it is matriarchy, patriarchy, or the hopeful promise of egalitarian mixed doubles, women are essential to the continuing life of the human race. And men are not.

That is, most men are not. In a given year, it takes one hundred women to make one hundred babies. In theory, it takes only one man. The other ninety-nine are theoretically unnecessary and could be dispensed with entirely. Therefore men must find some service to the society — the society of women, above all — which will make them essential to the continuing life of the society. If, that is, men are to have meaningful lives, if they are to participate in what Gilder calls "responsible love." Without performing that service, men are threatened with meaninglessness in a way that women can never be. For whom do men perform this service? Women. (And if the role is going to last, acquire content, it had better be a service beyond his cock.) Who finally judges the value of that service? Women. Women are the ones born necessary. Women are the center.

Suppose the man fails? Suppose the woman stops valuing his contribution? Suppose he can't perform it, or finds the available ways of performing it unrewarding, unacceptable? He then becomes one of Gilder's naked nomads, the troop of men without meaningful relations to women. Producing both his personal observations and a group of slightly tricky but still pretty convincing statistics, Gilder argues that unmarried men are, on the whole, the most miserable group of any marital status in this society. The statistics range from violent crime *(ninety percent* of it is committed by unmarried men), alcoholism, chronic depression, mental disease, accidental death, suicide and the disguised suicide of the guy who, after drowning his sorrows, decides to make them fly at ninety miles an hour in that spiffy bachelor's Porsche of his. Unmarried women are much better off than the unmarried men in all categories: In addition, the two groups earn about the same amount of money until the age of fifty-five, after which women earn more. In true conservative style, Gilder argues that most men develop meaningful lives — i.e, meaningful relations to women and children — only through institutions. And he triumphantly concludes that there is only one such institution capable of turning the trick in an advanced egalitarian democracy: it is monogamous marriage, and an active role as father and provider.

Do I agree with all this? I don't know. I don't know. Gilder's ideas about proper sex roles and the necessity of marriage have the weakness of all reactionary arguments, no matter how intelligent: They address a reality that no longer exists. The notion that men and women here and now are in any way ready, willing or able to relate to one another the way they did in 1915 or 1925 really strikes me as laughable. It really deserves some kind of prize, takes the cake. Right now does the role of father and provider remain truly gratifying and essential, successfully defining how men participate in "responsible love"? No doubt, for a lot of people. But there are a lot of others for whom that idea provokes little more than an angry or despairing groan. Last but not least, you don't need to be Ti-Grace Atkinson to suspect that a social system arbitrarily forcing women into social, emotional, and economic dependence on men is something less than the most splendid imaginable way of proving how marvelously valuable men are.

Yet Gilder in other ways is dead right. The question of sexual role is above all a matter of how one relates to the opposite sex and to children. That means *the* issue in defining the male role is *the definition of fatherhood.* And since fatherhood requires a definition that motherhood does not, one *must* produce a definition for a specifically male role. It is a simple fact that fatherhood and motherhood are different. It is a simple fact that in the entire history of humanity not one man has ever

given birth alone, nine months after the mother slipped fifty bucks into an envelope and took off to the Coast. It is a simple fact that no man has *ever* given birth to a child without being able to remember the name of that ship — its mother — that passed in the night. Plenty of children have been born without their fathers around. But not a single one ever came into the world without its mother. So what does fatherhood *mean?* This is not a question *of* equality. *Of course,* the classical sex roles are mutilating and burdensome. *Of* course, once the baby is born, the man and woman can share equally in the tasks needed to raise it. That is not the question. The question is this: Just why, precisely, is the man around *at all?* Why is he wanted *at all?* Why is he kept around for those nine months: And then for that new lifetime? Above all, why does *he* want to stay around?

This is no abstract anthropological fantasy. Just ask the fatherless and/or father-hating children of the suburbs (or the ghetto); ask the men picking up junior for their weekly three hours of pain and humiliation at the movies and the zoo. Ask the feminists, or the members of the guilty sex who see less and less even slightly compelling, desirable, or promising in our famous "committed relationship" and its inevitable guilty end. Of course women do, should, and will want to function in the world of income-producing work, just as men do, should, and will. That is not, at heart, a sexual question: It has been for reasons that are plainly archaic, and that everyone knows are archaic. The central issue is this: The male role is in crisis above all because this society is less and less able to produce a necessary, satisfactory, or satisfying definition of fatherhood. That fact, at least as much as the collapsing fantasy of male superiority (who ever believed it anyway?) is responsible for our big shake-up in masculine identity.

Children mean there *are* sex roles. The feminist rhetoric, attractive as it is, about "equal human beings" without sex roles therefore actually translates as follows: The female role, as always, will be to bear children. The male role will be to remain with the woman during pregnancy, the woman acknowledging him as the father, whereupon he proceeds to raise the child with her on exactly equal terms, just as they do other work on equal terms. In short, feminism's vision of "equal human beings" blandly assumes the steady continuation of happy, fulfilled, satisfying marriage, in which there is a male role after all: it is to be a *totally accommodating* husband. This, by the way, is why books like Feigen Fasteau have as their not-very-disguised real theme what splendid and gratifying marriages their authors have achieved through the profound sensitivity of their remarkable souls. It's likewise why the dominant feminist literature on the subject (see any bestselling feminist novel one can name, beginning with *Fear of Flying)* is all about how women heroically overcome all their old crippling inhibitions and limitations (and those of their men) the better to fulfill perfect marriages. Sexually, the "equal human beings" discussion is a disguised glorification of marriage and it assumes that marriage is the way men and women should relate to one another.

But from where I sit, that looks less like the solution than the problem. It's a problem damn little likely to be solved by the reigning rhetoric of Woman and the guilty sex. As to our rhetorical "equal human beings" and their super marriages, one can only lift a dubious eyebrow, tip one's hat to the lucky winners, and marvel at the amazing simplicity of it all. The question seems less one of equality than of gratification and livability. (It feels almost too banal to say, but I myself have never had a love relationship with *anyone* who was not, in ways, my plain superior — including sometimes professionally; likewise, I've never been in one in which I was not in ways, plainly superior.) Propaganda about perfect relationships may be pretty — but there is many a slip, isn't there? The solution?

Beats me. Like Gilder and Feigen Fasteau, I come from that Sixties generation which discovered itself, in an imperial affluence, condemned to a special liberation — the apparent freedom to choose alternatives to childhood's unlivable options. Surveying the damages, it is now apparent we had no choice *but* that freedom. And one hardly knows if there are more grounds for hope or for despair in the fact that we will never again be the way we were.

[The following quotations, headed "Guilt Comes of Age," were presented on successive pages of the article by the editors of *Esquire*.]

Guilt Comes of Age

The guilt that affects young me around thirty was conceived in the counterculture and matured with the women's movement. What follows are fugitive fragments from the literature, small milestones that pointed the way fo the present dilemma of the American man.

1968

A young white today cannot help but recall the base deeds of his people. On every side, on every continent, he sees racial arrogance, savage brutality . . . . There seems to be no end to the ghastly deeds of which his people are guilty. GUILTY. – Eldrige Cleaver, *Soul on Ice*

1970

[Valerie Solanas's] is composed mainly of a portrait in acid of the white American middle-class male and the social-political economic-cultural universe over which he presides. It is meant to devastate him, to reduce his works to zero, his emotions to puling infantilism . . . . There can be no doubt: they're pigs, all right. – Vivian Gornick, "Introduction" to *SCUM Manifesto*

1970

I used to lie in bed beside my husband after those fights and wish I had the courage to bash his head in with a frying pan. – Sally Kempton, "Cutting Edge," *Esquire*

1970

Good-bye, good-bye forever, counterfeit left, counterfeit, male-dominated, cracked-glass-mirror reflection of the American nightmare. . . . We are rising with a fury older and potentially greater than any force in history, and this time we will be free or no one will survive. – Robin Morgan, Goody-bye to All That," *RAT*

1970

The white heterosexual male is in a bind. . . . He is not oppressed. Men are not oppressed as men. Therefore they have nothing to be liberated from. – Jonathan Black, "The Feminist Wallop: Squirm, Baby, Squirm," *The Village Voice*

1970

It is known that a father is necessary, but not known how to identify him, except negatively. – Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch*

1973

Something of the mind-set of the Weathermen during this period [1969] can be seen in the way the Weatherleaders . . . talked about death, with . . . a sense of guilt so strong it had turned to rage. . . . The Weathermen actually held abstract debates . . . about whether killing white babies is "correct," a Weatherman at on point shouting to the audience, "All white babies are pigs." – Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS*

1974

Despite our best efforts, we remain human. – Mark Feigen fasteau, *The Male Machine*

1974

Men without women frequently become the "single menace" and tend to live short and destructive lives—destructive both to themselves and to society. – George Gilder, *Naked Nomads*

Stephen Koch, author of *The Modern Library Writer's Workshop: A Guide to the Craft of Fiction*, two novels, *Night Watch* and *The Bachelor's Bride, Stargazer: The Life, World and Films of Andy Warhol* and *Double Lives.* He is curator of the work of photographer Peter Hujar.

New Male Studies proudly presents the work of

Jan H. Andersen

Editor's Note: New Male Studies has been pleased and honored to feature the work of the distinguished Danish photographer, Jan H. Andersen, in its pages. In this issue, Andersen has offered us a selection of images accompanied by some original verse, "Becoming," written "a very long time ago." His exploration of the many moods of boyhood is among the most evocative we know.

BECOMING

A boy will dream
on days of sorrow.
Dream about
a new tomorrow.
Dream of stars
in the sky so high.
Touching them
before they die.

A boy will dream
on nights of fear.
Dream about
a magic spear.
Dream of war
in the shallow light,
from the moon above
the fearless knight.

A boy will dream
in years of pain.
Dream about
the world of Cain.
Alone and refused
and fighting back.
A soul so bright
just turning black.

A boy will dream
with open eyes.
Dream about
the men that rise.
Dream of strength
and tales of glory.
Leaves the dark
and wakes up sorry.

A man will dream
of days that passed.
Dream about
what could not last.
Glimpse of life
and endless joy,
in the days
of being a boy.

Jan H. Andersen is a Danish photographer, software developer, and author specializing in topics surrounding children and teenagers. With a degree in child care and with many years of experience working with troubled kids and families, he writes with passion about child psychology, boy issues and parenting. You can read more at his website www.jhandersen.com and reach him at jha@jhandersen.com.

The Draft: Men Only?

ROY DEN HOLLANDER

The Selective Service Act, or the draft, requires the registration of males 18 to 25 years-old but not females. The purpose of registration is to provide a pool of potential soldiers for combat in case of a national emergency.

Over 30 years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court in Goldberg v. Rostker, 453 U.S. 57 (1981), stated that requiring only males to register did not violate equal protection under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. For equal protection to apply, males and females had to be "similarly situated." They were not because females could not serve in combat.

Since Goldberg v. Rostker, *the military has expanded the roles of females to include some combat positions. In January 2013, the Pentagon officially rescinded its ban on females serving in combat, which*

will open up most, if not all, combat positions to females. As a result, when it comes to registration for the draft, males and females are now similarly situated.

Key Words: selective service, draft, discrimination, equal protection, *Goldberg v. Rostker*

52,212 American military men died in the Vietnam War[1] --30 percent of them were drafted[2]. Eight—not 8,000, not 800, not 80—but 8 American military females died in the war, and if you include American civilian females, the total is 68, all volunteers[3].

It does not seem fair. After all women can vote and one of the policies behind allowing people to vote in a democracy is that it gives them a stake in the government they may have to defend with their lives. Females have never been forced to fight, to die, to be physically maimed or psychologically destroyed for America in a just war or a stupid one, but they've had the vote for nearly a century. The times, however, may be "a-changing." The Pentagon has decided to put females into combat positions.

When the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1981 that the federal government could discriminate by requiring only males to register for the draft but not females, the Court based its reasoning on the fact that females were not allowed into combat because of certain statutes and Pentagon policy. The statutes were repealed over the years and now the Pentagon's policy has changed. So, logically, women should have to register, but logic, when it comes to the courts treating the sexes equally, is often a casualty.

The 1981 case was Goldberg v. Rostker, 453 U.S. 57. In a six to three decision, the justices condemned only men to registering for the draft and punishment if they did not. Today, failure to register means a man faces a maximum jail term of five years, a maximum fine of $250,000, no federal student aid in the form of loans or grants for college, no federal benefits for employment training, no federal employment and in many states no driver's license, no state government employment and no state student aid for college.

The Goldberg v. Rostker case started in June 1971 during the Vietnam War when the total number of American males who had come home in a box was around 45,000. A group of young guys did not want to go, most likely because of their lottery numbers, and not the Powerball or Mega kind. These numbers, running from 1 to 366, depending on your date of birth, determined whether the U.S. Government was going to use your life to defend certain corporate interests in Vietnam, such as Firestone's rubber tree plantation in the Mekong Delta. The lower the number, the more likely you were on your way.

The Government instituted the lottery in 1969 in an attempt to quell opposition to the war by the classic tactic of "divide and rule." Before the lottery, every male faced the prospect of Vietnam when he graduated from high school or college. With the lottery, many guys knew their necks were no longer on the line, so they curtailed or ended their anti-war activities. Of course, the lottery did not affect females. On the night of the drawing, young men across America tuned in to listen for their fate while females went about their usual concerns with short dresses, see-through blouses, make-up and how much their boyfriends spent on them.

The draft had two parts then, one required young males to register that created a pool of bodies for possible conscription into the military, and the second part was conscription. In 1973 the conscription part ended and in 1975 the registration requirement was terminated. As a result, the Goldberg v. Rostker case languished in the courts because there were effectively no draft laws left for the plaintiffs to oppose.

That all changed with Jimmy Carter and the 1980 Russian invasion of Afghanistan. President Carter, not satisfied that the United State's boycott of the Olympics would sufficiently deter the Commies from further aggression, reinstituted draft registration and asked Congress to appropriate

the money for such. To his credit, he also asked Congress to amend the Military Selective Service Act, 50 U.S.C.App. § 451 et seq., to require females 18 to 26 to register for the draft. Women would not be used in combat but in support roles even though in one study the Defense Department had found as early as 1978 that the height and weight differences of the female population were not considered in-surmountable, and at times could be an advantage. Asian men were also significantly lighter and shorter than American males on the average, but this in no way prevented their use in the military, nor did it prevent various Asian nations from fielding very effective fighting forces, such as the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong who defeated America[4]. The Selective Service and the military went along with Carter's request and provided evidence and testimony at hearings before Congress that females should be required to register for the draft:

> One question often raised is whether men and women can serve together efficiently in the Armed Services. Perhaps the best answer is that they are doing so now [1980] without apparent difficulty[5].

In 1980, there were 150,000 women on active service in the armed forces, now there are around 214,000, which is probably why the number of false sexual abuse accusations have increased dramatically faster than the number of founded sexual abuse cases[6].

> In 1980, Bernard T. Rostker, the Director of the Selective Service System, testified that

> [T]here were no administrative obstacles to running a registration and induction process including both males and females;[7]

> [S]eventy-two countries in the world have military conscription, and ten of these register or conscript both men and women;[8]

> [I]n the Vietnam conflict, more than 7,000 women served in support roles which qualified for combat pay.[9]

Every representative from the various armed services testified that they would have no objection to the registration of women. General Bernard W. Rogers, Chief of Staff, United States Army, testified before the Senate that:

> Women should be required to register . . . in order for us to have an inventory of what the available strength which is within the military qualified pool in this country.[10]

The representative for the Department of Defense testified that:

> If women were registered . . . we would have a very large pool of women whose location would be known, and who would be available to be called up, classified and examined in case induction or conscription were required by national emergency. The Armed Services would have to determine the number of women that they needed both for purposes of expanding the forces and support forces and the support jobs that they have to do, and also for releasing men from the support functions to combat functions.[11]

> [In a time of national emergency] not only will we need to expand combat arms, as I say, that is the pressing need, but we also have to expand the support establishment at the same time because that meets the situation where the combat arms can carry out their function successfully, and the support establishment now uses women very effectively, and in wartime I think the same would be true.[12]

> It is in the interest of national security that, in an emergency requiring the conscription for military service of the nation's youth, the best qualified people for a wide variety of tasks in our armed forces be available. The performance of women in our Armed Forces today strongly supports the conclusion that many of the best qualified people for some military jobs in the 18-26 age category will be women. The Administration strongly believes they should be available for services in the jobs they can do.[13]

The President's decision to ask for authority to register women is based on equity. It is a recognition of the reality that both men and women are working members of our society and confirms what is already obvious throughout our society that women are now providing all types of skills in every profession. The military is no exception. Since women have proven that they can serve successfully as volunteers in the Armed Forces, equity suggests that they be liable to serve as draftees if conscription is reinstated.[14]

The Senate and the House of Representatives, however, were not buying the administration and military's reasons for registering females. Congress, in particular Senators Sam Nunn and John Warner, argued that since females were not trained for combat, putting them in the rear with the gear would create a Battle of the Bulge problem. In World War II, Patton had to reach back into his support base and pull forward soldiers to fill the front lines in order to turn the tide during the Battle of the Bulge, Germany's last major offensive. Since females in 1981 were prohibited from serving in combat, they were not trained for it, so if a similar situation arose, the female support troops would be useless as combat soldiers. This argument coupled with Congress's assumption that the purpose of draft registration was to provide a pool of readily available combat soldiers resulted in Congress deciding that draft registration should not include females. Congress also assumed that any need for women to fill non-combat positions outside the theatre of war would be filled by volunteers.

A three judge panel in the U.S. Eastern District Court of Pennsylvania that heard the Goldberg v. Rostker case rejected Congress's reasons for denying females the obligation to register and declared the Military Selective Service Act unconstitutional.

To reach this decision, the three district judges first found that draft registration mainly impacted civilian life; therefore, it was not part of military operations. The reason for this conclusion was to avoid deferring to Congress on its registration decision because the Constitution gives Congress the power to do pretty much whatever it wants regarding the military. "The constitutional power of Congress to raise and support armies and to make all laws necessary and proper to that end is broad and sweeping." United States v. O'Brien, 391 U.S. 367, 377 (1968). Another reason for the three judges divorcing registration from military operations was that the courts lack the competence to make decisions concerning the military. In Gilligan v. Morgan, 413 U.S. 1, 10 (1973), the Supreme Court stated:

> [It] is difficult to conceive of an area of governmental activity in which the courts have less competence. The complex, subtle, and professional decisions as to the composition, training, equipping, and control of a military force are essentially professional military judgments, subject always to civilian control of the Legislative and Executive Branches.

The three district judges reasoned that:

> Ordinarily deference is due to congressional and executive decisions in military matters. We are not here concerned with military operations or day to day conduct of the military into which we have no desire to intrude. . . . [The] issue does not involve the court in determining how the military should utilize women in any given situation. The issue before us is the constitutionality of the total exclusion of women from the [Military Selective Service Act], not the extent to which the military services must utilize women.

Goldberg v. Rostker, 509 F.Supp. 586, 596 (E.D. Pa.1980).

Once the hurdle of the required deference to the Congress in military affairs was overcome, the judges had to determine whether requiring the registration of only males violated "equal protection" as required by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. When the federal government is doing something, a clause in the Fifth Amendment requires that "No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law . . . ." Due process of law means "fairness," and it is not fair for the federal government to treat similarly situated persons differently the way King George III did and many modern-day bureaucrats do.

That does not mean different groups of people who are all in similar situations, such as riding a bus or having a coke at the five and dime lunch counter, cannot be treated differently by the gov-

ernment. To do so, however, requires that the different treatment serve a government purpose. How significant the government purpose and how effectively it is served depends on the reason for treating similarly situated groups differently. For example, if the only difference is skin color, then the government must have a "compelling" purpose that is strictly served. That's the highest standard. If it is sex difference, then the government must have just an "important" purpose that is substantially served. That's the middle standard. The lowest standard is that government must have a legitimate purpose that is rationally served, such as requiring drivers to be 17 and older.

Since it was undisputed that the Military Selective Service Act created a sex-based difference, it was up to the government to show that keeping females from registering substantially served an important government purpose.

The purpose of registration according to Congress was to equip the Department of Defense with information so that if it decided on a national mobilization, it could move quickly, effectively and with great flexibility to achieve wartime personnel requirements from the pool of registered persons: 18 to 26 year-olds. The issue for the three judges then was whether excluding females from that pool substantially served the purpose of mobilizing the military in time of national emergency quickly, effectively and with flexibility in conscripting registrants? The three judges ruled it did not and declared the discrimination unconstitutional:

> It is incongruous that Congress believes on the one hand that it substantially enhances our national defense to constantly expand the utilization of women in the military, and on the other hand endorses legislation excluding women from the pool of registrants available for induction. Congress allocates funds so that the military can use and actively seek more female recruits but nonetheless asserts that there is justification for excluding females from selective service, despite the shortfall in the recruitment of women. Congress rejects the current opinion of each of the military services and asserts that women can contribute to the military effectively only as volunteers and not as inductees.

> The President, the Director of the Selective Service System, and representatives of the Department of Defense informed Congress that including women in the pool of registrants eligible for induction would increase military flexibility. The record reveals that in almost any conceivable military crisis the armed forces could utilize skills now almost entirely concentrated in the female population of the nation. Congress itself has appropriated funds for the increased recruitment and utilization of women in the armed services.

> The problem with [prohibiting female registration] is that the record before [this court] proves that there already is extensive utilization of females in the military and that this utilization will substantially increase. The die is already cast for substantial female involvement in the military. Furthermore, the military does not lose flexibility if women are registered because induction calls for females can be made according to military needs as they accrue in the future. Though military flexibility might call for less utilization of female inductees than male inductees in a given crisis situation, it is the antithesis of "flexibility" to exclude women from the pool of registrants that could be called upon in a time of national need.

> The principal reason the government proffers for a male-only registration is that it provides military flexibility. The record here, however, reveals that women do serve a useful role in the military and provide important skills. The foregoing discussion also illustrates that flexibility is not enhanced, but is in fact limited by the complete exclusion of women. We therefore hold that the complete exclusion of women from the pool of registrants does not serve "important governmental objectives" and is not "substantially related" . . . to any alleged government interest. Thus, the Military Selective Service Act unconstitutionally discriminates between males and females.

Goldberg v. Rostker, 509 F.Supp. 586, 603 - 605 (E.D. Pa.1980).

Sounds fair, sounds just—and then the Supreme Court stepped in.

The Supreme Court ruled that the district court's "efforts to divorce registration from the

military and national defense context . . . [were] unpersuasive." Goldberg v. Rostker, 453 U.S. 57, 68 (1981). "Registration is not an end in itself in the civilian world but rather the first step in the induction process into the military one, and Congress specifically linked its consideration of registration to induction, see, e. g., S. Rep. No. 96-826, pp. 156, 160 (1980)." Id.

> [I]induction is interlocked with registration: only those registered may be drafted, and registration serves no purpose beyond providing a pool for the draft. Any assessment of the congressional purpose and its chosen means must therefore consider the registration scheme as a prelude to a draft in a time of national emergency. Any other approach would not be testing the Act in light of the purposes Congress sought to achieve.

Id. at 75.

Since the Supreme Court interlocked registration with induction, it deferred to Congress' decision:

> This is not . . . merely a case involving the customary deference accorded congressional decisions. The case arises in the context of Congress' authority over national defense and military affairs, and perhaps in no other area has the Court accorded Congress greater deference. In rejecting the registration of women, Congress explicitly relied upon its constitutional powers under Art. I, § 8, cls. 12-14. The "specific findings" section of the Report of the Senate Armed Services Committee, later adopted by both Houses of Congress, began by stating:
>
> 'Article I, section 8 of the Constitution commits exclusively to the Congress the powers to raise and support armies, provide and maintain a Navy, and make rules for Government and regulation of the land and naval forces, and pursuant to these powers it lies within the discretion of the Congress to determine the occasions for expansion of our Armed Forces, and the means best suited to such expansion should it prove necessary.' S. Rep. No. 96-826, supra, at 160.

Goldberg v. Rostker, 453 U.S. 57, 63 (1981).

In addition to deferring to Congress's conclusion that it had near complete power over registration, the Supreme Court also deferred to its finding that the purpose of registration was to prepare for a draft of combat troops. Since women were excluded from combat, Congress decided that they would not be needed in the event of a draft, and therefore decided not to require them to register. But what about all those non-combat, support jobs that females could perform? Logically a draft could have been used to fill those roles during an emergency but Congress believed enough females would volunteer. Sure, if the military paid them enough, which it was not, which was why its recruitment efforts for women were not going as planned. The Supreme Court simply overlooked these realities. By tying registration to military affairs and the purpose of registration to create a pool of potential combat soldiers, the Supreme Court ruled that it was up to Congress to make decisions about the registration and induction—not the Court.

> None of this is to say that Congress is free to disregard the Constitution when it acts in the area of military affairs. In that area, as any other, Congress remains subject to the limitations of the Due Process Clause . . . but the tests and limitations to be applied may differ because of the military context. We of course do not abdicate our ultimate responsibility to decide the constitutional question, but simply recognize that the Constitution itself requires such deference to congressional choice.

Goldberg v. Rostker, 453 U.S. 57, 67 (1981). That is legalize for passing the buck in order to avoid a decision at a time that would have been politically unpopular.

The six Justices who overruled the district court's decision apparently forgot that:

> The irreplaceable value of the power articulated by Mr. Chief Justice Marshall [*Marbury v. Madison*, 5 U.S. 137, 1803 WL 893 (1803)] lies in the protection it has afforded the constitutional rights and liberties of individual citizens and minority groups against oppressive or

discriminatory government action. It is this role, not some amorphous general supervision of the operations of government, that has maintained public esteem for the federal courts and has permitted the peaceful coexistence of the countermajoritarian implications of judicial review and the democratic principles upon which our Federal Government in the final analysis rests.

United States v. Richardson, 418 U.S. 192 (1974)(Powell, J., concurring). So when it came to which was more important: Congress' power to violate individual rights or the individual rights violated—rights lost.

On the issue of equal protection, the six Justices said,

This is not a case of Congress arbitrarily choosing to burden one of two similarly situated groups, such as would be the case with an all-black or all-white, or an all-Catholic or all-Lutheran, or an all-Republican or all-Democratic registration. Men and women, because of the combat restrictions on women, are simply not similarly situated for purposes of a draft or registration for a draft.

Goldberg v. Rostker, 453 U.S. 57, 78 (1981).

Despite much of the media and some not very bright lawyers believing that Goldberg v. Rostker, 453 U.S. 57 (1981) was decided on equal protection grounds, it was not. The Supreme Court's statement about equal protection was just dicta. That means it was not necessary to its decision to uphold male-only registration as constitutional.

On January 23, 2013, the Pentagon decided to end the policy of excluding women from combat positions, and over the years the statutory restrictions had been repealed. Today, the basis of the Supreme Court's argument that requiring the registration of only men is constitutional no longer flies—or does it?

Former Defense Secretary Leon Panetta's change of policy did not open all combat positions to females immediately. The Department of Defense is currently in an "assessment phase" in which each branch of the armed forces will examine all its jobs and units that do not have females in them. The assessment phase is scheduled to end in January 2016, but it's not certain that at its end, females will face the same dangers that men do in combat.

The Defense Department has stated that after the assessment, if a branch finds that a specific job or unit should not include females, then that branch can go back to the Secretary of Defense and ask for an exemption to the policy and to designate the job or unit as closed to women. The official goal of the Pentagon is to open as many jobs as possible consistent with what females can do. Despite Panetta's rhetoric, the Defense Department apparently believes that women are not men, despite depictions to the contrary by Hollywood. In 1992, the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces decided that placing women in combat was not a bright idea. The commission produced a graph showing that, generally speaking, the strongest military woman was only as strong as the weakest military man. It also concluded that the average 20-something woman had the lung power of the average 50-something man.

In 2011, the Marine Corps presented to the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services studies that showed women are endowed with 20 percent lower aerobic power than men, 40 percent lower muscle strength, 47 percent lower lifting strength, and 26 percent slower road-march speed. In addition, their attrition rate from injuries is twice that of men, their nondeployable rate three times higher, and most females cannot heave a grenade beyond its 35-meter burst radius. These facts do not mean that the Department of Defense will keep females out of certain combat roles at the end of its assessment phase. The Department can simply lower its requirements for such positions and that would eliminate the Supreme Court's argument that males and females are not similarly situated. So then under equal protection of the Fifth Amendment, draft registration would have to include both men and women.

That's good news for men and the following reasoning would make it even better. Since the

physiology of females has not significantly changed in the last 50 years, meaning females could have served in combat roles during that time had the government not been biased against them, the Pentagon should enforce affirmative action for men. So when the next major war or national emergency requires the use of the draft, only females should be drafted. That would make up to some degree for the past injustices done to all the men who were drafted during the Vietnam War while the ladies stayed safely at home to enjoy life.

When another case or cases challenging the draft registration of only males make their way to the Supreme Court, it may be before the Pentagon finished its assessment of the extent of females in combat positions. In that scenario, the Court would probably say the case was not "ripe." Meaning, the Court has no way to resolve whether men and females are similarly situated when it comes to draft registration because the Pentagon has not yet decided whether combat roles will be the same for both. Still, it would be wise to bring cases challenging the discrimination of draft registration, since it usually takes three of more years to reach the Supreme Court.

In the scenario where a case reaches the Court after the military decides its policy on combat roles, the Supreme Court's decision may not depend on whether the Defense Department includes women in all combat roles, but whether the bill introduced by New York Congressman Charles Rangel to require draft registration of females has become law. Since the basis of the Court's decision in Goldberg v. Rostker, 453 U.S. 57 (1981), was that the Constitution gave Congress the power over the military to which the Supreme Court deferred, logically, the passage of Rangel's bill would mean the Supreme Court would once again defer to Congress. Males and females would both have to register.

Perhaps, but we must not forget that America is a society that gives females preferential treatment pretty much everywhere and all the time so long as men end up paying the price. Therefore, even if Rangel's bill becomes law, the Supreme Court may choose not to defer to Congress when the Pentagon keeps females out of some combat positions. Such a result would enable the Court to ignore Congress, and then use equal protection to assure females preferential treatment by saying Rangel's law is unconstitutional because it treats females and males in the same fashion when they are not similarly situated. A majority of the Justices would most likely do this if they thought it politically popular.

In 1981, the National Organization of Women filed an amicus brief in Goldberg v. Rostker, 453 U.S. 57 (1981), and testified before Congress that "omission from the registration and draft ultimately robs women of the right to first-class citizenship. . . . Because men exclude women here, they justify excluding women from the decision-making of our nation."[16] Recently Maj. Mary Jennings Hegar defended her decision to challenge the combat exclusion policy in court at the risk of potentially subjecting women to the draft.[17] "The question is not whether we want our daughters to be drafted, she explained, but what kind of world we want them to inhabit: one where they're infantilized as passive objects of chivalry or one where they're empowered to achieve their potential as genuinely equal citizens?"[18]

So in a climate where females get what they want, men just need to give them the opportunity. For guys like us without government power or billions of dollars it is to start lawsuits in the federal courts claiming that young females should be treated equally with young males so that both can fulfill their potentials in this society.

Postscript: A group of civil rights lawyers and activists are now preparing to bring such a case in which they will pick up all the legal expenses. So far they have found one courageous young man who is seriously considering becoming a plaintiff but are looking for other plaintiffs to join a class action suit. The plaintiffs do not have to be just young men between 18 and 25 who registered for the draft, they can be

- females in the same age group because by preventing them from registering, the government is discriminating against them;
- males 26 years old or older and born after January 1, 1960, who knowingly or willfully never registered for the draft; and

   •   males 18 to 25 years old who failed to register for the draft within 30 days of their 18th birthday.

Readers who are interested in this initiative are invited to contact the author, Roy Den Hollander, Esq. at rdenhollander97@gsb.columbia.edu.

Footnotes

[1]National Archives, Statistical Information about Fatal Casualties of the Vietnam War, http://www.archives.gov/research/military/vietnam-war/casualty-statistics.html

[2]Speech by Lt. Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey (reproduced in the Pentagram, June 4, 1993) assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Memorial Day 1993.

[3]Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Washington, D.C.

[4]See Dept. of Defense, Background Study Use of Women in the Military at 25-27 (2d Ed. 1978).

[5]Presidential Recommendations for Selective Service Reform: A Report to Congress Pursuant to P.L. 96-107 at 14 (Feb. 11, 1980).

[6]Rowan Scarborough, False reports outpace sex assaults in the military, The Washington Times, May 12, 2013.

[7]Deposition of Bernard Rostker at 17-18 (May 13, 1980).

[8]Testimony of, Director of the Selective Service System, before the Sub-committee on Manpower and Personnel of the Senate Armed Services Committee at 36-37 (March 19, 1980).

[9]Statement of Bernard D. Rostker before the Subcommittee on Manpower and Personnel of the Senate Armed Services Committee at 2 and 6 (March 19, 1980).

[10]Subcommittee on Manpower and Personnel of the Committee on Armed Services of the United States Senate on March 13, 1979 at 10-11.

[11]Testimony of Robert B. Pirie, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Logistics, before the Subcommittee on Military Personnel of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives at 28-30 (March 5, 1980).

[12]Testimony of Robert B. Pirie, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Logistics, before the Subcommittee on Military Personnel of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives at 24-25 (March 5, 1980).

[13]Statement of Robert B. Pirie and Bernard Rostker before the Subcommittee on Military Personnel of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives at 2 (March 5, 1980).

[14]Testimony of Robert B. Pirie, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Logistics at the March 5, 1980, hearing held by the Subcommittee on Military Personnel of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives.

[15]"[W]e must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex." President Eisenhower's Farewell Address as President.

[16]1980 Congressional testimony of National Organization for Women member Judy Goldsmith.

[17]Hegar et al. v. Panetta, 12-cv-06005 (N.D. Cal. 2012).

[18]Rachel Natelson, Selective Service Is an Obligation of Citizenship, Including Women, U.S. News & World Report, February 12, 2013.

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The Family Union

Neil Lyndon

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This is the full text of a speech delivered on 1 July 2013 in London to the Annual General Meeting of the campaigning group Parity by the author of No More Sex War: The Failures of Feminism (1992), the world's first egalitarian, progressive critique of feminism. Central to that book was the argument that men's and women's interests are not in opposition but are usually identical and always harmonious. Here the author argues that feminism is a faith impermeable to reason, evidence or justice. In order to release society from the grip of that ideological orthodoxy, it will be necessary to form a body that represents the interests of men and women equally in the family, The Family Union.

Key Words: domestic violence: pay; empowering females; poor, young black males; suffragettes; privileged females; family union.

Let me begin by sucking up to you and say that I honour and admire Parity for its pioneering work; for being resolutely at the forefront of equality between men and women for decades; and for the robust individuality with which Parity has pursued the unfashionable cause of truth and justice on this vital topic.

That's enough of the sucking-up, however. I am hoping today that I might introduce you to a conclusion that you possibly may not have thought about or considered - despite your greatly ho-noured vanguard position.

As a lifelong, unswerving believer in the cause of parity between men and women, between girls and boys, I am going to argue that, in order to succeed in these adverse times, what that cause most needs is a union like a nationwide trade union to represent the interests of families and every-body who belongs to a family. You could call it The Family Union.

By that I mean a fully established union with branches and a national headquarters that will represent everybody in their place of work and at home, in schools and colleges, in the courts and in Parliament and also act as a pressure group on the political/media establishment and on government at all levels. It could, for a start, be a federation or umbrella group for all the groups and societies that have interests in the field of family life – from the WI to Fathers 4 Justice, from the Mothers' Union to the Grandparents Association.

This pipe-dream (for that is what it is, of course, and most likely to remain) would be the first mass union to be formed since the labour movement rose in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

But instead of representing the interests of one class against others – as did the craft unions - The Family Union would represent the interests of all individuals in families against the interests of government and of capital (those juggernauts which, at present, trundle largely unopposed over the lives of families and are free to stamp upon individuals any demands that suit them).

Over many decades of thinking about gender relations, God help me, I have come to believe that only a body which is constitutionally established to represent the interests of everybody in fam-ilies – which means about 95% of us – and to represent all those interests equally, can release our age, our society, our culture from the stultifying, calcifying grip of the Marxist-inspired gender ide-ology and faith that has broadly dominated all interpretation of these issues for the last 150 years and has monopolised it in the last 50 years.

Before we can reach that point, however, we are going to have to trundle ourselves over some familiar ground. We need to fix a point of departure from where we are now in order to reach that desirable -if mirage-like - oasis of arrival.
To that end, I want to begin by asking you to cast your minds back and try to think when did you last hear or read it stated as a matter of fact that one woman in four suffers domestic abuse at the hands of the man she lives with?

Was it this morning on Radio 4's Today programme, while you were eating your breakfast? Or was it in your daily newspaper yesterday? Was it on Coronation St last Tuesday or on the Archers the week before last?

In my own case, this did, in fact, happen just the other day on the Today programme when Sandra Horley, the chief executive of Refuge, was being given the freedom of the airwaves (I don't think the word "interview" should be besmirched in this context) and she came out with that figure yet again – as she has perhaps ten thousand times in the last 30 years – and was not asked, as she never has been in my hearing, "where did you get this figure? what's the evidence? how do we know it's true? What about the gigantic body of reputable research which tells a completely different story?" We'll come back to that sore and sorry story in a minute but let me take another step and ask you, again, to try to remember when you last read, heard or saw an item of information (whether in the news, an advertisement or a scene in a tv soap) which stated as a matter of fact that, in some way or another, women are routinely paid less than men for the same work?

My most recent brush with this particular canard was last week on Twitter when my feed from the office of the most powerful man on earth told me that, in the USA, women are paid 70c for every dollar paid to men.

(My reply, by the way, was to ask President Obama if this appalling, indefensible injustice applied to every woman police officer, every female member of the armed forces, every woman teacher or doctor, every female government worker whose pay comes from federal, state or local government budgets? If so, I suggested, all those women should get themselves up a class action and sue the President of the United States from here to kingdom come.

I also asked, incidentally, if profit-minded businesses like Dell, IBM and HP can get away with paying women less than men, why don't they employ only women? Have they overlooked the fact that, if they followed that course of action, they would reduce their labour costs and make more profit?

Turning back reluctantly from the White House after our too-brief sojourn in the Oval Office, can I ask you now to try to remember the last time you heard it declared as a certainty that girls are in a position of general disadvantage and need to be supported - "empowered" is the word favoured by Michelle Obama, Hillary Clinton and other similarly disadvantaged ladies - to make the most of themselves in a hostile and unsympathetic world?

I came across that line yesterday. Truly. I wasn't looking for it. I didn't make a note of it. I only remembered it when I was writing this speech and it popped back into my mind.

It came up in an interview in the Financial Times with a young woman who runs a business marketing beauty products. She and her husband have just overseen a launch of their company on the stock exchange so you might guess they are doing all right. She seems to be a well-known person - though I had never heard of her and can't remember her name - so, again, you might imagine she hasn't got quite so much to complain about as, say, a 17 year-old mother of two living in a council flat in Grimsby. But when she was asked to list her enthusiasms, she answered that she was "pas-

sionate about empowering girls and young women."

I have frequently replied on Twitter to Michelle Obama and Hillary Clinton when they come out with this complacent, sisterly guff asking why they seem to care only about girls? I would like to ask the same question of this young woman in the FT. Why do people who ostensibly care so much about equality never notice the position of young males, especially poor young males, especially poor young males who happen to be black?

Surprise, surprise, no answer has ever been forthcoming from those Olympian heights. I keep getting up in the middle of the night to check my Twitter timeline but, so far, not a peep, still less a tweet.

Yet, if there is one single social group in the western world whose members are spectacularly, undeniably in positions of disadvantage - if there is one class of people who are hopelessly and permanently crushed by inequality in education, employment opportunities, wealth, health and prospects - it is black males of any age but especially those between the ages of 15-25.

It is impossible to be sentient in the modern world and not be aware of this fact - yet not only does it never get mentioned by the most powerful and influential women in the world: I have never even heard it mentioned by the most powerful man in the world, who happens to be a black man. The only times I have ever heard Barack Obama talk about men have been when he was berating men for being feckless, negligent or absent fathers – that old Uncle Tom jive.

I imagine we can all agree that these statements are the routine stuff of our daily lives, almost as common as the weather forecast or the stock market reports.

We are subjected to them so constantly that we may not even notice their frequency, still less might we bridle at their dubiety, their illogicality or their sheer nasty gormlessness.

As a society, as an age, as a culture we have learned to accept these declarations as articles of an incontestable faith. They must be true because everybody believes them.

In this company, I imagine it will not be necessary to go painstakingly over the fallacies, the contradictions and the implausibilities in these articles of faith.
I imagine that everybody here will, at some point, have asked themselves "If one in four women suffers domestic violence, why do I know so few women (or possibly not even one) of whom this is true?"

Everybody here will probably have wondered why, if the incidence of violent crime is falling in all categories in almost every developed country in the world, the figure for women who suffer domestic violence should have remained unaltered ever since Sandra Horley and her ilk first began to bruit it abroad (they call themselves "the domestic violence sector", by the way, as if they occupy a subdivision of the economy, like retailing). I imagine that most people here will be aware that, while the figure of two women a week murdered by their male partners (a figure which gets retailed every time the subject the of domestic violence comes up) – while that figure has, in fact, been falling slightly over the last 10 years, the figure for men murdered by the women they live with has risen

slightly over the same period so that, today, more than one man a week is murdered.

Both figures are reassuringly minute. You are much more likely to die riding a bicycle than at the hands of your spouse or domestic partner but, as I am going to discuss, the true figures have no bearing on the public mind. Even Iain Duncan Smith comes out with the one-in-four figure and the bugaboo about two women murder victims a week.(At this point you may feel that I may rest my case; but I shall continue.)

You will probably all have asked yourself why, if women are, truly, paid less than men for the same work in our society, why doesn't anybody ever initiate legal proceedings under the provisions of the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act? Those acts have been statute law in this country for 43 and 38 years respectively. They specifically outlaw paying people of different sexes different rates for the same work. If this outrageous and indefensible discrimination is still happening in the 21st century, you have to ask what successive Directors of Public Prosecutions have been doing with their time.

Similarly, we must ask ourselves why, if girls are so uniquely in a position of disadvantage in our culture, why do they so spectacularly out-perform boys at all levels of our education system?

Parity, I know, has devoted considerable thought and research to these questions and I am sure there is no need here to labour over the evidence which demolishes that heap of fallacies.

Not least of the reasons why there is no need is that there is no point. The evidence - plainly- has no bearing at all on the beliefs. It doesn't make the slightest difference. The creed which under-pins these articles of faith is not susceptible or pervious to reason, proof or the rules of evidence. It is not a matter of argument. As it was put to me by the woman with whom I was living in 1970 - and who was an ardent early-adopter of the modern feminism that was emerging at that time - "this is an argument you cannot win".

To enlarge and support that civilised observation (whatever happened to the Age of Reason? whatever happened to the rules of evidence?), take a look online at an interview on Israeli tv with Professor Murray Strauss of the University of New Hampshire - one of the world's leading authorities on the subject of domestic violence. Professor Strauss says that more than 230 impartial, peer-reviewed scholarly studies now exist to prove that, where domestic violence occurs, women assault their partners with the same frequency as men.

When asked about the reaction he encountered to this information, he replied "Generally, people simply refuse to believe it. They say it simply can't be true."
That response – surely we must all know and agree – is what we are up against. People refuse to believe the evidence that contradicts the established feminist faith of our age. They will not countenance it. They simply will not have it.

This is not just an argument you cannot win. It's an argument you are not even allowed to start.

Take votes for women. It is such an unquestionable item of faith in our age that the extension

of the franchise to women in 1919 resulted from the efforts and the sacrifices of the Suffragettes that it is actually a form of delinquent heresy to question or to doubt that truth. You are allowed - encouraged - to doubt the existence of God; you can question the utility of the monarchy; you can air doubts about the even-handedness and the probity of the police. But you question the role of the Suffragettes at your peril.

It is a truth so universally acknowledged that the Suffragettes won women the vote that you won't find one person in 100,000 who questions it. At my little daughters' primary school, children are indoctrinated in that belief before they have even been introduced to the cardinal articles of faith of the world's leading religions.

So, if you ask people how many men were enfranchised by the 1919 Act, they will look completely bewildered, baffled and reply "none, of course". Do try this at home. I have never known it to fail. If you tell somebody that more men than women got the vote in 1919 and that most of the men who died in the First World War were not entitled to vote, the person you are talking to is likely to look as if the world has slipped violently under their feet. If you ask them what was the majority in the House of Commons in favour of this reform (answer: 10 to one) and ask how many women were sitting on the benches of the House of Commons at that moment, you will witness a whole world of certainty disappearing down the plughole.

The reason for this dismay is obvious.

If it is true that opposition to votes for women was a fringe position by 1919 and if it is true that the extension of the franchise to women had been, throughout the previous decade, the most widely supported reform movement of the last 200 years (and both of those positions are thoroughly tenable), then the whole idea of a system organized by men for the benefit of men and designed to inflict repression and disadvantage on women - that entire notion of patriarchy which dates from Rousseau and Engels and which has underpinned all our thinking on gender issues for the last 50 year – goes for a burton. It's dead in the water.

That's why you can't get this argument started. Because it ends in the ruin of the feminist orthodoxy. That edifice of intolerance and of sexist spite, built on a marsh of shifting half-truths and a miasma of misperceptions, comes crashing down as soon as you rest a finger of scepticism or impartial inquiry upon it.

How can it be a patriarchy when it includes disadvantages for men - or are we going to say that getting a second-rate education, being passed over for employment and being deprived of your own children by legal process is some kind of advantage? How can it be a patriarchy when every major change and reform in the lives of women in the last 150 years has been initiated, supported and encouraged by men - from John Stuart Mill to David Steele? If you look at the record of change for women, it is self-evident, transparent, incontestable that this long history of change has taken place with the active agreement and consent of men who have, on the whole, adapted remarkably easily to the new order that has come into being.

So - our society can only be called a patriarchy through an act of wilful denial of reality. But

too many people in our time now owe their positions - their status, their income, their honours. their self-respect - to the feminist orthodoxy to allow it to be demolished. I'm not just talking about Jenni Murray of Woman's Hour or Polly Toynbee of The Guardian. I'm talking about pretty much everybody in the media/political Establishment of the western world - politicians, journalists, editors, current affairs presenters on tv and radio, university teachers, lawyers and judges. doctors and social workers - all are required to bend the knee to this orthodoxy and all do so with uncritical promptitude. From the Huffington Post to Le Monde, from the Old Bailey to our girls' primary school to the pulpit in your local church - all public officials and representatives of public opinion have surrendered to this body of belief and pump it out at the turn of a tap.

To demolish that orthodox faith - that pernicious, poisonous, parasitic creed - now by frontal assault would require an upheaval equal to the Protestant revolution. That simply isn't going to happen - or, as was once famously said, I'm a banana. Change isn't going to be achieved by reason. This is an argument you cannot win, after all. It can't be effected by appeals to justice. It can't be achieved through the protests of those afflicted by manifest injustice. See what has been the fate, over decades, of Families Need Fathers or, more recently, Fathers 4 Justice - scorn, derision, neglect, marginalisation, ostracism.

The only way that I can see to make progress beyond this antique ideology - the last surviving remnant of the totalitarianisms of the twentieth century - is to by-pass it, to outflank it, to go around it, to surround it with the active interests, actively expressed of the majority of people and thus to isolate it, to cut it off, starve it of influence and allow it to wither and die.

That's where The Family Union comes in (at last, you may reasonably sigh). A body which represented the interests of all children, all young people, all parents, all grandparents - and which assumed, as a constitutional obligation, that all of those interests were of equal importance - could not only be impervious, indifferent to the odious feminist orthodoxy. It could actually make a difference.

The most encouraging sign I have seen in recent years came in the unlikely setting of a supermarket car-park in Gateshead. A clean and tidy family estate car was being backed out of a parking space by a smartly-dressed old lady and in its rear window I saw the sticker "Justice for fathers in divorce."

It seemed most likely to me that the driver was a mother and grandmother and I guessed that she and her son were being forcibly estranged from their own children and grandchildren through the operations of the family courts. Here, I thought, was a real breakthrough moment.

If grandmothers could get up in arms and start demanding justice in the courts, it might actually come about. If mothers could get together and start insisting on equal treatment for their sons at school - if they started insisting that their boys should not be treated as primitive barbarians, if they started demanding male teachers in equal numbers with female teachers (as is now happening, I believe, in some parts of Germany) - who would resist them? Not David Cameron. Not Michael Gove. Not Ed Miliband. Not even - I bet - Harriet Harman.

The people with the power in our age - as I have argued many times before - are women. In previous ages, the people with power supported the claims of those who were powerless.

Men initiated, encouraged and saw into law the reforms that changed the position of women. White people in the USA dedicated themselves to reforms to make black people better off. The white nations of the world combined to force the apartheid regime of South Africa to abandon its racist rule.

Women ought - I submit - to feel an obligation today to repair the inequalities and the injustices inflicted on boys and men. Western women in the last 50 years since the advent of the Pill changed everything are - surely - the most privileged and the most fortunate human beings ever to have existed on the face of the earth.

The first women to be free to enter education and employment on equal or better terms with men, they are also the first ever to be able to control their fertility infallibly and, if they make a mistake, the first to be able to correct it simply and safely. The first to be legally entitled to divorce on preferential terms, they are also the first to be free to choose their own sexual lives without guilt and the first to be free to wear whatever they want - or nothing - without legal consequence.

Women owe it to boys and men, I would say, to use their influence and their power to make males equal in our own time, in our own world.

However, they won't do it, at present, because everybody in every office of state and every position of influence believes, instinctively, that the interests of women are paramount and that, if anybody is suffering disadvantage by reason of gender, it must be women. They will ask: what's in it for women to make things better for men?

Answer: the benefits of The Family Union.

The only way that I can see that change might be initiated by women to benefit men is if they can see those changes, also, to be in their own benefit.

If women can be persuaded that is actively in their own interests to make fathers equal in family law and life, then surely it must happen?

If women could cast off the eye-patch of feminism and acquire a binocular view, they might see that their own careers are being impaired and their earning potential reduced by having to take time off work when their babies are born and their children are still little, while the fathers are expected to remain at work, then - surely - they would use The Family Union to campaign for men and women to have equal time off work (in my view neither mother nor father should be expected to work full time before a child is three)?

Surely, surely, mothers of sons would feel that they were being better mothers if their Family Union insisted on reforming the practices of our national education system and made boys equal with girls at school? Surely grandmothers would feel that they were doing the right thing by their

grandchildren if, through their membership of The Family Union, they required the courts to treat their own sons - the fathers of their grandchildren - equally in divorce proceedings?.

Those reforms would, decidedly, be in the own interests of those women. Feminists would therefore have nothing to complain about (will any of us ever live to see such a day?). But to achieve those reforms, those equalities, requires a body with power which will act in everybody's interests equally - that is, observing the principles of parity.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you The Family Union.

Shall we get it going? Shall we all sign up? Right now?

Some hopes.

Neil Lyndon, author and journalist, can be followed on Twitter @neillyndon.

The only good man is a dead man:
Queering ideological feminism in Splice

Douglas Gosse

In the movie Splice, two young rebellious scientists at Newstead Pharmaceutics, Elsa Kant and Clive Nicoli, have an overt agenda to develop medical treatments for diseases such as Parkinson's and Alzheimer's. Showing hubris, and ignoring legal and ethical boundaries, one of the scientists, Elsa, introduces human DNA into their experiment. The resulting creature, whom she and her complicit research partner and lover, Clive, name Dren ("Nerd" backwards), is a female hybrid of animal, insect, fish, and human genes, and an unexpected sequential hermaphrodite who changes from female to male. I explore misandry, ideological feminism, and more progressive attitudes towards males largely from The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love (2004), by controversial American social activist bell hooks, according to three dominant leitmotifs in Splice: (i) nerdism and the ineffectual, emotionally dead male scientist; (ii) the deviant man and the benign woman and, finally; (iii) the murdering, rapist hermaphrodite/man. In this way, I unveil Splice as a deceptively transgressive, cinematographic art form that actually reinstates misandric norms regarding gender, sexualities, and socio-economic trends and roles for men in particular.

Key Words: men's studies, ideological feminism, androgenophobia, queer theory, misandry

Introduction

In Greek tragedies, such as those of Shakespeare, "hubris" (Wikipedia 2012) refers to actions that shame and humiliate the victim for the pleasure or gratification of the abuser; such outrageous treatment usually involves sexual connotations and acts. Indeed, Clive, Elsa, and Dren enter into a complex triangle in which parent-child relationships merge with sexual yearnings, jealousy, and rage. Acts of sex, from sexually motivated sadistic bodily mutilation to incest and rape, and also more mundane but unnerving physical and psychological abuse and murder, create a modern, scientifically inspired tableau of Greek tragedy proportions.

In Splice (Natali, Bryant, and Taylor 2010), two rebellious, hip scientists at Newstead Pharmaceutics, Elsa and Clive, have an overt agenda to develop medical treatments for diseases such as Parkinson's and Alzheimer's. Their covert agenda is to become superstars by splicing different animal DNA to create fantastical new creatures and patents. Initially, they create the slug-like hybrids that they name Ginger and Fred, thereby generating considerable praise and expectations amongst their bosses and board members. In the meantime, Ginger, whom they did not realize was a sequential hermaphrodite, has unknowingly changed from female to male. Clive and Elsa show off the pair to stockholders, but the slug-like creatures proceed to brutally killing each other, rather than showing a lovey-dovey demonstration. Senior management promptly calls off their experiment. Ignoring legal and ethical boundaries, and without Clive's knowledge, Elsa introduce her own DNA into their experiment to create a new creature.

Once the company has shut down their experiment, Elsa admits to Clive what she has done. Reluctant but complicit, he assists with the birth of the creature. The result is a female hybrid of animal, insect, fish, and human genes who grows at an accelerated rate. Initially, Elsa alternates between treating Dren as a child or pet. They keep the child Dren at their barricaded work laboratory, until too much suspicion is aroused. Then they bring Dren to Elsa's secret, abandoned family farm. Once Dren reaches young adulthood, Clive and Elsa learn that she is a sequential hermaphrodite, a creature able to change sex. Academic critiques of Splice to date rightly argue that the film adds to the sizable body of horror films in which aspects of procreative sexuality—from conception, pregnancy, and childbirth to early parenthood—are used figuratively, as visual or topical metaphors of monstrosity (see, for instance: Hantke 2011; Renner 2011). However, my interpretation goes beyond the obvious, to an analysis of Splice as a transgressive cinematographic art form, one that violates boundaries and norms regarding shifting gender, sexualities, and socio-economic roles and trends for men and women, with which society is experiencing angst.

Background

I critique tenets of ideological feminism in Splice. Ideological feminism is an extremist form of feminism. Borrowing from the Marxist notions of the subjugated proletariat rising up against the exploitative, entitled bourgeoisie, ideological feminists have replaced proletariat with "women", and the bourgeoisie with "men". Ideological feminists have for decades created a field of women's studies, research, and dogma that permeates every aspect of society, from education and popular culture to our legal and scientific institutions, resulting in pervasive misandry—contempt for men, the counterpart of misogyny (Nathanson and Young 2006). As an omnipresent yet often subconscious part of our individual and collective psyche in North America, ideological feminist tenets often go unnoticed—they have become accepted as normal and commonplace, but yet are jarringly false, damaging, and reductionist to both men and women.

Farrell (1993, p. 67) refers to the concept of patriarchy as a universal political structure which privileges men at the expense of women, a problematic notion which he actively contests. A cornerstone of ideological feminism is the notion of patriarchy, which entails societal perpetuation of the traditional male qualities of stoicism, autonomy, and hunger for power and dominance. In ideological feminist belief, men are simultaneously malignant and exploitive, and yet incongruously the protectors, providers, and defenders of women and children, the latter role being downplayed, or construed as evil-intended "control". Ideological feminists hold the conviction that men yield ultimate power over women, and certain men, such as gays, who deviate from hegemonic masculine ideals—

an aggressive form of heterosexuality mired in obsession with pornography, and sexual exploitation and rape of girls and women. Prevalent in popular culture, bell hooks (2004) says:

Since contemporary feminist movement, the genre of the mystery novel has been exploited such feminist issues as domestic violence, rape, and incest to create male villains who are misogynists.

In the vein of Camille Paglia and Katie Roiphe, bell hooks decries radical feminists as "pathological narcissists" who see even a harsh word as assault or rape; hooks rebukes ideological feminists for reinforcing the idea that men "...were and only are sexual oppressors", while women, especially young women, are "...always and only victimized by sexuality" (hooks 2003, , p. 142-143).

To illustrate the problematic notion of the sexually and physically violent male in contemporary propaganda, the Canadian Women's Foundation recently introduced a 30-second television spot airing on Citytv stations across the country called "It's a girl!" A group of women are gathered at a baby shower (Powell 2012). The celebratory mood darkens when the new mother pulls out a whistle, and is informed by the gift-giver that it is a rape whistle. The young mother looks alarmed, but a young girl of approximately 8 years (perhaps her elder daughter) takes the whistle, a knowing half-smile on her face. A caption then appears on the screen, "1 out of 2 girls growing up in Canada will be physically or sexually abused." Upon investigation, I found the following on the Canadian Women's Foundation (2012) website: "Half of all women in Canada have experienced at least one incident of physical or sexual violence since the age of 16." This data is actually from a study of from the early nineties (Statistics Canada 1993). Moreover, the Canadian Women's Federation (2012) refers to a broad definition of "violence against women" provided by the United Nations, also from 1993:

Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.

Psychological or emotional abuse is commonly held to include insults, humiliation, put-downs and yelling, and extreme (often unfounded) jealousy (Johnson 2006, p. 9). If this were included in the allegation, it is probable that 100% of women and men in Canada might experience "abuse" over their lifetime.

Furthermore, the Canadian Women's Foundation website (2012) notes that, "On average, every six days a woman in Canada is killed by her intimate partner. In 2009, 67 women were murdered by a current or former spouse or boyfriend." However, females account for the lowest proportion of homicide victims in Canada, and the lowest rate of females killed since 1961, as reported in 2008, not 2009 (Beattie 2009). Females account for 24% of the total 611 homicide victims, and males for 76%, or 3 times the overall rate of females during this period. Also, evidence suggests that women are as physically aggressive, or more aggressive, than men in their relationships with their spouses or male partners (Fiebert 2012). Ultimately, as Kimmel (2001, p. 23) indicates:

Men who are punched, slapped, kicked, bitten, or otherwise assaulted by their wives or partners are no less deserving of compassion, understanding, and intervention than are women who are so assaulted. And male victims deserve access to services and funding, just as female victims do. Nor do they need to be half of all victims in order to deserve either sympathy or services.

While women are not killed as often in film, cinema is rife with tales of their sexual victimhood by male predators from molesters to rapists and sex traffickers. Noble men, whether husbands, fathers, or boyfriends, are then called upon to seek vengeance or save them, in keeping with the longstanding damsel in distress motif and the tradition of courtly love—a man must prove himself worthy of a female by engaging is daring even deadly feats (see Wollock 2011). The popular television CSI series over-represents the number of female murder victims at 34% and male murder victims at about 66% (Deutsch and Cavender 2008), when in reality it is closer to 25% with 75% of murder victims in North America being male.

Ideological feminism maintains social, political and research focus on women and children victims of violence, domestic and otherwise, so that fewer services are available to males. Simulta-

neously, the Boy Code (Pollack 1998, 23-25), which encourages stoicism in males and a disinclination to admit weakness or vulnerability, discourages many targeted males from reporting violence, or accessing services, for to do so would be "unmanly". The longstanding ideology of the benign woman and mother, and the innate nobility of females, versus the vice of men and fathers, also works to inhibit acknowledgement of female violence.

Gosse and Arnocky (2012) provide compelling statistics on injury and premature death for males. Being male is unequivocally the most significant demographic risk-factor for premature death in developed countries (Kruger and Nesse 2004). In Canada, suicide, coronary heart disease, drug or alcohol abuse, violence, and accidents pose a significantly greater risk to male versus female youth (Kalben 2000; Möller-Leimkühler 2003). Canadian male youth are also at greater risk than female youth to incur physical injury. For instance, an average of 24.4% of male versus 20% of female students in grades 6 through 10, reported missing one or more days of school, or usual activities, due to an injury (Pickett 2008). Mounting evidence indicates that the numbers of female perpetrators of sexual violence against boys and girls may be greater than previously believed, and overall sexual violence against boys may be under-reported in Canada (see, for instance: Female sex offenders 1998-2012). There may also be more male victims in the 4-7 year old range on child pornographic databases, which men and women appear to be running in equal numbers (Gillespie and Leaver 2002). Therefore, the onus on male violence against females needs to be questioned, as does the notion of patriarchal privilege and power.

The modern film Splice upholds this longstanding cinematic disregard for men's lives, for the significant male characters are killed at the end. Moreover, applying the extremist ideological feminist belief, as portrayed in Splice, that "the only good man is a dead man", I resolve to illustrate that truisms of ideological feminism are actually falling apart.

Theory

Modern enlargement of gender diversity (from the shifting numbers of men and women in non-traditional careers to the notion of the metrosexual), sexualities (including growing social and legal acceptance of gay rights and marriage, and the move towards protection of transgender human rights in Canadian provincial and national legislation, to the proliferation of LGBTTIQ characters on North American television and in cinema), and shifting social-economic power structures (women in North America are increasingly chief breadwinners in families, for instance, and tend to be university educated more often), are at work to induce these emergent ruptures. Simultaneously, and paradoxically, traditional norms are thus being continuously and frantically reinstated in popular culture, in wildly popular and grossing movies, such as the Twilight saga (2008-2012) or The Amazing Spiderman (2012), to the hegemonic masculine enactments of the Harry Potter series (2001-2011), all of which epitomize the Boy Code, and place male protagonists in heroic and knightly roles, stereotypically protecting womenfolk along the "damsel in distress" leitmotif, or all of society.

A poststructuralist approach examines intersections of identity, and overlap, between race, class, gender, sexual orientation, geographical location, and language and culture. However, predicated on a dualism of male-female, ideological feminism not only vilifies males, as if we were a homogeneous group, but also propagates misandry. Queer theory is a form of post-structuralism that can challenge capitalist notion of masculinities and power (Jagose 1996). A queered position involves an ontological shift resistant to heteronormativity (Honeychurch 1996). Queer puts into question inconsistencies between categories of sex, gender, discourse, and desire (St-Hilaire 1999). One may dwell in paradoxes, as in bell hooks books', The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love (2004).

In Splice, I seek to queer knowledge that reflects ideological feminism, misandry, and heteronormativity, in keeping with morphing ways of reconsidering gender, sexuality, and power in the 21st century. Several prevalent misandric premises arise in hooks' book, as well as some that are more progressive and wrought with contradictions to the former.. Sample pages are indicated for reference to these premises:

The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love	
Misandric premises	**Progressive premises that challenge misandry**
North American boys are socialized to be potential rapists, predators, and killers. (pages 43-44, 55, 75, 77-78, 85-89, 92, 115, 120, 130-131, 169, 180)	Knowing men only for the violence they inflict on women and children is an impartial, inadequate knowing. Males suffer in patriarchy, too. (pages xi-xii, xv, 31-32, 35, 41, 49-50, 52-55, 64, 91, 96, 99-100, 139, 157, 179, 184-185)
	Mothers exert tremendous power over their sons, and single-mothers can be particularly sadistic towards them. (pages 12, 18-19, 21, 45, 57, 61, 63-64, 80-81, 131, 136, 145)
We live in a patriarchal society in which males wield power over females, the tools of which are macho rage and violence. (pages xvii, 2, 13, 18, 24, 27-29, 47-48, 51, 59, 6871-72, 77-78, 107-108, 119, 127, 129, 138, 162)	Both women and men are complicit in maintaining patriarchy, including the Boy Code, which force males to repress any emotions or behaviours thought of as feminine or weak, via physical and emotional abuse, such as shaming. (pages 4-5, 7-8, 10-11, 15, 23, 41, 46, 58, 61, 94, 102, 143, 149, 154-155, 160-161, 164, 177)

Even though hooks at times reverts to common ideological feminist ideas as revealed in the left column of the chart, many of her views on men are shockingly contradictive, progressive, and defiant of misandry. This may reflect her confluence of aspects of feminism, and sometimes ideological feminism, with more postmodern or poststructuralist exposure, for just as feminists and qualitative researchers tend to embrace subjectivity, those who are poststructuralists and/or queer theorists highlight the many paradoxes of what we (re)consider and reconfigure to be knowledge.

In any case, The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love, may be viewed as a queer text, one that aggressively troubles common understandings of men, power, and sexualities. As a provocative tool, it compliments writings that are more comprehensively and cohesively pro-male, such as Spreading Misandry, The Teaching of Contempt for Men in Popular Culture (Nathanson and Young 2001), Legalizing misandry: From Public shame to Systemic Discrimination Against Men (Nathanson and Young 2006), and even my own writings (see, for instance: Gosse 2005a, 2008), among many others. I attempt to bring notions from bell hooks' book to the forefront, to enrich the canon of literature in male studies that has a pro-male and anti-misandry stance. Therefore, I apply bell hooks' more progressive premises, as summarized but not pedantically restricted to the chart above, to three dominant leitmotifs in Splice, which I queer: (i) nerdism and the ineffectual, emotionally dead male scientist; (ii) the deviant man and the benign woman and; (iii) the murdering, rapist hermaphrodite/man.

Nerdism and the ineffectual, emotionally dead male scientist

A dominant theme in The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love is that both women and men are complicit in maintaining patriarchy, including the Boy Code, which forces males to repress any emotions or behaviours thought of as feminine or weak, via physical and emotional abuse, such as shaming. This rings true in Splice. Clive may be initially viewed as more cold hearted than Elsa. However, this notion ruptures over time, as we gain a more comprehensive assessment of capitalism at work, and the so-called masculine traits that Elsa embodies from ruthless ambition to psychological

and physical violence towards both Clive and the sex-shifting Dren.

Director Natali openly declares that Splice is a Frankenstein spin-off (cited in Monk 2012), "There was so much room to reinterpret the Frankenstein story in our era of technology. I was surprised that no one had really done it yet" A standard theme since Mary Shelley's Frankenstein (1818), and implicit in Splice is that "intelligent people carry emotional baggage that prevents them from achieving great things" (Marsen 2010). This is the idea that genius is akin to lunacy, and a stalwart of our popular culture since the 1990s. Coleman, in his famous book, Emotional Intelligence, Why it can matter more than I.Q (1995), states that even the most academically brilliant among us are vulnerable to being undone by unruly emotions. Hook (2004, p. 121) similarly says that, "Patriarchal masculinity insists that real men must prove their manhood by idealizing aloneness and disconnection." Along with a Boy Code that forces boys to repress emotions, and become autonomous at all costs (Pollack 1998, pp. 23-25), the modern scientist remains likely damned to a life of long daily hours, and potential loneliness and capitalist exploitation, where progress and patents may take years, if not decades, at personal costs to social, familial, and parental satisfaction. This holds true for both male and female scientists, and other professionals, who may find having a child, or attending to a child in the way they would like, a luxury, and even an impossibility (see, for instance: Slaughter 2012; Power 2012).

Women increasingly outnumber men at both the undergraduate and master's level in universities, with a negligible prevalence of men at the doctoral level (Frenette and Zeman 2007). There are insignificant differences between male and female secondary school achievement in the sciences in some Canadian provinces, and none internationally on a whole (Knighton, Nrochu, and Gluszynski 2010), contrary to ideological feminist assertions otherwise. Darwin said that a scientific man ought to have no wishes, no affections—a mere heart of stone (The Complete Qorks of Charles Darwin 2008). As a hard scientist, Elsa is no different in this regard in her pursuit of power, her competitive spirit, cold ambition, and ignoring of ethics—all traditionally hegemonic male characteristics: (attempting to talk Clive out of killing Dren) You really going to kill it? You think you can do that? Look, it's aging fast, days going by in minutes. The point is this thing is going to die soon anyway. We're going to get to observe its entire life cycle in compressed time. We'll never get an opportunity like this again. She's dying all by herself. –Elsa

On the one hand, this episode reinstates the ideological feminist stance that men are innate killers, usually within a dualism of woman's moral superiority. However, Elsa is not morally superior for her adamancy for Clive to transgress ethical standards may be interpreted as a coercive, shaming tactic, and at the same time, an exploitive move to further her scientific career. In an interview (Monk 2010), Sarah Polley aptly describes the character of Elsa as, "One so full of naked ambition and monstrously manipulative". Similarly. Twenge and Campbell (2009) contend that "Arrogant, angry, and inconsiderate" are classic narcissist traits but ironically, these traits appear to be increasingly present in North American workplaces by bosses, and ambitious employees, to the point that many states and provinces have begun to create anti-workplace bullying legislature (consult: McKay, Arnold, and Fratzl 2008; Martin and LaVan January 2010).

Like many high-achieving women today who are not wealthy enough to engage nannies, working long hours may supersede having a family, or being able to spend adequate time with children (Slaughter 2012). This a sacrifice that men have been making, and continue to make, for generations as majority chief breadwinners, and in occupations such as fisherman, logger, truck driver, and oil worker, all of which may require weeks, or even months, away from home and family at a time. While women are unlikely to significantly increase in numbers in those dirty, dangerous, and unhealthy job (Farrell 2005), the phenomenon of having to spend more and more hours at the office may generate increased levels of maternal frustration and violence towards familial partners and children. Indeed, hook (2004, p. 55) asserts that as women have gained the right to be patriarchal men in drag, and that women are engaging in acts of violence similar to those of their male counterparts. This certainly holds true in Splice, as Elsa in particular becomes increasingly emotionally and physically violent towards Dren, her half pet/half child. Essentially, Elsa epitomizes the controlling, subjugating, and physically violent patriarchal male of ideological feminist lore.

Added to this, Marsen (2010) notes "...the film underlines the practicality and competitiveness of much medical research." Correspondingly, at the beginning of the film Clive says, "What the point

if you can't publish?" In North America, academic life has become less collegial and more dominated by self-interest, power plays, and various forms of domination (Twale and Luca 2008). Schmeink (2012), acknowledging the Clive's and Elsa's growing angst over professional survival says "…in order to function in today's society, in the attention economy of the internet in a highly competitive market, scientists have to embrace transgression in order to be one step ahead."

Reflecting on the potential loss of both personal and professional recognition, Elsa says, "If we don't use human DNA now, someone will." Attempting to talk Clive out of killing Dren, she adds:

You really going to kill it? You think you can do that? Look, it's aging fast, days going by in minutes. The point is this thing is going to die soon anyway. We're going to get to observe its entire life cycle in compressed time. We'll never get an opportunity like this again. She's dying all by herself. –Elsa

It is Clive who is the more cautious, ethical one, but he is drawn into Elsa's determination. With fewer and fewer tenure-track positions in academe, and competition for jobs and grants in scientific fields, the adage, "Publish or perish", may have deeper meaning than ever before, creating a pressure, as reflected in Splice, to not only publish but achieve fame or infamy at any costs. In modern society, fame and notoriety are increasingly seen as interchangeable, as long as one garners public and media attention (Twenge and Campbell 2009).

Indeed, Clive and Elsa receive career bolstering attention with their laboratory creation of the phallic, slug-like Ginger and Fred, described by one film critic (Howell 2010) as "something out of a porno filmmaker's wet dream". They assume they will soon reach the big time due to the patents arising from the phallic duo, whom Elsa says, engage in love at first sight. However, when Ginger unexpectedly transforms into a male and fights with Fred to the bloody death, even this foreshadowing does not dissuade the ambitious and opportunistic Elsa. According to ideological feminist theory, males are violent, and the only good man is a dead man, so Fred and Ginger die.

This is the first dramatic foreshadowing in Splice, of the theme that males are innately physically and sexually dangerous and predatory. Indeed, Dr. Greg Canning at James Cook University, Australia, recently quit his job as adjunct senior lecturer in the School of Medicine over a dispute with a feminist colleague, whom he is reported to have claimed "painted all men as violent or sexual predators", and whom he allegedly accused of publicly practicing sexual vilification (Bateman 2012). Androgenophobia, the prevalent societal conviction that maleness, the male body, and male sexualities are somehow unclean, perverse, and menacing, and erastephobia, a pervasive expectation and fear of looming pedophilia by males in general, are common leitmotifs in education, social and youth services, the volunteer sector, and popular culture (consult: Gosse 2011a; Gosse and Facchinetti 2011).

Furthermore, institutional bureaucracy and researcher isolation create a site where camouflaged aggression may thrive, and Clive and Elsa waver between their secret lab, their insular apartment, and the secret farm of Elsa's inheritance, of which even her partner, Clive, is initially unaware. There is little social connectedness at work, and none apparently outside of work. The closest the couple has to social ties is Clive's brother, Gavin, who plays a minimal role. Brandon McGibbon, as nerdish brother and co-worker of Clive, Gavin Nicoli, jokingly asks if they are making him a mate in their secret laboratory, thereby alluding to Frankenstein (Shelley 1818) and his bride, and his own social isolation as a fellow scientist. Clive and Elsa are social outcasts in the extreme, yet not atypical in today's academic environment that encourages self-interest, sell-promotion, competitiveness, and distrust of colleagues, bosses, and the hostile external world, whose inhabitants cannot, or would not, understand the industry of scientists plotting to change [aspects of] the status quo, and advance society.

Clive and Elsa only garner tacit support at work. Actress Simona Maicanescu, as icy boss Joan Chorot, begs the question, "Is she really enforcing ethics, because "dem's the rules", or giving Elsa mad Clive an official sanction, an implicit wink to proceed with human DNA?" At the end, she is businesslike in paying Elsa for the unborn monstrous baby, even if her words evoke sympathy when she tells Elsa that she could always end it, i.e., abort the baby. Her words and manner come across as disingenuous, as if the character is merely saying what is socially expected, a formality, signs of an anti-social personality. Actor David Hewlett, as boss William Barlow, equally uses the sociopathic

boss model (Sutton 2007), employing rude interruptions and subtle putdowns—status slaps intended to humiliate the victims—Clive and Elsa. This may heighten the couple's impulsion to transgress scientific and ethical boundaries, to "prove" themselves, for they are working in a Molotov cocktail work environment, on the rise in North America.

The deviant man and the benign woman

There is a deeply ingrained societal belief in the virtue of women and the inherent vice of men. However, in The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love the leitmotif that mothers exert tremendous power over their sons, and single-mothers can be particularly sadistic towards them, rings abundantly clear, as demonstrated in Splice. The leitmotif of the cheating, raping husband/father/pedophile is ubiquitous in popular culture from television to movies and literature, as is the notion of the benign mother/wife, often in need of protection or defending. Hook (2004, pp. 63-64) claims that to some extent, reformist feminist thinkers have focused on women as the more ethical, kinder, gentler sex, thereby impeding an in-depth study of maternal sadism, especially with boys. Witnessing her mounting psychological and physical abuse, Clive asks Elsa, "Why the fuck did you make her in the first place? Huh? For the betterment of mankind? You never wanted a normal child because you were afraid of losing control." Hook (2004, p. 137) states:

Many mothers in patriarchal culture silence the wild spirit in their sons, the spirit of wonder and playful tenderness, for fear their sons will be weak, will not be prepared to be macho men, real men, men other men will envy and look up to.

Transgressively, hooks is declaring that women, like men, also invest in enforcement of the Boy Code, and Splice further shows that Elsa is anything but benign or maternal, and on the contrary, capable of great violence and manipulation—like patriarchal men are purported to be.

It is crucial to understand choices that some women have, more so than many men. It is still acceptable for women to stay at home and be wives and mothers, but more precarious for househusbands, who may be viewed as parasitic and unmanly (Gosse 2005b), although this is changing. Some women may not chose to work the long hours, and indeed, years or decades in laboratories, that are often required to make even modest contributions in scientific fields (consult: Larson 2011). Women still tend to take more time away from work to raise children. While the number of househusbands is increasing (Appleyard 2007; Segal 2005), men still work longer hours outside of the home. An overwhelming majority of men continue to occupy the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs, from truck and taxi driver to miner and logger (CONSAD Research Corporation 2009; Honeychurch 1996). Almost thirsty years ago, Penford (1985, p. 276) said:

Beset already by financial pressures, the involuntary househusband is in double jeopardy emotionally. He suffers not only from the psychological effects of unemployment, but also from traditional sex-role expectations. These expectations add to his anxiety and self blame and fuel the bitter resentments of the reluctant breadwinner.

As more women become chief breadwinners, it is conceivable to deduce that the rise of mother to child abuse may become reported more often, as will the reporting of female-inflicted husband abuse, whether psychological, physical, or sexual. Familial and public perceptions of power will likely enter grey areas that usurp ideological feminists' assertions of male tyranny, subjugation, domination, and abuse.

Hooks (2004, p. 61) states that contrary to popular myths, single mothers are often the most brutal when it comes to coercing their sons to conform to patriarchal standards. As a single-parent, given that only her DNA, and not that of Clive, is in Dren, Elsa feels a single-mother's rage towards her hermaphrodite offspring, neither male nor female, and thus treacherously non-gender conformist and threating. She may be further echoing her own tumultuous upbringing, when we intuit that her mother abused her—and there is no allusion to a father. That there is no reference to Elsa' father, and that there is no discernable genetic father for Dren, and that father figure Clive is killed, is in keeping with modern notions of the 'baby daddy" –essentially a sperm donor who may or may not provide financial support, and is a superfluous father. Young (2007) says, "There is a new belief that

women can and should do everything that men do, including fathering." In feminist dogma, a woman can be both father and mother to a child, and both can thrive without the baggage of a man, as embodied in the controversial movie Juno (2007), which showcases the supposed modern irrelevancy of [young] fathers, and in the brouhaha over the television character Murphy Brown's illegitimate baby, and Vice-President Quayle's public chastisement of her in 1992.

Hooks (2004, p. 63) further says that women are as violent as men toward the groups that they have power over and can dominate freely; usually that group is children or weaker females. Female violence toward children often takes the form of emotional abuse, especially verbal abuse and shaming, hence it is difficult to document. Elsa displays mounting anger, and emotional abuse of Dren, which turns to physical mutilation. Dren becomes so frustrated that she kills her cat—her "pussy", symbolically killing the feminine to become like her mother Elsa, "a patriarchal man in drag." Much like the female child Claudia in The Vampire Chronicles: Interview with the Vampire of Anne Rice (cited in Renner 2011, p. 82), she has become not a girl but a monster, a mixture of sugar and spice and the unthinkable—a murderous girl or young woman. She eventually becomes physically male with an imposing physique and a penis she uses to rape. When Dren acts on sexual feelings for Clive, and Elsa catches them in coatis, Elsa reacts with rage. She pins Dren to a table and mutilates her by cutting off her phallic and poisonous stinger at the end of her tail. Thereby, Elsa not only dampens the ardour of this rival Lolita (see Nabokov 1955), but symbolically tries to castrate the quasi-male Dren.

The sex scene between Dren and Clive may be interpreted as incest or rape (for we do not know whether Dren can consent, or her age), further cements feminists' ideology of the deviant, sexually perverse male, as embodied in the S.C.U.M. manifesto by Valerie Solanas (1967):

Eaten up with guilt, shame, fears and insecurities and obtaining, if he's lucky, a barely perceptible physical feeling, the male is, nonetheless, obsessed with screwing; he'll swim through a river of snot, wade nostril-deep through a mile of vomit, if he thinks there'll be a friendly pussy awaiting him. He'll screw a woman he despises, any snaggle-toothed hag, and furthermore, pay for the opportunity. Why? Relieving physical tension isn't the answer, as masturbation suffices for that. It's not ego satisfaction; that doesn't explain screwing corpses and babies.

Hooks (2004, p. 62) relates the story of a sociologist interviewing boys about their passion for television series, The Incredible Hulk. The sociologist asked the boys what they would do if they had the power of the Hulk. They replied that they would "smash their mommies." This is indeed what transpires, as a newly resurrected and male-appearing Dren, proceeds to kill Barlow and Gavin, and then to rape Elsa, and murder Clive, who attempts to protect Elsa.

However, this violence arises after an intense regime of physical and psychological torture committed mostly by Elsa. As hooks (2004, p. 43) states, "All over the world terrorist regimes use isolation to break people's spirit. This weapon of psychological terrorism is daily employed in our nation against teenage boys." Once Dren's soul and heart can bear no more abuse, she physically completes her transformation from female to male, and thus enacts her stereotypical male rage, leading to spontaneous murder, rape, and death, perhaps triggered by what hooks (2004, p. 61) perceives as a lack of motherly protection, and "...ruthlessly severed emotional bonds in the name of patriarchy."

The murdering, rapist hermaphrodite/man

In The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love, we see the prevasive misandric premise that North American boys are socialized to be potential rapists, predators, and killers, and that we live in a patriarchal society in which males wield power over females, the tools of which are macho rage and violence. In Splice, the murdering, rapist hermaphrodite/man reflects this ideological feminist trope, and is symbolic of unease with contemporary unraveling of the so-called gender divide. When Dren reaches young adulthood, Clive and Elsa learn that Dren is a sequential hermaphrodite. Sequential hermaphrodites are organisms born with the capability of changing sexes later in life (Wisegeek 2003-2012). Sometimes, sequential hermaphrodites change sex at a predestined time, as part of their development. In other cases, the sex change is an elective process, undertaken in response to envi-

ronmental or biological triggers. There are two types of sequential hermaphrodites. Animals that are born male with the ability to become female exhibit the trait of protandry. Protogyny, like Dren possesses, is a trait in which animals are born as females, with the ability to become males later in life. Depending on the species, simultaneous hermaphrodites may change sex only once, or they may be able to flip back and forth between sexes several times.

Dren, a Pan-like figure, with animalistic features, has the hind legs of a goat. Pan was the Greek god of shepherds and flocks, of mountain wilds, hunting and rustic music (Atsma 2000-2011), and also lust and orgies. Like Dren, he was skilled at hunting skills. When Dren, Clive, and Elsa arrive at the farm, Dren takes off. When Clive and Elsa find Dren shortly thereafter, her mouth is drenched in blood, and she is holding the carcass of a hare. Pan wandered the hills and mountains of Arkadia playing his pan-pipes and chasing Nymphs. His unseen presence aroused feelings of inspiration, sexuality, or panic in men and women, identically to the effects of Dren on Clive, and particularly Elsa. Not only did Pan just lust after maidens and nymphs, he also fell in love with the male shepherd Daphnis (Mitchell 2004), who was the inventor of pastoral poetry, and taught him to play the pan pipes. Pansexual denotes someone who doesn't care what gender people are, or how they define themselves; They will sleep with, or fall in love with someone regardless or their gendered identity (Urban Dictionary 1999-2012). Pansexual may designate a person who dates guys, girls, and people in between. Dren has a crush on Clive and actively seduces him, while later raping Elsa in her male form.

In the last minutes of the Splice, Barlow, aware of Dren's existence, arrives with Gavin at the farm, just as Elsa and Clive have buried her, thinking that her life cycle had expired. Like a phoenix rising from the grave, and also reminiscent of Daedalus, the now male Dren spreads his wings and flies into the sky. Dren proceeds to kills Barlow, and then Gavin. Dren then attacks Clive and wounds him. Dren hunts down Elsa and rapes her. Dren is interrupted by Clive, who stabs Dren through the chest. Dren attacks Clive again, but Elsa hits Dren on the head with a large rock, knocking him to the ground. Elsa raises the rock again to deliver the fatal blow, but Dren meets her eyes, and she hesitates. During this moment of hesitation, Dren stabs Clive through the heart with his tail stinger which has regrown. Therefore, Dren has killed his surrogate father and lover. Elsa slams the rock down on Dren's head, thereby killing him.

Earlier in the story, when Elsa is still acting as a quasi-parent, she reveals that she and Dren share DNA, and says to Dren, "You know I love you, don't you? You're a part of me and I'm a part of you. I'm inside you." When Dren transforms to a male, and in the last moments of the film, rapes Elsa, he utters his first phrase, mirroring Elsa's revelation:

Elsa Kast: [crying] What do you want? What do you want?
Dren: Inside... you...

Then Dren is quickly dispatched, as Elsa bashes in his head with a rock, and the film soon ends (Marsen 2010), for the only good man is a dead man. It is only when Dren morphs into a man, that full terror is aroused. Dren's transformation from repulsive slug-like creature at birth, to innocent girl-like nymph, to muscular and murderous man, his stinger/phallus restored, inspires horror in the audience.

Thus, Dren has attained the ideological feminist stereotype, and popular cultural icon, of the murderous, raping male. Dren lives up to the Pygmalion Effect of social expectations for, "If women and girls in patriarchal culture are taught to see every male, including the males with whom we are intimate, as potential rapists and murderers, then we cannot offer them our trust, and without trust there is no love" (hooks 2004, p. 120). Dren transforms into a male and immediately murders and then rapes. That a female can inflict pain and abuse, much less a mother, is a reality that society cannot yet bear to know, but a truth that seethes beneath the surface. The notion of androgenophobia, or pervasive societal fears of male's dangerous, threatening, and imminent sexual predatory nature, might more aptly be termed the Pan Effect. The Pan Effect, as I conceptualize it, while incorporating androgenophobia, further encompasses society's unease with changing gender roles for men and women, related to pan-sexualities and pan-amorous trends, the increased contribution of women to what has historically, and in bell hook's terms, been branded patriarchal power and violence, but which I see as more capitalistic, and part of all human nature.

Thus, the male Dren may not only serve to reaffirm the ideological feminist conviction that all men are [potential] rapists and murders, as articulated by multiple feminists from Valerie Solanas and Andrea Dworkin to Shulamith Firestone, and in multiple excerpts from bell hooks' book. Furthermore, as hooks indicates, mothers can be capable of brutal violence towards children, particularly male children, a reality that feminists, and broader society, each has difficulty acknowledging. The transgressive scenes, of Clive and Dren having intercourse, Elsa's mutilation of Dren's tail, the murder and mother-son rape at the end, reputedly put off a number of investors for the film (Griffin 2010). When the male lead, Clive, has sex with the mutant, hybrid 'monster'—Dren, it is filmed as an erotic seduction, but when the female lead has sex with the 'monster', it is a violent rape (thugz4real 2010). Passive seduction (by Dren towards Clive), equally as effective as physical rape (by Dren towards Elsa) in leading to sexual intercourse, is overlooked by audiences—the female Dren is a "victim" in the former but a male oppressor in the latter. Referring to the reactions of audience members, Natalia says (Szklarski 2010):

If you were at any of the screenings, we got some pretty vocal responses. I mean, people just would go bananas and literally shout at the screen...They would yell things at Adrien Brody's character... they would call him sick and perverted, so it really hit a chord.

Abject horror and blame are the reactions to Clive responding to Dren's seduction, for phallocentric and violent theories of feminist patriarchy are the lens through which many people still perceive male-female sex.

That society is patriarchal is also suspect,. It is certainly a capitalist world in this movie. The human male characters (Clive and the male boss), like the human female characters (Elsa and the female boss), succumb to greed and ambition over love, selflessness, and integrity. Perhaps as bell hooks (2004, p. 177) contends, "Women have not proven that they care enough about the hearts of men, about their emotional well-being, to challenge patriarchy on behalf of those men with whom they want to know love."

Conclusions

In The will to change: Men, masculinity, and love, a final dominant theme is that knowing men only for the violence they inflict on women and children is an impartial, inadequate knowing—males suffer in patriarchy, too. An uneasy truth tacitly revealed in Splice is the violence and vice of women as similar to that of men, in contradiction to the widespread yet problematic ideological feminist doctrine of the benign mother, healer, and caregiver. In queer theory, this is knowledge that for many would be considered "hard to bear", for it places in crisis what is "known" or "knowable" (Butler 1993)–the faulty belief that men are inherently violent, and paradoxically, that women are more noble. Likewise, Hooks (2004, , p. 63) states:

Feminist idealization of motherhood made it extremely difficult to call attention to maternal sadism...And yet we know that...women are shockingly violent towards children. This fact should lead everyone to question any theory of gender differences that suggests that women are less violent than men.

Males are not loved in patriarchal culture (hooks 2004, p. 35); Rather, males are work droids, and their place is to serve, protect and defend (and impress in order to gain favour) the womenfolk in a tradition of chivalry that can be traced back to the middle ages and which persists—not just in popular media but in molding our present-day concepts of human rights, professional ethics, military conduct, and gender relations (Wollock 2011). True females garner love, and also allot love. Love is the female domain and power that males solicit, thereby leaving them at their mercy

Due to a pervasive Boy Code, male children are treated harsher than their sisters, and adults and other children attempt to expunge any qualities from them that may be construed as feminine, sissy, or gay. Dren, then, with her bald head (a characteristic of manhood) is denied curly blonde locks and identification with her Barbie dolls when she looks aghast in the mirror, and even a tender relationship with her kitten (whom she kills), for as an ersatz male, with her threatening, poisonous

tipped stinger on her phallic tail—Dren is more like a boy. Locked away in a drafty, rural barn, psychologically abused, denied emotional warmth, sexually assaulted, and physically mutilated, she transforms into a boy—and not just any boy but the archetype of ideological feminist propaganda—a flying, godlike, murdering rapist with an imposing physique.

This begs the question, in a world where it is normal that girls and women are loved, but boys and men must constantly earn love from them, who is empowered in ways that count, ways that nourish the human spirit and heart? We learn Dren is not a "real" girl but part animal. Furthermore, she is also a covert boy. Following the Boy Code, nourishing parental love is withheld from Dren, and emotions such as compassion, kindness, and empathy are scourged from her being, as she is increasingly abused. If girls where raised as boys, society would call it abuse. Dren reacts with rage first by killing her cat, symbolically her feminine side; She kills her "pussy", vernacular for the vagina, and proceeds to become physically male, with an imposing physique to murder, and a penis to rape. This outlandish ideological feminist notion that all men are potential murderers and rapists must be constantly re-affirmed in popular culture, in order to sustain the widespread and enduring conviction of female victimhood and male villainy. However, if society adopted a more androgynous model for boyhood, one in which males were encouraged to combine traits mistakenly seen as masculine or feminine, boys might develop greater emotional awareness and acceptance, and become less violent (Garbarino 1999, p. 37; hooks 2004).

The physical and criminal violence of women may be underreported due to enduring beliefs in their benign, nurturing nature, and a misandric legal system that gives them preferential treatments in comparison to men (Nathanson and Young 2006). Hooks (2004, pp. 43-44) also asserts that:

Even though masses of American boys will not commit violent crimes resulting in murder, the truth that no one wants to name is that all boys are raised to be killers, even if they learn to hide the killer within and act as benevolent young patriarchs. (More and more girls who embrace patriarchal thinking also embrace the notion that they must be violent to have power).

Hooks is over-emphasizing physical violence. Symbolic violence, particularly the silencing, manipulating, isolating, ignoring, and dehumanizing of males, is rife in North American and Western culture.

Horror films explore the margins of the contemporary world order by placing audiences' fears about death, the afterlife, and evil on screen, and then relieving them through the defeat of the horror, and the re-establishment of the world order (Teusner 2005, , p. 176). However, this is an uneasy pact in Splice. Corporate control and greed reign at the end, but the end is only the beginning with the birth of another 'monstrous' probable intersexual. The queer unsettling and transgression of gender norms will continue, even if Elsa is able to forge ahead with her financially secure future. Elsa becomes a vehicle of capitalist greed—signing over her monstrous baby for what one presumes is a hefty check, to an elegant but morally sterile French-speaking matriarch of the corporate world, dressed in business grey/black, like the nefarious, controlling, inhuman, patriarchal agents in the Matrix (Gosse 2011b). In this crisp transaction, the characters are emotionless—Elsa, too, wholly succumbs to corporate control and regulations, and is stripped of and semblance of humanity or benign motherhood.

Nathanson and Young (2001) say that males, and male values and qualities, are regularly disparaged, ridiculed or shamed in direct proportion to the way that females, and female values and qualities, are validated, endorsed, and held up for approval. Elsa is no longer: (i) a Frankenstein 'mommy dearest'; (ii) the spurned woman; (iii) the implicit conspirator to daughter incest and bestiality nor; (iv) a helpless victim of incestuous rape. Rather, she has become what is a familiar, if somewhat distasteful icon to North American audiences—an entrepreneur with a product for sale. Elsa, with the foreign name, is an embodiment of the American Dream, for she has achieved financial wealth and autonomy via ambition, greed, and transgression of moral codes—and without any more men in her life. Pregnant with Dren's child and agreeing to have the baby, Joan Chorot tells Elsa that she could always end it (abort). Elsa aloofly replies, "What's the worse that could happen?"

Elsa Kant personifies the ultimate narcissist's and capitalist's justification—achieve at all

costs, come out on top, even if in this case, Elsa is literally selling a part of herself, for the monstrous baby carries her own DNA. Furthermore, like the remains of Dren, the baby's genetic material will create patents [and profits] for years for the corporation, Newstead Pharmaceutics. Thus, Elsa's identity, and that of the monstrous baby she is carrying, is authorized in a capitalistic context, void of humanism, and bent on profit, values commonly considered to be hegemonically male and patriarchal, thereby rupturing what is usually considered to be gender specific.

Hooks (2004, p. xv) says that, "Women and children all over the world want men to die so that they may live." With a ghost of a father, no indication of any feeling other than indifference towards male co-workers, and with her boss—Barlow, her co-worker and Clive's brother –Gavin, as well as her son-daughter—Dren, and Clive, now all dead, Elsa is about to sell her own baby, and in a sense, grandchild, too. She has repudiated any association with benign motherhood, but may invoke pity as a survivor of rape, the quintessential ideological feminist symbol of patriarchal oppression, with the right to choose. Elsa is the modern woman, empowered and ready to begin her life with financial freedom and autonomy, free of any cumbersome and potentially violent boy child or man—for "the only good man is a dead man". Elsa's own sins are washed away in this misandric tale, for financial success is the ultimate badge of capitalist and ideological feminist success and empowerment, and armour against hubris and ignominy. The end justifies the means. I'll have my "fuck you" money, thank you very much, and I deserve it. As Nietzsche (2001-2012) said, "He who fights with monsters might take care lest he thereby become a monster." We are left to contemplate: who and what is monstrous?

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Depression Symptomology in Men: A Moderation Analysis of Shame Proneness and Financial Difficulty

Simon M. Rice and Barry J. Fallon

Shame is an aversive emotion central to men's depressive experiences. Determination of key moderator variables in this relationship may assist to identify men at elevated suicide risk. In the context of the global financial crisis, the current study explored the effects of serious financial difficulty on the relationship between internalised shame and depressive symptomology. Longitudinal data were analysed from 120 males at Time 1, and again 15 weeks later. Results indicated significant proximal and distal effects. Shame-prone men experiencing high levels of financial difficulty were at elevated risk of depressive symptoms at Time 2. Findings are consistent with self-discrepancy theory, and implications are discussed within the context of traditional gender role expectations and help seeking.

Key Words: Men, depression, shame, financial difficulty, gender role expectations

Editor's Note: This edition of New Male Studies is dedicated to the late Barry Fallon (July 14, 1943-June 26, 2013). The following tribute is by his colleague, Simon Rice.

One of Barry Fallon's last contributions was as co-author of an article appearing in this issue, "Depression Symptomatology in Men." Barry served as Honorary Professor of Psychology at Deakin University, Melbourne. As a psychologist and academic, he made a career-long contribution to the profession, his discipline, and the fields of research he pursued. While Barry occupied significant positions with the Psychology Board of Australia and the Australian Psychological Society, his passion was research. His interests were broad, spanning men's mental health, gender and masculinity, adaptive change, relationship functioning, job satisfaction, spirituality, and help seeking. He was an outstanding thinker, ceaselessly providing fresh insights into research findings. Perhaps most important, he was committed to the development of others, and was forever encouraging and supportive. He cared little for status, but deeply valued relationships with his family, friends, and networks of peers, colleagues and students. Barry leaves a significant legacy, having played a central role in the training and development of practitioners and researchers over four decades. He is missed by many. *Vale* Barry.

Shame is an aversive emotion involving feelings of inferiority and powerlessness (Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996) and is characterised by negative self-evaluation that one's defective self will be displayed to others (Tangney, 1995). Amongst men, shame has been found to precipitate maladaptive behaviours (Jennings & Murphy, 2000), symptoms of depression (Mahalik, 2008), and suicide attempt (Kolves, Ide, & De Leo, 2011). Despite clinical literature conceptualising shame as central to men's depressive experiences (e.g., Osherson & Krugman, 1990; Rabinowitz & Cochran, 2008; Scheff, 2001, 2009) empirical studies are yet to adequately evaluate the role of shame in the aetiology of depressive symptomology (Kim, Thibodeau, & Jorgensen, 2011), or in the treatment of mental health problems in men (Addis & Cohane, 2005). Given men's suicide rates remain alarmingly high – four times those of women's (Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010), focussed study of factors related to men's depression and suicide risk remains of critical social and clinical importance (Rutz & Rihmer, 2009).

Shame is theorised to result from discrepancy between one's actual self and one's idealized self, and is elicited upon failure to meet internalized cultural or peer group standards (Krugman, 1995). According to self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987), failure to match the ideal state that one believes significant others hope that one will attain is expected to result in significant loss of esteem (thus promoting feelings of shame), while failure to match the ideal state that one holds for oneself is expected to result in unfulfilled hopes or wishes, leaving one vulnerable to depression. It has been hypothesised that men's affective experiences of shame may be linked to failure to achieve male gender role norms such as achievement (Wright, 2011) financial success (Springer & Mouzon, 2011) and financial status (Axelrod, 2003; Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011). Work tends to be intrinsically related to men's identity and self-worth (O'Neil, 2008), with men reporting stronger feelings regarding the link between their income and success than do women (Deutsch, Roksa, & Meeske, 2003; Dyke & Murphy, 2006).

Within recent years the global financial crisis (GFC) has generated a noticeable increase in serious mental health problems amongst some groups of men (Konodo & Oh, 2010; Verick, 2009; Wang et al., 2010). For men, socioeconomic variables such as unemployment and financial difficulty have been identified as key risk factors for depression and suicidal ideation (Alston, in press; Hudd et al., 2000; Montgomery, Cook, Bartley, & Wadsworth, 1990), with men who adhere to norms of financial success and achievement more likely to experience depressive symptoms immediately following unemployment (Syzdek & Addis, 2010). Furthermore, the ongoing effects of the GFC are expected to result in continued elevated rates of depressive disorders (Dunlop & Mletzko, 2011) and suicide risk/attempt in males (Pitman, Kryinska, Osborn, & King, 2012). For some men, failure in meeting or maintaining financial achievement within the work domain may precipitate feelings of failure and a heightened state of self-discrepancy (e.g., O'Neil, 2008). Such self-discrepancy may in turn reflect a differential between one's idealised self and one's actual self, thus exacerbating feelings of shame that may impede help seeking (e.g., by promoting secrecy and reducing likelihood of accessing social support).

The present exploratory study sought to provide preliminary data on the relationships between internalised shame and serious financial difficulty in the expression of men's depressive symptomology. A moderation effect (shame × financial difficulty) was predicted to show higher depression scores in men reporting greater shame proneness and high levels financial difficulty compared to men reporting high shame proneness but low levels financial difficulty. This effect was expected to increase as men's awareness of self-discrepancy increased over time.

Method

Participants

Data were analyzed from 120 males (mean age = 38.73 years, SD = 14.77). Cases used for analysis provided complete data at both time points with a 60.99% attrition rate. Whilst relatively high, such attrition rates can be expected in community longitudinal studies (e.g., Khadjesari et al., 2011).
A total of 30.8% of the sample was married. A total of 67.5% of the sample were from a metropolitan area, 20.0% regional and 12.5% rural. A total of 64.1% earned under $50,000, 28.2% between $51,000 and $100,000, and 7.7% above $100,000. A total of 22.7% finished formal education prior to graduating high school, 19.2% graduated at high school, 17.5% had a trade qualification, 30.8% had an undergraduate degree, and 16.7% had a postgraduate degree. A total of 42.0% were working full time / part time, 20.8% studying, 4.2% job seeking, 16.7% identified as other (e.g., retired, incapacitated, stay at home dad). A total of 38.3% of the sample indicated they had received a previous diagnosis of depression.

Measures

Serious financial difficulty was assessed using the Stressful Life Events Checklist (SLEC; Costello & Devins, 1988). The SLEC comprises 22 severe life events to which participants respond in the context of the previous three months where; 0 = NA, 1 = minor stress caused, 6 = major stress caused. The present study utilised the single SLEC item 'Serious financial difficulties' as the moderating variable. As the SLEC requires respondents to identify particular life events, it is not amenable to conventional reliability analysis. However, items from the SLEC have been successfully used in previous research to identify males at risk of psychological distress (e.g., Magovcevic & Addis, 2008; Nazroo, Edwards, & Brown, 1997).

Shame was assessed by an abbreviated version of the Experiences of Shame Scale (ESS; Andrews, Qian, & Valentine, 2002). Three ESS items were utilised; 'Have you felt ashamed of the sort of person you are?', 'Have you worried about what other people think of the sort of person you are?', and 'Have you tried to conceal from others the sort of person you are?'. These items were selected as they best conceptualised global self-perception of shame. Items referred to the previous 12 months. Responses reflected 1 = not at all, 4 = very much. Previous research has demonstrated the factor structure validity and psychometric properties of the ESS (e.g., Qian, Andrews, Zhu, & Wang, 2000). To ensure construct validity for the present study, principal components analysis was undertaken on the abbreviated ESS, indicating a unifactorial scale structure at both Time 1(1 factor accounting for 82.64% of scale variance) and Time 2 (1 factor accounting for 76.71% of scale variance).

Depression was assessed by the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9; Kroenke, Spitzer, & Williams, 2001). The PHQ-9 corresponds to the DSM-IV diagnostic criteria for Major Depressive Disorder and assesses symptoms over the previous 2 week period (e.g., 'Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless'). Participants endorse their responses on a four-point scale; 0 = not at all, 3 = almost every day. The PHQ-9 has high sensitivity and specificity in comparison to clinical interview (e.g., Lowe, Kroenke, Kerzog, & Grafe, 2004; Richardson et al., 2002).

Procedure

Human Research Ethics approval was obtained for the project. All data were collected online. Participants were recruited via online advertisements displayed to Australian members of the Facebook social networking site. These advertisements appeared as banner ads on potential participants facebook pages. All responses were provided anonymously. All participants were 18 years of age and above. Participants were made aware that their consent to participate could be withdrawn at any

stage prior to submission of data.

At Time 1 (T1), participants provided data on basic demographics, serious financial difficulty (with regard to the previous three months), and internalised shame and depression. At the conclusion of the questionnaire participants were invited to provide email addresses. At week 12, a bulk email invitation was sent inviting participants to complete the Time 2 (T2) measures (shame and depression). At week 13, a final combined thank-you and reminder email was sent. On average, 15 weeks (mean = 102.81 days, SD = 7.12 days) elapsed between the provision of data at T1 and T2.

Results

Data were screened for univariate and multivariate outliers. Consistent with assumptions of multiple regression, visual inspection of normality plots, P-P plots and predicted versus residual plots indicated normally distributed variables. Scale reliabilities were satisfactory for both the ESS (T1 α = .90, T2 α = .85) and the PHQ-9 (T1 α = .91, T2 α = .91). Means, standard deviations, and Pearson intercorrelations were calculated (see Table 1). Shame scores and financial difficulty scores were significantly correlated with depression at both T1 and T2. Depression scores were equivalent at T1 and T2. Shame scores at T1 were significantly higher than at T2, $F_{(1, 118)} = 44.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .117$.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations for the Study Variables

	Descriptive statistic				Pearson correlation				
	M	SD	95%	CI	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Time 1									
1. Depression	7.12	6.59	5.85	– 8.22	–				
2. Financial difficulty	2.73	2.22	2.26	– 3.06	.36**	–			
3. Shame	6.42	3.00	5.85	– 6.94	.60**	.20**	–		
Time 2									
4. Depression	6.42	5.99	5.26	– 7.40	.73**	.27**	.43**	–	
5. Shame	5.56	2.53	5.09	– 6.01	.55**	.25**	.64**	.68**	–

** $p < .001$

Prior to undertaking hierarchical regression moderation analysis (see Table 2 for ordering of variables), values were centered (e.g., Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). Model 1 tested for moderation of T1 financial difficulties between T1 shame and T1 depression. Model 2 tested for moderation of T1 financial difficulties between T2 shame and T2 depression (e.g., time-lag effect of financial difficulty). As can be seen in Table 2, both T1 shame and T1 financial difficulty (but not their interaction) were significant predictors of T1 depression.

Providing partial support for the hypothesis, Table 2 indicates that moderation was achieved for Model 2, but not model 1. Consistent with prediction, and indicative of a significant difference between the regression slopes, the Model 2 interaction of T2 shame and T1 financial difficulty predicted a small (2.5%), but statistically significant (p = .017), increase in predicted T2 depression variance.

Table 2

Summary of Moderation Analysis

Variables	B	SE B	β	ΔR2
Model 1 (T1 Depression)				
Step 1				.38***
Constant	7.02	.47		
Shame (T1)	3.72	.48	.57***	
Financial difficulty (T1)	1.29	.47	.20**	
Step 2				.02
Shame × financial difficulty	.87	.44	.15	
Model 2 (T2 Depression)				
Step 1				.48***
Constant	6.21	.40		
Shame (T2)	3.87	.42	.66***	
Financial difficulty (T1)	.41	.41	.13	
Step 2				.03*
Shame × financial difficulty	.91	.38	.17*	

Model 1: Dependent variable = T1 depression. Model 2: Dependent variable = T2 depression * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001. Variables were entered in the order as specified in the table.

    A test of simple slopes for Model 2 was undertaken. Testing the statistical significance of regression slopes enables examination of the relationship between the predictor (e.g., shame) and the outcome (e.g., depression) at specific values of the moderator variable (e.g., financial difficulty) (Frazer, Tix, & Barron, 2004). The test of simple slopes indicated that regression slopes for those reporting low financial stress (e.g., 1 SD below the mean) and those reporting high financial stress (e.g., 1 SD above the mean) were both significantly different from zero, and that the slope for those reporting high financial stress (b = 4.79, t = 8.91, p < .001) was significantly steeper than the regression slope for those reporting low financial stress (b = 2.96, t = 5.16, p < .001). The relationship between shame and depression was both positive and significant at low and high levels of financial stress. Furthermore, figure 1 shows how financial difficulty moderated the relationship between shame and depression (e.g., financial difficulty exacerbated the relationship between high shame proneness and depression, but had little effect for low shame prone individuals).
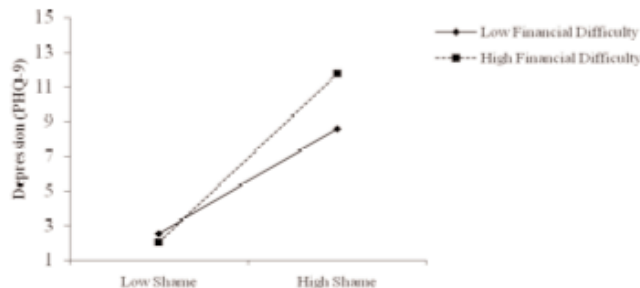

Figure 1. Regression slopes for the relationship between shame and depression as moderated by financial difficulty (Model 2).

Discussion

The current study investigated whether experiences of significant financial difficulty interact with internalized shame to place shame-prone men at heightened risk of depressive symptomology. Results indicated that both T1 shame and T1 financial difficulty (but not their interaction) were significant predictors of T1 depression, and that moderation occurred when T2 depression was used as the outcome variable. Moderation failed to occur when immediate effects were analyzed (e.g., Model 1), despite higher shame scores at T1 compared to T2. Hence, while serious financial difficulty may co-occur with higher immediate shame experiences, the flow on effect to depressive symptomolgy may take some weeks to occur.

The present findings are broadly consistent with self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987). Shame is a highly aversive emotion yielding preoccupation with one's own personal distress, and disparity with an idealized self (Kim, Thibodeau, & Jorgensen, 2011; Tangney & Dearing, 2002). In the case of financial difficulty, awareness of the discrepancy between the actual and idealized self may become greater (and possibly more aversive) over time, possibly due to a gradual realization of changed financial circumstance (e.g., defaulting on loan repayments, threats of repossession, inability to maintain prior lifestyle) and/or difficulty re-entering the labour force (e.g., rising unemployment).

The present findings also align with reports of worsening mental health in some groups of men in the context of the GFC (Konodo & Oh, 2010; Verick, 2009; Wang et al., 2010). Indicative of the strong association between shame and depression (e.g., Kim, Thibodeau, & Jorgensen, 2011), the significant moderation model (e.g., Model 2) accounted for over 50% of the variance in depression scores. While the interaction of shame and serious financial difficulty made only a small contribution towards this, it was nonetheless statistically significant. Analysis of regression slopes indicted that men reporting high shame and high financial difficulty (e.g., one SD above the mean) corresponded to the 'moderate depression' range on the PHQ-9 (Kroenke, Spitzer, & Williams, 2001), while men reporting low shame were likely to fall within the 'minimal depression' range. While further research is required to replicate this effect, for shame prone men the experience of serious financial difficulty may be sufficient to induce a symptomatic depressive state.

Implications

Shame has been implicated in both men's depression and suicide (e.g., Kolves, Ide, & De Leo, 2011), and may contribute to the use of defensive thoughts or behaviours (e.g., denial, substance use) that guard against painful negative self-evaluations (Mahalik, 2008). Interpersonal avoidance and disconnectedness are behavioural markers of shame (Dorahy, 2010), and these factors further impede adaptive help seeking for depression (Liu, 2005). Traditional male gender role expectations also dictate that men be stoic, independent, suppress vulnerable emotions and maintain emotional control (e.g., Fields & Cochran, 2011). Unfortunately however, such characteristics place men at higher risk of both depression and suicide, in addition to a range of medical illnesses including heart disease, hypertension and substance abuse disorders (Wilhelm, 2009).

Some researchers have suggested that shame be added to the diagnostic criteria for major depressive disorder (e.g., Kim, Thibodeau, & Jorgensen, 2011). This assertion is supported by clinical literature emphasising the role of shame in men's depression (e.g., Osherson & Krugman, 1990; Rabinowitz & Cochran, 2008; Scheff, 2001, 2009). Given the relatively poor detection rates of depressed and suicidal men (Rutz & Rihmer, 2009), it is possible that the inclusion of shame to diagnostic schedules may aide in improving identification and intervention in otherwise at-risk males. This is an area requiring focussed research attention.

The present findings also beckon comment regarding possible prevention and intervention strategies. Greater community awareness may be generated through appropriate social marketing campaigns targeting men (e.g., Robinson & Robertson, 2010), with a view to ameliorating detrimental health outcomes of serious financial difficulty (e.g., enacting the provision of informal emotional and social support from family, friends, and organisations at crisis times such as unexpected job loss). One such vehicle for this may be the international promulgation of the Men's Shed movement which seeks to deemphasise the deficit view of men, and instead focuses on building men's collective

strengths (e.g., MacDonald, 2011). Other services may be provided by formal outreach programs designed to support men struggling not only financially, but also with the emotional burden of failing to meet internalized gender role standards. Drawing men's attention to some of the harmful aspects of adhering to masculine norms that prioritize, amongst other things, work over relationships (e.g., Wright, 2011) may assist in attenuating idealized notions of financial success in the longer term.

Limitations & Future Research

The present findings must be considered within the context of the study's limitations. The use of convenience sampling in the present study limited the range of experiences of financial difficulty, which in turn was assessed by a single scale item. As the study was exploratory, the chronicity, severity and consequence of the degree of financial difficulty experienced were not assessed. Future research should look to incorporate a ranging socioeconomic sample, and consider interview methodologies to ascertain the subtleties and consequences of serious financial difficulties (e.g., Gorman, 1993). In addition, the present study assessed shame by a subset of items taken from the ESS. Future research drawing on larger samples may seek to differentiate aspects of shame (e.g., state versus trait), and examine group differences related to financial difficulties (e.g., long standing versus acute, those with dependents versus those without). Further, the measure of depression used in the present study was developed as a screening tool only, and does not necessarily indicate diagnosable disorder. Future research should supplement the present findings with structured clinical interviews and assess broader psychosocial consequences of financial difficulty. Data for the present study was collected from an Australian sample and replication of the present findings amongst other economies is warranted.

Conclusion

The current study found that financial difficulty enhanced the relationship between shame and depression for men, but only after a time lag of several months. This time lag may indicate increasing awareness of self-discrepancy related to men's failure to achieve financial status as dictated by masculine norms. While further research is required to determine the relationship between differential aspects of shame and depression, such cognitions of failure, which are likely to be aversive in their own right, appear to result in an escalation of feelings of dejection and depression amongst shame prone men in the longer term. Further research is warranted into community based interventions that can effectively support men at such times of crisis.

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Male Body Image Related Pathology: The Requirement for Sub-Categorical and Dimensional Classification

Mark Suffolk

Empirical research highlights the increasing prevalence of males suffering from psychological difficulties as a result of body image dissatisfaction. Currently, the diagnostic classification system for extreme male body image concerns utilises an all-encompassing categorical approach. This theoretical article proposes that male body image concerns are heterogeneous, and what may appear to be body image concerns could be the result of contextual factors (e.g., competitive bodybuilders). Therefore, this article further proposes that a sub-categorical and dimensional classification system may yield the best research and clinical results.

phia.

Body image is defined as the inner representation of one's outer physical appearance (Thompson, Heinberg, Altabe, & Tantleff-Dunn, 1999). Historically, body image disturbance has been considered a female concern (e.g., Humphreys & Paxton, 2004). However, a growing body of research supports the notion that males are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with their physique (e.g., Garner, 1997; Grogan & Richards, 2002; Lorenzen, Grieve, & Thomas, 2004). These concerns are predominantly characterised by a perceived lack of muscularity (Frederick et al., 2007; Pope, Philips, & Olivardia, 2000; Olivardia, 2001).

Alongside the escalation of male body image concerns, psychologists and psychiatrists are describing a male dominated body image pathology termed muscle dysmorphia (MD; e.g., Pope, Gruber, Choi, Olivardia, & Phillips, 1997). Development and maintenance of the disorder is an amalgam of distorted perceptual and cognitive encoding, and negative affect that undermines a positive body image (e.g., Pope et al., 1997). Muscle dysmorphia sufferers perceive themselves to less muscular than they are in reality, and engage in pathological ritualistic behaviours in an attempt to resolve the psychological dissociation (e.g., Grieve, 2007). Heightened levels of anxiety and clinically significant impairment to psychosocial functioning are salient features of the MD profile (e.g., Grieve, 2007).

Presently, on-going debate surrounds the nosological status of this disorder. In order to provide a taxonomy for clinical reference, researchers offer support for the notion that MD is situated within either the spectrum of eating disorders (e.g., Grieve, Truba, & Bowersox, 2009; Mosley, 2008; Murray, Maguire, Russell, & Touyz, 2011), or obsessive-compulsive disorders (Maida & Armstrong, 2005), or represents a sub-type of body dysmorphic disorder (BDD; Pope et al., 1997). Despite the contention, MD is included in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (5th ed.; DSM-5) as a subtype of BDD due to the similarities in phenomenology between MD and BDD. However, scientists have yet to provide empirical evidence that MD is representative of a coherent clinical disorder, and warrants inclusion in the disease classification system (Nieuwoudt, Zhou, Coutts, & Booker, 2012).

Currently, the proposed criteria for MD are based on a categorical model (see Pope et al., 1997). However, as yet, no clear boundaries exist between 'normal' and 'abnormal' functioning which is problematic for dichotomous classification. This may be a consequence of attempts to explicate the phenomenology of MD often being conflated with sport or hobbies, where the acquisition of muscle tissue represents a functional contextual necessity (i.e., bodybuilding, power sports), dissatisfaction with physique as a result of excess subcutaneous fat, and positive deviance (Ben-Yehuda, 1990).

This theoretical article provides a brief account of the modern cultural values considered to underpin the intensification of male body image concerns. Thereafter, describes different sub-categories, specifically, competitive bodybuilders, positive deviance in sport, and males whose primary preoccupation is to reduce body fat levels, as opposed to increasing muscle size per se. The latter,

referred to here as égnoiachondros taken from the Greek words égnoia meaning preoccupation and chondros meaning fat. Finally, suggests that a dimensional architecture for classification of male body image related pathologies may yield the best clinical and research results. The dimension/sub-category issue is important as it allows the comparability of different sub-groups, and for the assessment of clinical distinctiveness relative to the population under investigation.

Muscularity Equates to Masculinity

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles assigned to males and females that define how men and women should think, act and feel. However, these culturally defined roles have contextual fluidity and are malleable in response to social, economic and political changes. Unlike sex, which is the biological distinction between males and females, gender refers to social expectations that distinguish between masculinity and femininity.

In contemporary Western culture, a muscular mesomorphology is highly emphasised as a desirable 'asset' and has become a symbol of our times to signify masculinity (Cortese, 2007). The masculine stereotype links a muscular physique to efficacy, control, and potency (Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1986). The omnipresence of a hyper-muscular 'body ideal' in the mass media is implicated in creating a pathoplastic effect (Agliata & Tantleff-Dunn, 2004), and linked to males becoming dissatisfied with their levels of muscularity (Tiggemann & Slater, 2004).

Given the increase in females social and economic power (Cortese, 2007), social commentators frequently posit the view, that the increased drive among males to achieve a distinctive icon of masculinity, represents 'gender insecurity' (e.g., Klein, 1993) and a turn to hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Whilst it is important to recognise, that hegemonic masculinity and gender construction is a complex collective web of influences (Berger, Wallis, & Watson, 1995), the body represents a powerful site of social communication (Brown, 1999). Biology may not determine the social (Stibbe, 2004), but males attach power and privilege to biological differences (Klein, 1993) in order to assert power over females. The attainment of a muscular physique has social significance and is related to biological factors. Consequently, the body represents a visually salient symbol to authenticate male superiority (Connell, 1995). A precipitating factor in the pathogenesis of body dissatisfaction, particularly MD, is the result of over-conforming to gender role norms of masculinity ideology (Cortese, 2007; Pope et al., 2000). The ensuing malaise characterises a debilitating dysfunction of gender construction in modern Western culture (Cortese, 2007).

However, despite the range of etiological perspectives and conceptual models of body image disturbance (e.g., Grieve, 2007; Rhea, Lantz, & Trail, 2000), for clinical and research purposes it is important to recognise divergent motivational and contextual factors in relation to male body image.

Positive Deviance in Sport and Muscle Dysmorphia Criteria

The psychobehavioural determinants of MD were identified during investigations into the body-building community (Pope et al., 1997; Pope, Katz, & Hudson, 1993). Bodybuilding is considered a subculture of hyperbole (Klein, 1993). The protagonists develop and display, hyper-mesomorphic

physiques resembling 'comic book' masculinity (Klein, 2007), that seemingly epitomises the outward expression of MD. As a result, investigations into MD have largely focussed on this cohort (e.g., Babusa & Túry, 2012; Behar & Molinari, 2010; Baghurst & Lirgg, 2009; Cella, Iannaccone, & Cotrufo, 2012; Connan, 1998; Hitzeroth, Wessels, Zungu- Dirwayi, Oosthuizen, & Stein, 2001; Jankauskiene, Kardelis, & Pajaujiene, 2007; Lantz, Rhea, & Cornelius, 2002; Mosley, 2009; Olivardia, Pope, & Hudson, 2000; Pope et al., 1993; Pope et al., 1997; Wolke & Sapouna, 2008).

Competitive bodybuilding, is often considered at best a marginal sport (Holm, 2000), or an 'oddball' sport (Boyle, 2010). At worst, a public display of institutionalised narcissism (1993) rejected for its homoerotic imagery (Boyle, 2010). According to Klein (1993), the social-psychological construction of a bodybuilder is a fusion of narcissism, homophobia, hypermasculinity, and fascism. However, bodybuilders operate in a unique competitive environment where competitive success is dependent on a combination of muscle size and definition (Lambert, Frank, & Evans, 2004). According to Chung (2001) researchers have frequently neglected to acknowledge that the primary motivation of competitive bodybuilders is to be bigger, and display more muscularity than the other competitors. For those who are successful, the competitive bodybuilding subculture offers individuals an opportunity to profit from an activity which has developed worldwide into a multi-billion dollar industry (Prokop & Neveux, 1994). The opportunity to attract lucrative sponsorship deals, or enhance reputations as personal trainers keeps many individuals in the gym (Kimmel & Aronson, 2004).

Importantly, the job of psychological science is to understand and explain human behaviour, not to automatically pathologise behaviours which seem at odds with the notion of 'normality'. Consequently, it may be instructive from a clinical and research perspective to situate competitive bodybuilding within the context of competitive sport.

Conceptually, positive deviance is broad. However, sociologists and social analysts are discussing positive deviance within competitive sport (e.g., Blackshaw & Crabbe, 2004). In effect, positive deviance is not the rejection of conventional norms, but results from an athlete uncritically accepting, and over-conforming to the sporting ethic (Milner, Melnick, Barnes, Sabo, & Farrell, 2007). Sport emphasises positive norms at both micro and macro levels, in the form of personal growth, social integration, and social change (Wankel & Berger, 1990). However, the sporting ethic of 'win at all costs' allows behaviours that may be conventional in motivation, to become deviant in nature as they may be conducted with an unhealthy level of intensity (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). Applying a 'positive deviance in sport' framework to the proposed diagnostic criteria for MD (see Pope et al., 1997) by replacing a preoccupation with building muscle, with a preoccupation for sprinting or swimming faster, reveals similarities between MD and the psychobehavioural concomitants considered indicative of positive deviance in mainstream sport.

The use of appearance and performance enhancing drugs is an example of deviance (Hughes & Coakley, 1991), and usage is reported to be widespread in mainstream sport (e.g., Beckett & Cowan, 1979; Cornelius, 1995). Furthermore, the culture of competitive sport delivers the message that participants should accept risks, and that training through pain and injury is part of striving for distinction (Nixon, 1993). One other area of deviance relating to the sporting ethic, is the notion that one must sub-ordinate other interests to fully commit to the sport, and make sacrifices to do what

is necessary to compete successfully (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). Reports suggest that, athletes are prepared to pay significant costs in striving for peak performance, for example, sacrifice health and education (Krumer, Shavet, & Rosenboim, 2011). Moreover, competitive sport participation is associated with maladaptive social behaviour (Pappas, McKenry, & Catlett, 2004), and a greater vulnerability and incidence of anxiety and depression (e.g., Brewer, Van Raatle, & Linder, 1993). In brief, significant elements of the proposed psychobehavioural indicators of MD are analysed though a positive deviance lens in sporting sociological analysis, without the necessity to establish a distinct pathological clinical entity.

The reason why the attitudes and behaviours of the bodybuilding community are viewed as representative of clinical distinctiveness may be due to the negative connotations associated with bodybuilders, and bodybuilding as a competitive activity (e.g., Grogan & Richards, 2002; Klein, 1993; Persson, 2004; Sheldon, 1940). Moreover, according to Pope (2005), many clinicians and members of the general populace hold the belief that bodybuilding is inherently pathological, and that those who participate represent a homogenous group with a similar identity (Probert, Leberman, & Palmer, 2007). In contrast, the behaviours, psychological characteristics, and personality traits of successful athletes in mainstream sporting endeavours are positively reinforced by the media and supporters, and become the standard for judging a serious athlete (Hughes & Coakley, 1991).

Evidence suggests that those who currently, and aspire to compete in bodybuilding, are not the best population to study in order to unravel the complexities of MD etiology and maintenance. The indications are that, bodybuilders utilise nutritional and training periodisation based around competitive schedules (Anderson, Bartlett, Morgan, & Brownell, 1995; Jankauskiene et al., 2007; Manore, Thompson, & Russo, 1993; Monaghan, 2001; Newton, Hunter, Bammon, & Roney, 1993; Suffolk, Dovey, Goodwin, & Meyer, in press). This mirrors the approach reported in mainstream sports (Fleck, 1999; McNeely, Sandler, & Bamel, 2005; Smith, 2006; Stellingwerff, 2012). Transient behaviours relating to muscle building that vary in intensity, are incongruent with the proposal that MD represents an intense temporally stable preoccupation with muscle building activities.

One unique feature of the MD profile not discussed with the literature covering positive deviance in sport, relates to the term 'physique protection'. Typically, this describes the reluctance of an individual to expose their physique to others (Pope et al., 1997). However, the concept of physique protection further discriminates competitive bodybuilding from MD. In a seminal paper defining MD, according to Pope et al., (1997) a sufferer of muscle dysmorphia can only compete in a bodybuilding event after weeks of intense preparation. Explicit in the above statement by Pope et al., is the reference to competitive bodybuilders and the preparatory competition behaviours. However, implicitly stated is opposition to the proposed diagnostic criteria, as MD is characterised by continued obsession with the body (Olivardia, et al., 2000), and not just weeks of intense preparation.

Primary Preoccupation with Body Fat

Social comparisons serve as a means to gather information regarding valuable attributes and cultural norms (Wood, 1989); consequently, individuals frequently make cognitive judgments about their own attributes in comparison to others (Jones, 2001). The increased salience in the objectification of a muscular male in the mass media (Fawkner & McMurray, 2002; Leit, Pope, & Gray, 2001; Schooler

& Ward, 2006), transmitting messages that muscularity equates to masculinity (Helgeson, 1994) is linked to males becoming dissatisfied with their body image (Tiggemann & Slater, 2004). Making upward social comparisons to those we perceive to have desirable physical attributes can create a negative contrast effect due to a discrepancy between body reality and body ideal. Psychoemotional disturbance may develop due to the personal and social implications attached to that discrepancy (Martin & Govender, 2011).

Body image researchers have suggested that male physique anxiety relates to levels of sub-cutaneous body fat, as oppose to lack of muscle size per se (Baghurst, 2012). According to the World Health Organisation, epidemiological data highlights that in 2008, 1.5 billion adults worldwide aged 20 and older were overweight. Of these, over 200 million men were classified as obese. Concurrently, across studies, between 51-71% of men report dissatisfaction with their level of body fat (Frederick et al., 2007), and 16% report that they avoid wearing a bathing suit in public (Frederick, Peplau, & Lever, 2006).

Reports indicate that, males feel under pressure to attain a physique described as lean and athletic (e.g., Frederick et al., 2007), or slender and lean (Grogan & Richards, 2002). The physical ideology of contemporary Western culture is characterised by wide shoulders and a set of 'six-pack abs' (Pope et al., 2000). Theoretically, the overarching prized physical asset among males is a 'six pack'. Google AdWords reveals that the phrase 'How to get abs' is globally searched on-line, on average, 11,100,000 times per month, opposed to 'how to get bigger legs' (14,800), 'bigger back' (2,400), and 'muscular shoulders' (6,600; 2nd April, 2013). In addition, there is a proliferation of books in the marketplace with titles such as "Abs for life", "How to get a six-pack fast "and "Burn belly fat and develop a six pack". Moreover, there is an increase in fitness classes specifically aimed at developing the abdominal muscles. For example, ABsolution classes which promise the participant will quickly gain a 'toned' mid-section. Clearly, the above is not representative of exact science, but highlights an emergent trend, that to possess muscular and defined abdominal muscles is of primary importance.

Empirical evidence suggests the current trend among males is not the attainment of the 'exaggerated' mesomorphic physique resembling the aesthetic form of comic book masculinity (Klein, 2007). This degree of muscular hypertrophy is viewed as non-functional and aesthetically displeasing, and those who attain this level of muscularity are believed to be obsessive and narcissistic (Klein, 1993). Consequently, the male preference is for toned, healthy, and athletic (Grogan & Richards, 2002; Labre, 2005). Male fitness trainers have been found to desire a lean and defined body rather than a hyper-mesomorphic physique, and exhibit a preoccupation with low levels of body fat (Philips & Drummond, 2001). In addition, research underpinned by social comparison theory found that viewing muscular imagery (i.e., athletic and toned) increased body dissatisfaction, whereas, viewing hyper-mesomorphic imagery (i.e., bodybuilding magazines) had no significant effect on physique dissatisfaction (Arbour & Martin Ginnis, 2006).

Reducing levels of subcutaneous body fat requires to the individual to ingest less calories than one expends (Leone, 2012). To display a 'six-pack' requires the removal of subcutaneous body fat so that the fascia of the muscle becomes apparent and visible to the eye, which occurs at approximately 5-6% body fat (Persson, 2004). In contrast, a clinically normal range for males is between

10-25% (Whitney & Rolfes, 1996).

Researchers have posited the view that conceptually MD represents an eating disorder (e.g., Murray et al., 2011). This is problematic if MD is considered to be a pathological obsession with increasing muscle size, as no temporally stable pattern of maladaptive nutritional strategies are reported outside of the context of bodybuilding competition. However, attempts to accomplish and continually maintain a physique with such a low body fat percentage can potentially provide a fertile ground for development of an eating disorder. To view male body image concerns as a primary preoccupation attaining a low body fat percentage provides a 'better fit' with the notion that the nosology of MD is within the spectrum of eating disorders. The final qualifier for the desired body composition balance between muscle and body-fat is that 'the percentage of body-fat that counts' (Philips & Drummond, 2001). Currently, an increasing amount of young male gym members of normal bodyweight are requesting weekly, or even twice weekly measurement of their body fat levels (Biddle, personal communication, March 24, 2013). In sum, a growing body of evidence supports the hypothesis that the overarching preoccupation among males relates to low body fat levels to increase muscular definition.

Conceptually, égnoiachondros, can be distinguished from well-established eating disorders (i.e., anorexia nervosa), where sufferers are preoccupied with bodyweight (e.g., Polivy & Herman, 2002), as opposed to a preoccupation with body fat. Whilst the exercise regimes of anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa sufferers serve more than just to expend energy (Davis, Katzman, & Kirsh, 1999), the type of exercise performed is long bouts of aerobic activity (i.e., running)(Solenberger, 2001), whereas, an égnoiachondriac, theoretically, employs anaerobic activity (i.e., weight-training) to preserve muscle tissue. Specific research is required to ascertain if the goal of reducing body fat to potentially unhealthy levels is purely restrictive or has purging characteristics.

Future Diagnostic Consideration

Clearly, etiology and maintenance of male body image concerns is a complex blend of physical, cultural, and psychosocial factors. The original conceptualisation and clinical distinctiveness of MD, focussed on a pathological preoccupation to increase muscular size whilst simultaneously reducing body-fat levels. Potentially, the criteria need to be amended to account for contextual and sub-categorical qualities of male body image disturbance, and subsequent development of psychological difficulties. The psychobehavioural characteristics of those with a primary focus on increasing muscle mass, and those who predominantly desire to reduce body fat may form the basis of two distinct clinically relevant disorders. The former taken outside of a sporting context may be more representative of MD, whereas the latter may be considered as égnoiachondros. Taxometric analysis is required to determine if the current categorical model of classification is sufficient, or whether a sub-category/dimensional model would provide a more valid description of psychopathology in relation to male body image disturbance (see Widiger & Samuel, 2005). Table 1 shows a sub-categorical model in relation to male body image concerns. The sub-categories can be considered as differences in kind, whereas dimensions can be thought of as differences in degree (Meehl, 1992). It is argued here that, formulating a sub-categorical and dimensional nosology, opposed to the all-encompassing categorical approach is important conceptually, and not inconsistent with generating a typology. Male body image concerns are heterogeneous, and these sub-categories can be tested empirically.

In addition, a dimensional classification of these sub-categories can inform a graded treatment decision (Acton & Zodda, 2005).

In order to provide clinicians with a frame of reference to recognise valid signs and symptomatology, it is especially important that researchers distinguish between the divergent motivations of individuals who engage in exercise and nutritional regimes with the aim of 'physique enhancement'. This has clinical implications, if extreme and maladaptive behaviours of competitive individuals are a consequence of over-subscribing to the 'win at all costs' sporting ethic, then psychological intervention can aim to modify the behaviours. On a global level, greater awareness can provide psychoeducation and alert bodybuilding coaches and 'power sports' trainers to the potential health risks for clients who compete. In the non-competitive community if the pathological pursuit of a lean and athletic physique is a consequence of the modern cultural depiction of the 'ideal male', then therapists can aim to modify how the individual views themself in relation to those images. Globally, this can allow for greater precision in respect to epidemiological data, and highlight the potential dangers of the mass media's predilection to utilise muscular male imagery for advertising purposes.

Table 1.
Sub-Categories of Male Body Image Concerns

Behaviour in context	Time span	Classification	Distinct conditions	End goal
Extreme muscle building activities within competitive sport.	Not TS[a]	PD[b]	Cyclical behaviours.	To win competition
Extreme muscle building behaviours within competitive sport.	TS	PD/MD	Continued behaviours no recuperation after competition. Behaviours may develop as a result of internalising poor performance as a lack of strength/ muscle.	To win competition
Main preoccupation with increasing muscle mass.	TS	MD[c]	Continued behaviours aimed at primarily increasing muscle size. Secondary, lowered percentage of body-fat	Exaggerated hyper-mesomorphic physique.
Main preoccupation with reduction of body fat.	TS	Egnoiachondros	Continued behaviours aimed to primarily reduce percentage of body-fat.	Male fitness model. Athletic/lean physique.

[a]*Temporally Stable*   [b]*Positive Deviance*   [c]*Muscle Dysmorphia*

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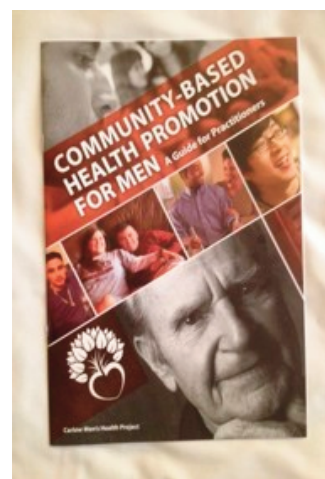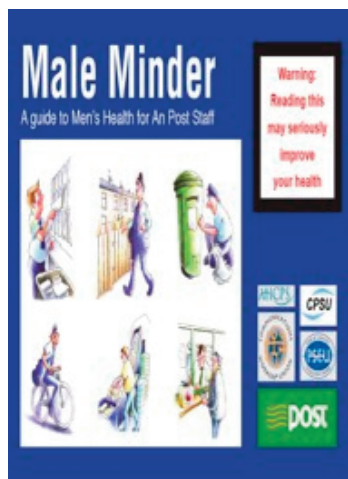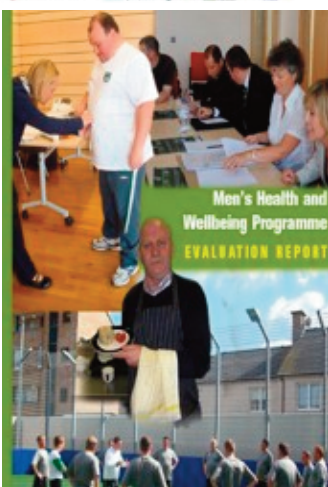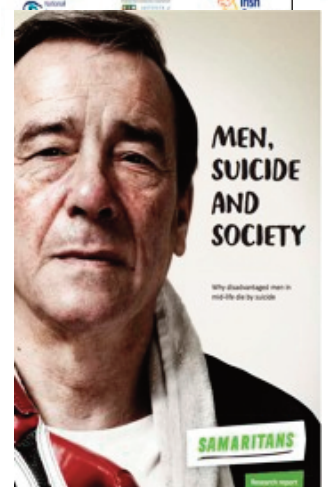
Building Momentum, Gaining Traction: Ireland's National Men's Health Policy- 5 years on

Noel Richardson

Approaching the end of the 5-year timeframe of Ireland's national men's health policy (NMHP) represents a timely opportunity to reflect on the key successes and challenges associated with transitioning from policy development to implementation. The success of the NMHP can be attributed to strong governance and accountability measures, the exponential rise in men's health research and evaluation reports, the implementation of a comprehensive national men's health training programme, the development of a range of men's health information resources, the emergence of some promising workplace-based men's health promotion initiatives, the expansion of community-based men's health initiatives and the copperfastening of the Men's Health Forum in Ireland's position as the leading men's health advocacy organisation and co-ordinating body for Men's Health Week. The key challenges include translating cross-departmental and inter-sectoral recommendations into sustainable actions, limited funding opportunities, the ambitious scope and breadth of policy recommendations and actions; and ongoing issues with regard to managing expectation and maintaining momentum. Crucially, Ireland's NMHP has provided a vision and a framework for action that has enabled men's health to gain traction and to develop momentum that would otherwise not have been possible.

Key Words: men's health, policy, public health

Introduction

Despite men's very prominent and powerful presence throughout the ages at the centre of all matters to do with health, men have been conspicuously silent and largely non-reflective about defining or drawing attention to their own health needs. Whilst men have been the predominant players in the decision-making process affecting health research and health service policy and provision, men themselves have not argued, lobbied or campaigned in the same way that women have, for improvements to their health at a personal or individual level. It is against this backdrop, that men's health has largely been conspicuous by its absence at a health policy level. Indeed, Ireland (Department of Health and Children, 2009) and Australia (Department of Health and Ageing, 2010) are, to date, the only countries in the world to have published national men's health policies (NMHP). Ireland's NMHP was accompanied by a five-year Action Plan which is now in its fifth year.

Whilst the case for a policy focus on men's health in Ireland and Australia was multifaceted (Richardson and Carroll, 2009; Smith et al, 2009), the impetus and mandate for policy action was embedded in sex differences in health outcomes between men and women (Richardson and Smith, 2011). In Ireland, the early positioning of men's health within a 'health inequalities' framework (Balanda & Wilde, 2001), and thus on the grounds of a health inequity, provided legitimacy and leverage to advancing men's health on to a policy agenda (although, more broadly, the plausibility of such an approach is the subject of much debate – see Tsuchiya and Williams, 2005; Lohan 2007; Bates et al 2009; Smith et al 2009; Williams et al 2009). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the absence of policy action in men's health elsewhere; especially among those countries with arguably a stronger case than Ireland or Australia. Within the European Union (EU) 27, for example, the gap in life expectancy between men and women ranges from 3.3 years in Iceland to 11.3 years in Latvia, with a clear East-West divide evident across Europe in terms of health outcomes for men in Eastern compared to Western countries (White et al, 2011a). This divide is particularly pronounced in relation to premature mortality. Whilst men in the EU have more than twice as many deaths per year as women throughout the working ages (15-64 years), men in Eastern Europe contribute disproportionately to this difference.

Yet, in both national and European health policy, men and "masculinity" are largely taken for granted (White et al, 2011b, p1).

This paper will reflect on the key milestones and challenges to date in transitioning to men's health policy implementation in Ireland with a view to informing a wider public health debate on the merits, or otherwise, of targeting men as a specific population group for the strategic planning of health. This is important, not least because of the apparent inertia towards men's health policy development elsewhere. The Action Plan that accompanied Ireland's NMHP encompassed a broad range of policy recommendations and actions (Department of Health and Children, 2009; p 107-126). Section 2 will provide an overview of the principal successes and key milestones achieved to date, while Section 3 will consider the major obstacles and challenges encountered in transitioning to policy implementation.

Key Milestones to Date

Governance and accountability

The key to successful implementation of any policy are the issues of governance and accountability which together define the responsibilities and accountabilities of the involved partners (Bull et al 2004). Ireland's NMHP was accompanied by a 5-year Action Plan which clearly signposted specific recommendations and actions across a broad range of policy areas (Department of Health and Children, 2009, p111-132). Prior to publication of the NMHP, a series of bilateral meetings were held with key stakeholders (including other government departments[1]) to reach final consensus on the final wording of the policy recommendations and actions within the Action Plan. In terms of implementation, it was anticipated that this process of negotiation and consultation with key stakeholders on finalising the Action Plan would have strengthened and consolidated the commitment of these stakeholders towards acting on their respective areas of responsibility, as well as forming the basis for future partnership and collaboration on key aspects of men's health policy. A NMHP Implementation

Group (co-chaired by the Department of Health and Children) was tasked with overseeing the implementation of the Action Plan and this group has convened four times per year since 2009 with a formal record being kept of proceedings from the meetings. The organisations[2] represented on the NMHP Implementation Group have formed the cornerstone for many of the key alliances and partnerships that have been instrumental in driving the men's health policy agenda in Ireland both before and after publication of the NMHP.

The authors of the policy (Dr Noel Richardson & Dr Paula Carroll) were seconded on a part-time basis from academic positions to act as secretariat to the Implementation Group. Part of their brief was to compile an Annual Progress Report to document progress on the policy recommendations and actions, with four reports (2009-2012) having been compiled to date. There is also a commitment to externally evaluate the policy at the end of its 5-year time frame. This monitoring and auditing function has served to maintain 'gentle' pressure on those tasked with implementing the policy to follow through on their areas of responsibility! Another key function of the NMHP secretariat has been to represent the voice of men's health on a broad range of cross-sectoral work, including key areas of NMHP such as obesity; cancer, suicide prevention, workplace health promotion, rural men's health, men's sheds, promoting men's health in sport settings and personal development programme for boys in schools. In keeping with good practice, the NMHP Implementation Group has placed an explicit focus on building a stronger evidence base in the area of men's health in Ireland with research and evaluation forming a key pillar of emerging work (See Table 1 for an overview of key research and evaluation reports that have been published since the NMHP launch).

Finally, a key aspect of governance with respect to NMHP implementation has been the alignment of the policy with a broader gender-mainstreaming framework (GMF) within the health services (Health Service Executive, 2012). This is in keeping with the NMHP's call for the positioning of men's health 'within a mainstreamed equality agenda with a gender focus' (Department of Health and Children, 2009, p20). Crucially, having a NMHP provided a blueprint for policy action on men's health that informed the GMF and ensured that men's health 'experts'[3] contributed to the development of the GMF – thus overcoming previously defined difficulties with gender mainstreaming (GM) as being synonymous with women's health (Bates et al, 2009). Indeed, this can also be seen in practice by way of ongoing work in the development of GM toolkits and GM pilot projects which are being informed by both men's and women's health experts and practitioners. The positioning of men's health within a GMF is also important for three very practical reasons. One of the key markers of successful policy is integration with existing policy (Bull et al, 2004). A key function of the NMHP has been to apply a gender lens to existing and emerging policy areas. The NMHP is also increasingly being cited in funding applications from a broad cross-section of organisations, which also demonstrates the cross-fertilisation of the NMHP into other policy areas. Secondly, despite an exponential growth in men's health work in recent years, there is still a huge void between the breadth of policy actions called for in the NMHP and the resources available and number of dedicated practitioners working in the area of men's health to meet this demand. Thirdly, the launch of the NMHP coincided with the economic downturn and a contraction and rationalisation of available resources. With very limited ring-fenced funding, the potential of a new [men's health] policy to compete for a shrinking pot of public sector funds was also going to be limited.

Whilst the arguments presented in this paper come out strongly overall in favour of a dedicated NMHP; realistically, embedding men's health within a mainstreamed equality agenda has the greater potential for men's health to gain traction within a broader policy landscape in the long term. Indeed, in certain policy areas, men will benefit disproportionately where they are at greatest relative risk - as is the case for whole-population initiatives in areas such as workplace health and safety, where men account for 95% of fatal accidents (White et al, 2011a). Likewise, from a gender relations perspective, many measures designed to improve men's health can, through the lens of a GMF, be advanced perhaps more strategically by highlighting the wider ramifications for the health of women and children. Whilst GM is certainly not without its problems (Bates et al 2009; Smith, Robertson and Richardson 2009), it does offer much potential to extend the reach of men's health policy, particularly if informed in the first instance by such policy. It should not therefore be a question of choosing one approach over the other, or proposing one approach as 'better' than the other, but rather recognising that a dual approach with NMHP and GMF working in tandem offers the greatest potential to advance men's health in the long-term.

Table 1   Key Research & Evaluation Reports linked to NMHP

Authors/Organisation	Title	Year	Focus
Evans D., Walshe K., Gillen P. & Connellan M.	'Farmers have Hearts' Project Evaluation	2009	An evaluation of a cardiovascular disease screening programme targeted at farmers
Men's Health Forum in Ireland	Evaluation of Men's Health Week	2009-2012	Men's Health Week evaluation reports: 2009 (Men and access to services); 2010 (Men and physical activity); 2011 (Supporting men through challenging times); 2012 (First instinct)
Dunne N., Richardson N. & Clarke C (National Centre for Men's Health; Institute of Technology Carlow)	The Larkin Centre: Men's Health and Wellbeing Programme Evaluation Report	2010	An evaluation of the Larkin Centre's Men's Health & Wellbeing Programme targeted at disadvantaged men in Dublin's inner city
Safefood	'Get your life in gear'	2010	An evaluation report of a lifestyle programme targeted at truck drivers
The Institute of Public Health in Ireland	Facing the challenge: The impact of the recession and unemployment on men's health in Ireland	2011	A research report on the impact of recession and unemployment on men's health in Ireland
McCarthy M. & Richardson N. (National Centre for Men's Health; Institute of Technology Carlow)	Best practice approaches to tailoring lifestyle interventions for obese men in the primary care setting:	2011	A resource booklet for health care professionals working with obese men in the primary care setting
Kirwan L. Carroll P. & Lamb B. (Centre for Health Behaviour Research, Waterford Institute of Technology)	Engaging vulnerable men in community-based health promotion	2011	A practitioners guide to engaging vulnerable men in community-based health promotion work
Men's Development Network	Men's health: A review of the needs of Community Development Projects and Family Resource Centres in Ireland	2012	A research report on the barriers and challenges experienced by Community Development Projects and Family Resource Centres in engaging with men
Men's Development Network	Supporting men through challenging times	2012	A research report and resource booklet for engaging with unemployed men and with men affected by recession

Men's Development Network	Community-based health promotion for men – A guide for practitioners	2013	A resource booklet for health promotion work targeted at men in community settings
Men's Development Network	7 Key questions for men	2013	A resource booklet for establishing a men's group
Carragher L. (Irish Men's Sheds Association)	Men's sheds on Ireland: Learning through community contexts	2013	A research report on older men's experiences of participating in men's sheds in Ireland
Richardson N., Clarke C. & Fowler C. (National Centre for Men's Health; Institute of Technology Carlow)	Young men and suicide project. A report from the Men's Health Forum in Ireland	2013	A research report on young men and suicide commissioned by the National Office for Suicide Prevention (Republic of Ireland) and the Public Health Agency (Northern Ireland)
Clarke C., Sharp L., O'Leary C. & Richardson N. (National Centre for Men's Health; Institute of Technology Carlow)	An examination of the excess burden of cancer in men.	2013	A research report on men and cancer commissioned by the Irish Cancer Society

Research and evaluation

The NMHP (p46) stressed the importance of 'establishing a stronger evidence base to support the on-going development of policy and services for men.' As highlighted in the previous section, there has been an exponential rise in the number of research and evaluation reports since publication of the NMHP (see Table 1). This has been associated with both a top down and bottom up approach. In other words, more stringent criteria at a statutory/funding level has had the 'top down' effect of an increased focus on evaluating, monitoring and documenting emerging work in the field of men's health. There is also increasing evidence of research budgets or seeding grants being built in to the overall funding of men's health initiatives, and of more effective knowledge transfer from research to practice. At the same time, there has been a burgeoning interest in men's health at a societal level, which has translated into a 'bottom-up' momentum in men's health in academia and among non-governmental organizations (e.g. Irish Cancer Society; Men's Development Network; Men's Health Forum in Ireland). For example, recent significant reports in areas such as unemployment and men (The Institute of Public Health in Ireland, 2010), suicide and young men (Richardson, Clarke and Fowler, 2013) and cancer and men (Clarke et al, 2013) illustrate a strengthening of the evidence base and the application of a gender lens to key areas of men's health research. An important development has been the establishment of a National Centre for Men's Health (NCMH; as called for in the NMHP, p114) which to date has played a pivotal role in advancing and coordinating men's health research activities in Ireland. The NCMH was also a contributing Centre to the first State of Men's Health in Europe Report (White et al, 2011a)

Men's Health Training

Among the key priorities in the NMHP (p63) was the development of men's health training

targeted at front line service providers. In response to this policy mandate, a two-day men's health training programme ('ENGAGE'; Richardson et al, 2013) was developed with a view to increasing service providers understanding of best practice in engaging men with health and social services. The programme comprises five discrete modules and is based upon the authors' experience, evidence from academic and evaluation literature and an extensive 24-month pilot phase. A comprehensive Training Resource Pack has been developed which comprises training videos, PowerPoint presentations, hand-outs, lesson plans and a range of interactive group work tasks & role plays. These resources are available in hard copy, on usb and online. A 4-day residential 'Train the Trainers' programme has also been developed and was delivered in 2012. This cohort of Trainers (n=18) is currently delivering the programme in a range of different settings and two further cohorts of Trainers will be trained in 2013 and 2014. The programme is being evaluated with a view to having ENGAGE assigned a 'Quality' training mark that is nationally recognised.

Men's Health Information

The NMHP (p50) highlighted a 'knowledge deficit' with regard to Irish men's knowledge of basic health issues, which it attributed, in part, to men delaying to seek help from a medical practitioner because of failing to recognise symptoms of serious ill health. One of the successes of the NMHP has been the proliferation of specifically commissioned men's health literature targeted at men in different settings. The Irish Cancer Society (http://www.cancer.ie/publications/reduce-your-risk#men) and the Irish Heart Foundation ('A man's guide to heart health': http://www.irishheart.ie/media/pub/listen_to_your_heart_not_your_head_brochure.pdfhave) have been to the forefront in developing specifically commissioned men's health literature. Some workplaces have also been proactive in this respect, including An Post (the National Postal Service) with its men's health publication 'Male Minder' (http://www.mhfi.org/anpost.pdf); Safefood, with a range of publications as part of its 'Get your Life in Gear' programme (http://www.safefood.eu/Professional/Food-Science/Resources/Truck-driver-lifestyle-programme---Get-Your-Life-i.aspx); and a specifically commissioned men's health booklet for farmers ('Staying fit for farming'), commissioned by a coalition of farm organisations and due to be disseminated to 85,000 farm holdings in September 2013. Some community groups, such as the Carlow Men's Health Project, have also engaged in developing men's health literature ('Men's Health Matters': http://carlowmenshealth.info/health-information/). Finally, the MHFI has also been proactive in developing a range of promotional materials to highlight specific themes associated with Men's Health Week each year (see: http://www.mhfi.org/mhw/mhw-image-pack.html). Although it is difficult to gauge the wider impact of these initiatives, they represent a significant development in raising the profile of men's health in a variety of different settings.

Men's Health and the Workplace

The NMHP (p87) identified the workplace as a key setting in which to target specific men's health policy initiatives and drew attention to the potential links between promoting men's health in the workplace and increasing productivity. Whilst both recession and the absence of funding has curtailed the potential to address this area, there have been a number of initiatives that illustrate the scope to expand workplace men's health in the future. Among the more promising initiatives are; (i) An Post's (the Irish Postal Service) workplace health promotion imitative which, to date, has included interventions in health literacy, physical activity, alcohol and stress; (ii) Safefood's 'Get Your Life in Gear' programme targeted at truck drivers and including health checks, dietary advice and physical activity components (http://www.safefood.eu/Professional/Food-Science/Resources/Truck-driver-lifestyle-programme---Get-Your-Life-i.aspx); (iii) the HSE's Farmers have Hearts project (Evans et al, 2009) which included health screenings and lifestyle counselling (with follow-up) for farmers in agricultural settings; and (iv) a national telecommunications company's[4] 'Health Net' project, which includes on site health checks and the provision of a range of on-line men's health resources. These initiatives are an indication of a growing interest in the workplace as a setting for men's health and a growing menu of initiatives and resources on which to base future workplace men's health initiatives.

Community-based Men's Health

Chapter 10 of the NMHP called for a strengthening of community action to support men's

health, particularly in relation to targeting more vulnerable or marginalised groups of men. This call to action has gained significant momentum during the lifetime of the NMHP, particularly in light of recession and the impact of unemployment on men's health (Institute of Public Health in Ireland, 2011). The Men's Development Network (MDN) has played a pivotal role in supporting and mentoring community and voluntary sector organisations nationally to engage with men effectively in their work and to achieve a partnership approach to community development work for men. MDN has worked in particular with ethnic minority men, unemployed men and with male perpetrators of domestic violence (http://www.mensdevelopmentnetwork.ie/). There has also been an exponential growth in Men's Sheds in Ireland since publication of the NMHP and the Irish Men's Sheds Association (IMSA) has, to date, supported the development of 135 Men's Sheds throughout the country (http://menssheds.ie/). A preliminary evaluation of men's sheds in Ireland points to significant gains in terms of a number of health indicators (Carragher, 2013). There have also been a number of other community-based men's health programmes. The Men's Health and Wellbeing Programme, run by the Larkin Centre (http://www.larkinctr.com/education/mens-health.php) in Dublin's inner city, runs for ten weeks and comprises four hours per week of cookery classes, health education classes and soccer/fitness training. The programme targets men from a very disadvantaged community and has proved hugely successful both in terms of effectively engaging so-called 'hard to reach' groups of men, and in terms of health and social capital outcomes achieved with the target community (Dunne, Richardson and Clarke, 2010). Other important initiatives include the North Leitrim Men's Group (http://homepage.eircom.net/~nlmensgroup/); community-based physical activity programmes for men in the west of Ireland (http://www.mhfi.org/news/227-mayo-men-on-the-move.html); and the Carlow Men's Health project (Kirwan et al, 2011; Kirwan et al 2013). This substantial level of activity in community-based men's health work is in keeping with two of the core principles of the NMHP – adopting a social determinants and a community development approach.

Men's Health Forum in Ireland & Men's Health Week

Among the challenges highlighted in the NMHP (p50) was to overcome what was described as the tendency towards negative and stereotypical portrayals of men and masculinity, in favour of 'more positive and holistic images of men's health'. The policy also stressed that maintaining media interest in men's health and achieving a high profile on men's health in public debate also needed to be underpinned by good quality information. One of the key successes of the policy has been the role played by the MHFI in meeting this need. Whilst MHFI has received funding through the NMHP specifically to co-ordinate men's health week, its impact has been much more far-reaching than that. Since publication of the NMHP, MHFI has become the conduit for keeping the public informed about all that is happening in men's health in Ireland. Its website (http://www.mhfi.org/) is now the repository for a broad range of publications, reports and resource materials. Through its excellent work in co-ordinating men's health week annually, it has not only succeeded in raising the profile and increasing public awareness of men's health, but has steadily increased the number of partners who now play an active role in promoting men's health week each year (http://www.mhfi.org/mhw/mhw-2013.html#Planning).

Key challenges in men's health policy implementation

Translating cross-departmental and inter-sectoral recommendations into sustainable actions.

Whilst the explicit purpose of Ireland's NMHP consultation process was both to consult and to strengthen existing networks in the area of men's health, one of the most difficult challenges in the transition to policy implementation has been to continue to strengthen and build on these networks and partnerships and to get buy-in across government departments on policy implementation (Richardson and Smith, 2011). Whilst the policy called for appropriate structures with regard to implementation at an 'inter-departmental' (p44) level, these did not materialise – resulting in a lack of governance structure to deal with cross-departmental planning. In this regard, men's health is no different to other policy areas that seek to garner cross-departmental support in terms of the struggles associated with leadership, accountability and governance issues. In the context of Ireland, this has been compounded by staff turnover within government departments and a range of reforms within the health services, which have undermined further the potential to build upon the relationships that were established during the consultation phase. Economic recession and financial crisis

has also been a critical factor in severely curtailing other government departments' capacity to fund new initiatives or to be amenable to what might be seen [men's health] as a non-core policy area.

Funding

From the point of view of timing, Ireland's NMHP missed the boat in terms of garnering significant ring-fenced funding to implement the policy Action Plan. The policy launch coincided with the economic downturn and a subsequent contraction and rationalisation of available resources. In particular, this rendered the implementation of some of the more costly NMHP measures such as the provision of statutory paternity leave (p121) and extending affordable and social housing schemes (p117) extremely unlikely, at least in the short-term. There are, however, a number of key points that should be considered in weighing up the extent to which [lack of] funding constitutes 'a failure' of Ireland's NMHP. The provision of appropriate funding is unquestionably a pre-requisite of successful policy implementation and Ireland's NMHP has 'suffered' because of this. That said, and as outlined in this paper, there has been considerable momentum across a range of NMHP issues, largely in spite of rather than because of funding. Whilst more could have been achieved, it is unlikely that these key milestones would have been achieved in the absence of a NMHP. Secondly, unlike other policy areas, men's health policy does not start with a green field site. As highlighted earlier, one of the key markers of successful policy is integration with existing policy and, in the context of men's health, the application of a gender lens to existing and emerging policy areas. Whilst in order to work, this process will inevitably have certain implications for funding, there is much that can be achieved in the absence of funding. At the same time, the publication of the policy has been the catalyst for increased men's health activity in other areas (e.g. health promotion; occupational and workplace health; community development projects). Finally, the absence of significant additional funding at the NMHP launch will be interpreted by many as a snub at men's health and that, policy or not, men's health is not being taken seriously at the higher government level. Whatever the merits of such an argument, it fails to account for the drastic and unprecedented fiscal situation in which Ireland found itself at the time of the NMHP launch and begs the question as to whether any other policy launched at such a time would have fared any better.

Scope and breadth of Policy Action Plan

One of the key challenges of policy development is to address the issue of 'competing needs' (Bull et al, 2004) and making difficult choices in terms of prioritising certain policy issues over others and managing expectations of different interest groups. Many such choices were made in the context of Ireland's NMHP (Richardson and Smith, 2011); nevertheless, the scope and breadth of the final policy document was, to say the least, ambitious – especially in light of the policy launch coinciding with the financial crisis. This raises some fundamental questions with regard to the political/economic aspects of policy formulation. Central among these is choosing between a more idealistic versus a pragmatic approach to policy – throwing in the kitchen sink versus cutting one's cloth to measure! Whilst the former approach runs the risk of failing to gain traction because of what might be seen as an unrealistic scope and breadth of policy issues, the latter can be criticised for framing a policy issue around boundaries that are too narrow and that exclude some fundamentally important elements. With hindsight, there may have been merit in scaling back the scope and breadth of the NMHP Action Plan to more realistic proportions. An alternative might have been to timeframe priorities within the Action Plan, thereby setting out wider boundaries as part of a vision for 'men's health' but acknowledging that a longer timeframe would be needed to make inroads on all areas.

Managing expectation and building momentum

One of the key challenges associated with policy is dealing with vested interests and managing expectation from policy consultation and development through to policy implementation. Whilst every attempt was made to ensure that there was transparency in sign-posting the choices that were made in framing the final policy document, it is equally important at the end of its 5-year timeframe, that the findings of the proposed NMHP external evaluation be published and disseminated widely. Particular attention will need to be paid to managing disappointment among those vested interest groups who may feel let down by the policy implementation. Perseverance and patience were the cornerstones in developing Ireland's NMHP (Richardson and Carroll, 2009) and continue to be a challenge in relation to policy implementation, particularly in terms of ongoing efforts

to garner inter-sectoral and cross-departmental support. In light of ongoing rationalisation and cut-backs across the public sector in Ireland, it is critically important to profile successes and to quantify the dividends gained by having a NMHP in order to build momentum for advancing men's health further. With a focus on effectiveness and efficacy carefully built into evaluation processes, the emergence of a stronger evidence base in men's health in Ireland can be the platform to build this momentum. There is still much scope to be more precise in quantifying the dividends realized by targeting men's health at a policy level, including at an overall population level and at an economic and environmental level. From a gender relations perspective, the impact and potential benefits that can accrue from a NMHP for women and children should, as highlighted earlier, also be carefully documented.

Conclusion

Approaching the end of the 5-year timeframe of Ireland's NMHP represents a timely opportunity to reflect on the key successes and milestones achieved to date as welll as learning from some of the challenges in transitioning from policy development to policy implementation. Amongst the key positive outcomes include; the strong governance and accountability structures and procedures that are now in place for men's health; the exponential rise in research and evaluation reports that have contributed to a growing evidence base for men's health; the implementation of a comprehensive national men's health training programme; the development of a range of men's health information resources targeted at men in different settings; the emergence of some promising workplace-based men's health promotion initiatives; the expansion of community-based men's health initiatives targeted at vulnerable groups of men; and the copperfastening of the Men's Health Forum in Ireland's position as the leading men's health advocacy organisation and co-ordinating body for Men's Health Week. The key challenges encountered in transitioning to policy implementation include; difficulties associated with translating cross-departmental and inter-sectoral recommendations into sustainable actions; securing funding within a difficult economic climate; the ambitious scope and breadth of policy recommendations and actions; and ongoing issues with regard to managing expectation and maintaining momentum. Crucially, Ireland's NMHP has provided a vision and a framework for action that has enabled men's health to gain traction and to develop momentum that would otherwise not have been possible. Men's health is now more visible and occupies a more prominent place in public discourse. Its legacy will ultimately be judged as much by its broader interface with other policy areas as by its success in relation to specific policy recommendations or actions.

Footnotes

[1]These included the Department of Social and Family Affairs; Department of Education and Science; Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment; Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform.

[2]This group comprised representatives from the Department of Health, the Health Service Executive, the Institute of Public Health in Ireland, the Irish Cancer Society, the Irish Heart Foundation, the Men's Health Forum in Ireland and the Men's Development Network.

[3]Representatives from the NMHP Implementation Group, the Men's Health Forum in Ireland and the Men's Development Network were part of the GMF Steering Group.

[4]In the interest of confidentiality, it is not possible to name this company.

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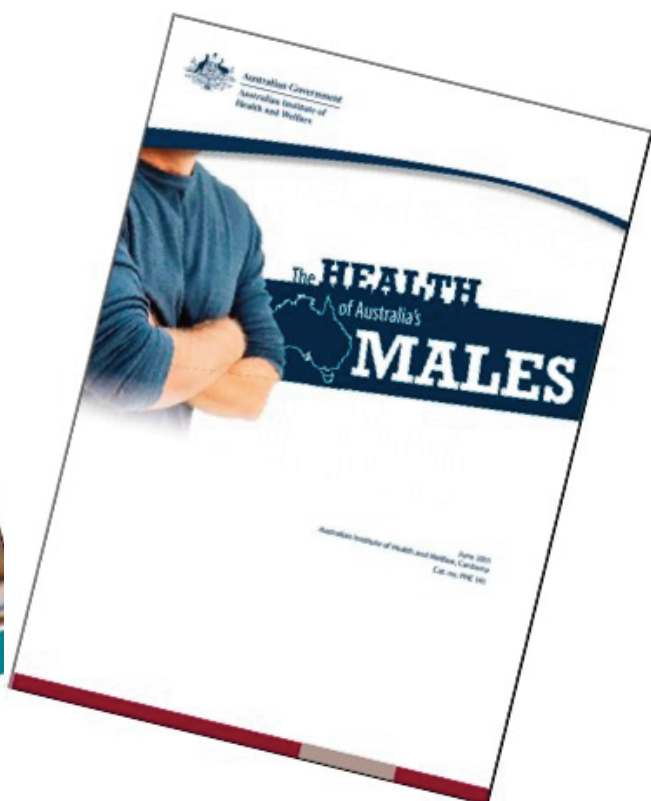
Male Health and Male Health Policy in Australia

Gary Misan

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Despite major gains in life expectancy for Australian males over the last century there still remain major disparities in health outcomes between males and females and between different groups of males. In response, in 2010 the Australian Government released the first National Male Health Policy. This landmark policy takes a social determinants approach and advocates for gender equity in dealing with the health needs of Australian males. Its six priority action areas encompass optimal outcomes for males, health equity for subgroups of males and at different life stages and transition points, illness prevention, improved service access and an improved evidence base. The policy rationale, key features, achievements and limitations are described.

Key Words: male health, men's health, male health policy, social determinants, gender equity

Introduction

June 16, 2013 witnessed the end of another National Men's Health Week (University of Western Sydney, 2013) in Australia and saw the dust settle on over 170 male health advocacy events around the country. With so much apparent enthusiasm for continuing efforts in male health it is perhaps timely to reflect on the status of male health in the 'lucky' country and of the three years since the introduction of Australia's first National Male Health Policy (NMHP) (Australian Government, 20100).

In so doing we should note that there were attempts to improve male health outcomes well before the introduction of the NMHP. These included the work of a number of male health advocacy groups who despite their often different philosophies have in their various ways inched the male health agenda forward. But as this article demonstrates, there is still much work to do.

How is it then that we ascribe cause and effect to male health policy in Australia? I suggest with some difficulty, particularly at the population level. With the work of local, State and national advocacy groups, the efforts of a plethora of health promotion programs, primary health care initiatives, the national health reform agenda and a myriad of structural changes to national and state health systems, as well as factors external to the health agenda, ascribing changes to the NMHP is likely to be a difficult task. Compounding the dilemma is that population level changes do not happen overnight and it will likely take a decade or two of consistent commitment and funding by successive national and state governments, across a range of sectors in addition to health and importantly changes in sociocultural expectations of men and boys, before we see significant changes in health outcomes for Australian males. Whether the required consistent commitment is forthcoming remains to be seen. Notwithstanding, this article aims to highlight the opportunity that the NMHP holds and what has been achieved over the last three years that can be attributed to the policy.

Male Health in Australia

Life expectancy

The 2011 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census estimated the Australian male population on census night at 10,634,013 which represents 49.4% of the population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a). Of these, 2.5% identified as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent, which is the subgroup with the worst outcomes on just about any measure in Australia, including health. The national median age for males in Australia is 36 years. Approximately 20% of males are under 15 years of age, 68% are aged between 15 and 64 and 12% 65 years and over (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 9).

Australian males live long lives by international standards. When compared with other developed countries the life expectancy of Australian males at birth ranks third only to Japan and Hong Kong and after age 60, males rank top equally with Japan, New Zealand and Canada (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012a). There is however an almost 5 year disparity between life expectancy for Australian males and females (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011c) and this gap has widened over the last century (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011c). Between 1900 – 1910 the survival gap between males and females was 3.6 years but by 2004 – 2006, the difference had increased to 4.8 years. This increase is despite improvements in public health infrastructure, immunisation programs, better living standards, the eradication of common infectious diseases and better access to health services, suggesting other factors are at play.

The average Australian male life expectancy at birth is 79.7 years compared with 84.2 years for females (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2013b). People living in regional, rural and remote areas, including Aboriginal Australians, die on average about 3 years earlier than their urban cousins, primarily due to socioeconomic disadvantage, lifestyle factors and lesser access to medical care (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2012b, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a). In remote and very remote areas, the average male life expectancy is about 4 years less (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2007). Additional subgroups, including those with mental illness, war veterans, gay men, socially isolated and blue collar men, all have lower life expectancy

than the average male (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2007). For Indigenous males the picture is much more sombre. The ABS estimates that Indigenous males born in the period 1996-2001 have a life expectancy at birth of 59.4 years. Revised estimates from 2005-2007 put this figure at 67.2 years. Depending on the source this suggests Indigenous males can expect to die between 10 – 20 years sooner than their non-Indigenous counterparts and about 6 years less than Indigenous females (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011b, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2008a) Whichever figures you choose to believe, the differential is significant and warrants specific strategies targeting Indigenous males.

Mortality and morbidity

While life expectancy figures suggest all is well with the Aussie male, not all is well in terms of quality of life and there are sub-groups of males that do less well than the 'average'. The leading individual causes of Australian male death are ischaemic heart disease (IHD), cancer, respiratory system disease, prostate and lymph system disease, cerebrovascular disease, suicide, and endocrine disorders (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 28) which collectively account for approximately 60% of all male deaths (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2012c).

Mortality rates for males for most non-sex-specific causes of death are higher than for females across all age ranges (Draper et al., 2004b). The national standardised death rate for males is 2.2 deaths per thousand higher than for females (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Nationally, this represents approximately 22,400 additional male deaths per year compared with female deaths. All-cause death and injury rates are highest in the 15-24 year (163% higher), 65 -74 years (85% higher) and 25-64 year (81% higher) age groups (Draper et al., 2004b, pp. 16-29). The greatest contributors to these figures are suicide, motor vehicle accident and other injury in the 15 -24 year age group, respiratory and circulatory disease in the 65-74 year olds and circulatory system and lung cancer in the 25-64 year olds (Draper et al., 2004b, pp. 16-29).

Death rates for males less than 25 years of age are nearly twice that of females the same age. For males 25 years and older, the leading causes of death are coronary heart disease followed by lung cancer (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2013a). Males in the 15-29 years age group have higher death rates from injury than other age groups. Vehicle accidents are the major cause of death for males less than 25 years old, and males are almost three times more likely to die from vehicle accidents than females with younger men accounting for 60% of deaths (Draper et al., 2004b).

Although IHD is the most common single cause of death, when the different cancer death statistics are combined, malignant neoplasms are the leading cause of death for Australian males. In 2007, males accounted for 57% of all cancer related deaths and 57% of all newly diagnosed cancers (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 33). Prostate cancer, bowel cancer and skin cancer are the most commonly diagnosed male cancers with lung cancer, prostate and colorectal cancer the leading causes of cancer death (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 33). Death rates from prostate cancer exceed the mortality from breast cancer in Australian women.

Burden of disease

About half of the male population over 15 years of age report health concerns; and reports of ill-health increase with age reflecting the increased incidence of chronic disease as men age (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2012a). In the most recent ABS Health Survey, only 56% of Australian males aged 15 years and above rated their health as very good or excellent. Self-reported health status generally declines from 65 years of age and is generally worse for disadvantaged groups (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2012a, pp. 107).

Males die from avoidable causes 85% more often than females and rates for conditions such as diabetes, heart, stroke and vascular disease are significantly higher. These findings highlight the need for more male-specific disease prevention and early intervention strategies as key components of male health policy (Leahy K et al., 2009).

In 2003, it was estimated that Australians lost more than 2.6 million healthy years of life due to disease and injury of which approximately 52% was attributed to males (1.4 million DALY) (Aus-

tralian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 30). The five leading causes of years of lost life (YLL, i.e. mortality burden) for the male population were ischaemic heart disease, lung cancer, suicide, stroke and colorectal cancer. The five leading causes of years lost to disability (YLD; i.e. non-fatal burden) were anxiety or depression, Type 2 diabetes, adult onset hearing loss, asthma and dementia (Australian Government, 2011). When taking into account the combined YLL and YLD, Ischaemic Heart disease and Type 2 diabetes account for the leading burden of disease for Australian males (Australian Government, 2011).

Chronic conditions — those lasting six months or more that can lead to death — are responsible for the majority of death and injury experienced by men and women and impose the greatest burden on health and wellbeing. About one third of Australian men report common chronic conditions (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. vi) the leading causes of which include heart and circulatory problems, arthritis, asthma, diabetes, cancer and osteoporosis. High rates of overweight and obesity in males are a significant contributor to morbidity and mortality from chronic disease such as Type 2 diabetes, CVD and cancer (Government of South Australia, 2006).

Similarly, long term conditions — defined as those lasting 6 months or more but that don't generally cause death — are reported more often than chronic conditions and together with chronic conditions, place a substantial financial, resource and social burden on individuals and communities. For Australian males the most commonly reported long term conditions include visual problems such as long and short sightedness (23% and 20%), back pain and spinal disk problems (14%), and hay fever and allergic rhinitis (14%) (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 32). In 2007 – 08, 15% of males across all age groups reported developing a long term condition caused by previous injury (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Eighteen percent of males over the age of 25 report a core activity limitation affecting mobility, self-care or communication (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2013a).

Mental health

About half of Australian males are affected by mental illness over their life course (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011b). A national survey conducted in 2007 found that approximately 48% of males aged 16-85 years reported experiencing a mental disorder sometime in their life with an estimated 1.4 million reporting illness in the year prior to the survey. The most commonly reported disorders were anxiety and depression, substance use disorders and affective disorders. Males account for 68% of substance abuse disorders (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011b). Men with mental illness die up to 16 years earlier than the general population and for those with drug or alcohol related co-morbidities, the gap is some 20 years (Norton, 2013).

Males in regional and remote areas are more likely to show high to very high levels of psychological distress, and males living outside major cities are significantly more likely to experience depression (greatest in the 45-64 years age group). Prevalence rates are generally higher again for Aboriginal males (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2008b).

The rate of suicide in Australian males is of particular concern. Approximately 4 males kill themselves in Australia every day. Suicide is the leading cause of death in males in the 15 – 44 year age group (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a) indicating that mental health disorders in males are under-recognised, under-diagnosed and under-treated (Australian Government, 2010i, pp. 7, Begg S et al., 2007). Suicide rates are highest in men 85 years and older and in the 25-49 year age groups (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a, pp. 5, Australian Government, 2010i, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013b). In 2007, men accounted for 77% of suicides nationally (Australian Government, 2010i, pp.5). Males in rural and remote regions, particularly young men, are more likely to commit suicide than their urban counterparts (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2005b, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2007, Caldwell TM et al., 2004) and are less likely to have sought professional help prior to the event (Caldwell TM et al., 2004, Steel Z et al., 2006). Farmers and farm workers suffer the highest rate of suicide of any occupational group and those at highest risk are males aged 30 -50 years.

Sexual and reproductive health

Of the four most prevalent Sexually Transmitted infections (STIs) in Australia, Chlamydia is the most common among males, followed by gonorrhoea, infectious syphilis and HIV with all except the latter being more common in Aboriginal males. Australian males carry the major burden of new cases of HIV and infectious syphilis with more than 90% of new cases diagnosed in males, compared with 41% of new cases of Chlamydia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 42).

Australia wide, over a third of men report experiencing at least one reproductive disorder, with frequency increasing with age (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 38). The disorders most commonly reported include low testosterone, erectile dysfunction, lower urinary tract symptoms and prostate disease (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 39).

Men in all age groups also report sexual related difficulties ranging from lack of interest in sex to concerns about sexual performance and achieving orgasm (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 39).

Work Health and Safety

Work health and safety (WH&S) also remains a key area of concern (Safe Work Australia, 2011b) and males experience 70% of the national burden of disease related to injury (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012b). Nationally, 15 serious workplace injuries occur every hour and at least one work-related death occurs every other day, with males accounting for 93% of all work-related fatalities (Linacre S, 2007, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). In 2009 – 10 there were nearly 73,000 claims for serious injury resulting in fatality, permanent or temporary incapacity; there were 170 work related deaths. Males aged 25-64 accounted for 55% of claims (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2013a). In addition to occupational fatalities, there are many other deaths related to occupational exposure to hazardous substances that occur each year, mostly in men (Fritschi L and Driscoll T, 2006, Safe work Australia, 2011a).

Social determinants

In Australia as elsewhere, the most likely determinant of health is where a man is situated on the social gradient with males appearing more adversely affected by lower socioeconomic status (SES) than females (Leahy K et al., 2009, Turrell G et al., 2006, Misan and Ashfield, 2011). Premature mortality for males in the most socially advantaged group of the population is higher than that for females in the most socially disadvantaged group; and the rate for males from the lowest SES group is nearly double that of the most socially disadvantaged females (Leahy K et al., 2009, Misan and Ashfield, 2011). Males with lower SES, living in disadvantaged areas, with lower levels of education and employed in blue-collar jobs generally report the poorest health and are more likely to make poorer lifestyle choices and to work in dangerous, health-damaging occupations (Leahy K et al., 2009, Turrell G et al., 2006, Misan and Ashfield, 2011). Male blue-collar workers experience significantly higher death rates for all causes and for most specific causes (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2005a). Socioeconomically disadvantaged men are more likely to report chronic disease or adverse health indicators or associated risk factors and are less likely to be able to access health services [11, 33, 34].

Geography is another key male health determinant with males who live in regional and remote areas more likely than metropolitan males to report fair or poor health. The prevalence of chronic disease and injury is generally higher and increases with remoteness (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2008b, Misan and Ashfield, 2011). Males in rural and remote areas have higher prevalence rates of diabetes, bronchitis, arthritis and some cancers, compared with city counterparts. They are more likely to show high to very high levels of psychological distress and to experience depression (greatest in the 45–64 years age group) and these rates are generally higher again for Aboriginal males (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2008b). Males living outside major metropolitan centres are more likely than their urban counterparts to exhibit poor health behaviours including drinking alcohol, smoking, illicit drug use, exhibiting sedentary behaviour, being overweight or obese, and consuming a poor diet. Rural and remote men are also more likely to have lower education attainment, have lower socioeconomic status, undertake dangerous work, work with dan-

gerous equipment or be exposed to hazardous chemicals and also to have less access to health services [(Misan and Ashfield, 2011)32, 33].

Social inclusion, as well as social control and cohesiveness, are additional determinants of social and emotional wellbeing, health and longevity (Misan and Ashfield, 2011). There is a causal association between the prognosis of coronary heart disease and social isolation, and the lack of quality social support and depression. Also, the risk of death due to the absence of social relationships and networks is comparable to the well-known risk factors of smoking, alcohol, high cholesterol, poor diet and lack of exercise (Baum F, 2008, Holt-Lunstad J et al., 2010, Seeman TE et al., 2001, Marmot M, 2001, Bunker SJ et al., 2003).

Health Service Utilisation

In Australia, adult males are about 15% less likely to have seen their GP than females although on the positive side, 75% of men report visiting a doctor in the previous 12 months. Rates increase with increasing age, reflecting an increase in the incidence of chronic disease in older age groups (De Kretser et al., 2006, Australian Bureau of Statistics). Data from the 2011 annual BEACH survey of 1000 Australian GPs found that there were 43,000 GP encounters with males accounting for less than half (43%) of all the GP consultations that year (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 51 and 56, Britt et al., 2010). Males aged between 45 – 65 accounted for over half of these visits. The top 5 complaints managed by the GP's were respiratory conditions (15%), general concerns (19.7%), cardiovascular problems (18.8%), skin conditions (18%) and musculoskeletal problems (16.4%) (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a).

Data from the ABS showed that in 2007-08, men accounted for 49.2% of the total GP consultations and 52% of the Emergency Department (ED) visits, indicating a lack of access to primary health care services and a higher usage of emergency services which may also reflect the less flexible opening hours of GP surgeries compared to ED. Emergency department service use varied across age cohorts with men aged 15-24 years having the highest proportion of visits (28%) whilst those aged 65 years and over accounted for 17% (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, pp. 55). The higher incidence of emergency department use is attributed to the lower use of preventative health measures and higher rates of trauma as a result of traffic accidents, occupational mishaps and violence (Malcher G, 2005). The higher use may also reflect the extended opening hours not available in general practice, particularly in rural areas.

The data is similar for hospital admissions where for people under the age of 55 years, men are less likely than women to be admitted to hospital, even when figures are adjusted for gynaecological and obstetric services (Australian Bureau of Statistics).

Australian Male Health Policy

Rationale

That an Australian national male health policy was well overdue is evident from the 1988 Health for all Australians report (The Health Targets and Implementation (Health for All) Committee, 1988) which noted that 'Men in Australia die from nearly all non-sex-specific leading causes at much higher rates than do women...' and that '... these differences in health status largely reflect the prevalence of preventable factors.' It would seem not much has changed in 30 years. In fact much of the premise for the NMHP is based on these statements.

So how does Australia's Male Health Policy rate and what changes have there been in the three years since its release?

It is clear from the above data, including some subsequent to the policy release, that Australia's male health policy needed to target a number of key areas – prevention, early detection and treatment, service access, health promotion and research – from the outset (Misan and Ashfield, 2011, Smith and Bollen, 2009). Moreover, a social determinants approach combined with a focus on gender equity was critical to ensure factors influencing male health, risk factors and behaviours, health knowledge, health seeking behaviour and health service utilisation — in particular the health

differentials between males of different occupational, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, males at different ages and males from marginalised or vulnerable populations — were properly considered. Furthermore, due to limited empirical data regarding the above factors it was important that the NMHP support research regarding socioeconomic and related determinants to improve the evidence base that would inform future male health policy.

Factors that influence differential health outcomes for males compared with females and the conditions that account for the majority of the burden of chronic disease, were and are deserved priority areas. A dearth of empirical evidence for the former highlights the necessity for increased research (Collins et al., 2011). In addition, subgroups of males who are most at risk deserve special consideration. The common modifiable risk factors for chronic disease needed to be addressed as are strategies to target male suicide, young male drivers, mental health, social isolation and work safety, each of which contribute to considerable morbidity and mortality for Australian males (Misan and Ashfield, 2011).

For the broader group of males, additional policy requirements were for strategies that encouraged male health service utilisation, particularly for younger men. This might be achieved by facilitating an increase in the numbers of male health workers, by offering male-specific clinics, making existing services more male friendly and up-skilling health professionals to work more effectively with men, including addressing the lack of men's health education in undergraduate and postgraduate nursing and allied health curricula (Holden et al., 2010, Collins et al., 2011, Australian Medical Association, 2005, Macdonald, 2006). There was also a need for an inter-sectorial approach to address the broader socioeconomic and related determinants of male health which lie outside the domain of health departments; a multi-sector approach on workforce capacity; and a need to embed any policy into whole of government frameworks to increase the resilience of the policy to changing government priorities (Misan and Ashfield, 2011, Collins et al., 2011).

With these complexities one could be forgiven for wondering why despite more than three or more decades of stark evidence, that it took so long for Australia to produce a Male Health Policy. Life expectancy aside, mortality rates; measures of years of life lost; of potentially avoidable deaths; of unacceptably high suicide rates, occupational injury and death; and a range of other indicators of health inequity between males and females, should have been clear enough reason of the need for health and other policy targeting Australian males (Draper et al., 2004a, Woods M, 2005). However, these difficulties should not have been an excuse because by way of contrast, there has been a National Women's Health Policy since 1989 and since that time an Office for Women or equivalent has been established in every State and Territory as well as at the national level. Three years after the release of the NMHP, Australian males are still bereft of administrative structures in any state that cater for their specific concerns!

Overview

Notwithstanding, May 2010 was a watershed point in Australian policy history following the release of the National Australian Male Health Policy: Building on the Strengths of Australian Males (Australian Government, 2010b). The policy was hailed as a landmark document, testament to efforts of a number of male advocacy groups over many years and was the second (after Ireland) national male policy document published worldwide (Government of Ireland, 2008).

This policy, long overdue and arguably 15 years in the making, evolved from the first national men's health conference in 1995 and followed the release of statements on male health from several professional medical colleges about a decade later (Australian Medical Association, 2005, Royal Australian College of General Practitioners, 2006) together with strategy documents from at least two Australian States (South Australia Department of Health, 2008, NSW Government, 2009) and a briefly lived attempt at a third which was dramatically withdrawn following a change in the Victorian state government (Victorian Government, 2010).

By and large, the NMHP delivers on most of the key imperatives outlined previously. The key strength of the policy is that it saw a departure from the notion of male health outcomes as stemming from primarily biomedical or behavioural factors to one that acknowledged socioeconomic and cultural factors as key determinants. The policy acknowledges the positive role of males in so-

ciety, in both family and community life and aims to build on those strengths. The policy acknowledges the gender disparity in health status between males and females; that there are subgroups of males at heightened risk of ill-health; that even within these groups not all males have the same health outcomes (e.g. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI), rural and remote, migrants, socially disadvantaged, veterans, prisoners); that at different life stages, males have different needs; and that there is a need for collaboration between government, health services, communities and individuals to effect change. The NMHP exhorts a gender equity approach to health—in which males and females have equal opportunity to achieve good health (World Health Organization, 2001) and acknowledges that health and wellbeing require positive change to economic, social and health-minimising conditions that adversely affect health outcomes.

There are six priority action areas: optimal health outcomes for males; health equity between population groups of males; improved health for males at different life stages; preventive health for males; building a strong evidence base on male health, and improved access to health care for males. The priority areas are supported by nine supplementary documents that provide useful additional detail, exemplars, case studies and statistics (Australian Government, 2010f, Australian Government, 2010n, Australian Government, 2010k, Australian Government, 2010l, Australian Government, 2010j, Australian Government, 2010i, Australian Government, 2010m, Australian Government, 2010g, Australian Government, 2010h).

In tandem these priorities take a broad brush to the health of Australian males. While they lack specificity — and rely on the good will of states, regions, government and other health services, other government departments and other agencies — they call for health programs that specifically target male health and target those in greatest need, in particular males who suffer the most health disadvantage.

There is advocacy for improved health promotion strategies, acknowledging groups of males who are at risk of poorer health; recognising transition points across the life course that require special interventions, services or information; valuing the important role that older males have in mentoring and caring for younger generations; and recognising that, to effectively engage males, prevention programs need to be tailored in content, format and delivery settings to better reach the target groups (Misan and Ashfield, 2011).

Throughout NMHP there are tables associated with each of the priority areas that describe useful strategies and the relevant stakeholders who might implement them. Case studies that mirror these strategies are also sprinkled throughout the document as well as through the nine supplementary supporting documents. However, there is little information describing who will be responsible for implementation and co-ordination or of time frames for delivery.

The policy also acknowledges the need for more research targeting biological and social determinants of male health, of primary care and health promotion approaches that better engage males and of improved monitoring of workplace hazards. The policy encourages approaches that aim to address social isolation; that result in improved service delivery models more responsive to the barriers to service access for males; for consideration of policy or service impact for males at different life stages or from different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds, and for consideration of and for changes to language used in health promotion programs and materials.

The policy is somewhat diminished by repeated reference to the 'men behaving badly' paradigm, which emphasise the need for men to change a range of so-called 'risky' behaviours rather than taking into account the reasons underpinning those behaviours. In both the NMHP and its supporting documents there is little discussion of gender and social constructs of masculinity and manhood that affect the male experience of health. There is need for better understanding of how 'masculinity' influences men's health and considerations and what needs to happen (including at political, industry and societal level) to improve men's health outcomes (Saunders and Peerson, 2009).. Also while acknowledging workplace risks, NMHP suggests only the need for continued monitoring rather than addressing key risks. Finally, there is little reference to the need to train health workers how to more effectively engage with men.

Unlike its Irish equivalent that did not quarantine funding for implementation, the NMHP

offers specific, if modest financial support (AUS$16.7 million over 3 years) for several of the policy initiatives; the majority however remain unfunded. Those that receive funding do target several of the priority areas. These include support the Australian Men's Sheds Association; to develop health promotion resources for men's sheds; to provide fatherhood support and services to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males; to build an evidence-base in male health including establishing a national longitudinal study in male health; and to commission regular statistical bulletins on male health. The need for additional research is also acknowledged.

As for funding the myriad of other policy recommendations the NMHP makes reference only to its complementing other government policy initiatives including the broader health reform, primary health care, preventative health and social inclusion agendas, none of which make little reference to male specific strategies. This concern is reinforced by a number of statements in the 2010 Australian Government's Response to the Report of the Senate Select Committee on Men's Health (Australian Government, 2010a, Commonwealth of Australia, 2009), which confuses sex discrimination with gender equity; which calls for boys to take responsibility for their health and wellbeing rather than calling for system change; makes reference to either current or future mainstreaming approaches to a number of men's health initiatives (e.g. annual health checks, men's nurse practitioners, prostate cancer nurses) as the response to male health issues rather than calling for male specific strategies. That these responses contradict some of the rhetoric in the NMHP does raise question about consistency in policy direction and puts at potential risk future outcomes. Notwithstanding the above, there have been some significant outcomes resulting from the NMHP that are discussed below.

Achievements

Reference group

A Male Health Reference Group, that reports to the Minister responsible for male health was established in 2011. This group meets about three times a year and comprises leading academics, practitioners and other stakeholders and provides expert advice on broader male health priorities as well as issues relating to the implementation and monitoring of male health programs that support the Policy (Australian Government, 2010e).

Evidence base

Ten To Men or the Australian Longitudinal Study on Male Health was commissioned in 2011 as a key element of the NMHP Policy to build on the evidence base on male health and to inform future policy. The study — that will cost $6.9 million over 4 years — plans to follow up to 50,000 males aged 10 – 55 years in three cohorts (boys aged 10-14 years; adolescent males 15-18 years; and adult males 19-55 years), over time to investigate social, economic, environmental and behavioural factors that affect the morbidity and mortality; men's health and risk behaviour, health service use and health across the life course, and to identify policy opportunities for improving the health and wellbeing of males at key life stages, for example when leaving school, commencing work, becoming a father and retirement. The first wave of data collection commences in the second half 2013 and data will be linked to administrative and health databases for epidemiological purposes. Follow-up waves are anticipated every three years to monitor changes over time. Data will be available to researchers and other interest groups on application (Australian Government, 2010b).

Although not a direct result of the NMHP, since 2004 a further $5million in competitive research funding has been made available through the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) for prostate cancer research and a further $15 million for the establishment of two prostate cancer research centres to improve diagnostic tests, screening and treatment for prostate cancer (Australian Government, 2010a, pp. 20).

Evidence dissemination

A further $400,000 over 4 years has been committed by the Australian Government to prepare regular statistical bulletins regarding male health. To date four reports have been prepared. The first providing key general statistics on male health and subsequent reports examining separate groups in

more detail: five population groups at risk of ill health; males less than 25 years old, and males 25 years and older (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011a, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2012b, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2013a, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2013b).

Men's Sheds

The community men's shed is a relatively recent grass-roots phenomena originating in Australia in the late 1970s and now seeing growing interest overseas. There are an estimated 900 community sheds around Australia catering for an estimated 40,000 members. In contrast to the backyard shed where men retreated to get some time away from the world, the community shed is a place where men go to enjoy the company of other blokes, doing what men do – talking while building or fixing things, sharing experiences over a cup of coffee, enjoying a laugh, sometimes teaching others or learning from others and sometimes even do nothing.

In Australia, the community men's shed generally cater for older, retired men and are thought to offer social, emotional and other benefits to men who participate in them. These include gaining a sense of purpose, enhanced self-esteem, decreased social isolation, and friendship. Sheds offer an environment conducive to men's learning, including health knowledge and also offer positive effects for partners, families and communities (Misan, 2008, Misan G and Sergeant P, 2009).

These benefits of the social network of the men's sheds were recognised in the NMHP through the allocation of $3million over four years to develop national infrastructure aimed at ensuring the growth and future sustainability of men's sheds. This funding is managed by the Australian Men's Sheds Association (http://www.mensshed.org) and includes $250,000 per annum (for 3 years) available through a competitive application process as small grants to individual sheds to fund tools and equipment, building maintenance and development and shed activities (Australian Government, 2010d).

Funding was also made available for the development of a DIY Health Toolbox to be distributed to Men's Sheds. The Toolbox is a health promotion initiative to encourage men to give more consideration to their health. The Health Toolbox was developed in consultation with the Male Health Reference Group and Men's Shed organisations to ensure the items and health promotion messages in the toolbox were appropriate and useful in the shed environment. The toolbox contains items including tape measures, carpenter's pencils, magnetic clips together with note books featuring positive health messages and referral pathway information (Australian Government, 2010c).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Fathers

The NMHP provided $6 million over three years for support and services to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males in their role as fathers and partners, grandfathers and uncles, and to encourage them to actively participate in their children's and families lives, particularly in the antenatal period and in the early childhood development years.

Challenges

No single policy document can hope to address the plethora of influences on male health but as a first attempt the NMHP, with its background papers and supporting documents provides a useful blueprint for improving the health of Australian males. Key challenges though do remain in the transition from policy development to longer term implementation.

Of primary import is that there is no additional specific state or national funding allocated to implement aspects of the policy not otherwise funded in the initial policy offerings. Neither are there clear lines of responsibility, accountability or indeed timeframes described for policy implementation in general or for specific elements of the policy (except for those already funded). There are no formal processes, and no central points of co-ordination for ensuring cross-departmental or inter-sectorial support for elements of the policy that require input or co-ordination from outside the health sector (Richardson and Smith, 2011). Key, relevant and measurable male health indicators together with an independent evaluation framework remain to be established so that the outcomes

and impact of the NMHP can be properly monitored (Andrology Australia, 2013). There also remains a need to determine how to embed policy elements within an uncertain and still developing broader gender mainstreaming framework (Richardson and Smith, 2011, Saunders and Peerson, 2009, Smith et al., 2010). Indeed, it also remains unclear specifically if and how the NMHP will interdigitate with the broader government health and social reform agenda, and key partnership agreements or who will be responsible for co-ordinating this process (Richardson and Smith, 2011, Andrology Australia, 2013). Some suggest that there is also a crucial a need for open dialogue and further research to examine how changing notions of gender and masculinity together with the societal, cultural and other factors that shape them interplay to influence male health (Saunders and Peerson, 2009).

Summary and conclusion

The health of Australian males is critical to their individual wellbeing as well as to that of their families, their communities and to Australian society; and males have special and unique needs within the health system that are different from females.
Despite major gains in life expectancy for Australian males over the last century there still remain major disparities in health outcomes between males and females and between different groups of males. Largely preventable diseases including ischaemic heart disease, cancers, respiratory system, prostate and lymph system disease, cerebrovascular disease, suicide and endocrine disorders account for almost two thirds of male deaths. The greatest contributors to the male non-fatal burden of disease are anxiety or depression, Type 2 diabetes, adult onset hearing loss, asthma and dementia.

Males die from preventable causes almost twice as often as females and death rates are greater across all age groups. Death and injury rates are highest in the 15-24 year age group due mainly to suicide, motor vehicle accident and other injury. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander males, those from disadvantaged, marginalised or non-English speaking backgrounds, or from rural and remote areas, together with older males, socially isolated males, returned service men, non-heterosexual males and those with mental illness, suffer the worst health outcomes. While biology is an obvious contributor (e.g. prostate disease), socioeconomic disadvantage, cultural factors, limited health knowledge, risky behaviours, delayed health seeking, and reduced access to health services are the key determinants.

In response, in 2010 the Australian Government released the first National Male Health Policy and became only the second country in the world to do so. There are nine supporting documents. This landmark policy takes a social determinants approach and advocates for gender equity in dealing with the health needs of Australian males. The policy promulgates strategies for primary and secondary illness prevention together with health promotion and targets at risk groups. Its six priority action areas encompass optimal outcomes for males, health equity for subgroups of males and at different life stages and transition points, illness prevention, improved service access and an improved evidence base to inform future policy. A total of $16.7million over four years was allocated for implementation.

While demonstration of population level health improvements will likely take decades, in the three years since its introduction the NMHP has been responsible for a number of positive outcomes. A key outcome has been the establishment of a Male Health Reference Group comprising experts and other stakeholders to advise the Minister on male health priorities as well as to the implementation and monitoring of the policy. To increase the male health evidence base the Australian Longitudinal Study on Male Health – Ten to Men was commissioned in 2011. Further funding was allocated for the preparation of key statistical reports on male health of which four have been published to date.

To address the impact of social isolation as a contributor to poor male health outcomes the policy also provided funding to support the development of national infrastructure for community men's sheds as well as making available small grants to individual sheds for tools, equipment, building maintenance and other activities. Funding was also provided to develop a DIY Health Toolbox which apart from containing some basic tools for men's sheds, also included a range of health promotion materials for use in the men's shed setting. Finally the NMHP also provided funding for an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander initiative encouraging male family and community engagement.

A number of challenges remain. These include the need for funding security by national, state and other agencies for a number policy initiatives and the need for training of health professionals in strategies that better engage males at different ages, from different backgrounds and of different occupational and social standing. There is little evidence of co-ordination between different government departments or between complementary policy portfolios to implement broader and cross-departmental agenda and strategies. As yet the policy does not outline roles or responsibilities of departments or other agencies, a timeframe for implementation, delineation of outcome indicators, or framework for evaluation. Finally there is a lack of detail regarding the development of a whole of government gender equity framework that is truly cognisant of male health.

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Living With Crazy:
My Experiences of an Abusive Wife
(Myopia and Manipulation)

MICHAEL FARRIS AND TIMOTHY BAGHURST

In general, male accounts of female abuse in relationships are uncommon, not because they don't happen, but because men are less likely to express their experiences (Allen-Collinson, 2009). In this third installment of the frank account of the experiences of one male living with an abusive spouse, several key topics are discussed. First, an example of threatening suicide to control the husband is detailed. Second, the experience of being accused of infidelity in a public setting is recounted, and third, how pornography can negatively impact a marriage. These accounts, while individual specific, provide insight into the struggles of dealing with an abusive wife alone, the threat of being wrongfully accused of abuse, and the challenges and decisions that are faced when self-harm is used as a manipulator. The purpose, therefore, is to provide other men who are experiencing or may experience such abuse the opportunity to recognize signs in order to better resolve the situation.

Key Words: domestic abuse, violence, pornography, spouse, male victim

I wish I could say those steps onto my flight home were my last in Brazil, that my marriage to Alex had been a shorter story, one punctuated by my return to the U.S. and a divorce letter soon after. But, I can't. Those weeks immediately following our wedding had been the most miserably confusing of my life. There were moments of love, but they were washed out by the ebb and flow of Alex's irrational rage and inconsolable anguish. Out of misplaced guilt because of my premarital sexual history, I had accepted the full blame of Alex's explosive insecurity. In doing this, I had legitimized her behavior and gave her free reign over my life. I would later learn that using guilt as means to control a partner is a common method abusers use (Anderson, 2003). I was naïvely resolute that once we were back in the U.S., together, everything would be better, because she would be where she wanted to be and her immigration status would be settled. It was with this perspective that I left Brazil in January of 2008 to begin Alex's "re-immigration process" to the U.S. and to take care of the mortgage on my house in the States.

During this time, I was working two jobs and I had time for little else, but Alex and I still talked via Skype every night. I approached these conversations with a trepidation akin to the way a child of an alcoholic creeps into his or her home at the end of the school day, never knowing what awaits. At first, the conversations were fun; filled with joking, talking about the day, and sincere pining for each other. During the six months we were separated, Alex kept a running photo album of split "print screens" with me at the top and she on the bottom. Anyone who has seen time lapsed photography of a puppy as it ages over a year into a full grown adult or of a landscape as it morphs through the seasons will understand the imagery of our own time lapse. In it you see Alex as she slips into social isolation and depression, her husband buried under the avalanche of her sadness and insecurity. Her inquiry "What's happening with the immigration process?" became "It's never going to work. I won't be able to come there, and you're going to cheat on me." "Tell me about your day at work?" became "You'd better not cheat on me with any of those women (co-workers)". She stopped eating and taking care of herself. That slide show of our Skype photos was an amazingly bleak movie of two people slowly becoming unwound. Our shared fear of the uncertain immigration process and Alex's insecurity about our relationship evicted the optimism that had occupied both of our hopes at the outset.

Alex's parents worked in Sao Paulo during the week and returned to stay with her on the weekend. I looked forward to those weekends because she would be forced to socialize with other people, even if she would rankle at their appeals for her to spend some time outside. There were many arguments during that time. Most were over contentious topics previously fought over, such as the likelihood of my infidelity, my assertion that she needed to get out and socialize, and the immigration process.

The Call

One particularly bizarre incident stands out from this period that highlights the dysfunction of our marriage. I had just found out that I had been accepted into medical school which was a momentous achievement for me. Being accepted into medical school is no small feat; on average less than 9% of those that apply to medical school are accepted (US News, 2013). Alex was the first person that I called to share my good news. Her response was muted, and not the mudita, or joy in others' accomplishments that you would expect when your spouse succeeds. Perhaps she was envious of my accomplishment or, more optimistically, she was wounded by not being present to join in on my celebration. Regardless, she was clearly not sharing in my happiness and excitement. Later that night, my oldest friend and biggest supporter, also a medical student, offered to come by and take me out to celebrate for a victory lap. Before he came by to pick me up, Alex and I had a

conversation on Skype in which I mentioned this celebration.

"Mark's coming by to take me out to celebrate getting into medical school."

There was silence on her end, and in the blue hue of the computer monitor I could see her head bow.

"If you go out with him I'm going to kill myself," she said with a forced whisper. "What?" I asked, not hearing what she said, but wanting confirmation of what her body language was telling me.

"I know, if you go out with him, you're going to cheat on me. I know he'll get you to cheat on me."

I've never cheated on a woman I've been in a relationship with. Moreover, I've never been inclined to causal relationships. Likewise, my friend, also raised in a small, Southern Baptist town, had similar beliefs. My point is that we were not going out to chase women.

"If you go, I'll kill myself," she said quietly looking directly into the camera. She floated up out her seat like a wraith, moving out of view of the camera.

"Alex! Whatever you're doing, don't! This is ridiculous, come back to the camera!" I yelled into the empty screen. My shouts were answered with a dull rustling from her kitchen. A few seconds later she dropped back into her seat. Without a sound she lifted her sweatshirt and slowly drew a kitchen knife across her stomach.

"Look what you make me do," she said through clenched teeth.

I've never had someone hold me in place with their words before. She looked directly at the camera.

"I'll kill myself if you go."

And, I was undone. My empathetic mind knew that she was trying to control me, that this was all for control, but I was mired in the gravity of the situation. There are things we just don't pretend because the consequences are so severe. You don't yell "fire" in a theater, you don't cry "rape", and you don't say "I'm going to kill myself" unless it's real. Phrases like these are of such a serious nature that when they are spoken with the tenor of truth, they drive us to action, even to risk our very lives. When someone lies about these things they trivialize the best of human nature. Alex did not respect the boundaries of normal, human social interaction; she was willing do anything to control me. This can be a sign of borderline personality disorder (Manning, 2011), which would later become more apparent.

The reality is that she probably would not have killed herself if I had left. But she knew me well enough to know that after her shocking spectacle, I wouldn't leave when our video call had ended. Research supports my intuitive notion that Alex didn't truly intend to kill herself (Glenn & Klonsky, 2009). Although it is not the most common function of self-injury, interpersonal-influence is what I now believe Alex was doing at that moment. Interpersonal-influence is the use of self-harm as a means to control someone else (Klonsky, 2007). This story demonstrates the dysfunctional way in which Alex sought to resolve emotional turmoil within herself. She sought to, and did, control me through dramatic gestures that she didn't have the constitution to carry out and I didn't have the strength to disregard.

This story illustrates how passive and people pleasing I was at that time. Mark knocked and I didn't answer. He called my phone and I didn't answer. He threw rocks at my window and yelled. And, I didn't an-

swer... I don't think I have ever felt more defeated or alone at that moment, turning out lights and ducking below windows to avoid detection. She watched all of this on the webcam without saying a word. Mark eventually gave up on me and left. I had abandoned my good friend, my right to celebrate my accomplishment, and I submitted to Alex's unfounded fear. Alex watched all of this, neither gloating nor exhibiting remorse. Her jaw was clenched, brow furrowed, the face of someone who believes they are facing down evil. She truly believed that her words and actions were justified.

As we waited to hear from U.S. immigration, time seemed to stretch out like the desert before a thirsty man. It had been our plan that I would start medical school at the same time Alex was getting back into the States. After being apart for 6 months, we received word that Alex wouldn't get a travel visa for at least another 7 months. This was unacceptable to both of us. Despite all of the hardship I missed my wife and wanted to be with her. The choice to defer medical school was a natural one. It required no thought. There was no internal contention. I needed to be with her and medical school would have to wait.

There wasn't any doubt in Alex's mind about postponing my medical school matriculation, either. "She" had already decided that I would defer.

"I talked to the lawyer today and he said that it's going to be another 5-12 months before we find anything out," I told her over Skype.

"You have to come here. I can't do this anymore. You can't go to medical school," she responded.

I agreed, but she neither understood, nor respected the sacrifice I was making. Never did she say a "thank you" for my sacrifice. She never asked me what I wanted to do. I don't believe she ever considered what I wanted or what I thought was best.

It may appear that I'm being petty for calling her out for this. After all, I would be able to begin medical school the following year without penalty, and as I've said, I'd already decided to defer. But, imagine you have dream, a dream you've pursued for years, a dream that most people who try will never achieve. And then imagine that just as you're crossing the finish line the one person who should be your biggest supporter is trying to move the finish line further away. It was a personal affront, but I felt that saving my marriage was more important than my career. So I booked a flight for Brazil.

Back to Brazil

I deferred medical school and flew back to Brazil in June of 2008, 5 months after my post-honeymoon return to the States. I still owned a house in the U.S., and we needed a means to pay the mortgage. In Brazil there wasn't much demand for a non-Portuguese speaking American with a B.A. in psychology or Alex's seminary degree. So, Alex decided that we would work as English teachers. Did you notice who made the decision? It gives you some insight into "who" I still was at this point. Alex decided.

Now I have a sincere fear of public speaking, and English was always one of my worst subjects in school. Yet, my passivity was so pervasive that it allowed me to agree to employment that I knew I was woefully unqualified for. I didn't want to do it either. On reflection I can say that this passiveness was a manifestation of a greater lack of self-worth that extended into every corner of my being. It takes two to tango, as the saying goes, and an underlying theme throughout this marriage was my own self-loathing. Thus, I found myself in a room full of Brazilian adolescents trying to "teach" them English through games and activities. I hated it!

Alex had begun working at Cultural Norte Americano (CNA) months before my arrival. She found

out that there would be another North American teacher starting at CNA when I did. Her coworkers (mostly female) thought that it would be nice for me to have another North American to talk to. Alex, however, was convinced that this newcomer would be the physical embodiment of Barbie, with the sole mission of stealing me away from her. The reality was that this coworker was sort of Bohemian who had come to teach English only as a vehicle to experience Brazil. But leading up to my start date, Alex's worries increased exponentially and of course I heard about it.

"She's going to be perfect and you're going to run off with her," she told me on more than one occasion.

CNA is a franchise English learning school. The franchise in Alex's hometown was a two story, white, rectangle building. Our training was in a corner classroom on the second floor. Training centered around the teacher demonstrating a class lesson we had developed based on the school's philosophy and participating in mock classes.

Like so many things, when you do it for the first time you're awkward and awkwardness is funny. So we laughed. However, during this training and unbeknownst to me, Alex had snuck into an adjacent room and was listening intently to our training. When we took a break she pulled me into her room and began her inquisition.

"You're cheating on me! You want to fuck her! I knew this would happen!"

If I interjected or attempted to defend myself she would raise her voice. She could be audibly heard throughout the school, and out of a desire to avoid embarrassment, I held my tongue until I couldn't take it any longer.

"I'm leaving. I can't work here!" I yelled.
She grabbed my arm and pulled me away.
"You can't go," she said angrily. "We need the money!"
"I don't care. I can't work here now. I'm too embarrassed."
Her attitude softened, "I'm sorry. I won't say anything else. Just stop cheating on me."

I was speechless, trapped in the ridiculousness and humiliation of the moment. It was such a stupid and ridiculous statement that I just stood there thinking WTF? And, to argue would have just started the fight back up again. If this was to happen now, I would tell her to go fuck herself, but I've learned a few things since then (e.g., Desmarais, Reeves, Nicholls, Telford, & Fiebert, 2012a; Desmarais, Reeves, Nicholls, Telford, & Fiebert, 2012b; Follingstad, Rutledge, Berg, Hause, & Polek, 1990).

Instead of doing what I should have done, I opened the door, stepped outside the room, hesitated for a moment, and then went into the room where the training was taking place. I don't think I have ever, or will ever be, as humiliated as I was in that moment. I was certain that other people had heard what Alex had said, not only due to her battlefield volume, but also because the school's walls carried sound like a band tour bus. My humiliation existed on many levels. Getting yelled at, in general, is embarrassing, but it was worsened by the knowledge that people heard her accusations and might subconsciously believe what she was saying. There was also the fact that I didn't really defend myself, because I didn't want to make a bigger scene, and the humiliation of allowing her run to roughshod over me even though I was innocent of her accusations. The worst part, however, was that I had to suck it up and go back into that room to face the girl that I had supposedly wanted to violate my marriage covenant with. So, I went back in the room, and the trainer and my coworker were kind enough, or embarrassed enough, not to bring up what had happened with Alex.

I knew only Alex and her family in Brazil and my inability to speak Portuguese further isolated me. It was ironic that in a city heaving with life I had no one to talk to. Moreover, the things I really needed to talk about in order to gain some perspective, I feared were too outlandish for anyone to hear without skepticism. I didn't think my friends or family would believe what I had to say. I was wrong, and even if I hadn't been, I've learned that if there is something troubling me I have to talk about it, as it is beneficial (Sousa, 2002; Zech & Rimé, 2005).

In this isolation, Alex discovered another form of coercion she could use to control me. During our frequent arguments she would occasionally hurt herself, as previously described (i.e., Farris & Baghurst, 2013). The result of this self-injury was generally insignificant, except for bruising. However, bruising was all she needed. It became evident after one particular fight.

"That's it. I can't take anymore. This isn't working. We need a break, and I'm going to go home for a while," I said.

"No you're not!" she cried. "If you try to leave, I'll call the police and tell them that you hit me. I'll show them the bruises and you'll go to jail." It's unfortunate but true that in these situations men are more likely to face charges irrespective of the actual event. For example, Brown (2004) concluded that men involved with disputes with a partner whether as alleged victims or offenders are less favorably treated and disadvantaged by the entire judicial system than compared to women.

A Third Partner

Alex and I were together in Brazil from June 2007 until January of 2009. In September, 2008, I allowed pornography to enter my side of our marriage. The specificity of this statement is to convey the point that Alex looked at pornography as well. Female use of pornography is not unusual. For example, almost half of young adult women watch porn at least every month (Covenant Eyes, 2013). It wasn't until the very end of our marriage that she admitted to having watched internet porn beginning shortly after our honeymoon, after I had returned to the United States. I relate this point not to shame or damn her for looking at pornography, but to highlight her hypocrisy and the skewed power dynamics of our relationship. She would let me feel guilt and shame over my own use of pornography, knowing full well that she was as guilty as I, and then used the guilt as another means to control me.

At first I looked at pornography as a means to childishly usurp the power I had yielded to Alex. Up until September she had accused me of looking at porn, but I hadn't. I started watching porn on the internet just to say, "Fuck you, you can't control me," but soon I looked at it whenever I needed to feel better. Keep in mind that during this time Alex and I were having regular sex. Pornography wasn't a means to meet a sexual need that was not being met as is sometimes the case (Schmidt & Matteisen, 2011). Rather, I believe it became a way for me to disconnect from Alex and also feel better about myself to get that euphoria that enabled me to distance myself from my own reality (Attwood, 2005; Nelson, Padilla-Walker, & Carroll, 2010).

There are moral arguments to be made against pornography (e.g., religious, objectifies women, depicts images that should only occur between married people, awful movie plot lines), but I feel that its greatest problem for men is it drives us further away from being social, and has been found to lower the relationship commitment between partners (Lambert, Negash, Stillman, Olmstead, & Fincham, 2012). It prevents us from getting our needs met in a pro-social more interconnected manner. Moreover, it encourages us to rely on fantasies rather than dealing with the obvious problems that prevent us from connecting. I would struggle with pornography throughout the rest of our marriage. It was a double-edged sword used to both passively take revenge on Alex and escape her. The impact of pornography on marriage extends far beyond my own. For exam-

ple, at a meeting of the American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers, the majority of divorce lawyers noted that the Internet was playing an increasing role in marital splits, with excessive online porn watching contributing to more than half of the divorces (American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers, 2013).

In November, 2008, we received notice that Alex's visa had been processed and that we would have to go to Rio de Janeiro for an interview. Although we both celebrated this news, Alex met it with pessimism and resolute belief that she would not get issued the visa. I was over the moon since I believed that getting us back to the U.S. would settle all of her fears and insecurities, allowing us to have a happy marriage.

The interview was held at the U.S. consulate in Rio de Janeiro. We arrived early and waited nervously until Alex's number was called. We were interviewed by a man through thick glass, his voice amplified and distorted through the microphone. The only question I remember was when he incredulously asked why I couldn't speak Portuguese. This question has stuck with me, and the answer was that the stress of our marriage had not only made me lazy, but also resentful of Alex's feigned attempts to teach me. I've learned from this that in those moments when I am stressed I can't surrender; I have to keep trying.

The result of our interview was that Alex would be granted a visa once we turned in the missing paperwork. This came as an outrageous shock to us! We had been reassured by our "Immigration" attorney that what we had taken with us was enough documentation to secure Alex's visa. However, the consulate interviewer stated that it would take several more weeks after we turned in the paperwork since we didn't have it all with us. We were crushed.

The day of the interview highlights one of Alex's innate abilities - charm. Prior to knowing her in Brazil, I had thought that her charm was a product of her being a cute, petit girl with a foreign accent and sweet nature. I was wrong. Alex was able to charm a document filer into giving us until the close of the day to complete the documentation that was required. We spent the next four hours dashing around Rio de Janeiro collecting the necessary documents. Thanks to modern technology, we were able to complete our packet and we celebrated back in Sao Paulo with her parents at a famous restaurant.

Alex's visa came through in late December and we flew back to the U.S. in late January of 2009, 18 months after I had returned to Brazil. Naïvely, I thought we would be returning to a better marriage. In reality, it was the beginning of the end.

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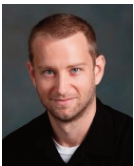
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Entitled, Yes, But to What?
A Review of Michael Kimmel's *Guyland*

By Paul Nathanson and Katherine K. Young

The current icon of male feminists is Michael Kimmel, and his work, notably *Guyland*, clearly indicates that nothing much about "men's studies" has changed over the past thirty years - except for the emergence of opposition voices in "male studies" (an approach to the study of boys and men that questions some feminist doctrines).

Kimmel, who teaches at State University of New York at Stony Brook, is a leader of the National Organization for Men against Sexism (formerly the National Organization for Changing Men). He was one of the first academics, and probably the first feminist, to argue for the systematic study of men and the various forms of masculinity that have emerged historically. Unlike ideological feminists,[1] he argues that men and women are much more similar than they are different. With that in mind, he argues that men, no less than women, can benefit from feminism. In short, he ostensibly

espouses egalitarian feminism.

In *Guyland*, Kimmel discusses sociological and psychological dimensions of the world that American "guys" inhabit, making his case by presenting his conclusion (as distinct from a hypothesis) and then illustrating it with a series of vignettes or scenarios. Each is the venue not merely of stupidity, ignorance, immaturity and dissipation but also of brutality, predation and malice – especially misogynistic and racist malice. Consider the following sequence of chapter titles: "What's the Rush? Guyland as a New Stage of Development"; "Bros before Hos: The Guy Code"; "High School: Boot Camp for Guyland"; "The Rites of Almost-Men: Binge Drinking, Fraternity Hazing, and the Elephant Walk"; "Sports Crazy; "Boys and Their Toys: Guyland's Media"; "Babes in Boyland: Pornography"; "Hooking Up: Sex in Guyland"; "Predatory Sex and Party Rape"; "Girls in Guyland: Eyes on the Guys"; and "Just Guys."

Kimmel relies on several unwarranted assumptions, we suggest, all of them consistent with those of ideological feminism: (1) that most American young men are either "guys" or their sidekicks and enablers; (2) that the lives of American young men revolve around hatred and fear, which they express in anti-social behavior; (3) that these attitudes originate in a culturally propagated – that is, a patriarchal - sense of entitlement to status and power; (4) that young women bear no responsibility for this state of affairs; and (5) that we can solve this titanic social problem through a combination of personal therapy, institutional vigilance and collective conversion to feminism.

Before proceeding, however, two comments are in order. First, Kimmel refers to "guys" but also to "boys" and "young men." For the sake not only of convenience but also of both clarity and objectivity, we refer to them here as "young men" (unless we are referring directly to a passage from Kimmel). This classification includes males in both high school and college (Kimmel's "guys") but also excludes both young boys and, unless otherwise indicated, mature men.

Second, our analysis of *Guyland* relies on, and summarizes, a set of five volumes that we have written: *Spreading Misandry: The Teaching of Contempt for Men in Popular Culture*; *Legalizing Misandry: From Public Shame to Systemic Discrimination against Men*;[2] *Sanctifying Misandry: Goddess Ideology and the Fall of Man*;[3] *Replacing Misandry: From Primeval Man to Postmodern Man*;[4] and *Transcending Misandry: From Feminist Ideology to Inter-Sexual Dialogue*.[5] Each has more extensive documentation than we can provide here.

The assumption that most American young men are either "guys" or their sidekicks and enablers

Kimmel argues that most American boys and young men are "guys," and his description of them makes it clear that they are both dangerous and contemptible. He begins by painting a very broad picture.

Guyland is the world in which young men live. It is both a stage of life, a liminal undefined time span between adolescence and adulthood that can often stretch for a decade or more, and place,

or, rather, a bunch of places where guys gather to be guys with each other, unhassled by the demands of parents, girlfriends, jobs, kids, and the other nuisances of adult life. In this topsy-turvy, Peter-Pan mindset, young men shirk the responsibilities of adulthood and remain fixated on the trappings of boyhood, while the boys [that] they still are struggle heroically to prove that they are real men despite all evidence to the contrary.

Males between 16 and 26 number well over 22 million – more than 15 percent of the total male population in the United States.

Without much ado, Kimmel quickly turns his attention specifically to some particular guys: white middle-class students, first in high school and then in college. He turns his attention more specifically, in fact, to white middle-class young men, especially those who are commonly known as "jocks." These are "males" between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six. If we agree with his description of them, and we do, then we would have to conclude that, they are e*motionally* between the ages of six and sixteen. At any rate, these "guys" are not the young men that their parents – their mothers, according to Kimmel – hope will turn into mature men. Whether in high school or college, they spend as little time as possible on their studies or on work of any kind. Instead, they spend most of their time as follows: playing, watching, or discussing sports (mainly football and other team sports); looking at magazines, shows, video games, or websites that feature pornography; hazing initiates to their clubs or fraternities; harassing outsiders (or watching passively while others do so); and "partying." The latter refers to a combination of binge drinking (with or without additional drugs) and "hooking up" – that is, almost random sexual encounters with girls, encounters that neither boys nor girls see as preludes to "relationships" (let alone marriages).

Sometimes, Kimmel distinguishes between ringleaders and followers. At other times, he conflates both groups. He does not discuss young men who, like all people at all ages and in all societies, are *inconsistent*: fitting his description in this or that way, at this or that stage, in this or that circumstance, at this or that type of school, to this or that degree. In fact, he does not discuss the distinctions, if any, between young men in high-school boys and young men in college (although he does tell us that, after graduation from college, many of these young men go back to live with their parents and continue living for several years as they did in high school). Kimmel would have us believe, in short, that these spoiled brats represent almost all American boys in one way or another and to one degree or another. That is a very tendentious claim, to say the least.

For one thing, the high-school *jocks* and their collegiate equivalents – the young men who most obviously fit his description of "guys" - see themselves as *alpha males*. This places them by definition at the very top of a social pyramid that definitely *excludes* geeks, artists, rebels, loners, gays and so on. Besides, even Kimmel acknowledges in several passages that only a few young men are drunken louts, bullies, rapists, and so on. But these sound like disclaimers, because he follows them immediately with descriptions that undermine what he has just said.

Most guys are not predators, not criminals, and neither so consumed with adolescent rage nor so caught up in the thrall of masculine entitlement that they are likely to end up with a rap sheet instead of a college transcript. But most guys know other guys who *are* chronic substance abusers, who *have* sexually assaulted their classmates. They swim in the same water, breathe the same

air. Those appalling headlines are only the farthest extremes of a continuum of attitudes and be-haviors that stretches back to embrace so many young men, and that so circumscribes their lives that even if they don't want to participate, they still must contend with it.

> Guyland is not some esoteric planet inhabited only by alien creatures – despite how alien our teenage and 20-something sons might seem at times. It's the world of everyday "guys." Nor is it a state of arrested development, a case of prolonged adolescence among a cadre of slackers. It has become a stage of life, a "demographic," that is now pretty much the norm … As urgent as it may seem to explore and expose Guyland because of the egregious behaviors of the few, it may be more urgent to examine the ubiquity of Guyland in the lives of almost everyone else.

This sounds disturbingly similar to the picture that ideological feminists painted of Mark Lépine, who murdered fourteen women, and then himself, at the University of Montreal in 1989. We dis-cussed the "Montreal Massacre" at length in *Legalizing Misandry*. Lépine was not a crazed loner, they said (despite evidence to the contrary), but *everyman*. After admitting the obvious fact that all men do *not* murder women, they added that all men would *like* to murder women or at least to rape or abuse them in some way. And if not for fear of being caught, those feminists added, men would. In short, claimed those feminists, all men admire Lépine and secretly identify themselves with him.

Kimmel does not say that all young men want to rape women, it is true, and he does acknowl-edge that most refrain from doing so. But these disclaimers, once again, amount to very little. Pre-cisely why, after all, do these young men refrain? For Kimmel, they refrain not so much because of their moral standards (because most live instead according to a patriarchal code no different from that of the top "guys") but because of their fear. And precisely what do they fear? They fear ostracism or reprisal from the ringleaders. Some might be indifferent to the victims, it is true, and others might actually sympathize with the victims. Neither explanation for silence, though, is much of an im-provement, in moral terms, over hatred.[6] Whether due to fear or indifference, after all, their silence condones and thus perpetuates rape. To put it another way, silence is complicity. Kimmel's descrip-tion is very bleak and cynical, to say the least.

Now, consider the very title of Kimmel's book. He could have called it Jockland, or Jerkland or Macholand or Schmuckland or whatever. He chose *Guyland*, because it conveniently connotes in-clusivity. After all, people use the word "guy" indiscriminately. *Every* young man is a "guy," although Kimmel adds that every young man can convert to feminism and become something better. That is his point despite repeated disclaimers.

But this is not to say that Kimmel's *description* of the guys is a figment of his imagination. We agree with much of his description. Enough of these young men do exist, and they do present society (let alone themselves) with a serious enough problem – a growing one. At issue here for us is not only the extension of his thesis to include all young men but also his notion of what *causes* this problem and his proposed solution.

The assumption that the lives of American young men revolve around hatred and fear, which they express in anti-social behavior

Kimmel argues that visceral hatred and paralyzing fear govern the inner lives of boys: not only hatred of women but also fear of the "feminine" within themselves and therefore, by extension, of gay men. To assure themselves of their own fragile sense of masculinity, which they must do over and over again - in the absence, as Kimmel correctly points out, of men who could initiate them into manhood - the "guys" privately express contempt for young women and gay men. Among the results of all this hatred and fear, Kimmel might have added, is what Susan Brownmiller and her followers ever since have called a "rape culture." As Kimmel puts it, "Rape on campus occurs with such alarming frequency that most colleges now incorporate sexual awareness training into their freshman orientation practices (apparently students not only must learn how to find their way around campus and how to use a library, but they must also learn how not to rape their classmates)."

Kimmel's theory raises several questions. Precisely *why* would these "guys" hate young women and therefore young gay men to the point of humiliating, intimidating, beating, and raping them? *Why* would their sidekicks look on approvingly or at least passively? And *why* would their parents, college administrators, and even the police often look the other way?

For Kimmel and many other feminists, boys have inherited from their fathers and grandfathers a patriarchal "culture of entitlement." They believe that they are entitled to privileges such as power and status, in other words, by virtue merely of being *male*. Because society has taken away those privileges and given them instead to women and minorities, the guys succumb to rage and feel nothing but loathing toward both women and their symbolic proxies: gay men. To use anthropological language (which Kimmel does not), their lives revolve around the horror of pollution[7] by those threateningly alien others, including the alien feminine within themselves. Therefore, these boys have created a level of totalitarian control that even the Nazis never achieved. Judging from Kimmel's description of these boys, we would say, they are the functional equivalents of Nazis, albeit failed Nazis. Our shocking analogy requires an explanation.

The *content* of "guy" ideology is not that of Nazi ideology. It has nothing to do with racism, for instance, and nothing to do with the state or even with society. But the underlying *mentality* of these "guys" is close enough to that of the Nazis and those who condoned them, whether out of indifference or fear, to make our analogy useful.

The Nazis, who had very similar anxieties over sexual identity[8] (in addition to racial identity), relied heavily, though not exclusively, on external coercion. The "guys" rely largely on *internal* coercion. According to Kimmel, each "guy" lives in perpetual dread of revealing the slightest trace of gender pollution – of anything that looks even remotely feminine according to the most rigid and most preposterous code of masculinity. To prevent that revelation, they censor *themselves* ferociously. Strictly verboten in this nightmarish realm are not only any feelings, which are stereotypically feminine (except anger) but also any artistic or intellectual pursuits, which are stereotypically feminine, and even, to judge from the evidence of popular culture, in cleanliness or personal hygiene.

Not content to censor themselves, we suggest, some boys become the modern equivalents

of storm-troopers, terrorizing potential deviants into conformity. Others look on either enviously (hoping to become at least outlying members of the entourage) or passively (hoping to avoid trouble). The guys adopt grotesquely misogynistic rhetoric when among themselves (though not when with girls, claims Kimmel, presumably because doing so with girls would prevent sexual liaisons with them).

But this claim about entitlement raises a question for us: How can we possibly know when these boys actually mean what they say? After all, Kimmel himself argues with good reason that boys are anything but honest among themselves. On the contrary, they are trying desperately to make suitable impressions on other boys. In that case, these performances might reveal surprisingly little about their own attitudes toward real girls or women. On the other hand, these performances might indeed reveal something about their own attitudes toward themselves. And the latter might indeed be sinister – though not necessarily *more* sinister, we suggest, than the conversations of young women about young men.

What do young women say among themselves about young men? Those who rely on the icons of ideological feminism are unlikely to express anything but contempt for them.[9] Those who rely more heavily on pop cultural productions that address girls - magazines, movies, television shows, websites and romance novels - are slightly less likely to express overt contempt. But they are likely to discuss "relationships" in connection with manipulative "rules" that teach young women in one way or another how to attract boyfriends, keep boyfriends and, if necessary, dump boyfriends. And they are no less likely than young men to "objectify" the opposite sex whether physically, financially or both.

As we say, though, even the Nazis would have scorned these self-indulgent and hedonistic young men. The Nazis exploited hatred and fear. In addition, they insisted on rigid conformity to a code of masculinity: machismo in its most extreme and most brutal form. Ironically, though, they allowed a slightly more *expansive* notion of masculinity, one that allowed at least the bigwigs to appreciate their stolen artworks and fine wines. Moreover, the Nazis insisted on public virtues. Everyone is familiar with the Nazi emphasis on physical fitness, obedience and stoicism. Not everyone is familiar with the Nazi emphasis on altruism. In the case of men, that meant personal self-sacrifice as soldiers or potential soldiers for the nation. Never mind that the *collective* goal was anything but altruistic. These American "guys" are much too self-indulgent, however, even to entertain the notion of virtue. Unlike the Nazis, after all, they do not anticipate victory in the foreseeable future and have already given up on entering society as mature men. Consequently, they see no need for self-discipline (except, perhaps, in the interest of achieving immediate goals such as acquiring status on the football field), let alone for self-sacrifice. Even if they remain in school, therefore, they are still dropouts.

According to Kimmel, the "guys" give themselves over to hedonism in connection with sexual debauchery, including rape, and to dissipation in connection with alcohol and other drugs. This behavior would hardly have impressed the Nazis. After all, even they had standards of the kind that every society needs in order to endure. (Raping Jewish women was okay, for instance, but not raping Aryan women.) The point here is not that the Nazis were morally superior to the "guys," only that they were more effective in maintaining social order – albeit one that relied on systematic terror and

fostered hatred to the point of mass murder. Guyland is not a real *society* or even a simulation of one, however, but merely a place to *hide* from one.

Even though Kimmel admits that most young men do not end up as bullies or rapists, he adds that most are the silent accomplices of those who are. And what, he asks with good reason, does this say about our society?

The Guy Code imposes a "code of silence on boys, requiring them to suffer without speaking of it and to be silent witnesses to acts of cruelty to others," write Dan Kindlon and Michael Thompson. Boys and men learn to be silent in the face of other men's violence. Silence is one of the ways boys *become* men.

They learn not to say anything when guys make sexist comments to girls. They learn not to say anything when guys taunt or tease another guy, or start fights, or bully or torment a classmate or a friend. They scurry silently if they're walking down the street and some guys at a construction site – or, for that matter, in business suits – start harassing a woman. They learn not to tell anyone about the homoerotic sadism that is practiced on new kids when they join a high-school or college athletic team, or the school band, or a fraternity. Or when they hear that a bunch of guys gang raped a classmate. They tell no parents, no teachers, no administrators. They don't tell the police. And they certainly don't confront the perpetrators.

Indifference and cowardice are lamentably common features of the human condition, but they are by no means confined to any segment of the population. Many Germans during the Nazi period, both men and women, were happy enough to benefit from jobs and property that the state had confiscated from its victims. And even though women did not run the Nazi state, most of them eagerly supported it. And even among those who never supported National Socialism, most were unwilling to risk their lives by protecting Jews or other "enemies" of the state. Instead, they quietly ignored what was going on right in front of them.

The danger of non-conformity is considerably less in our society than it was in a totalitarian state, but some people appraise the danger that does exist according to a double standard: one for men and another for women. No one expects women to intervene directly in violent conflicts to help victims. But many people, including Kimmel, expect men to do precisely that. After the Montreal Massacre in 1989, for instance, some people – both women and men – asked why no (unarmed) male student had tried to protect the female students from gun-toting Marc Lépine. Besides, women are much more likely now than ever before to report sexual or other violent crimes by men - not only because a massive political movement urges them to do so but also because changes in both law and law enforcement now have the mandate to *protect* those who do. Men, however, remain on their own. When they do report sexual or other crimes by women, very few people take them seriously – including the police.[10] On the contrary, many people respond with ridicule – including women, who have so often manipulated men through shame.[11] The problem here is not only a "guy code," in short, but also the larger social and legal codes (despite the officially gender-neutral language of legal documents).

Kimmel does acknowledge the prevalence of a "boy crisis." Yes, he admits, young men do

drop out of school at a rate far higher than that of young women (although he denies that this has anything to do with current pedagogical techniques, which educators adopted in order to help young women alone). And yes, he admits, young men do drop out of life altogether by committing suicide at a rate far higher than that of young women. But Kimmel focuses attention on those young men who drop out of society by hiding from mature manhood in Guyland as long as they can. This hiding place is what he considers a new stage of the male life cycle.

And, like ideological feminists, he repeatedly explains the behavior of these young men in the *least charitable and most cynical* possible way. He repeatedly explains that of young women, on the other hand, in the *most charitable and most naive* possible way. How can we explain his advocacy of sexual equality in the face of such an obvious double standard? Kimmel blames young men for their own plight, at any rate, let alone for that of young women and gay young men. Consequently, he never evokes sympathy for them – this, despite the fact that he admits their extreme anxiety and their extreme intellectual and emotional impoverishment. As we say, though, who is going to have sympathy for people who are so pathologically deformed by self-imposed sexual stereotypes that even the Nazis would have ridiculed them?

The assumption that "guy" attitudes originate in a culturally propagated – that is, a patriarchal - sense of entitlement to status and power

Kimmel argues that the hatred and fear of "guys" originate in their perverse sense of "entitlement." He repeats this notion, the keystone of his entire book, over and over again. Underlying feminist ideology is the assumption that men feel entitled to *arbitrary* entitlements – more power, more prestige and more privileges than women. "There is an old psychoanalytic maxim," he writes, "that what we lose in reality we re-create in fantasy. And what men believe they have lost is their unchallenged privilege to run the show. Guys play video games, gamble, or pose and posture to the musical stylings of inner-city-black youth because these poses give them the feeling of being in control." Sometimes, Kimmel refers to a more specific kind of entitlement. "The ubiquity of pornography in Guyland is more than simply a matter of female availability," he writes, "and never-ending desire. It's also about guys' anger at women for withholding what they, the guys, believe is their due: sex. It's about an arrogant in-your-face entitlement that guys feel, and the fact that they feel it all the time."

We disagree. No one has an entitlement to sex with unwilling partners, to be sure, but no one *needs* an entitlement to *want* sex (or even to enjoy looking at erotic pictures). Kimmel conflates physiology and morality. Perhaps, in this respect, he follows those who have argued that even wanting to have sex with women is the same as wanting to rape them, that the preoccupation of adolescent boys with sex is not a natural inclination but an evil "social construction." No scientist would support that claim.

But Kimmel's theory of entitlement, which he borrows from feminism, presents us with a much more general and a much more serious problem. Earlier generations of our society (and many other societies) did indeed allow men some privileges for the risks that they took for family, clan or nation. Because responsibilities accompanied these privileges, nonetheless, the latter were neither arbitrary nor illegitimate, as Kimmel claims, but *earned*. (Given the privileges that accompany mil-

itary service in general and combat in particular, many young women today want access to combat - but not necessarily, of course, to be *drafted* for combat.)[12] Men who worked hard to support their families, men who risked their lives or been sacrificed by the state to protect their country in wartime, *earned* the right to public gratitude or at least respect (just as women who have worked in other ways or made other sacrifices have earned the right to public gratitude or at least respect). But many young men now see marriage, fatherhood and even employment – if they can find it - as *threats*. And how could it be otherwise?

Consider the effects of law reform over the past thirty years. One employer may refuse to hire a qualified man in order to "level the playing field" for other people (and therefore to support the dubious notion of collective guilt). Another employer may fire a man or subject him to indoctrination that relies on feminist notions of sexual harassment – without objective evidence of harassment, to satisfy a "reasonable woman."[13] A judge or jury may rely on revised rules of evidence to convict an innocent man of rape. And the rules that apply in family courts are no better. A family court may now remove a man from his home and even his children (but seldom a woman from her home and her children), without evidence of violence or any other crime.[14]

In these ways, the courts reflect public opinion. At worst, some people assume, fathers are potential molesters or abusers of their children. At best, they are assistant mothers: helping their wives with domestic chores and sometimes paying most or all of the bills.[15]

Some women choose single motherhood. Other women do not. Hardship notwithstanding, the latter receive not only financial help from the government but also sympathy or even admiration from society. Several states have already decided, in the context of gay marriage, that fathers and mothers are interchangeable. And yet double standards persist. Fathers who fail to fulfill their legal and moral obligations are worthy of contempt or jail (as are delinquent mothers), for instance, but even fathers who *do* fulfill them or at least try to do so are (unlike mothers) often either lampooned in popular culture for staying home and not being traditional breadwinners or hindered by the courts and social-service agencies for requesting joint custody. Why on earth would any young man want to enter an adult world that has no room for him *as a man*?

What, then, if these young men feel an entitlement to something that really is legitimate and even necessary? What if they feel entitled, in other words, to a *healthy identity* in a society that makes it impossible? (We will return to that in a moment.) Even Kimmel acknowledges this problem. "What once marked manhood," he says, "today marks adulthood – for both sexes. So what does it mean to be a man? That's something most guys are still trying to figure out." Unfortunately, he offers them no help whatsoever. Consider the following mysterious passage: "While some might suggest that the entire ideology of masculinity must be discarded, many elements of masculinity are enormously valuable; indeed, qualities such as honor, respect, integrity, doing the right thing despite the costs – these are the qualities of a real man. (And I might add, a real woman. There is nothing inherently masculine about honor and integrity.)" Indeed. But how can this be a definition of *masculinity* if it applies no less to women than to men?

This is precisely the problem. We have observed many times that no one can have a healthy identity, whether personal or collective, without the possibility of making *at least one contribution*

that is distinctive, necessary, and publicly valued. And we have observed just as often that American society now prevents men from doing so. For one reason or another, not one of the three major historic contributions of men to society – as provider, protector, or progenitor – remains firmly as the source, at least the symbolic source, of a specifically *masculine* identity. And no one has come up with an alternative source. It is no surprise to us, therefore, that this unprecedented situation affects young men in very disturbing ways – and that, almost inevitably, some of them will accept or even create a *negative identity* for themselves rather than try to live with *no identity at all.*

The "guys" are really boys, no matter what their chronological age might be. Moreover, they do not even *want* to become mature young men. Not yet, maybe someday, maybe never (although Kimmel admits that most of them eventually do become men even if only in order to replace lost income from their parents). As Kimmel puts it in connection with hazing rituals,

> the ability *not* to grow up, not to become a man, is Guyland's definition of freedom. And guys believe that it's certainly worth undergoing some humiliating rituals, doing gross and stupid things, and even getting sick over. In fact, doing that gross and stupid stuff is what convinces you that you have not crossed over the threshold of adulthood, that you are still just guys.

In other words, hazing rituals (which originated as rites of passage) are now coming-of-age rituals *in reverse*; they *prevent* young men from becoming mature men. And we agree with Kimmel about that. For the time being, as he points out, young men see nothing whatsoever to gain by becoming adult men except taking on responsibilities and other burdens. And who, he asks with good reason, wants those?

But we would add that more is involved here than shirking or accepting responsibilities. Kimmel believes that this situation is unprecedented in our society, which means that he would have to explain it in connection with massive social and cultural changes. But his explanation revolves around nothing more than the neurotic and malicious fantasies of barely literate schoolboys, those who have supposedly absorbed the misogyny of their fathers or grandfathers (even though they reject almost everything else about a past that they consider irrelevant). For Kimmel, in other words, these young men are dangerous anachronisms. For us, too, they could be dangerous anachronisms. But we suggest that the historical analogues of Kimmel's "guys" are not their fathers or grandfathers (who supposedly fostered misogyny in the twentieth century) but the "savage boys" (who rebelled against society in the nineteenth century).

Far from symbolically rescuing any privileges, whether legitimate or illegitimate, these young men – these "guys," as Kimmel calls them - are clearly *denying* themselves even the most basic *necessities* of satisfying lives. To be fully human, for instance, is to be curious about the world: to have ideas and to explore those of other people. To be fully human, moreover is to have a complex emotional life. But the "guys" must deny themselves these very things. And they do so precisely in order to bolster their distorted sense of *maleness or masculinity*. In other words, they have adopted a form of masculinity that requires emotional deprivation (even though they gravitate to this form of masculinity in part as a kind of bravado in the face of society's indifference or even hostility), not lordly privilege. Many other societies have associated masculinity with deprivation in the form of asceticism or stoicism, to be sure, but they have associated those things in turn with religious insight or com-

munal survival; our society does not.

Kimmel gives the general impression that the "guys" are cheerful or at least content, and this might be consistent with how they think of themselves. But Kimmel's own description of their behavior and its psychological (though not sociological) context leaves readers with a very different impression. These young men can dull their pain and frustration by getting drunk or stoned, they can hide their emptiness with compulsive sexual activity, they can disguise their vulnerability by targeting those who are even more vulnerable, they can deny what they hate in themselves by projecting it onto others, *but they cannot satisfy their most basic human needs*. In fact, one of the main reasons for their lamentable condition is not their thwarted sense of entitlement, as Kimmel claims, but their sense of having no positive identity at all (let alone no economic future). Due to technological change, outsourcing, lengthy recessions and the high drop-out rate from college or even high school, the unemployment statistics for young men are far from encouraging. And yet few young men can analyze their own collective condition or even articulate their own personal needs and problems. Worse, they cannot truly love or be truly loved. If any group deserves *pity*, it is surely this one. And yet, a hedonistic popular culture makes it possible for these young men to ignore their problems at least for a while.

The assumption that young women bear no responsibility for this state of affairs

Kimmel argues that young women bear no responsibility for this state of affairs. But he relies, as usual, on a double standard. Although he denounces the misogyny of young men and the indifference of those young men who fail to challenge it, for instance, he ignores the misandry of young women and the indifference of those young women who fail to challenge that form of sexism. The young men that he describes lack intellectual and emotional sophistication, yes, but very few of them lack sight and hearing as well.

It would be hard to live on any American campus today and not be aware, at least vaguely, that some young women – and some of the feminist ideologues who influence them - do indeed hate men (although no one, of course, would ever use the word "hate") and express their contempt openly at every opportunity. Many or even most young women disapprove of misandry, no doubt, even those who have never heard that *word*. But how many of them try to challenge it by complaining about, say, feminist hate literature[16] - anything that disparages men by claiming that they are either innately inferior to women or inherently evil - on the reading lists for many courses in women's studies? The parallel between these young women and the young men who disapprove of misogyny but do nothing to challenge it is striking. Kimmel himself looks the other way when it comes to misandry.

Very few college students actually read through the turgid but classic tomes of Andrea Dworkin, Catherine MacKinnon and Mary Daly or even the more accessible ones of Robin Morgan and Marilyn French. How many of them even read city newspapers or watch the evening news? It is true that very few young men take courses in women's studies or "gender studies." And not many more, perhaps, watch the talk shows or read the blogs that feature social scientists, lawyers and politicians who have consciously or subconsciously adopted at least some features of feminist ideology.

But not even the most unsophisticated boys on campus can fail to experience the fallout from ideological feminism in countless movies and sitcoms and other forms of popular culture that portray men in general as evil, inadequate, or honorary women. Not even the most complacent young men, moreover, can fail to read the demands of this or that feminist group in the campus newspaper, notice books on feminist ideology in the campus bookstore or know someone who takes part in campus demonstrations that either implicitly or explicitly blame all men for "violence against women" (and ignore the fact that not all violence is against women). At the very least, they overhear conversations now and then.

These young men are indeed defensive, because they *need* to be defensive. They really do live in a world that condemns misogyny but condones and sometimes even promotes misandry (thus equating revenge with justice). This hardly gives them an excuse for adopting misogyny, but it does give them a reason for challenging misandry. Neither does being defensive give young women an excuse for misandry, but it does give them a reason for challenging misogyny.

Kimmel says nothing about the responsibility of young women for condoning, ignoring or even promoting misandry.

> Despite modern advances, the idea of white male privilege still hasn't disappeared – it's simply found a new home in and anger-resentment-fueled "good old days" rhetoric. "Man, you got screwed. In the good old days you would have a great job by now ... You got robbed. In fact, now you're even worse off, because if you're white and you're a man you don't stand a chance. Everybody hates you. Everybody blames you for their oppression ... And you didn't even *do* anything!" And while none of this is actually true (even the good old days were only good for a very few), that's not the point. The point is that angry right-wing radio personalities give permission for a very low level of discourse and a very high level of rage.

Once again, Kimmel resorts here to half-truths. There are indeed right-wing talk-show hosts, such as Rush Limbaugh, who engage in what we call the "mobilization of resentment." But there are left-wing talk-show hosts – Bill Maher, say, or Al Franken before he entered Congress - who engage in the very same thing and are thus members in good standing of what Kimmel calls the "furious media punditocracy." And then there are the ideological feminists, whom we have discussed elsewhere in great detail, and a popular culture that openly propagates misandry. Due to a double standard, politicians – including President Barack Obama - publicly denounce misogyny but not misandry. All of these phenomena have contributed to the "very low level of discourse" and the "very high level of rage." Young men are by no means alone in abandoning themselves to collective resentment, of course, although they are alone in being abandoned, *as young men*, by society. The deplorable fact is that *resentment* – the defining feature of identity politics – has become the lingua franca of American public discourse. But *underlying* the resentment, as we have already noted, are often legitimate needs and problems – legitimate, that is, to anyone who listens carefully.

The "good old days," were never good in every way. But they were not necessarily bad in every way. "Life was hardly better for women before feminism," writes Kimmel. "The reason that women weren't harassed in school was because they were prohibited from going. The reason that women didn't "fear" being battered or raped was because these things weren't crimes – they were simply the

way things were." Actually, women have been going to school for a long time in Western countries. And rape has always been a crime. Prejudice has certainly not disappeared, however, even in the most "progressive" circles; some forms no longer prevail, to be sure, but other forms have replaced them. Instead of helping readers discern the underlying dualism of prejudice, which becomes increasingly evident in his own book, Kimmel attacks one form of prejudice (misogyny) by replacing it with another (misandry). He is part of the problem, in short, not the solution.

Being a feminist himself, Kimmel is either unable or unwilling to acknowledge feminist contributions to the misandry that has become a fact of life alongside misogyny on every campus. If we are going to argue for sexual equality, and Kimmel does, then we must take equality seriously by avoiding double standards. No one deserves a free pass on hatred. No one deserves a free pass on arrogance, moreover, or even on stupidity. If it is wrong for young men to believe or suspect that every young woman is a "ho," and it is wrong, then it is also wrong for young women to believe or suspect that every young man is a rapist.

Kimmel does admit in one of his disclaimers, and therefore reluctantly, that "there is also a significant amount of verbal bullying by girls, as recent bestsellers such as *Odd Girl Out* and *Queen Bees & Wannabees* first revealed." Actually, though, people have long known about this phenomenon despite the prevalent stereotype of innocent girlhood. Otherwise, how could we explain *The Children's Hour*, to take one example, a play by Lillian Hellman that made its debut in 1934 and found cinematic expression not once but twice? The story illustrates not only female bullying, by the way, but also female hostility to the lesbian affair of two teachers. How does Kimmel explain the fact of bullying - both verbal and physical - at all-female schools? How, moreover, does he explain cyberbullying among girls? He offers no explanation at all. But his argument is worth exploring in more detail here.

Yet this increasing gender parity in nonphysical aggression may be deceptive. While it is certainly the case that girls can be and frequently are as verbally aggressive as boys, it is also useful to ask who benefits from the aggression. Here the answers are equally revealing. Boys do it, of course, to establish and then maintain their place in the male pecking order; the bullying makes sure that those at the top stay there, and it reinforces their belief that they are entitled to be there. But many girls use verbal aggression to impress boys at the top, believing that their efforts at humiliating other girls, or even revictimizing the boys who have already been targeted, will win them the attention of the top males. Girls' aggression may end up sustaining the hierarchy, which is, itself, an expression of gender inequality.

The problems that we find here are primarily *moral* ones, not statistical ones. Precisely *why* is it "useful" to ask about "who benefits" from bullying? *Why* is it bad for young men to bully others, after all, but implicitly okay for girls to do so? *Why* is it bad for young men to use bullying as a political strategy, to be more specific, but implicitly okay for girls to do the same thing? Kimmel implicitly defends female bullies by referring to their motivation. And motivation is indeed a factor in moral evaluation, differentiating between those who harm others intentionally and those who do so unintentionally. Although female bullies end up sustaining a misogynistic cultural system, Kimmel argues, they do so unwittingly and therefore innocently. The behavior of these young women is stupid, in other words, but not evil. We disagree.

Kimmel's argument really has nothing to do with intention, because the female bullies whom he describes do indeed intend to harm others – not society as a whole by virtue of a misandric cultural system, to be sure, but other girls by virtue of personal malice. In any case, he argues that the misogynistic cultural system oppresses all girls, which means that even female bullies are also *victims* and thus, by implication, innocent (albeit according to a moral calculus that unwittingly deprives victims of their ability to make moral choices). From that very same point of view, the female guards at Auschwitz were morally blameless; although they maintained the system of death camps, they were merely following the orders of men. This argument makes no moral sense at all, of course, as Bernhard Schlink pointed out in *The Reader*. But it does make sense to ideological feminists by purporting to excuse what would otherwise be unacceptable behavior.

No matter how easily they collaborate with young men in a cultural system that oppresses them, Kimmel claims, young women have no real choice in a male-dominated world but to adopt the "guy code" and act like "guys." Or, to be more precise, they have only one choice: becoming either whores (who submit to any demands from young men in order to have social lives) or bitches (who refuse to do so and therefore have no social lives). Consider the following passage from *Guyland*.

Despite enormous changes in the sexual attitudes of young people, the gender politics of campus sex don't seem to have changed very much at all. Sex in Guyland is just that – guys' sex. Women are welcome to act upon their sexual desires, but guys run the scene. Women who decide not to join the party can look forward to going to sleep early and alone tonight – and every night. And women who do join the party run the risk of encountering the same old double standard that no amount of feminist progress seems able to eradicate fully. Though women may accommodate themselves to men's desires – indeed, some feel they have to accommodate themselves to them – the men's rules rule. What this means is that many young women are biding their time, waiting for the guys to grow up and start acting like men.

This passage is misleading for several reasons. For one thing, the behavior of young women in our time originated in cultural changes that began over fifty years ago and are known collectively as the Sexual Revolution. *Neither* sex foresaw that revolution. By and large, moreover, *neither* sex wants to repeal it (except for some ideological feminists, who disapprove of heterosexuality). Both young women and young men, but especially the former, felt *liberated* by the Pill and eventually (to some extent) legal access to abortion. They no longer had to fear unwanted pregnancies. Or, to put it another way, scientists had broken the historic link between sex and reproduction. And it did not take some women long to realize that they could enjoy free sex no less than men did (with or without a veneer of sentiment). Eventually, some feminists realized that the Pill was a mixed blessing. By equalizing women and men in connection with sexual mores, after all, it undermined not only the prudish fantasy that women were somehow "above" sexual pleasure but also the bargaining chip that women or their families had used in their relations with men: giving men sexual pleasure and loyalty in return for commitment to providing for the resulting children.

At any rate, marriage was no longer the necessary condition for sexual activity. This, combined with the simultaneous rise of hedonism, led to the redefinition of marriage itself. It was no longer primarily an institution that provided children with a supportive setting; it was primarily a

way to enhance the personal happiness of and mark the status of adults. By now, it is becoming clear to many people of both sexes that they can no longer expect marriage or any other kind of enduring relationship.

As Barbara Dafoe Whitehead observes in a documentary called *Women and Men Unglued*, men and women no longer *need* each other. *This* is why many women have resorted to more-or-less fleeting "relationships" or "hooking up" (even though many young women, and many young men for that matter, still envy the stable unions of their parents or grandparents.) To suggest that young women did not welcome sexual liberation for *their own reasons* - to argue, as Kimmel does, that promiscuity among college girls indicates only their capitulation to the "guy code" - is historically naive at best and knowingly tendentious at worst.

Moreover, even Kimmel admits that young women do have at least one choice other than adopting the "guy code." They can embrace feminism, he says, and thus declare their independence from the "guys."

> There has to be another choice for women – a choice that involves men. And there is. A sizeable number of young adult women are searching for ways both to stop playing by men's rules and to find their own voices, their own sense of agency that can guide them into adulthood. To my mind that choice is equality, a way to inspire women to find their own ethical core from which they can act in the world with authenticity and agency. Call it what you want. Most women who opt for this choice call it 'feminism.'

Kimmel is referring to egalitarian feminism. But the same word could refer to ideological feminism. Those who choose the latter declare their independence not merely from "guys" but from *all* young men. And they make sure that young men know about it in both informal settings such as the dorm (conversations, posters, cartoons on doors) and more formal ones on the campus (class projects, guest speakers for the women's studies department, articles in campus newspapers, performances of the *Vagina Monologues*, Take Back the Night demonstrations, rape-crisis centers, and so on).

We suggest that young women have an *additional* choice. They can simply gravitate toward intelligent or talented young men – those who are rejected by the "guys" and do not care. These young men might not be as handsome or as rich or as glamorous as the jocks, but they might make good friends, lovers or eventually husbands. And they are present on every campus or at least on the campus of every institution that actually expects academic or artistic excellence. This applies not only to minority young men, by the way, but also to young men from any background. They come to learn, often at great cost to themselves and their families. Kimmel would have us believe (without actually saying so) that the young men who get to Yale or Princeton – which confer at least as much of their vaunted prestige on intellectual merit as they do on athletic prowess - do nothing worthwhile.

Some young men do nothing worthwhile at college, to be sure, but many others – certainly the ones who earn their way there – really are interested in their studies or in the larger world and really do participate in activities other than sports, binge-drinking and sex. Young women know very well that they can enjoy friendships with young men who show at least some signs of brain activity. And if they have sex with these young men, with or without complex and enduring relationships,

they *freely choose* to do so.

Kimmel admits that some young women are more attracted to "bad boys" with high status than to other boys with low status; in other words, they prefer Rhett Butler (who is notoriously dangerous[17] and not received in respectable society) to Ashley Wilkes (who is too honorable to cheat on Melanie). We would add, however, that even these young women *freely choose* to drink their brains out, have sex with frat boys whom they hardly know and ridicule other young women for making different choices. They do not act like that, we suggest, merely because they are the dupes of young men (although both young men and young women are in some sense the dupes of an amoral and hedonistic society). Like the "guys," they should be moral agents. In other words, they should know what their choices entail and thus should be no less responsible than the young men for their behavior. Like the young men, moreover, they do things in mobs that they would never do on their own.

No evidence suggests that young women at college are metaphorically dragged, kicking and screaming, to the frenzied beach parties of Florida during spring break. They go because they expect to enjoy themselves, not because the alternative is isolation. Their reasons for wanting to spend a few days of revelry – one long round of binge-drinking or shooting up, passing out, throwing up and hooking up - might be different from those of the young men, which is what Kimmel believes, but that makes no moral (let alone practical) difference at all. The point is that they do have choices.

Kimmel himself observes on more than one occasion that serious relationships, let alone marriage and motherhood, are definitely not among the things that most young women at college want in the near future. Like children, after all, serious relationships could compromise their efforts to build independent careers. For these girls, it makes sense to choose recreational sex. Kimmel clearly agrees with Catharine MacKinnon, on the other hand, who argues that women are so oppressed by the "eroticization of male power" that they are incapable of choosing – that is, giving their consent to sexual intercourse with men - and therefore unable to function as moral agents. Every act of sexual intercourse with men, in other words - including one that a woman wants or even initiates - is tantamount to rape. Kimmel does not actually say that hooking up amounts to rape, but he implies something very similar. Consider, for instance, his chapter on [18]"Predatory Sex and Party Rape."

It could be that some young women bide their time, waiting for their male counterparts to "grow up and start acting like men." According to Kimmel,

> while women are preparing for adult life, guys are in a holding pattern. They're hooking up rather than forming the kind of intimate romantic relationships that will ready them for a serious commitment: taking their time choosing careers that will enable them to support a family; and postponing marriage, it seems, for as long as they possibly can. While girls are busy becoming women, boys seem content to idle in Guyland indefinitely.

Are young women at college really preparing for adult life? In some ways, they are. Like young men at college, but often more highly motivated by possibilities that are expanding for women but contracting for men, they are thinking about their careers and therefore graduate degrees. But, as Kim-

mel himself says in a passage that we have already quoted, many young women would indeed prefer to avoid growing up right away. And why, we wonder, is it okay for young women to build non-traditional careers but not for young men – who know that most young women still want and expect husbands to play their traditional roles by supporting wives during their childbearing years? Young women have their own reasons for not growing up in general and for preferring casual sex in particular.

As for the historical double standard, Kimmel has a point. "When a guy says he 'hooked up' with someone, he may or may not have had sex with her, but he is certainly hoping that his friends think he has. A woman, on the other hand, is more likely to hope they think she hasn't." But this is something that young women, supposedly more mature (or at least more sophisticated) than young men, must work out for themselves. Elsewhere, Kimmel denounces what he considers the historic emphasis on female pre-marital chastity and its indifference to male pre-marital chastity. "The truth is," he writes, "hooking up is not the end of the world – it's a time-out, like college. And more important, it's a political time-out; that is, it is experienced differently, and unequally, by women and men. Focusing all one's moralizing attention on young women only perpetuates that inequality, rather than challenges it."

He has a point here, too. It really is a political matter, and that is why his words sound so unconvincing. After all, who is Kimmel to complain about double standards? He focuses all – not some but *all* - of his "moralizing attention" on young men. "Even if guys are having sex in order to assuage an understandable insecurity," he writes, "they are nonetheless using women." But "using" people, like "objectifying" people, is inherent in sexual (and many other forms of) activity. Apart from the context of rape, everyone who engages in sexual activity expects something from someone else. Why is it wrong for young men to "use" young women in the effort to assuage insecurity but right for young women to do the very same thing in the effort to assuage their own forms of insecurity (which Kimmel describes in connection with their social lives)? In any case, this particular double standard is no longer what it once was, certainly not in the adult world. Ask Tiger Woods. Ask Bill Clinton, whose political enemies called him a "slut." Both sexes, in short, have a shifting assortment of reasons, wise and foolish, for their sexual encounters.

The assumption that we can solve this titanic social problem through a combination of personal therapy, institutional vigilance and collective conversion to feminism

Kimmel argues that boys have no legitimate reason for envying girls; they must be either stupid or neurotic - and unfair - for doing so. Envy, implies Kimmel, is the counterpart of (illegitimate) entitlement; both lead directly to hatred. When young men resort to pornography, he says, it is because they are "getting back. They're not getting mad; they're vicariously getting even. Getting back at a world that deprives them of power and control, getting even with those haughty women who deny them sex even while they invite desire; getting back at the bitches and hos, who, in the cosmology of Guyland, have all the power." But other social scientists have found that young women do, in fact, hold most of the social power in their relationships with young men. Consider the research of Peggy Giordano, Wendy Manning and Monica Longmore. Much to their surprise, they found that young men in high-school were more "romantic" than their female counterparts. Moreover, both young

men and young women agreed that the latter dominated their relationships, not the former. Why should these young men not feel envious? Young women certainly would.

Kimmel continues with a discussion of pornography. "While these violent images are indeed disturbing, what might be more disturbing is that by viewing pornography, and by relying on pornography to inform them, guys are sustaining an 'us against them' attitude toward women that is not going to serve them in the long term." He might try giving the same advice to young women, who have by now, thanks to ideological feminism, become accustomed to the very same dualistic mentality. The only difference is that they express their hostility toward the opposite sex in seemingly more respectable ways: by separating themselves as far as possible from men, say, or by instigating laws and policies that strongly discourage relationships between women and men as equals despite the surface rhetoric of equality.

To paraphrase Kimmel, no intelligent, healthy and fair person could possibly envy women in an oppressive patriarchal society; men have had all the power, he might add, so it is now time for women to have it (as if two wrongs could make a right). We have argued elsewhere,[19] however, that the actual condition of neither women nor men is so simple and never has been so simple.

To make a long story very short, we suggest the following: that power is not easily quantifiable; that men and women have historically and cross-culturally had different forms of power (which gave men too much power in the public realm); that men and women will probably always envy each other for whatever forms of power they do not have in common; and that men and women now have in common many more forms of power than ever before. In some ways – not all but some – women do indeed now have more power than men. Collectively speaking, in any case, young women at college – unlike their male counterparts - can look to the future with much hope. (This, despite the warnings of feminists who could not stay in business, as it were, without being able to claim that women are still victims and therefore in perpetual need of more measures to protect them.) Apart from anything else, women are still entering new fields and conquering old barriers. They are not about to establish Utopia, because perfection is impossible. Nonetheless, women have improved their position more dramatically and more quickly than any other group in history. The future for women is opening up. The future for men, on the other hand, is closing down. This is not so much because society has admitted women to institutions that were once sexually segregated, by the way, but because one by-product of doing so has been to eliminate the possibility that men can make any *distinctive, necessary* and *publicly valued* contribution to society *as men* – which is to say that men can establish a healthy collective identity *as men*. Somehow, we need to sustain the legitimate need of women to work in the public realm but *also* to fulfill the legitimate need of men for a healthy identity in any realm.

One source of envy for young men is the freedom from censorship that young women enjoy. Kimmel dismisses this claim, because he misunderstands it. Like affirmative action, political correctness does not merely "level the playing field" to maintain equality. On the contrary, it *tilts* the playing field (presumably) to create equality in the long run. By doing that, it enshrines a double standard and therefore inequality in the present and thus supports the morally dubious notion that ends can justify means. Young women may now say anything at all about men – and some of them do indeed say things that are both false and hateful - but young men may say only approved things

about women. That situation feeds a sense of "entitlement" among *young women as such*, which should be just as illegitimate for them as it already is for young men, and the inevitable reaction from young men. Political correctness has become a potent symbol of our society's preoccupation with the needs and problems of women in general (which is proper) and its trivialization of the needs and problems of men in general (which is not).

Another source of envy, a more subtle one, is the "privacy" that young women have come to expect: places or events, activities or communities that are for them alone. In this case, too, the official legitimation is that we still live in a "man's world." Young men may go anywhere, presumably, and do or say anything. In that case, only young women would require society – the high school or college in this case – to promote sexual segregation in the form of "womanspace." If the initial premise were true, then this argument might make sense. But the initial premise is not true, at least not the whole truth. Men have dominated public space, to be sure, but not necessarily private space – that is, the home. In any case, it has been a long time since men truly dominated even public space. Otherwise, how can we explain the long series of public apologies from sports icons, celebrities, and government officials for having said or done something to outrage women?

Codes of political and sexual correctness, at any rate, do dominate public discourse on every high-school campus and every college campus. The notion that boys in this environment might feel a need for some "manspace" should surprise no one, certainly not egalitarian feminists. What even egalitarian feminists fear, however, is that boys would use their own space to ridicule or complain about women. And some of them would. But young women ridicule or complain about men in their private spaces, and no one scolds them for doing so. Indeed, the whole point of "womanspace" has been precisely to get women talking about the problems of living in a "male-dominated" society, not merely to offer them a respite from the tensions of daily life in a world that they share with men.

But it would be simplistic to explain the resentment of young men exclusively in connection with a double standard that favors young women. Something additional is involved, something that Kimmel must find either inconceivable or inconvenient. He argues that there is something *intrinsically wrong* with any sexual segregation for boys or men. "It's the threat to dominance bonding," he says in a chapter on sports, "that elicits the defensiveness when women invade formerly all-male spaces – whether professions such as medicine or law, or the science lab, or the military, or the sports locker room. At these moments, men feel threatened by women's equality, because equality includes access to those private spaces." As we have already suggested, however, the real threat is not necessarily "women's equality." The real threat is *not losing dominance* (and no man under the age of thirty has ever experienced male dominance as something legitimate) *but losing identity* (which every boy and man has experienced, whether consciously or subconsciously). The board room and its surrogates, the clubs, do not provide that and with good reason; sexual segregation for men in those precincts would deny women access to economic mobility and therefore equality with men. So, if the football field or the basketball court – or even the locker room – can provide at least a *symbolic* marker of identity for boys or men, no matter how vestigial or atavistic, then resentment over the loss of even that surely makes sense both psychologically and morally.

From our point of view, in short, boys have legitimate or, at least almost inevitable, reasons for envying girls. They seldom admit their envy, to be sure, and that is partly because Kimmel and

other feminists try to shame them into hiding it and partly because of the stoic notion of masculinity, thus contributing to the very machismo that they oppose. And this creates an even worse problem. Forbidden to admit their envy of young women, girls and women, young men try desperately to repress it. And by doing that, by *having* to do that, they unwittingly convert envy into something that is much more destructive. This is because envy, like fear, is often the prelude to hatred. We know this from history and can ignore it only at our own peril.

Kimmel assumes the efficacy of three broad solutions: personal therapy, institutional vigilance and collective conversion to feminism. For victims, he prescribes the following among other things: anti-bullying campaigns in every school; teachers - role models - who respect each other (that is, male teachers who respect female ones); and parents (that is, fathers) who are deeply involved in the lives of their sons. Even though Kimmel refers to both mothers and fathers, by the way, he fails to attribute any distinctive role to fathers. Worse, he takes another swipe at fathers for creating and reinforcing guy culture in the first place. By blaming everything on fathers, presumably, he can avoid the mistake of blaming everything on mothers. Fathers can be helpful, he implies, only to the extent that they begin doing what mothers have long been doing.

The assumption that we can solve this titanic social problem through a combination of personal therapy, institutional vigilance and collective conversion to feminism

These "guys" are very easy targets. Countless movies and sitcoms have ridiculed what most people call the "jock" subculture and its aftermath among "men" in their thirties or even older. Moreover, feminists have denounced them relentlessly. Only some *new* insight into these young men would justify yet another attack on them. But Kimmel does not provide any new insight. He merely reiterates what feminists have been saying for decades.

It is hard to resist the temptation to speculate by suggesting that motivating male feminists is not only the welfare of women (and presumably of men as an indirect result) but also the urge to buy personal respectability among women at the cost of separating themselves from the collectivity of men – which is to say from "them," from the "others." And men, given the prevalence of feminism in public life, are now indeed the archetypal "others." One possible consequence of being honorary women is self-righteousness. Another possible consequence is self-hatred, hating the part of oneself that society considers "other." This phenomenon is familiar to Jews, blacks and many other minorities.

We are troubled by the crypto-misandry of Kimmel and that of many other academics in "men's studies" or "gender studies." But this mentality has become pervasive - explicitly or implicitly, directly or indirectly - in society as a whole. We are troubled also by the unwillingness or inability of Kimmel and his colleagues to acknowledge the lamentable condition of so many young men. Apart from anything else, they refuse to acknowledge the inherently difficult transition from boyhood to manhood. Those who fail, from this point of view, are nothing more than deadbeat "guys." To explain the difficulty of this transition, from our own point of view, we rely partly on historical and cross-cultural evidence of two extremes. The challenge, we suggest, is to avoid *both*.

One extreme was once common in societies that separated the sexes as completely as possible, assigning the public world to men and the private one to women.[20] As a result of subjecting boys (but not necessarily girls) to initiation rites, some of these societies fostered misogynistic attitudes. The underlying assumption was that women were very different from men, which could mean that women were either inferior or dangerous to men. In any case, boys experienced a very radical transition from the comforting world of women to the alien and sometimes threatening one of men, which often involved dangerous activities such as hunting and warfare. Coming of age required much more from boys than participating in elaborate rituals and other symbolic forms of behavior. In addition, it required them to learn new skills (which could take weeks or months) and to undergo testing – sometimes by enduring terrifying ordeals - to see if they were prepared to use their new skills in serving the community. Of great importance here is that boys invested so heavily and endured so much anxiety or even pain in acquiring manhood that they ended up feeling not only proud of their new skills and responsibilities among the men but also regretting the loss of childhood comforts among the women. In other words, they both rejected *and envied* women. Even today in our own society, boys and young men are reluctant to admit envy of girls and young women because they have invested so heavily in repressing whatever society considers "feminine."

But another extreme has actually prevailed in our society. Far from separating the sexes and emphasizing their different functions, it blurs sexual boundaries to the extent of creating a new set of problems – especially for boys. Even now, all children must still separate from their mothers and enter the larger world. And doing so remains more complicated and more difficult for boys, because adulthood for male children means being at least minimally different from their mothers (and other women). Coming of age as a man still requires a massive cultural effort by society, because it must use culture to create and sustain some healthy collective identity for men. But when mothers and fathers do almost all of the same things, with the notable exception of childbirth, how can boys discover any distinctive identity for themselves as male people? With no distinctive function for men at all, in fact, why would they even want to become men? Fatherless homes greatly exacerbate this problem, of course, especially in view of the female-dominated world of daycare and school. Why would boys feel any investment in the future of society?

Kimmel suggests that one therapy for boys might involve promoting close friendships with both girls and other boys. And we can hardly disagree with that. These friendships would reduce dependence on the "guy" crowd, says Kimmel, by fostering self-respect. But institutional vigilance would go much further, he argues, than personal therapy. (He is a sociologist, after all, not a psychologist.) For him, this punitive approach would mean ending the "culture of silence," which allows bystanders – friends, parents, administrators - to protect boys who harass and rape. To do so, he says, we would need to create institutional change: forcing both college fraternities and college administrators to take legal responsibility for the results of hazing and binge-drinking and raping. And, of course, we would need to raise the "consciousness" of all authorities. "Entitlement will end only when schools and families resume their role as moral arbiters, making it clear that they are watching, and that such behavior will not be tolerated."

Underlying all of these therapeutic and punitive measures, from Kimmel's point of view, is the need for social revolution. And we agree with that, of course, because no society could possibly solve such deeply embedded problems merely by toughening up a few laws and preaching about re-

sponsibility. But Kimmel's social revolution, unlike ours, would rely on collective conversion to feminism.

Kimmel argues that men should create a new definition of manhood, one that would exclude not merely "machismo" but any gender script at all. In *Replacing Misandry*, however, we argue that a central problem for at least ten thousand years – long before the rise of feminism - has been precisely the increasing inability of men to establish a healthy source of collective identity. Because Kimmel refuses to question any feminist assumptions at all, notably the absolute and enduring centrality of misogyny and female victimization as explanatory principles, his proposal is superficial and therefore inadequate. He does indeed recognize that young men at college, despite their bad habits, suffer from profound anxiety over their identity. But he cannot help them, because he mistakenly identifies the *source* of their anxiety. All he can do is tell these young men to ignore their own perceptions and accept his – that is, those of feminists and the young women whom they know personally.

This state of affairs has created a sense of meaningless and hopeless so extreme, we suggest, that young men have found it necessary not only to deny vulnerability but also to wallow in self-indulgence and self-aggrandizement as compensation. On the surface this might look like what Kimmel describes as a sense of entitlement to privilege and power, but we suggest that it disguises a disturbing sense of meaninglessness and hopelessness. In that case, what we need is not self-righteous scolding but empathy and compassion

Conclusion

For Kimmel, the problem is that young men feel what he describes as an *illegitimate and therefore justly thwarted* sense of entitlement to rewards, *status and power*, that are due specifically and only to male people. Denied what they consider their due, he says, these young men feel rage and express it in a wide range of antisocial ways – especially in hostility toward women, who now do reap rewards.

For us, on the contrary, the problem is that young men feel a *legitimate and therefore unjustly thwarted* sense of entitlement to a *healthy identity as male people*. Although they try to hide from the lack of a healthy identity, they experience the lack subconsciously. Hopelessness and meaninglessness lead some to give up and drop out but lead others to act up – that is, to attack a society that apparently has no room for them except as scapegoats for everything that is wrong with the world. This society tells young men in ways both direct and indirect that they are acceptable only to the extent that they become honorary women. It tells them, in short, that they are inferior to women not only physically as male people but also culturally as masculine people.

For a while, many young men – not only the "guys" but also their sidekicks - resort to hedonism for immediate relief. But they know that they cannot escape reality forever, which means that *anxiety and rage underlie* transient pleasures. To the extent that young men crave "empowerment," and they do, it is the result of having *too little of the power that all people need in order to have some control their own lives*, not the result of expecting too much of the power that their ancestors – especially the alpha males among them - used to control the lives of others.

As an imaginary antidote to both envy and hopelessness, this form of masculinity relies on rigid boundaries. This is because the *only remaining content* of masculinity, the *only remaining definition* of masculinity, is nothing more than the opposite of femininity. Kimmel describes young men who rely on impervious boundaries to separate themselves from the feminine. For them, women are the envied but symbolically polluting "others." Gay people are those who fail to maintain the boundaries that offer protection from symbolic pollution. But we would add that their world, created out of despair, *prevents them from enjoying the full humanity of other people and thus of themselves as well*.

We would add also that many young men are silent about the brutality of their ringleaders not because they share any *illegitimate* sense of entitlement, which society denies, but because they share a *legitimate* one that society denies. We challenge Kimmel's theory of entitlement in two ways. First, we add some complexity by pointing out what should be (but clearly is not) obvious. Entitlements are rights, or claims on rights, that the state recognizes (although the source of these rights remains debatable).[21] It is true that some entitlements are illegitimate, because they refer to rights that do not exist, no longer exist or should not exist. The claim that men as such are entitled to power over women as such, that men have some innate right to this power over women, is one example. The state is not obliged to confer that power on men; on the contrary, it is obliged to deny that kind of power to men (or women). And yet some men (and now women) believe nonetheless that they are entitled to this kind of power.

But *other* entitlements are indeed legitimate and even necessary (though not absolute), because they refer to rights that do and must exist – which is to say, that the state must confer them on everyone. From our point of view, the claim that men (like women) are entitled to a healthy identity – that they have a right to it - is one example. To make that claim, we rely on moral and legal principles that the state recognizes. In addition, though, we rely on a fundamental feature of the human condition: no one can lack a healthy identity without succumbing to psychological pathologies that lead to both destructive and self-destructive behavior.

Moreover, Kimmel never adds that young women might have an equally illegitimate sense of entitlement. And this, we suggest, is the case for those young women who assume the right to attain their own ends no matter what the means. This is the logic that underlies affirmative action, for instance, and any other legislation that gives women as such advantages that it denies to men as such (presumably to "level the playing field"). The end of sexual equality is noble, but the means, punishing those who had nothing to do with the origin of sexual inequality, is surely not.

Our research indicates that some women carry this logic much further by promoting misandry as a political strategy (although this strategy is common to every form of identity politics): casting men as scapegoats in the relentless struggle for public sympathy as victims. Feminism has led to changes in countless laws that either protect or promote women (which are good things), but many of them either punish or undermine men (which are not good things). We argue that the cumulative effect of misandry on men, particularly on young men (who must try to establish their identity as men in a toxic atmosphere), has been profound. Even those who do not actually end up in family courts to plead for access to their children or need to defend themselves against allegations of domestic violence, even they know ridicule or contempt when they experience it. And, judging

from the evidence that we have collected over twenty-five years, they do so on a routine basis. The rate at which young men drop out of school, for instance, not surprisingly, far exceeds that of young women. So do the rates at which young men commit both suicide and crime. Relatively few of these young men, so far, have been able to articulate or analyze the causes of their envy and rage. And yet many of the least articulate and least analytical can intuit that something has gone very wrong. The current state of affairs that they experience in daily life, they realize, does not actually reflect at least some moral and legal principles that the nation proclaims in its founding documents (although the nation's search for justice has always been a work in progress).

But we would go far beyond the quarrel with Kimmel by suggesting that young men – including the "guys" and their silent fellow travelers – deserve serious study instead of feminist ideology masquerading as sociology and even compassion instead of contempt masquerading as tough love. That would make no sense, of course, without supposing that what motivates their neurotic or even pathological behavior at the deepest level is the universal human need for both respect and self-respect.

At the very heart of our research on men – maleness and masculinity, misogyny and misandry – is a method that we explore in *Transcending Misandry*, the concluding volume of our series. This method is *not debate*, in which one side in a conflict wins over the other (although debate is very useful in contexts such as scholarship and law). On the contrary, it is *dialogue*, in which both sides win and eventual reconciliation becomes at least possible. Each listens carefully to the other (instead of manipulating or ranting at the other) and learns new things about the other (instead of trying to confirm its own preconceived ideas about the other). This might sound like common sense or even pop psychology, but inter-sexual dialogue relies on the model of inter-religious dialogue – not the nice conversations that take place among neighbors in church basements but the rigorous exchanges that take place among academics and ecclesiastics at conferences. Over the past five decades, this method has brought about significant and beneficial change – not merely formal agreements at the collective level or formal politeness on the personal level - in the way that people think about religion in a fragmented world. We see no reason why the same general method could not bring about significant and beneficial change in the way that people think about sex and gender.

The effectiveness of inter-sexual dialogue would depend on the legitimacy of at least three hypotheses. First, men and women might not know much as much as they think they know about each other as groups. Second, men and women might actually want to know more about each other as groups (because, in fact, they have vested interests in knowing more). Third, the best solution to current polarization might be dialogue between men and women (or any other groups in conflict), which would help us move collectively beyond the pervasive cynicism and dualism of our society (especially, but not only, in connection with men and women).

To facilitate inter-sexual dialogue in a purely practical way, we have proposed a "Decalogue of dialogue," ten principles that participants must internalize before getting down to business. But practical considerations are not the only ones that interest us. These ten principles would function not only as the moral and philosophical guideposts for participants but also as the symbolic constitution for a new society, one that takes seriously both the needs and the problems not only of women but also of men.

Footnotes

[1] There are many branches of feminism: versions of Marxism, liberalism, Christianity, Judaism, Islam, anarchism, environmentalism and so on – let alone the countless variations within each. From the specific perspective of *men*, however, there are only two. These exist on a continuum between egalitarian feminism at one end and ideological feminism at the other. We define "ideology" very carefully by isolating nine characteristic, or diagnostic, features. When most or all of the following occur together, that is ideology: dualism; essentialism; hierarchy; collectivism; utopianism; selective cynicism; revolutionism; consequentialism; and quasi-religiosity. We chose the word "ideological" instead of other words such as "militant" or "extreme" or "gender" for a reason: "ideological" makes it clear that this form of feminism has a great deal in common with all other ideologies on both the left and the right, both secular and religious. (See Paul Nathanson and Katherine K. Young, *Spreading Misandry: The Teaching of Contempt for Men in Popular Culture* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 200.

[2] Paul Nathanson and Katherine K. Young, *Legalizing Misandry: From Public Shame to Systemic Discrimination against Men* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006).

[3] Katherine K. Young and Paul Nathanson, *Sanctifying Misandry: From Goddess Ideology to the Fall of Man* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010)

[4] Paul Nathanson and Katherine K. Young, *Replacing Misandry: From Primeval Man to Postmodern Man* (forthcoming from McGill-Queen's University Press).

[5] Paul Nathanson and Katherine K. Young, *Transcending Misandry: From Feminist Ideology to Inter-Sexual Dialogue* (forthcoming from McGill-Queen's University Press).

[6] Michael Kimmel, *Guyland: The Perilous World Where Boys Become Men* (New York: Harper, 2008), 4-5.

[7] Kimmel has nothing good to say about fathers (and thus offers nothing of any use to boys who might see fatherhood as a source of identity). He takes every opportunity, in fact, to say that mothers are better parents than fathers (and, by implication, that women are better than men). By failing to acknowledge that fathers might have distinctive ways of parenting, he implies that fathers are either co-mothers or assistant mothers. If they do not act like mothers, therefore, they must be inadequate or selfish. "It is fathers – far more than mothers – who deeply resent the return of their college-graduate children. Mothers may, for a time, mourn the absence of their children, as if their world has suddenly lost its center of gravity and spins aimlessly off its axis. Fathers, by contrast, often celebrate their new freedom from child-care responsibilities. They buy new gold clubs, load up on Viagra, and talk about this being, finally, their 'turn'" (Kimmel, 38-39).

[8] Kimmel, 6-7.

[9] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 53-78.

[10] See Elie Wiesel, *The Town beyond the Wall* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964). In one passage, Wiesel describes someone who looks out of the window, sees local Jews being herded onto trains by Nazi guards, and then pulls the curtain. The implication is that those who were indifferent to Nazi tyranny were the ones who made it possible on such a colossal scale, not the hatred of a relative few.

[11] Kimmel points out that even girls call themselves "guys" now and then, but he fails to add that the word retains its reference to boys in general usage.

[12] "Of course, there are many young people of this age group who are highly motivated, focused, with a clear vision and direction in the lives. Their stories of resilience and motivation will provide a telling rejoinder to many of the dominant patterns of Guyland" (Kimmel, 8). But how many are "many"? What Kimmel means by a "rejoinder," of course, is an exception or an anomaly. Respectable boys are exceptions to the rule, exceptions that somehow *prove* the rule, anomalies that make no difference. They do not count in the face of what ideologues call "hegemonic masculinity." Acknowledging them once in a while allows Kimmel to sound reasonable without actually being reasonable.

[13] Kimmel, *Guyland*, 30. That we lack coming-of-age rituals in which boys become men is common knowledge. It has been for some time, moreover, if we examine cinematic milestones such as *Rebel without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955) and *The Graduate* (Mike Nichols, 1967). For more on those movies, see Paul Nathanson, "Coming of Age as a Villain: What Every Boy Needs to Know in a Misandric World," *Thymos*, 3.2 (Fall 2009): 155-177. Kimmel notices that girls, unlike boys, do not need these rituals. "Initiations ... are all about masculinity – testing it and proving it. It's not that women don't initiate girls into womanhood. Bur rarely does becoming a woman involve danger, or threats, or testing. A girl might be inducted into womanhood when her mother explains menstruation at puberty. Or she might be briefed by her friends about the hows and whys of sex, or by her roommates about how to navigate the world of men. But a woman doesn't typically feel the need to prove she is a 'real woman'" (Kimmel, 99-100). This difference between women and men mystifies Kimmel. He ascribes it to the historical moment. Actually, though, this has always been the case. This is why every culture has used rites of passage, no matter how minimal, to initiate boys but not necessarily to initiate girls. Boys need initiation in a way that girls do not, because the changes that society requires from boys, unlike girls, are more cultural than natural. A girl's body changes dramatically at puberty, making her ready for at least one adult function (bearing children) and giving her at least one source of a healthy personal and collective identity (motherhood). A boy's body changes less dramatically, however, and does not obviously make him ready for any adult function. To become a man, to contribute something distinctive and necessary to society, he must *learn skills*. And in many societies, though not all, those skills involve danger. Hence the need to test his courage. The problem for boys in modern America is not so much that they lack initiation *rites* but that they lack any distinctive and necessary adult *function* that requires initiation by adult men in the first place.

[14] Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975). Kimmel does acknowledge the ambiguity of sexual encounters in *Guyland* and that even rape is not always easy to define. He rejects, however, the notion that rape is entirely subjective.

"Yet one has to engage in some strange epistemology to conclude that if they don't define it as rape, it wasn't rape. For most crimes, the subjective experience of the victim plays little role in the labeling of a crime. A robbery is a robbery, whether or not you were dressed so nicely that the mugger thought you wanted it ... Crimes don't often depend on victim confirmation; there are legally set standards that define it. But somehow when it comes to sex crimes against women, whether or not the victims actually label it a crime seems of paramount importance" (Kimmel, 223). Kimmel parts company in this way with many of his feminist colleagues, who have come to define sex crimes in extremely subjective terms. One book advises readers that even *thinking* that they might have been molested as children means that they probably had been (Ellen Bass and Laura Davis, *The Courage to Heal: A Guide for Women Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse* [New York: Harper and Row, 1988], 21). The mere presence of *Playboy* in an office can constitute a "hostile working environment" for women, moreover, a standard of proof that relies solely on the subjective experience of a "reasonable woman." The very definition of rape, moreover, is somewhat less than objective. For some feminists, after all, rape includes everything from forcible penetration to emotional or verbal pressure to have sex. If a woman has the impression that a man will find someone else unless she has sex with him, that alone would constitute rape. Kimmel refers to Charlene Muehlenhard, whose study revealed that more men (57.4%) than women (11.9%) had engaged in unwanted heterosexual encounters. More men (18.4%) than women (4.5%) had done so to avoid the appearance of being "shy, afraid, or unmasculine" (Kimmel, 225). Unless they could find some way of rejecting or reinterpreting these figures, many feminists would have to admit that women had raped these men. And that is precisely what Kimmel does. He explains these rapes not as assaults by women but, in effect, as assaults by other men – that is, as the results of peer pressure (Kimmel, 225).

[15] Kimmel, 57-58.

[16] Kimmel, 55.

[17] See Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).

[18] During World War I, many believed, German men had failed to protect the nation from its foreign enemies and thus lost their honor. After the war, moreover, German men had failed to protect women from destitution and thus lost their honor with even more humiliation. Millions of war widows received very little money even after a stable government emerged from the chaos. The hyper-inflation of the 1920s and depression of the 1930s, moreover, meant that millions of middle-class (and other) women were forced into the streets - that is, prostitution – in order to survive. It was not entirely surprising, therefore, that National Socialism encouraged men to restore their honor by adopting a rigid notion of masculinity, one that defined men primarily as soldiers (and women as mothers) for the Reich. One way of achieving this restoration of masculinity was to eliminate, repress and punish even the slightest suggestion of homosexuality. Hitler had several reasons for murdering S.A. chief Ernst Rohm and his followers, but one of them was Rohm's barely concealed homosexuality. Along with Jews, Gypsies and political dissenters, therefore, homosexual men ended up in the death camps. It is worth noting here, moreover, that German women

were among the most ardent National Socialists. Among their many reasons for supporting the regime was a need for effective men as husbands and fathers.

[19] To "round up the usual suspects," we could refer here to Andrea Dworkin. In *Intercourse* (New York: Free Press, 1987), she argued that sexual activity between a woman and a man, even when initiated by the woman, constitutes the rape of that woman. Like Catharine MacKinnon, she believed that no woman in our "patriarchal" society is *able*, let alone willing, to give a man her informed consent.

[20] See, for example, Ellen Fein and Sherrie Schneider, *The Rules: Time-Tested Secrets for Capturing the Heart of Mr. Right* (New York: Warner Books, 1995).

[21] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 177-180.

[22] Kimmel, 61. This is one of Kimmel's most common themes, repeated many times throughout the book: "Usually the bystander absolves himself of any complicity. 'Hey, don't look at me,' he shouts in protest, 'I never raped anybody.' And he's usually right. But neither did he intervene at a party when it seemed clear that someone was about to be raped. Nor did he refrain from spreading the rumor about some girl who got 'trained' or gang banged, nor say to anyone that he thought such behavior was gross and wrong, let alone illegal" (Kimmel, 229-230).

[23] See Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1987).

[24] See Grant A. Brown, "Gender as a Factor in the Response of the Law-Enforcement System to Violence against Partners," *Sexuality & Culture* 8: 3-4 (2004): 3-139.

[25] To consider only one of the most famous examples, British women handed out white feathers to young men who were not in uniform during World War I. See also Nathanson and Young, *Spreading Misandry*, 66, 217, 221-222, 233, 247-148.

[26] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 239-240.

[27] Kimmel, 155-156.

[28] Kimmel, 175.

[29] See <David Lerman, "U.S. Vows to Put Women in Combat Roles by 2016," *Bloomberg*, 24 July 2013, bloomberg.com/news/2013-07-24/u-s-military-vows-to-put-women-in-combat-roles-by-2016.html>.

[30] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 201-204.

[31] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 259.

[32] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 125-156.

[33] Brown, 3-139.

[34] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 425-438.

[35] Nathanson and Young, *Replacing Misandry*, chapter 4.

[36] Kimmel, 42. When Kimmel asks girls what it means to be a woman, they know very well how to answer. He quotes one girl who says that being a woman means being anything that she wants to be (Kimmel, 44). But there is much more to it than feminist liberation. Whatever *else* women can do according to this or that culture, after all, nature itself has equipped them to do one thing that no man has ever been able to do: produce new life. Not all women choose to become mothers. Not all women can. And not all women who do are effective as mothers. Nonetheless, motherhood is by definition one source of collective identity for women. It is a distinctive, necessary, and publicly valued contribution that women can make to society.

[37] Kimmel, 270. Elsewhere, Kimmel writes that "we need to develop a new model of masculinity. Young men must understand on a deep level that being a real man isn't going along with what you know in your heart to be cruel, inhumane, stupid, humiliating, and dangerous. Being a real man means doing the right thing, standing up to immorality and injustice when you see it, and expressing compassion, not contempt, for those who are less fortunate. In other words, it's about being courageous" (Kimmel, 287). Yes, but *nothing* in that list applies only to men. Kimmel is describing an ideal *person*, not an ideal man.

[38] Because this is our key concept, we refer to the need of men for a healthy collective identity many times. See, for instance, Nathanson and Young, *Spreading Misandry*, 87-89; *Legalizing Misandry* 66-67; and *Sanctifying Misandry*, 175-182.

[39] Consider, for example, the following passage: "Have we gone too far," asks Kimmel rhetorically, "have we made it impossible for boys to … well, be boys? Not at all. We're doing what we've always done – reshaping and redefining what it means to be a man in a culture that is constantly changing. Many of the skills and values that a man will need in the twenty-first century are the same ones that men have always needed – constancy, a sense of purpose, honor, and caring discipline. And many are skills and values that we thought we would never associate with the ideal of masculinity – compassion, patience, nurturing, and disciplined caring" (Kimmel, 93). Everything that Kimmel lists would be equally appropriate for both sexes and always has been (except, of course, among the jocks and their entourages).

[40] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 67-68.

[41] "Binging, hazing, and the like virtually disappear by the late twenties; few corporate law firms or manufacturing plants rely on such sexualized graphic humiliation as a way for men over age 30 to prove themselves" (Kimmel, 121). Yes, Kimmel admits, most "guys" do "move on, grow up, settle down. But they often do so with regret and remorse, and not just a small amount of bitterness, at

what women have 'forced' them to give up. Countless movies and TV sitcoms remind men that marriage and parenthood are women's victories over the guys of Guyland, and that once they are permanently attached to nagging wives, they'll never again have sex or any other kind of fun again" (Kimmel, 260). This is true, we suggest, but not because these men are stupid or evil. Growing up means growing older, and growing older is always either the occasion of or the cause for at least some regret. Adulthood means choosing some things and rejecting others, welcoming some changes and lamenting others. If men have a harder time adjusting to adulthood than women, and they probably do, then it surely makes more sense – certainly in moral terms - to help them than it does to ridicule them. Whether boys realize it or not, moreover, they stand to lose more than "fun" by entering manhood. What they stand to lose is freedom. Marriage is about many good things, but freedom is not among them. For both men and women, in any case, it is ultimately about sacrifice – or, to put it another way, about an altruistic and self-sacrificial form of love. If women feel the loss of freedom less severely than men do, it might be due to the direct and immediate emotional gratification that they have traditionally received from their children. But even that is changing.

[42] Kimmel, 117; his emphasis.

[43] Kimmel, 26.

[44] Historically, our society has associated masculinity not only with physical strength (which was necessary for survival on the frontier) but also with intellectual agility (which was necessary for the leadership of a new republic and a new society). Even though anti-intellectualism has often prevailed in America and still does, however, the current notion of masculinity - one that unambiguously both celebrates ignorance and rejects maturity - is a grotesque parody of any earlier one. Even "redneck" culture, whose current icon happens to be a woman named Sarah Palin, has more substance and durability than frat-house culture.

[45] E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 54.

[46] "Many young men today have a shockingly strong sense of male superiority," writes Kimmel without providing any supporting evidence, "and a diminished capacity for empathy. They believe that the capacity for empathy and compassion has to be suppressed, early on, in the name of achieving masculinity ... Most young men who engage in acts of violence – or who watch them and do nothing, or who joking about them with their friends – fully subscribe to traditional ideologies about masculinity. The problem isn't psychological; these guys aren't deviants. If anything, they are overconforming to the hyperbolic expressions of masculinity that still inform American culture" (Kimmel, 59). And yet Kimmel writes elsewhere about boys whose behavior clearly indicates profound *uncertainty* about the meaning of either maleness or masculinity. Besides, where would they get the idea that men are superior to women? From their fathers or grandfathers? That seems very unlikely in view of the fact that most adolescents try to break away from their parents, usually by *challenging* their values. From elite culture? Although it does transmit the values of earlier times, including those that assumed male superiority, adolescents today *ignore* elite culture. From popular culture? Although some "hyperbolic" productions do transmit male superiority, many

others – including the ones that boys are most likely to see with girls - transmit *female superiority*. But why assume, in any case, that hostility must originate in the sense of superiority? It could work in precisely the opposite way. From our perspective, boys *envy* girls and women. This would indicate the sense, or at least the suspicion, of *male inferiority*. And that in turn could easily generate hatred.

[47] The definition of "hate literature" includes any cultural production that provokes contempt and/or fear of a specific group; the latter are either inferior or dangerous to another group. The legal definition usually adds that hate literature incites violence. Feminist hate literature seldom incites violence (although there are exceptions) but it often incites legal measures that punish the targeted group.

[48] Dworkin saw herself a "radical" lesbian feminist, but many other feminists admired her nonetheless for "pushing the boundaries" of feminism and thus improving the lives of all women. She worked with Catharine MacKinnon in the anti-pornography movement.

[49] See, for example, Catharine MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989). MacKinnon is known as a "radical" feminist lawyer, but her radicalism has by no means left her on the fringes of legal theory. In fact, her books are standard items on course bibliographies in law school. Moreover, her influence has spread to Canada, whose government solicited her participation in the creation of anti-pornography legislation.

[50] See, for example, Mary Daly, *Gyn/ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978). Although many in her field, religion, consider Daly a "radical," her books on "thealogy" are standard items on the bibliographies of courses on women and religion.

[51] See, for example, Robin Morgan, *The Demon Lover: On the Sexuality of Terrorism* (New York, Norton, 1989). Morgan's point was that all men are terrorists at heart (and all women mothers at heart). In that case, the cause of enduring hostility in the Middle East is not conflict over religion or land, let alone oil, but the presence on both sides of maleness. Although Morgan is known as a "radical" feminist, she has played a central role in the larger feminist movement. Apart from anything else, she was the editor of *Ms Magazine* from 1989-1984. She can hardly be dismissed as a marginal figure in that world.

[52] See, for example, Marilyn French, *Beyond Power: On Men, Women, and Morality* (New York: Ballantine, 1985). French, too, was a radical. Like Morgan, however, she was hardly a marginal figure in the feminist world. On the contrary, he many books were extremely popular and influential.

[53] Nathanson and Young, *Spreading Misandry*, 3-19.

[54] Kimmel, 162.

[55] Kimmel, 262.

[56] Even when rape within marriage was not a crime, very few people believed that it was actually a

good thing.

57 Here is another example, one of many. Kimmel discusses children who return home after college to live with their parents instead of getting jobs. He wants to argue that this phenomenon supports his thesis of rampant immaturity among young men, but he cites evidence of it from both sexes (partly because he cannot deny that this phenomenon has become common among both sexes).

58 Kimmel, 8; see Rachel Simmons, *Odd Girl Out: The Hidden culture of Aggression in Girls* (New York: Harcourt, 2002) and Rosalind Wiseman, *Queen Bees and Wannabees: How to Help Your Daughter Survive Cliques, Gossip, Boyfriends, and Other Realities of Her Life* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2009).

59 Lillian Hellman, *The Children's Hour* (New York: Knopf, 1934).

60 *These Three* (William Wyler, 1936); *The Children's Hour* (William Wyler, 1961).

61 Jodee Blanco, *Please Stop Laughing at Me ... One Woman's Inspirational Story* (Avon, Mass.: Adams Media, 2003); Barbara Coloroso, *The Bully, the Bullied, and the Bystander: From Pre-School to High School: How Parents and Teachers Can Help Break the Cycle of Violence* (New York: HarperResource, 2003); Cheryl Dellasega and Charisse Nixon, *Girl Wars: 12 Strategies That Will End Female* Bullying (New York: Fireside, 2003); James Garbarino, *See Jane Hit: Why Girls Are Growing More Violent and What We Can Do About It* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006); Olivia Gardner with Emily and Sarah Buder, *Letters to a Bullied Girl: Messages of Healing and Hope* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008); Diane Senn, *Bullying in the Girl's World: A School-Wide Approach to Girl Bullying* (Chapin, S.C.: YouthLight, 2007; and Rachel Simmons, *Odd Girl Out: The Hidden Culture of Aggression in Girls* (Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt Books, 2002).

62 Kimmel, 81-82. This is one of Kimmel's favorite themes, and it recurs over and over again in *Guyland*. It originates, of course, in the Marxist theory of class struggle; the ruling class hoodwinks the working class into sabotaging its own class interest and thus prevents the Revolution. "Who benefits when girls are unsupportive and untrustworthy of each other, creating hierarchies to promote themselves at the expense of others? Who benefits from this lack of sisterhood" (Kimmel, 246)? Here is another example: "Make no mistake: Girls haze also. But they, too, do it to sustain the male hierarchy. That is, girls hazing girls, ultimately reflects and sustains the dominance of guys ... What's important here is not so much that girls can haze other girls – of course they can. It's that the hazing is so clearly about humiliating girls through subservience to boys" (Kimmel, 86). So that, presumably, is not as bad as humiliating boys through subservience to girls – which is precisely what a lot of hazing and bullying is about.

63 Bernhard Schlink, *The Reader*, trans. Carol Brown Janeway (1995; New York: Pantheon Books, 1997) and its cinematic version: *The Reader* (Stephen Daldry, 2008).

64 Kimmel quotes two girls to prove his point (Kimmel, 260).

[65] Kimmel, 192. This is another of Kimmel's favorite themes, and he repeats it many times in *Guyland* (also without substantiating it). For instance: "While guys spend their time posturing for the validation of other guys, the girls who live in Guyland spend their time working tirelessly for the validation and approval of those same guys. Guys have the parties, supply the alcohol, and set the terms of social life. If a girl wants to play, she has to play by their rules" (Kimmel, 245). No, she can play by other rules with or without other boys. "Though there are certainly exceptions," Kimmel continues, "it's hard to expect young women who are trying to find relationships, learn about their sexuality, and have fun on campus to buck the system to this extent" First, why expect *boys* to buck the system but not girls? Second, most girls are no more interested in finding "relationships" than boys are. And as for learning about their sexuality and having fun, girls can do those things just as boys do.

[66] Katherine K. Young and Paul Nathanson, "The Future of an Experiment," in *Divorcing Marriage: Unveiling the Dangers in Canada's New Social Experiment*, ed. Daniel Cere and Douglas Farrow (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 41-62.

[67] Barbara Dafoe Whitehead; quoted in Katherine Gilday, *Women and Men Unglued* (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 2003).

[68] Kimmel, 263.

[69] This would be possible in only two situations. Some students are content with low grade-point averages. And some colleges have lowered academic standards to the point that almost anyone could get a degree with minimal effort.

[70] *Gone with the Wind* (Victor Fleming, 1939) was and is enormously popular among women and somewhat less popular among men. And the most popular scene of all was the one in which Rhett carries Scarlett – over her strong objections – upstairs to the bedroom. The next scene shows Scarlett waking up with a happy grin on her face. Many people have written about this famous, or infamous, scene. It certainly implies that Scarlett enjoyed having sex with Rhett – even though she clearly said "no." Does this mean that many women want to be raped? No, because that would nullify the definition of rape. But it could means that many women enjoy *fantasies* of being raped? And it certainly means that "no" can be ambiguous in some circumstances. See Helen Taylor, Scarlett's Women: Gone with the Wind and Its Female Fans (London: Virago Press, 1989); Tom Kuntz, "Rhett and Scarlett: Rough Sex or Rape? Feminists Give a Damn," *New York Times*, 19 February 1995, IV-7.

[71] "Young women today," writes Kimmel in a disclaimer, "are more comfortable with their sexuality than any generation in history. There are certainly women who prefer hooking up to relationships. Women also hook up to avoid emotional entanglements that would distract them from their studies, professional ambitions, friendship networks, and other commitments. Or they hook up because they don't think they're ready for a commitment and they just want to hang out and have fun. *Yet* many also do it because it's the only game in town" (Kimmel, 202; our emphasis). Elsewhere, Kimmel says much the same thing but not as a disclaimer (Kimmel, 213, for instance, and 258). Our point, once again, is that hooking up is by no means the only game in town for girls – ex-

cept, perhaps, for those who consider themselves alpha-females and therefore seek out only alpha-males.

[72] See Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 177-178, 196-198, 209-210.

[73] Kimmel, 217-241. Kimmel refers to rape, however, in many other places.

[74] Kimmel, 259.

[75] See Kate Taylor, "Sex on Campus: She Can Play That Game, Too, *New York Times*, 12 July 2013. When girls do start acting like women, they usually do so in ways that involve a power game with rules that give at least as much power to themselves as it does to men. In exchange for reliable access to sexual activity, according to one cynical theory, men agree to marry women and assume responsibilities as the fathers (or at least the assistant mothers) of their children. This theory ignores the fact that both men and women can benefit in many additional ways by marrying and becoming parents, but it does make a useful point here.

[76] Kimmel, 197.

[77] Kimmel, 213.

[78] Kimmel, 215.

[79] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 177-180.

[80] Kimmel, 188.

[81] Peggy Giordano, Monica A. Longmore and Wendy D. Manning. "Gender and the Meanings of Adolescent Romantic Relationships: A Focus on Boys." *American Sociological Review* 71 (2006): 260-287; see also Lev Grossman, "The Secret Love Lives of Teenage Boys," *Time*, 27 August 2006, 25;

[82] Kimmel, 188.

[83] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 193-222.

[84] Nathanson and Young, *Legalizing Misandry*, 47, 83,197, 204, 222, 563n.54 and 617n.8.

[85] Some of these are new and others old. Women have accumulated a great deal of legal power over the past half century, for instance, but they have always had and used the power to manipulate men through shame.

[86] Alison M. Jaggar coined this word, and feminists have used it or closely related words – such as "womanchurch or "womanspirit" - very useful ever since.

[87] Kimmel refers admiringly in *Guyland* to the famous, or infamous, Code of Conduct at Antioch College (Kimmel, 240). This code requires explicit permission from sexual partners – that is, implicitly, from men - before touching, kissing, fondling or any other physical contact. Women across the country applauded. Men did not. Some complained, says Kimmel, that these requirements would prevent them from getting what they want. They could be wrong on that score, actually, because many women, like their great-grandmothers, might approve of men who ask permission for even the mildest flirting. But the real problem, which Kimmel ignores, is that this code turns behavior that presumes shared power into behavior that assumes monopolized power. Why is it okay for women to have sexual power but not for men to have it? There could be only one explanation for this double standard: that giving any power to men would be tantamount to promoting rape.

[88] "Sports talk," Kimmel believes, "is decidedly not politically correct. It's offensive – especially to women and gays. That's because much of sports talk turns out not to be about sports but about those other groups. Joking about gays and women, putting them down, this is the ground on which male sports bonding often takes place. It's hardly innocent; in fact, it has a kind of defensively angry tone to it. 'This is our space, dammit, and it's the last place where we can say what we really feel about them'" (Kimmel, 141). Indeed. But once again, boys are hardly alone when it comes to bonding over hostility toward other groups. That is the sine qua non, after all, of feminist "consciousness raising." But it is probably true of every group, at least to some extent, within a society that relies on identity politics.

[89] Kimmel, 134.

[90] "In the past couple of decades," writes Kimmel in *Guyland*, the scene of masculine resistance to women's entry has also shifted from the playing field to the locker room. All those female journalists, were they to have access to the locker room, might see men – gasp! – naked! How many blogs and sports-radio commentators – as well as threatened male athletes – have weighed in on that score, conveniently forgetting that women professionals do what any competent professional does – their job" (Kimmel, 128). But what would Kimmel say about *male* journalists entering locker rooms of *female* athletes? The same double standard exists in some prisons, where female guards may frisk male inmates but male guards may not frisk female inmates. It is hard to say how much either men or women value personal modesty in 2010, but that is not at stake in this context. At stake is the legal right of both men and women to demand it. Arguing, in effect, that male journalists (like their male viewers at home) are really after "only one thing," moreover, not only denies their professional competence but also supports the very frat-boy mentality that Kimmel attacks.

[91] Conflict over sports is not only a symbolic matter; it is also a financial one. "Even today," warns Kimmel, "the concern over the cutting of men's sports to achieve some warped vision of equality is but a surface-level mask over the efforts to push women back out of the athletic arena. Often it's simply a scare tactic to try to turn back the clock to pre-Title IX-mandated equality. It's as if women's sports and men's sports exist in a zero-sum universe, in which if women get more, men have to get less" (Kimmel, 137). But how does Kimmel know that? He provides no evidence to support his claim. Unless financial government funding for sports really were infinite, in any case, it could well be a zero-sum game.

[92] Kimmel, 90-94.

[93] Kimmel gives only one example in *Guyland*: "Some male teachers put down their female colleagues ... or support or ignore the teasing of bullying in their own classrooms as a way to enhance their own credibility with their male students" (Kimmel, 92). As if female teachers would never dream of putting down men in general or even the boys in their own classes for being unresponsive to feminist ideas.

[94] Kimmel, 275-278.

[95] "If mothers represent compassion, empathy, love, and nurturance ..." (Kimmel, 20).

[96] See Nathanson and Young, *Spreading Misandry*, 7-48.

[97] Two examples would be the Sambia and the Nambia. See Gilbert H. Herdt, *Guardians of the Flutes: Idioms of Masculinity* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981) and D.K. Feil, *The Evolution of Highland Papua-New Guinea Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[98] Kimmel, 280.

[99] Kimmel, 282.

[100] Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996).

[101] People have tried to legitimate rights by appealing to a divine order, to the natural order, to some moral or philosophical system, to reason, or simply to consensus.