

REPERTOIRES OF HETEROSEXUAL MASCULINITY; A DEPTH
HERMENEUTIC ANALYSIS OF THE MEN'S MOVEMENT

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 1990

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of


MASTER OF ARTS


in the Department of Sociology

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Supervisor: Dr. William Carroll

ABSTRACT

Through the application of depth hermeneutics, the thesis critically investigates the social-historical development, organization and discursive politics of the men's movement. The working hypothesis is that a pervasive disruption in the hegemonic cultural sensibilities of heterosexual masculinity can be located in the contextually-shifting politics of the men's movement. The "men's movement" is analyzed as three separate movements roughly delineated by the analytical categories: "critical," "reactionary" and "new age." Men's movement politics not only cover the terrain from radical to liberal perspectives, but also neo-conservative, and reactionary politics. The divergent political agendas coalesce around three distinct social movements: mytho-poetic, profeminist and men's rights. Using metaphor, narrative and frame analysis, four social movement organizations are explored. The analysis highlights how ideology is involved in moulding dissatisfactions and conflict into a politicized agenda, constructing personal and collective identities and specifying certain material and signifying resources, within a social-historical and discursive context.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many of my friends and colleagues contributed to this thesis through their support and encouragement. In particular I am very grateful to my thesis advisor Bill Carroll, his belief in the research project, and in my abilities, is deeply appreciated. I would also like to thank Holly Devor, my departmental member, and Evelyn Cobley and Warren Magnusson, for providing me with the expert knowledge, encouragement and critical insights I needed to investigate such a broad range of theory and research.

Many of my teachers also helped in this endeavour through valuable insights, comments and support. I greatly appreciate the guidance of Bill McCarthy, Rennie Warburton, David Gartrell, Cecilia Benoit, Mikael Jansson, Dan Koenig and Peter VanDergeest. In particular, thank you to Blye Frank and Gary Kinsman for their comments and perspectives on my work at Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association meetings.

I am glad to have had the opportunity to learn with a group of thoughtful and bright students in the UVic Sociology and CSPT Departments. My research benefited from shared knowledge, ideas and experiences in a politically diverse environment. I am thankful to student friends who were encouraging and inspirational, especially Gord Trenamen, Kelevelyn Hurley, Noreen Begoray, Doug Klassen, Monica Kendel, A.J. Parry, Lia Dower, Bernie Paille, Tu Wei, Leslie Kenny, Connie Carter, Barb Britton, Jim Overboe and Donna Harrison. I am especially grateful to my colleague Beverly Copes who provided me with many critical insights and perspectives.

I owe much to my friends and companions who helped me through some of the happiest and down right hellish times of my life encompassed by my time as a graduate student — especially Ingrid Bach, Darrell Atonichuk, Ana Bettencourt, Peter McDougall, Sharon Bennett, Andrew Seagram, Kathy Martin, Roberta Kennedy, Kevin Kennedy, Kristin McPeck and my brother Mike Allen-Newman.

Towards the end of his life my father, E.F. Allen-Newman, provided financial support to erase my accumulated debt upon graduation, Dr. Carroll, The Kiwanis Emergency Youth Shelter, Turning Point — Life Skills for Youth and the Sociology Co-Operative Education Program provided extensive support through valuable work experience and employment.

And, I am forever thankful to my mother, Georgine Allen-Newman and my grandmother, Lee Boruk for their kind words, friendship and wisdom.

for eugene and kevin — go gently into that good night

THE REPERTOIRES OF HETEROSEXUAL MASCULINITY: A DEPTH HERMENEUTIC ANALYSIS OF THE MEN'S MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

A Personal Beginning

This thesis grew out of my own experiential knowledge of heterosexual masculinity. Some time ago, I started to take a closer look at my own gender identity through my participation in the mytho-poetic men's movement. For years, I had "tried" out a range of identities connected to work, school or some future vision of what I could be. It seemed to me that I could "call up" a variety of these identities in various contexts to provide some assurance of my masculinity. My gut feeling was that these expressions of my self were more fictional than authentic. Sometimes I would write a list, as if I were simply a résumé of work, school, cultural, stylistic and future identities (e.g., student, machine gunner in the Canadian Scottish Regiment, future criminologist and external affairs officer, excellent health, British, enjoys riding motorcycles and so on).

My companion at this time, strongly affected how I perceived my self as a man. Her own feminist perspectives and experiences challenged me to rethink my ideas and beliefs about heterosexual masculinity. For example, I began to question my image of being a "provider" or as one who made the final decisions on things. Also, I began to see how her experiences and perspectives offered me something new. On one level, I began to question barriers and practices that prevented women and girls from being full participants in society. On another level, I began to see new ways of expressing myself as a man. For example, creating close friendships as opposed to isolating myself, identifying my feelings instead of suppressing them and accepting my core self, instead of re-enforcing my identity with tough and rugged narratives.

Unsettling is the best description I can think of when one begins to question something as personal as gender and sexuality. The men's group I joined provided me with a place to explore these feelings in a respectful and emotionally open space. I enjoyed and learned from the experiences, friendships and insights of members of my group, all of whom were older than me. The kinds of issues we explored included: interaction with our companions, nature of friendship, stresses of work-life, expressing our sexuality and a host of others. This process really cut against the grain of everything I thought it meant to be a man. "Real men" were not supposed to interact and connect in such an emotional and intimate way. The authenticity of these men was in their courage to face challenging issues, while still caring and valuing themselves and others.

Initially, I thought most of the men's movement groups were like the one I

attended; oriented to self-awareness, exploring one's sense of identity, participating in new age ritual and just spending time together as friends. However, it became apparent that not all of the groups were the same. Some groups were more reactive and threatened by what they perceived as "hunting season on men." In some contexts this meant "honoring" the opinions of members who portrayed violent men as victims of women's domination. At other times it meant framing the perspectives of gay or bisexual men as "over-reactive."

My involvement with these groups became more critical after two key events. The first occurred at a pivotal point in the development of Island Men's Network (IMN) a men only, mytho-poetic organization. It seemed to me and a number of other members that the harmful views and verbalized fantasies of some participants had become normalized views for all. This occurred when *Island Men* issued their newsletter on *Violence* in the Spring of 1992. The issue strongly presented reactionary masculinist currents. My impression was that many of the articles dissolved violence as a men's issue and placed responsibility for violence on feminists, mothers, and women who were victims of men's violence.

The second event occurred during a meeting of a men's right's group. A member exclaimed, "If a woman were to ask an ugly man to dance, rub up against him and get him hard, and then walk away, I would stand guard while he raped her." Such rhetoric was in line with other outbursts, such as, "Women who are afraid or are raped wear the most provocative clothes." Questioning these types of comments was often met with charges of "male-bashing" or "shaming" men.¹

In a support group, it makes sense for men to meet and to openly share their experiences and emotions — be they intimate or angry rhetoric. The desire to create a "safe" or compassionate place for men to explore their identities is a valuable aspect of the mytho-poetic movement. However, I think a certain complacency developed in some of the mytho-poetic groups I attended. It seemed to me that anger and resentment were enabled

¹ The metaphors of "male bashing" and "shaming" are commonly found in the discourses of the men's rights and mytho-poetic movements. Both metaphors fit into a broader cultural repertoire used to discredit women's demands for equality and feminist perspectives. Through my participation in a men's rights social movement organization, I found that male bashing is used to describe women and men who are identified as attacking men or applying put-downs to men. Those identified as male bashers are characterized as irrational, weak or oppressive. Most often feminists and profeminists are characterized as "male bashers" or "ball crushers" when articulating feminist perspectives, questioning masculinities or demanding women's equal rights. "Shaming" is more commonly used in mytho-poetic discourse. Shaming can be applied in a similar way to women or men who articulate feminist politics or question patriarchal masculinities. However, this metaphor situates those identified as shaming men in a more psycho-social context of mother-son relationships. This involves a metaphorical mother/woman psychically wounding a son through humiliation or ridicule.

and grew, often without critique or resolution. My own frustration at some members' inability to question the detrimental aspects of masculinity led me to participate in the profeminist movement. I became much more active in organizing profeminist drop-in meetings, protests, vigils and so on. As a result, I maintained a strong level of criticism along with several other members within IMN.² I believe this pressure led IMN to initiate a process of questioning sexism within the organization.

I tried to influence IMN by involving members of *Men, Mentoring and Networking* (a men's rights organization) in this process. I believed that communication between *Men, Mentoring and Networking* (MMAN) and IMN members could bring a new awareness of the potentially harmful aspects of the men's rights activities. Further, I believed that members of MMAN could be enlightened by some of the "soft" masculine sensibilities positively expressed in IMN (e.g., sharing experiences, creating an intimate space, non-hierarchical format, emphasis on affection, respect for individuals when they are speaking and so on). MMAN has dissolved as a social movement organization (SMO), but IMN continues as a popular SMO in Victoria, British Columbia.

The process of writing this thesis has also had an impact on my identity. At several key junctures in the research, I was challenged to explore my feelings of anger, confusion, homophobia, ambivalence and distrust towards men in general, towards feminist politics and, as I have discussed, towards my own sense of identity. In the first half of the research, I put myself in a position of interrogating my gender identity as a man. I became acutely aware and critical of my personal history of becoming a man. Sometimes I found myself in the position of explaining to other men how we could listen to what women are saying about issues like men's violence, and not simply react with disbelief and outrage. And, at the same time, I was outraged by perceptions of feminist politics that seemed to paint all men as violent abusers of women and children. Reconciling these feelings was part of my exploration of masculinity.

In the second half of my work, I observed a shift from interrogating my gender identity to questioning the basis of my sexuality. In many challenging discussions of my work with colleagues at Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association conferences and in classes on gender and sexuality I allowed myself to be open to new possibilities, especially bisexuality. I began to understand and overcome my own fears of homosexuality, by developing close, intimate relationships with other men. At times I did

² A list of general abbreviations used throughout the thesis can be found in Appendix J.

not know if I was heterosexual or bisexual. I felt it was necessary to be open to members of my family and friends about this process of interrogating my sexuality. While such experiences and transformations were unsettling and at times stressful, I believe this personal interrogative process gives my understanding of masculinity and heterosexuality a more grounded and thoughtful perspective.

Throughout my research I found that I am not alone in questioning and creating a new awareness of heterosexual masculinity. Many heterosexual men are in doubt about their identities and are threatened by cultural changes. I think that men need positive images of themselves, in various cultural contexts, in order to face issues like men's violence and structural privileges — without falling into the trap of blaming women.

When I began my research, I had a number of ethical concerns about the level of deception I was willing to engage in as a participant in the men's movement and as a researcher. The most effective way of reducing the level of deception was to be honest with participants. I frequently disclosed my interest in researching the men's movement to members of the groups in which I was participating. The possibility that my experiences could become part of an academic research project was consistently met with enthusiasm and encouragement. Some members of the mytho-poetic and men's rights organizations recognized my skills as a potential resource for their own political projects; this despite knowledge of my profeminist views.

I chose to gather my data on the men's movement through an ethnographic methodology that integrates my experiences in the men's movement with the use of textual data. Ethnography was appropriate to the context of this research for several reasons: (1) little is known about the politics and organization of the various men's movements; (2) there is no coherent and grounded typology that one can rely on as accurately describing "the men's movement;" (3) much of what occurs in the various organizations is obscured from outsiders and hidden from public view; and (4) ethnographic methods expose cultural sensibilities, ritual processes, social networks and social meanings. I have also combined a range of social theory, textual methodology and research on heterosexuality and masculinity. I found that I could link these approaches into a flexible framework, depth hermeneutic analysis, which I will describe in detail later.

On Quick Sand: A View of the Men's Movement and Cultural Change

A number of social forces have brought members of the men's movement together to explore their own identities. The women's movement and the gay and lesbian liberation movement have had a profound impact on the hegemonic meanings and practices of hetero-masculinity. Even the most anti-feminist discourses of the men's movement acknowledge feminist insights and ideas. Similarly, heterosexual members of the men's movement are less able to discuss masculinity as only being connected to heterosexuality. In effect, it is increasingly difficult for heterosexual men to discuss their own identities without being politically conscious of the discourses of feminism and gay and lesbian politics. This has resulted in a powerful disruption of hetero-masculine ideology which until recent decades was rarely questioned.

The cultural sensibilities encoded into the expression of masculinity are changing from fixed and universal codes to pluralistic and fluid ones. Evidence of this transformation is found in the framing of movement strategies and identities. Some members of both the mytho-poetic and profeminist movements are most ardent in their rejection of the notion of a universal and fixed modern identity and favour pluralistic identities that affirm difference. Some men's groups encourage members to be emotionally open with other men, to value gentle masculinities and to reduce the need to be competitive and controlling — the opposite sensibilities of those valued in modern man. Such cultural resistances occur during unique moments, in which identity is disrupted or put into question. For example, the new age ritual groups of the mytho-poetic movement are a response to what the participants perceive as a crisis of manhood. The members of the mytho-poetic movement pluralize hetero-masculinity into a series of possible identities in order to explore the cultural face of manhood. Similarly, the collectivist organization of the profeminist movement disrupts the dominant meanings of hetero-masculinity continually questioning masculinity and by valuing non-oppressive identities.

The significance of pluralizing fixed hetero-masculine identities within an experimental context of a social movement is that the dominant cultural repertoire of hetero-masculinity *may* expand beyond that prescribed by patriarchal ideology (e.g., being the sole provider, dominant decision-maker, heterosexual, etc.). With legitimate alternative identities, the ideology of hetero-masculinity — the patriarchal sensibilities of how to be a man — become less certain or are somewhat disrupted. However, *it is important to remember that simply pluralizing identity without a critical perspective on power relations can also have the opposite effect — that of reconstructing patriarchal identities.* The

implication is the need to focus on the extra-discursive face of patriarchal ideology, that is the social structures. The paradox facing many men's movement activists is that simply changing the meanings or language of hetero-masculinity does not simply correlate with a change in social structures.

Yet, a disruption of patriarchal masculinity is a crucial step since it opens *opportunities* for men to challenge and reject oppressive social structures, such as those involving violence, racism, or economic exploitation. My research into the men's movement, not as a single unified movement, but as a fragmented and competing movement politics, provides some evidence of this shift in the interpretation and expression of hetero-masculinity — from a culture that was fixed and universal to cultures that are pluralistic and changing.

This thesis critically investigates the social-historical development, organization and discursive politics of the men's movement. I conceptualize these politics as a representative "micro-culture" of wider societal expressions of hetero-masculinity. *My working hypothesis is that a pervasive disruption in the hegemonic cultural sensibilities of hetero-masculinity can be located in the politics of the men's movement.* A popular picture of masculine identity is one that paints manhood as heterosexual, essentialistic and universal. In contrast, the framing strategies within the men's movement reveals a picture of masculinity that is fragmented, competing and disunified. *In the context of wider cultural changes, I believe that this disruption primarily stems from the impact of feminist politics and a transformation of sensibilities encoded in the construction of gender and sexuality (e.g., a pluralization of "masculinity" into "masculinities").*

Since the social practices of participants in the men's movement involve an ability to create and articulate new identities and new solidarities, I apply the concept of "the men's movement" only on a descriptive level. For analytical purposes I draw on Warren Magnusson and Rob Walker's (1988) complex distinction between "critical" and "reactionary" social movements. A central tenant of Magnusson's and Walker's work is that movements articulate a contextually-shifting politics. For example, men's rights activists may articulate patriarchal sensibilities in one context, but not in others. As I will discuss in Chapter One, these contextually-shifting categories are useful in comparative work that investigates progressive social movements (e.g., profeminist) with their responsive countermovements (e.g., men's rights). Pauline Marie Rosenau (1992) provides an insightful third category that describes the mytho-poetic movement as a "new age postmodern movement." This category helps to delineate the fragmented and

heterogeneous politics of the mytho-poetic movement. Finally, Barry Adam (1993) divides new social movements (NSM) into two facets or political currents, (1) a politics of identity and (2) a socialist politics of transformation. This opens a way to distinguish the mytho-poetic movement from the profeminist movement, both of which I argue are NSMs.

I argue that all three social movements — mytho-poetic, profeminist and men's rights — draw on divergent and competitive mobilization strategies and discursive politics to contest, replicate and transform hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. For example, IMN, an SMO in the mytho-poetic movement, draws heavily on cultural sensibilities which claim to free men from the constraints and challenges of hegemonic hetero-masculinity. These challenges are reflected in member's attempts to resist the hegemonic sensibility that men are emotionally closed individualists, to break with hierarchical organization and to respect political diversity.

*The Movement for the Establishment of Real Gender Equality (MERGE) and MMAN, both SMOs in the men's rights movement, generally employ reactionary strategies aimed at closing challenges to hetero-masculinity and solidifying conventional images of family, while at the same time questioning some aspects of the hegemonic ideology (by supporting women in leadership or intellectual roles, for example). In a fascinating twist, these groups often displace their concerns with dominant modes of masculinity to frame the women's movement as the main problem in terms of victimizing men, usurping men's power and setting up double standards on gender issues. This is a central strategy in the men's rights movement. By refocusing on feminists as the root problem, activists are able to articulate a politics that does little to challenge patriarchal ideology. One typical men's rights frame questions the cultural sensibilities that delegate men to be providers as opposed to care-givers. Yet, instead of delineating how men may broaden their roles as care-givers, the men's rights activists point to feminists as conspiring to block men's access to care-giving. In contrast the profeminist SMOs, such as *The Men's Network for Change* (MNC) articulate oppositional strategies oriented to subverting oppressive practices and privileged positions that members claim heterosexual men occupy.*

Methodology and Definitions

I have used movement newsletters, movement texts, and the work of Blye Frank (1987), Holly Devor (1989) and Mike Donalson (1993) to identify the core sensibilities of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. These cultural sensibilities prescribe the legitimate ways of expressing gender and identity, e.g., the general sense of how one "should" be a heterosexual man. I have described these sensibilities throughout my study. In the context of the newsletters, I applied a coding schema to gather empirical data on what members identify as the core sensibilities that involve dominance of heterosexual men over other identifiable groups, such as women, men in general, gays and lesbians, single mothers and so on. As I describe in Chapter Two, the academic work of Frank and Donalson provides a theoretical framework for conceptualizing the patriarchal ideology of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. Devor's work provides both a theoretical framework and an empirical basis for identifying a dominant gender schema which I also discuss in Chapter Two. In order to fully interrogate a dominant gender schema from the perspective heterosexual men, I have identified it as a hegemonic struggle — one that works to privilege the identities of heterosexual men over other people.

Throughout, I have conceptualized "gender" and "gender identity" as being distinguishable from "sex," "sex identity," "sexuality," and "sexual identity." This is based on Devor's (1989) distinctions of: (1) "gender" as referring to a person's identified or attributed social status as either a man (boy) or a woman (girl), (2) "gender identity" as being attributed "by oneself, as in 'I am a man,'" (3) "sex" as referring "to one's biological status as having one or the other set of primary sexual characteristics, i.e., male or female," (4) "sex identity" as referring to "a person's acceptance of their membership in a particular sex category as either a male or female, as when people say of themselves, 'I am a female,'" (vii). Following this classification of terms, "sexuality" is referred to as an identified or attributed social experience *linked* with gender, desires, practices and relational styles. This approach to sexuality uncouples the strong bond with sex, which is prescribed by "the dominant gender schema," i.e., "...the biological facts of sex determine the gender that a person will be as well as the sex/gender of the persons they will find sexually attractive" (Devor, work in progress: 7). I also attempt to break with the binary construction of masculine and feminine identity by pluralizing these gender constructions. Therefore when I discuss masculine identities I am intending to make a first step away from a unified, fixed and universal view of "manhood."

Based on the theoretical framework in Chapter Two, I explore heterosexual

masculinities as *socially constructed cultural sensibilities*. These sensibilities vary over time and in different cultural contexts. I use the term cultural sensibility to capture the socially constructed meanings or conventions that are part of the expression of identity. I apply a critical concept of "hegemonic heterosexual masculinity" as a symbolic form or ideology which places limits on what can be spoken, what sensibilities can be articulated and ultimately what actions take place in the expression of gender and sexuality.³ Hegemonic heterosexual masculinity offers a repertoire of privileged identities that can be interpellated by members of society (as in "I make the decisions in this family because I am the man," or "look at that limp wristed faggot").

As I discuss in Chapter Two, interpellation involves the acceptance and articulation of an ideological point of view or identity.⁴ An example is the way in which some men define themselves as "real" men and other men as "soft" or weak.⁵ The interpellation of hegemonic ideologies involving dominance *always* privileges one group (e.g., "real" heterosexual men) over a subordinated other group (sissies, women, or gays).

Just because heterosexual men are privileged in society does not mean all men see themselves as benefiting from patriarchy. Members of all three movements question the supposed benefits they receive by identifying themselves heterosexual men — like, going to war, lack of involvement in child care, violence against men, shorter life expectancy, etc. The way activists in each movement frame these issues (e.g., through their use of narrative and metaphor) varies significantly. This means the semiotic skills and rules of interpreting and expressing identity and ideology vary across movements. At times members are critical of patriarchal ideology; sometimes they are resistant and at others they are, as in the example to follow, in complicity with the dominant sensibilities. In other words, members of the men's movement identify wide ranging cultural repertoires or subjectivities as opposed to a single, universal expression of what it means to be a man.

In the following comments the member clearly does not identify as a member of a

³ As a short hand of "hegemonic heterosexual masculinity", I will also use the phrase "patriarchal ideology." Similarly, I will use "hetero-masculinity" for "heterosexual masculinity."

⁴ As I discuss in Chapter Two interpellation is a specific form of interpreting of ideology as one's own subjectivity or identity.

⁵ The term "subjectivity" is central to the theory of interpellation. I use the concept of identity interchangeably with subjectivity.

privileged group: "It is often the female culture that is the culprit for women's oppressions, not patriarchy...men are simply not the enemy; women need to look within for the real enemy and oppressor" (Ogilvie, Winter 1993: 6). This mytho-poetic participant draws on a discursive strategy that frames women as the "true" oppressors or sexists. The interpretive process at work here simply reverses the identification of men as maintaining a privileged position by framing women as the real oppressors through their central involvement in care-giving. In his words, "Feminists deny the natural superiority of women in emotional power and manipulation, and therefore the control that women have over men and children" (Ogilvie, Winter 1993: 6). Hegemonic heterosexual masculinity reflects the many complex ways through which heterosexual men can actively acquire and maintain consensual support for their privileged social positions and this includes discursive strategies, as illustrated above.

The significance of deploying the concept of hegemonic hetero-masculinity is to understand how members of the three men's movements frame challenges to their identities, i.e., the ways that members interpret patriarchal ideology within a social-historical context.

Textual Organization

In Chapter One, "Social-Historical Development of the Men's Movement," I provide an historical analysis of the men's movement and of how the various political trajectories formed into distinct movements, as well as an understanding of the impact of some of the surrounding social structures and the opportunities for collective action. This chapter emphasizes the emergence of consciousness-raising groups in the early 1970s. The analysis explores three divergent political trajectories of the profeminist, men's rights and mytho-poetic movements. A detailed discussion of my justification for defining three separate movements over a single unified social movement is provided.

In Chapter Two, "Theorizing Hegemonic Heterosexual Masculinity," I bring the critical concepts of ideology, interpellation and hegemony together. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the practical, *theoretical tools* necessary to understand hegemonic heterosexual masculinity.⁶

In Chapter Three, "Research Methodology," I explain the application of "depth hermeneutic analysis" (Thompson, 1990). John Thompson's methodology is central to the

⁶ Chapter Two like the other sections of my thesis is guided by specific research questions which are outlined in Appendix A.

organization of this thesis and dictates three analytical phases to be followed: a social-historical analysis, a discursive analysis and a re-interpretation of findings. The first chapter, a social-historical overview of the men's movement, and the fourth chapter, a comparative analysis of movement organizations and mobilization strategies, make up the first phase of the depth hermeneutic analysis. As well, I discuss the main *analytical tools* that I use to conduct my analysis, namely: frame, narrative and metaphor analysis.

Chapter Four, "Comparative Analysis of Movement Organizations and Mobilization Strategies," builds on the social-historical analysis by identifying (1) the organization of SMOs and mobilization of resources, (2) the mobilization strategies and methods by which SMOs take advantage of political opportunities and (3) the process of frame alignment (i.e., the link between individual and collective identities). Finally, I emphasize the most recent developments in these movements, focusing especially on the popularity of the mytho-poetic movement and the reactionary strategies of the men's rights groups.

In the second phase of the depth hermeneutic analysis, I draw on new social movement theory to explore the discursive analysis in Chapter Five, "Discursive Analysis of the Core Framing Tasks within Social Movement Organizations." This chapter entails a discursive analysis of men's movement texts (newsletters, books about men, letters, conference material, etc.) in three SMOs.

The "Conclusion: A Re-Interpretation of Findings" is the last part of the depth hermeneutic approach. This phase involves a creative interpretation or as Thompson calls it, a re-interpretation of the preceding phases. The focus of this chapter is to re-interpret my findings in the previous phases with regard to the hypothesis that a pervasive disruption in patriarchal ideology is apparent within the political context of the three men's movements.

Relevance of the Thesis

This work is timely in several respects. In the first place, the critical study of men and masculinity in sociology and cultural studies has only recently begun to take shape. Theorists and researchers are predominantly drawing from feminist, postmodernist and critical theories. Careful attention needs to be given in constructing new concepts like hegemonic heterosexual masculinity (e.g., in terms of deflecting challenges to masculine privilege).

Second, the rise of what I broadly term the men's movement offers a unique chance to explore questions of masculine identity in an intriguing social context (i.e., three social movements centering on creating and recreating masculinities). Specifically, it is interesting

that the various approaches (i.e., mytho-poetic, profeminist and men's rights) clearly support competing strategies in relation to hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. This diversity within and across each movement allows for unique insights into broader societal trends. The competitive political projects apparent in the three movements puts into question research grounded on the notion of a unified men's movement.

Third, the men's movement is not well documented from a sociological perspective. This project strives to explore the different paths many men have taken in response to social and political changes in society, for example, to the women's movement. An understanding of how men are changing their expressions of gender, either in progressive or in oppressive ways in relation to women, children and other men is needed. Ultimately, what this study promises is to contribute to the understanding of hetero-masculinity as a gender or subjectivity. As well as, to investigate the way men express diverse and pluralistic gender identities (e.g., abusive, liberating, resistive, etc.), and how men are positioned with certain privileged in sex, gender and economic systems. Most importantly, I wish to identify men as subjects who have the ability to make progressive changes through their own actions.

Finally, the analytical methods that I employ offer unique insights into the social construction of meaning and communication processes. Frame, narrative and metaphor analyses are relatively unexplored as sociological methodology. I wish to further develop these methods in the context of a discursive analysis, and also to better understand the limitations of applying literary and linguistic approaches in the study of the social construction of identity.

CHAPTER ONE

SOCIAL-HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEN'S MOVEMENT

In the last decade or so,..., three different types of men's groups have come into being. The first group was and is a feminist part of the men's movement that has tended to adopt the women's movement agenda. The second group which developed speaks of 'men's rights' and 'free men.' Many of these men are angry over a divorce and the loss of their children. In the early eighties a third approach to men's gatherings emerged, influenced by Robert Bly and his articles on 'The Wildman.' This became the 'Mythopoetic Approach' which Robert Bly, Shepherd Bliss and Michael Meade continue to be active in (Winkelmans, Summer 1991: 4).

The "men's movement" is best analyzed as three separate movements roughly delineated by the analytical categories: "critical," "reactionary" and "new age" (Magnusson and Walker, 1988; and Rosenau, 1992).⁷ One of the most interesting sides to men's movement politics is the range of discourses not only cover the terrain from radical to liberal perspectives, as can be seen in the women's or gay and lesbian liberation movements, but also neo-conservative and reactionary politics. The divergent political agendas point to an exploration of three distinct social movements, and as a consequence, limits the concept of "the men's movement" to descriptive, rather than analytical purposes.

Magnusson and Walker distinguish between critical and reactionary social movements. They argue that: "...critical movements refuse the opposition between identity and difference...[c]ritical movements are open and experimental. It is this open and experimental character that enables them to challenge the structures and practices of bourgeois society — including the ones that relegate 'socialist politics' to a safe terrain" (Magnusson and Walker, 1988: 60). On the other hand, "[r]eactionary movements attempt to cancel difference, and enforce closure" (Magnusson and Walker, 1988: 60).

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald criticize that this division treats countermovements as reactionary and typically, critical movements as progressive. These authors suggest, that such a framework may lead to contradictory findings (1988: 721). For example, in the

⁷ Most studies of the men's movement mistakenly analyze it in terms of "factions", "wings" or "splinter groups." The problem with this approach is the essentialized premise that men are inherently connected by their sex as males and following from this, connected by a universal gender identity as "men." Instead, members form together in various social movement organizations based on their politics, interpretations of culture, and life experiences in work environments, family, relationship, and other related contexts.

course of researching MERGE, a reactionary men's rights SMO, I noticed that members sometimes draw on feminist discourses, for example, to critique tobacco industry advertizing geared to encourage women and girls to smoke. This was perplexing given the strong opposition to feminism and to societal changes impacting on family structures and gender relations. At first, my inclination was to ignore the submerged feminist perspectives and to highlight the dominant men's rights frames.

In resolving this apparent contradiction, I also draw on Magnusson and Walker's insight that "[s]pecific movements may be critical [or reactionary] at some times, in some ways, and in some places, but not in others" (Magnusson and Walker, 1988: 60). Consequently, members of reactionary movements do not require a critical movement to articulate their politics, but invoke closed meanings on various constructs. For example, the reactionary activists of the men's rights movement attempt to fix universal definitions of family and gender identity. Therefore issues that do not disrupt the notion of family or the conventional sensibilities of manhood, like the tobacco industry influencing girls to smoke, may be articulated by MERGE members. In the case of MERGE, it is also necessary to have articles that focus on women in order to represent the SMO as supporting "real gender equality."

This contextually-shifting typology is an attempt to avoid the type of reification criticized by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald. Magnusson and Walker's strategy is based on the understanding that *nothing is fixed in social or political life*. This strategy raises questions about research that "freezes" the boundaries of discourses and it encourages theorists to be critical about their own categories in relation to complex social relations.⁸

⁸ These lessons are incorporated into my analysis of the men's movement. For example, as I demonstrate, men's rights organizations express some of the most anti-feminist and anti-women dogma, yet some SMOs such as MERGE, encompass both men and women in membership. Members of MERGE see this gender mix as a necessary strategy for equality. In attempting to achieve their aim of articulating a discourse of "real gender equality," they sometimes print articles that serve feminist and profeminist ends and some of their articles draw on profeminist and feminist discourses. And, while men's rights groups reframe gender issues, like violence, as equality issues, their strategy, which draws on a rights discourse, unavoidably leads members to discuss gender within a political field outlined by feminist politics. For example, members find it difficult to discuss "domestic violence" that does not acknowledge a feminist position on violence. Finally, each movement is in some way critical of patriarchal ideology, although they articulate different perspectives with respect to cause and strategy. For example, many of the mytho-poetic groups acknowledge the need for men to be emotionally open, to break with controlling modes of masculinity, and to explore their personal experiences in a non-hierarchical formate. Some of these groups break with leaders like Robert Bly and Sheperd Bliss to construct mytho-poetics as affirmative postmodern politics — one that is profeminist and gay affirmative. For these men the fears of softness or weak masculine identities are not problematic. Where Bly or Bliss would argue that men need a space to be free from a female-dominated

Rosenau's identification of "new age postmodern social movements" adds a third category. The concept of "new age" gives a clearer image of the mytho-poetic movement in relation to one of the other NSMs in this study, the profeminist movement. Despite the eclectic nature of postmodern activists, Rosenau suggests that they tend to agree along a number of politically relevant sensibilities. These postmodern sensibilities include: "...a rejection of modern science, a questioning of the modern idea of progress, a refusal to affiliate with any traditional, institutionalized political movements that have what they consider a 'totalizing ideology' and an abandonment of logocentric foundational projects with comprehensive solutions — be they liberal, centrist, or conservative" (1992: 144). Rosenau argues that new age sensibilities encapsulate emotional, irrational, mystical, magical and spiritual sensibilities in the organization and discourses of what she refers to a "postmodern social movements" (Rosenau, 1992: 149). All these sensibilities are embodied in the mytho-poetic movement. For example, members search for deeper inspirational messages that come from within and are mediated through myth, fairy tales, poetry, mentoring and so on.

As I earlier discussed, Adam adds a further nuance to this typology, pointing out that NSMs are made up of two facets or political currents: a politics of identity and a socialist politics of transformation (1993: 330). In terms of identity politics, Adam specifies how forms of "cultural nationalism" serve to validate identity politics for a host of people. This form of identity politics is evident within the mytho-poetic discourses, at the heart of which is a search for and celebration of manhood. Like most social movements, the mytho-poetic SMOs are composed of a series of *submerged networks*, that is, private connections or relationships that form within an SMO.⁹ For example, men's support groups, editorial collectives, men's drop-in groups, poetry groups and so on). Within these networks members are able to experiment with different ways of looking at masculinity.

The mytho-poetic networks characteristically express a contradictory politics of identity. Mytho-poetic members valorize pluralistic masculinities, contest dominant codes, such as those associated with hegemonic heterosexual masculinity, and paradoxically,

world, some mytho-poetic members see their meeting as a dissolving harmful aspects of masculinity, e.g. to express more sensitive and caring masculinities and to be closer to women and children in their lives.

⁹ Melucci quite accurately argues that "[c]ontemporary collective action assumes the form of networks *submerged* in everyday life. Within these networks there is experimentation with and direct practice of alternative frameworks of sense, in consequence of a personal commitment which is submerged and almost invisible" (1988: 248).

replicate an essentialized hetero-masculinity. For example, some participants support the essentialist belief that initiated men are natural warriors, providers and decision-makers. Fundamentally, this movement is united by new age activities focusing on a *heightened self-awareness* of what members describe as the "true roots" of masculine identity. It is this metaphor of searching for the *roots* of masculinity that leads some members to an essentialistic and conventional sense of masculinity. For other members the pluralism of a metaphorical *search* continually opens spaces for constructing diverse masculinities.

In terms of the socialist facet, Adam argues that movement politics involves a sustained critical struggle for change. In my study this facet characterizes the profeminist movement. Members articulate oppositional political strategies and a progressive agenda for change, supporting the women's movement. Like the mytho-poetic movement, profeminist activists are open to experimental strategies. For instance, use of poetry to explore identity issues, exploration of personal narratives, or more broadly, the formation of coalitions with other movements such as, labour, Aboriginal movement, feminism, etc. Significantly, this movement is united by a consistently critical opposition to patriarchal ideology.

The men's rights movement does not fit either of these characterizations. It is not an identifiable NSM, but a backlash movement. In the context of the analysis a backlash movement primarily draws on reactionary strategies constructed in opposition to feminist and socialist politics. Specifically, the men's rights movement addresses the strategies and challenges raised by feminism, drawing on a politics of "rights," and on conventional organization and mobilization strategies such as centralized leadership and top-down hierarchies.

Emergence of the Men's Movement

Many academics and writers of men's studies literature agree that the men's movement originated in the late sixties and early seventies as the men's branch of the feminist movement. At that time, a small, mainly heterosexual men's movement, emerged in North America and some parts of Europe, with or along side the much more articulated and organized gay and lesbian and women's movements (Goldman, May-June 1991; Clay, September 1991; Carrigan et al., 1987; Astrachan, 1986). Members of the men's movement initially drew together as a way of understanding and responding to: (1) social and political problems raised by the more articulated NSMs, (2) new opportunities for mobilizing a progressive and reactionary politics, (3) and structural changes in society,

(Faludi, 1991, Clatterbaugh, 1990: 1; Tolson, 1977: 10; Carrigan et al, 1987; Astrachan, 1986).

A dramatic "social revolution" occurred which altered the collective understanding of human social interactions, in some sectors of North American society. Significant changes in how people viewed gender and sexuality occurred which influenced the formation of men's groups. These changes included: (1) precipitating factors to the 1960s, e.g., women's increasing participation in the paid work force and higher education and the development of oral and other contraceptives, and (2) influences surfacing in the 1960s through the "sexual revolution" and the development of the second wave of feminism.

Since the 1920s, women's participation in the paid work force has increased. A particularly dramatic, but temporary increase occurred during World War Two. Still, many women remained in the work force at the end of the war and many others experienced employment outside the home. According to Feree and Hess (1985), by the end of the 1960s large numbers of women had grown up in homes with the experience of having a paid, working mother.

Women who worked for wages gained a new ability to leave unwanted relationships. While this allowed some men to escape the responsibility of providing financial support to their former companions and children, it also weakened the control men had over women in heterosexual relationships. It became possible for women to support themselves, without men. Similarly, women's increasing participation in higher education impacted on women's independence. Women who pursue higher education were more likely to remain unmarried, tended to have fewer children and earned higher income levels (Feree and Hess, 1980).

The development of the pill and other forms of contraception gave many women more control over reproduction. The "sexual revolution" of the 1960s, changes in family and economic structures, also had a major impact on the formation of men's groups. The cultural upsurge which occurred throughout the 60s and 70s resisted both religious and class prescriptions for closed, life-long heterosexual relationships and the dominance of heterosexuality as the legitimate and natural expression of human sexuality. Some women found new freedom in their sexual lives. Women asserted their right to be free of the control of men and other societal institutions. For example, women could legally choose and access abortion services and divorce processes.

For some men these changes opened up opportunities for profeminist mobilization in the form of consciousness-raising groups, protests and newsletters. One prominent

profeminist activist, Jack Sawyer, is poignantly described as speaking the "spirit of the sixties" which "seemed revolutionary to many of the men" (Astrachan, 1986: 291). Sawyer argued, "...that one-half of the human race should be dominant and the other half submissive is incompatible with a notion of freedom" (Astrachan, 1986: 291). This early articulation of profeminism identified masculinity as a social problem. Members of the early profeminist movement:

...conceded that American society is sexist, that women are objectified sexually and excluded from many if not most, areas of power that are open to men. They maintained that men's lives, too, are greatly affected by this system of male dominance and that men are competitive, emotionally isolated from one another and their families, and overtly involved in work and sports. They rejected the conservative idea that traditional gender roles are either natural or necessary to civilized society (Clatterbaugh, 1990: 37).

Arising from these activities, activists engaged in a critique of both gender roles and patriarchal power structures. Throughout its formation, the profeminist movement maintained strong alliances with the women's movement and feminist politics. Many men came to profeminism through the impact of feminism on their lives. The women's movement articulated women's demands for equality and power in all spheres of society, challenged the assumptions of the social structures of patriarchy and put into question many cultural assumptions held to be natural in contemporary society. For example, these challenges have called into question conventional sensibilities of heterosexual relationships (e.g., man as the provider, marriage that is for life, women as fragile and passive, etc.), as well as practices that were thought to be normal and acceptable behavior for men (e.g., being emotionally closed, physical and psychological control over women, wife battering, marital rape, etc.).

The most salient influence on the profeminist movement was seeing powerful women asserting themselves. Tolson recounts the formation of a men's group in which he participated during the early 1970s:

For many liberal middle-class men, the growth of a feminist consciousness represented a challenge. At the time our group was formed we sensed a collective spirit among the women we knew. It seemed that their lives were opening out — into new groups, experimental relationships, and forms of political action. Their solidarity was carried over into family life, demanding a constructive attitude from men to women's independence. As men, we felt trapped in our own exclusion — not because we were excluded from women's activities, but because we had no equivalent 'liberation' for

ourselves. Together, we would fall into the conventional 'matiness' of the pub, a mutual backslapping, designed to repress as much as it expresses. It was impossible to talk to other men about personal feelings, weakness or jealousy. A masculine 'mask of silence' concealed the emptiness of our emotional lives (1977: 10).

Another factor in the formation of these early consciousness-raising and support groups was the perception that men needed to gather together because of their identification as "males." Many claimed it was their sex that was the unifying factor. As the above narrative suggest, it is more likely the case that the underlying the commonality of members was their politics, life experiences and cultural interpretations of hetero-masculinity, and not simply being of the male sex. First, the women's movement focused sharply on patriarchy. This impacted the consciousness raising groups by refocusing the movement on men's power and privilege through patriarchy (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1987: 150-152). Second, because the activities of men's groups were tied in with the radical wing of the anti-war movement there was an emphasis on peace. These men's movement activists were critical of men's participation in war and argued that it lead to the oppression of women, destruction of the environment and the war in Vietnam (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1987: 151).

According to Carrigan, Connell and Lee, the men who were drawn to these men's groups were often white, university educated, new left activists (1987: 160). It is difficult to identify just how many of these groups existed in North America, but many writers suggest that their growth was reflected in two significant events in 1970: the opening of the Berkeley Men's Centre and Sawyer's publication of *Liberation*, a profeminist movement newsletter (Astrachan, 1986: 291).

The attention within the men's movement to men's power and privilege over women and other men shifted in the 1970s to the questions of traditional male sex roles and other related concerns (Astrachan, 1986: 291). Even Sawyer makes it clear that male dominance was a product of sex role stereotyping and therefore emphasized the need to transform social roles. With this new emphasis, broken relationships, male competitiveness, family structure and so on was framed as a product of sex role socialization and stereotypes and not as a result of power discrepancies between men and women.

Another political opportunity created by these sexual and social changes was the formation of men's and father's rights organizations in the seventies and eighties. These reactionary groups found support in institutional discourses that defined the nuclear family

and heterosexuality as an ideal, e.g., the social services, medical, educational, religious and the justice systems. In various contexts many men have found it difficult to chart out new roles for themselves. As well, many women have clung to the security and status of some types of relationships with men. Consider the following narratives. The first and second point to victimization of men through child-custody and divorce procedures and the third and fourth highlight the confusion and experience of defining new identities and practices.

It is possible in law that, after living with someone for just two years a person may attempt to take half the partner's property with them on leaving. When marriage is involved it can happen even faster. When children are involved, the courts routinely award the home, spousal and child support to the woman, and leave the man devastated. This kind of trauma is so common now that it hardly attracts surprise— and yet it is an outrageous violation of trust and abuse of the law in which men are almost always the victims (Batterbury, Spring 1992: 18).

One result of our system of distancing children from their father and tying them more firmly to their mother has been that certain attitudes are taken for granted in our culture: that children are basically property of their mothers, that they really don't much need their fathers — except for financial support — and that their fathers don't really much love or need them. All these ideas are tragically mistaken; in the context of divorce and out-of-wedlock birth, they are often particularly tragic (Christensen, May-June 1992: 3).

Today, the financial devaluation and diminished status of 'women's work' — homemaking — has resulted in a correlating child displacement fear for women: the fear of losing her attractiveness through childbearing, of consequently being replaced, as a sexual partner, by her children's father,... (Robertson, May-June 1992: 2).

On the other hand, it seems that we men have taken a back seat in the area of self-awareness and are in danger of being left behind by the feminist movement. Today it would seem a lot of confusion exists on what it means to be a male and how we should relate to women in light of their feminist awakening (Winkelmans, Summer 1991: 4).

Arising from the crisis of masculinity identified by the male liberationists was the need for eradication of traditional male sex roles and identities, and the creation of new positive role models. A major criticism of the sex role framework is that it is incoherent and theoretically unstable. For example, researchers shifted between psychological and biological arguments to explain social interaction and cultural changes without a clear delineation of theoretical boundaries (Carrigan et al, 1987: 145). Consequently, problems of masculinity could appear in some contexts (such as men's access to children) and

disappear in others (like levels of men's violence) without any compelling evidence or logical consistency. Many members of the men's rights movement use this framework as a political strategy — prominent among them members is Warren Farrell. I have applied the concept of "movement intellectual" to Farrell because of his representation as an icon in movement discourse and since he was one of the most active organizers of men's groups at this time (Eyerman and Jameson, 1991).¹⁰

Warren Farrell argued that the political radicalism of the early men's movement was incompatible with men's liberation. Farrell moved towards a perspective that denied the existence of patriarchal structures. His account emphasized how men and women are equally afflicted by traditional gender roles, such that women were not any more oppressed as men, and were equally oppressive (Clatterbaugh, 1990: 160; also see Carrigan et al, 1987: 960). This discursive strategy was qualitatively different from his earlier profeminist views:

In a medical school classroom, he takes a seat before fifteen pupils. 'Okay, so as we discussed last week, until the sixties, women were economically secure in marriage. As long as it was a lifetime arrangement, the system worked. This has been true in almost every society...It was not a bad system. It helped survival for thousands of years. The women were getting the men who were the best protectors and hunters, and the men competed for the most beautiful women.'

A young woman raises her hand. In some societies, she tells the teacher, 'the females did the gathering and provided for the offspring. Hunting was a minor part of their diets.' That, Farrell explains, was just a 'deviation from sex roles.' She tries again: 'No, the point I'm trying to make is, in many cases it wasn't so much that the men were 'the providers' as that they were

¹⁰ A movement intellectual is a knowledgeable and easily identifiable member of a popular social movement and plays a key role in articulating ideologies in movement discourse. Unlike hierarchical leadership, a movement intellectual does not command direct control, Eyerman and Jameson (1991) argue that movement intellectuals do not come to participate in a social movement with a ready made role as a leader. Rather, they emerge within the context of a social movement. In a sense social movements provide a creative space for these activists to explore new strategies and frameworks. In this context, movement intellectuals draw on an established intellectual traditions, but these approaches get reinterpreted within the submerged networks of an SMO. Eyerman and Jameson argue that "... the established tradition must always be reinterpreted and adapted to the needs of the movement" (1991: 166). In Chapter One I focus on Robert Bly as a movement intellectual of the mytho-poetic movement and Warren Farrell as a movement intellectual of the men's rights movement. I also identify Michael Kaufman as a movement intellectual of the profeminist movement, but do not examine this relationship until Chapter Five in my discussion of the White Ribbon Campaign. I have identified these men as movement intellectuals based on the following criteria: (1) prolific status of their names and ideas in movement discourses, (2) extensive participation in movement activities, (3) high profile at movement conferences and (4) recognition of their published work in movement discourses.

controlling women's access to food and land', Farrell frowns slightly. 'That would be a pejorative interpretation,' he tells her, and quickly moves the history lesson forward to the 1970s (Faludi, 1991: 301).

Ironically, Farrell (1974) did not always see things quite this way. In the seventies he championed a profeminist politics and published his acclaimed book *The Liberated Man*. He also organized an extensive network of men's groups and encouraged men to draw on feminism as a path to self discovery and freedom. For instance, in 1971 he wrote, "[a] boy who is not taught to fight to display his manhood is psychologically much freer to walk away from a potential fight" (a.k.a. Faludi, 1992: 302). The central message throughout his work at this time was that masculinity was in question and in need of drastic change.

Farrell's shifting politics reflected a wider "re-packaging" of conservative ideologies in both Canada and the United States. The men's rights discourse applied the feminist equal rights framework to argue that a "new sexism" had emerged (Clatterbaugh, 1990: 10). Rather than creating a liberatory model for men and women, the men's rights activists argued that feminism contributed to men's victimization. For example, in the case of men's lack of access to child care, men's rights activists refused to focus on the patriarchal structures that limited men's roles in nurturing, but instead focused on the women's movement as the source of men's lack of access to child care.

The rise in men's rights politics coincides with changes in feminist politics. In the late 1970s and 1980s, women in Canada and the United States sought changes in divorce legislation and for more effective child support agreements. Eventually, Canadian laws that demanded separated couples to wait five years before divorce were reduced to one year. As well, the women's movement pressured the courts to force men to legally pay child support. Women's demands for legal abortion services also affected men's rights politics. Legal abortion services gave men had less control over their offspring, regardless of whether they wanted children, or not. This factor challenged the conservative meanings of "family" which are central in maintaining social and political power of some men over women and children within their lives and throughout society.

However, the largest effect was the increased legitimation of feminist politics in mainstream discourses. For example, violence towards women and wage inequalities were identifiable and acknowledged by more members of society. Many men's rights activists felt unfairly blamed for all the barriers and abuses that women face and that the victimization of men was not being recognized. Others reacted to these changes by focusing their anger directly towards women.

This shift in masculinity politics was a key moment in the social history of the men's movement and the beginning of a divergent trend towards neo-conservative and later new age identity politics. As the connection to left-wing, anti-war and profeminist politics began to dissolve in popularity throughout the 1970s, support groups, which functioned as therapy, self-improvement and resistive (though not subversive) consciousness-raising groups, expanded into the mainstream across North America (Carrigan et al. 1987: 160; Astrachan, 1986: 292). During this decade and into the 1980s, increasing numbers of men's conferences occurred, "men's centers" were established and male publications appeared, such as men's network newsletters and books about men.¹¹ These newsletters and books mainly focused on men's liberation, reactionary or satirical commentary, liberal perspectives, new age ideas, profeminism, or academic approaches.

The growth in the need to understand hetero-masculine identity was portrayed in popular media and men's books as a "spontaneous upsurge" and revival (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1987: 161). Many writers pointed, as many do today, to social statistics as indicators of men's need to grow and change through the movement. For example, higher levels of suicide, murder, levels of drug use, homelessness, divorce and adolescent boys involved in youth crime. Many men's movement activists described the men's movement in lofty terms as an "evolutionary transition," one that would be pivotal in transforming gender relations (Farrell, Spring, 1992:35; Sniechowski, September 1991; Kimbrell, May/June 1991: 66-67).

The elusive perceptions of spontaneity and evolutionary transition culminated in the early 1990s with the emergence of the mytho-poetic men's movement. Heralded by *Newsweek's* cover story in 1991, "What Do Men Really Want Now That They Have a Movement of Their Own," which described the men's movement as "...dawning the first postmodern social movement, meaning one that stems from a deep national malaise that hardly anyone knew existed until they saw it on a PBS special," the men's movement gained cultural significance (Alder, June 24, 1991: 47).¹²

Writers like Farrell, building on such perceptions, commented that the men's

¹¹ A men's center is a meeting place and resource center for movement activists and participants.

¹² Robert Bly and the men's movement received extensive public attention in the US Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) television special, *A Gathering of Men*, a ninety minute profile by Bill Moyers (1990). The image of the mytho-poetic men's movement as a "postmodern" movement stems from the view of men grasping for fabricated and pluralized identities. In the context of this thesis — men constructing themselves through mytho-poetic discourses which draw on diverse cultural narratives and rituals.

movement will be "the longest of all movements" as it "proposes an evolutionary shift in the system itself — an end to 'woman the protected' and 'man the protector'" (Farrell, Spring 1992:35). Farrell, discarding his previous idea, now argued that North American men have "just recently begun to evolve from stage one [a preoccupation with survival] into stage two [a search for self-fulfillment]" (1990; Spring 1992). Robert Bly, whom I describe as a movement intellectual in the mytho-poetic movement, agreed that the men's movement was still in its "'mytho-poetic' infancy" (Queenan, March 1992: 215).

By the end of the 1970s, it was obvious that the men's movement had become *multifarious and disunified*, as three different social and political perspectives competed for recognition. The *men's liberationists* took the position that men in general needed liberation because they were frequently and unfairly blamed for most problems in society, and that the real basis of men's oppression was the social roles they were expected to maintain. A major derivation of the men's liberationist perspective, the *men's rights* approach, took the position that women have real advantages over men in divorce and custody laws. These activists tended to ignore statistics which showed how few men actually pay alimony and child support, yet, they continued to oppose legislation to enforce payments. According to Astrachan, the liberationists and the men's rights groups merged, during a national organization meeting in 1981 (1986: 291).¹³

As well the *anti-sexist/profeminist* men's perspective remained strong, which as I have described, first developed in the late 1960s to early 1970s in consciousness-raising groups. Men adopting this perspective took the position that a male-dominated society is debilitating and dangerous to both women and men.¹⁴ Finally, the new age/self-help perspectives (which include the mytho-poetic, the recovery and other new age perspectives) have taken form more recently.¹⁵ These three movements, men's rights/men's liberation,

¹³ Although differences exist, the American and Canadian men's rights/liberationists are strongly aligned. Members in both countries regularly exchange ideas through conferences and the Internet. Also, some SMOs have developed under the same banner in both countries.

¹⁴ The emergence of these three movements is recognized by Astrachan, who categorized three factions as the "no guilt wing," the "divorced reformers," and "the profeminists" (1986: 291).

¹⁵ In attempting to understand the various (contemporary) group trajectories or branches of the men's movement, Clatterbaugh's *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity* (1990) is useful, providing an excellent, well-balanced survey of six political perspectives: the conservative, the profeminist, the men's rights, the spiritual, the socialist, and the group-specific perspectives. Each perspective is examined separately: theoretically and, where applicable, as a social movement.

anti-sexist/ profeminist and new age/self help perspectives, continued to grow in the 1990s, with the mytho-poetic, profeminist and men's rights being the most prominent.¹⁶

Until recently, few people had heard anything about these movements and some question whether there is any men's movement at all (Astrachan, 1986: 290, 422; Carrigan et al. 1987: 160, 162, 164; Queenan, March 1992). Some commentators believe men are breaking with "the 'tough guy' tradition" and "coming forward to speak of loneliness, alienation, a sense of emptiness and frustration, and a desire to change the meaning of masculinity" (Sniechowski, September 1991). Others argue that the men's movement is, in the final analysis, a project centering on renewing hegemonic heterosexual masculinity (Carrigan et al. 1987: 163). Still other writers point to lucrative economic opportunities:

"The problem is that the men's movement isn't a movement: it's a business. Men's group facilitators' advertise thousands of workshops every month in San Francisco alone — among them Tantric masturbation workshops, alchemical hypnotherapy feasts and week-long interpretive sessions for 'the dreams of pregnant men'. The shelf of Men's Books at my bookstore is twice as long as it was last year. You can be a feminist man or anti-feminist; a New Age man or a 'degendered fellow'; Action Man or Mytho-Poetic. Some men think men are about to take a huge evolutionary step forward and become neither men nor women,..." (Brown, L.: January 31, 1994: 46).

Many feminists are critical of the profeminist, men's rights and mytho-poetic movements. They are skeptical about claims, made by each movement, that they complement the women's movement (Bly, 1990: x; Farrell, Spring, 1992:35). Other feminists argue that such claims cannot simply be accepted at face value. At issue is how members interpret the messages of the activists and movement intellectuals, what the everyday effects are for women, and how these political perspectives are being received in mainstream culture (Ruether, 1992: 13-15, Adair, 1992: 56-58, Brown, L., 1992: 93-97).

In summary, it is crucial to understand the social-historical changes that have instigated the formation of these social movements. That three politically diverse movements have surfaced suggests that the meanings of masculinity articulated in

¹⁶ There do appear to be differences between the Canadian and American men's movements. Several members of the Canadian mytho-poetic movement have connected a Canadian identity as "peace maker" with gender identities of Canadian men. American profeminist, Michael Kimmel has argued that the Canadian profeminist movement is much more organized and popular than in the U.S. He cited the White Ribbon Campaign as an example of how Canadian profeminists have affected symbolic change on a national level. As I discuss in Chapter Four the White Ribbon Campaign was organized by Men's Network for Change to heighten awareness of men's violence).

patriarchal ideology are unstable and do not unify all men. In the following movement-specific analysis, I examine the mytho-poetic movement in more detail than the profeminist and men's rights organizations because of the lack of attention given thus far.

The Profeminist Movement

The profeminist movement developed in the late 1960s with membership interested in feminist thought and practice. These men gathered in groups to discuss personal and political issues related to gender and sexuality, but also focused on race, class and peace issues. Often they identified with feminism because of a feminist companion or exposure in academic contexts. Members articulated a desire to sustain a critical and strategically planned agenda in order to change the oppressive practices of men and patriarchal structures.

Profeminist SMOs are typically sympathetic to the feminist critique of patriarchal power and structures of subordination in society. Common across these organizations is the recognition that men are not born with power or the ability to dominate, but that domination is activated through human agency — through socialization and life experiences in a patriarchal society. Profeminist organizations reflect an optimism that men can support each other in rethinking and changing their lives and in the process to critically evaluate the social structures of society. Some members struggle to link the personal, emotional and spiritual growth of men with the social and political transformation of society. Profeminist groups generally reject a "heterosexuality-is-natural" narrative and are gay affirmative. Many gay and bisexual men acknowledge that they find support in the profeminist movement because the profeminist consciousness-raising groups actively challenge heterosexism.

From its inception, the members of the profeminist movement were obliged to examine specific issues in order to maintain their alliance with women's movement strategies. First, they had to set out an agenda that would connect reasonably well with feminist objectives. Given the pluralism apparent in the various traditions of feminism, it is not surprising the profeminist groups diverged along different trajectories, the main coexisting traditions being liberal, socialist and radical profeminism.¹⁷

¹⁷ It is significant to note that radical profeminism and radical feminism are distinct perspectives. Radical feminists "...emphasize the power that women already have in themselves and the need for mental transformation that would free women to act powerfully," they understand this power, "not to be used to enter and achieve in the male world, but rather to reject that world completely" (Ferre and Hess, 1985: 42). In contrast, radical profeminists are in line with the other profeminist factions who reject separatism and

The radical tradition frames the oppressive nature of men in absolutist terms. Radical profeminists argue that *all* men have the same access to the social and political power to dominate women. The socialist approach claims that men interested in change must challenge oppressive structures including those of gender, but extend their politics to include other social relations of inequality, oppression and violence. For example, the socialist profeminists encouraged other men to take a firm stand on women's issues as well as those of race, class and sexuality. The liberal tradition is more broadly focused and sets all people as individuals within an expansive set of social relations. According to the liberal tradition, men and women are mutually involved in patriarchy. People are socialized through the cultural codes which encourage them to conform to specific sex role stereotypes. Liberal feminists have focused on freeing men and women from narrow sex roles that maintain the dichotomies of the sex-gender system.

Three of the most widely known profeminist organizations are: Men's Network for Change in Canada, the National Organization of Men Against Sexism in the United States and Achilles Heel, an influential magazine of sexual politics in Great Britain. In Canada, MNC began in April of 1989 and quickly gained national recognition through the White Ribbon Campaign. Approximately thirty five men from Quebec and Ontario met to formulate certain organizational policy and priorities (Young, B., 1993: 323). The work of MNC has included publishing *Men's Network News*, a range of symbolic strategies, taskforces and supporting chapters across Canada. Michael Kaufman is a movement intellectual of the MNC.¹⁸ Kaufman, is identified as the founder of the White Ribbon Campaign against men's violence, has produced writings that are well established as profeminist perspectives (Dunlop-Addley, 1993: 10).

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, profeminist members in the United States began organizing and planning national conferences (e.g., Men and Masculinity Conference) to

question men's "disproportionate economic, political and social power over women" (Men's Network for Change, Spring 1992: 16). Radical profeminists tend to agree that men need to rethink their lives as men in order to re-evaluate our society. Unlike the other profeminists, the radical profeminists also activate discourses that construct all men as oppressors despite racial, sexual, or class differences that may limit or create differential access to oppressive power: for example, there are claims that all men are rapists or all men practice violence over women.

¹⁸ Since Michael Kaufman is a member of Men's Network for Change, which I examine in more detail in Chapter Four and Five, I have kept my discussion of his politics and position as a movement intellectual to a minimum here. In contrast, I more closely explore Warren Farrell and Robert Bly as movement intellectuals in this chapter because they are not members of the SMOs I discuss in the later chapters.

discuss the political topics of sexism, men's violence, etc. and personal growth issues (Clatterbaugh, 1990: 39 and Astrachan, 1986: 293). The conference included meetings held by the National Organization of Changing Men to develop resolutions and task forces on specific issues. Finally, *Achilles Heel* was published in Great Britain in 1978 by a "collective" of profeminist men dedicated to the feminist critique of patriarchy (Seidler, 1992). These organizations form a major part of the profeminist movement, and have sustained a critical analysis of power relations and an on-going critique of the men's rights and mytho-poetic movements.

Men's Right's Movement

The men's rights perspective emerged in the 1970s under the banner of men's liberation. Members argued that men are subject to extensive, yet inadequately addressed legal, social and psychological injustices. The movement has incorporated some members who were initially profeminists. Warren Farrell, for example, is considered a founder of the liberal profeminist movement (Clatterbaugh, 1992: 64). Farrell now sits on the board of an organization called Men's Rights Incorporated and Fathers' Rights and Exchange Equality (F.R.E.E. Men). Members take the position that they are defending the rights of all men or all people, even though this clearly is not the case in men's rights texts that alienate many men and women. FREE men argues that there are many groups supporting the rights of single mothers, but few groups speaking up for single fathers. Members believe that such changes are a recent problem: "... society has come to not only overlook the problems of single fathers, but to view fathers as the root of all evils visited upon the single mother" (FREE Home Page, Internet, August 31, 1995).

Members of the men's rights (and father's rights) movement — which include both men and women in many SMOs — are strongly aligned with popular conservative politics and anti-feminist movements. Evidence for these connections can be found in movement literature urging support for the preservation of family values, pro-life, R.E.A.L. women. Members of the men's rights movement are adamant that men are not privileged in society and that gender inequality based on patriarchy no longer exists. Members point to legal systems that privilege women through: higher male conviction rates, longer male sentencing and courtroom bias in favour of women. For example, they argue that men are less likely to receive fair justice in cases of sexual assault, child custody and divorce.

Members of the men's rights and the profeminist movements strongly oppose one another's perspectives and strategies. Some men's rights members are intent on providing

"evidence" to expose the women's movement as misidentifying men as privileged members of society, while others identify feminism and the women's movement as the central axis that vilifies and attacks men. As one activist argues:

To members of MERGE, however, a massive incongruity is revealed in the public scorn and legal prosecution of the likes of Keegstra [charged under Canada's hate laws for teaching that the Holocaust did not occur] and... For the claims of the former, at least, are far less twisted and vicious than those made by the extremists in the feminist movement. They are even less extreme than those made on a daily basis by sexist feminists closer to the mainstream... A classic example of this kind of group blame is the orgy of anti-male hatred that followed Marc Lepine's massacre of fourteen young women in Montreal. To minds primed by years of propaganda, that psychotic act was different only in degree from the evil way men in general treat women in general (Christensen, Summer 1992: 7).

In a similar discursive move which I later explore, profeminist activists are portrayed as weak men, duped by dominating women. Further, many members of the men's rights movement see patriarchy as a code word for "male disposability." The metaphor of "male disposability" means the privileges men are purported to enjoy are by far, displaced by the sacrifices they make in the work force, during war time and as providers. Men's rights organizations like the Movement for the Establishment of Real Gender Equality (MERGE) proclaim themselves as the true anti-sexist movement.

The Mytho-Poetic Movement

The mytho-poetic movement grew out of the earlier perspectives and is probably the most well known publicly as "the men's movement." The movement is closely identified with new age sensibilities and spirituality (Harding 1992; Clay, 1991; and Sniechowski, 1991). It focuses on the inner work of men's conscious and unconscious minds in an attempt to "discover paths to mature masculinity" (Goldman, May/June 1991: 51).

The mytho-poetic perspective is partly based on Carl Jung's theorization of the deep psyche and has a strong voice in the works of poet Robert Bly, mythologist Robert Moore, storyteller and drummer Michael Meade and therapist John Rowan — each of whom, to a greater or lesser extent, are the movement intellectuals of the movement. Carl Jung theorized that men begin their lives as whole beings and that this sense of wholeness is eroded through wounding. Jung argued that, "if men probe the archetypes buried in their unconscious, they will be able to heal these wounds and restore themselves to a state of wholeness and psychospiritual health" (Clatterbaugh, 1990: 86).

Partially through the interpretive use of poetry and myth, members claim they are able to delve into the deeper issues that exist for them. A founding conviction of the mytho-poetic movement is that the meanings of heterosexual masculinity are derived from deep unconscious patterns and archetypes. Members claim that these archetypes are best revealed through the interpretation of narratives, myths and rituals.

Some members of the mytho-poetic movement have tapped into the problem of gender roles — articulated in the early men's movement as part of a men's rights agenda. As one member of IMN comments:

Men must have the courage to take the privilege of engaging in a thorough analysis of the underlying social mechanisms which lead to male gender stereotyping. We must proceed in this task according to our own perceptions and experiences as men, not using feminist criteria and proclamations as benchmarks against which to gauge the correctness of our critiques. We must be prepared to publicly proclaim and strive to redress the adverse effects of genderism [sexism] on men's lives (Halling, Winter 1990: 20).

Other members challenge patriarchy and heterosexism, and advocate a more profeminist agenda. For example, in the following narrative, a member of IMN analyzes masculinity, through a model of power:

Essential to the understanding of the problems we face personally and socially is the concept of 'patriarchy.' We may want to shy away from feminist critique. However, an appreciation of a global imbalance of who holds power and privilege, and who bears costs, is crucial. Without such an analysis, we are likely to be naive about what our movement is willing and able to counteract (Teixeira, Summer 1991: 7).

The mytho-poetic movement has focused primarily on issues of self healing, through ritual, storytelling, drumming, dance, shared work and the study of mythology, in order to confront fears of being in emotionally open contexts with men. Members use mentorship, sharing experiences and wisdom as ways of gaining emotional support, and problem-solving. However, as the above narratives would indicate, members are not unified on how they understand their gender identities, problems and solutions for transforming themselves or society. Movement discourses enable diverse perspectives to be articulated because of the emphasis members have placed on a strategy of *process*. As one member points out, "...the mytho-poetic men's movement tries to activate the emotional

being of men" (Ogilvie, Winter 1990: 18). Interestingly, this strategy pays homage to virtually all perspectives regardless of political content, because each gets repackaged as an emotional and spiritual process from "within." Consequently, mytho-poetic members define their approach as qualitatively different from the strategies of the profeminist and men's rights perspectives, since these latter movements are metaphorically looking "outward," at least in the eyes of the mytho-poetic members.

Mytho-poetic SMOs are loosely and informally connected through various social networks, such as: newsletters, drop-in groups, men's centers, special gatherings (e.g., dinners, equinox gatherings and community-oriented group projects), workshops, retreats and books-about-men (Bushe, 1991:1). Most often, members meet in small support groups usually between 6-10 men (Bushe, 1991). The groups are often leaderless, although certain individuals tend to have more influence in decision-making. For example, long-time members, assertive individuals and members who consistently contribute much needed resources, such as money or labour time, tend to be more influential.

Much of what these men do in their groups and at gatherings focuses on personal empowerment and on gaining control over their own individual and collective sexual and gender identities. The participants are actively making meanings and taking pleasures from their social experiences, in opposition to hegemonic patriarchal sensibilities of how it is to be a man.¹⁹ These discursive moves can have positive and negative effects in terms of transforming heterosexual masculinities in other everyday contexts (e.g., in everyday relationships with women, intimate relationships, friendships, various family relationships and so on).

For example, many men claim that the use of drumming and dance connects their mind and spirit with "...their bodies and bring[s] to the surface suppressed shame, anger, abandonment, loss and grief" (Goldman, May/June 1991: 51). Through drumming, practitioners say that they are able to break down many of the inhibitions that prevent them from expressing themselves: there are pleasures created in the rhythm, the beat and the sound of the drums, which also seem to produce a protective and safe social space (Alder,

¹⁹ Valued (hegemonic) sensibilities of heterosexual masculinity (e.g. in popular discourses and narratives) construct hetero-masculinity as having confidence in reason, rationality, and objective knowledge. These sensibilities are given priority over feeling and emotion. In the everyday expression of masculinity, a real man is expected to be hard working, personally disciplined and responsible for himself and his family. A man is a planner and a goal driven achiever. Masculinity through this dominant script searches in good faith, for objective truth and expects that this will yield results. It is a societal given, or an unwritten rule, that a "normal" man is heterosexual.

June 24, 1991). I observed through my participation in mytho-poetic groups that many members claim they could communicate by leading a particular beat, then changing that beat as another took it up. Many participants described it as a unifying and celebratory ritual. Similarly, by meeting in small groups, many find that, in "bonding with other men, they learn to speak their own truth and to speak their own vulnerabilities and concerns" (Goldman, May/June 1991: 51).

Members often argue that mainstream media have not presented a very accurate picture of their activities (Harding, 1992: xvii and Goldman, May/June 1991: 49). Media discourse on the movement reflects a degree of distortion, and has a sarcastic undercurrent when discussing what the members are doing and why. For instance, members are portrayed as pathetic, weak and insecure men, which *suggests that their activities do cut against hegemonic sensibilities of how normal masculinity is expressed*. Paradoxically, many mytho-poetic members themselves identify mainstream men as soft and unassertive, as well as dominating and macho.

Robert Bly's book *Iron John*, on the best seller's list for at least two years, had a major impact on members of the mytho-poetic movement. A torrent of books followed Bly's publication as authors and publishers tried to emulate his success. Bly argues that in the last three decades of the women's movement men have responded by becoming more receptive, sensitive, cooperative and caring. Yet, in the process men have also become empty and unsure of who they really are as men. As Bly recounts:

I first learned about the anguish of 'soft' men when they told their stories in early men's gatherings. In 1980, the Lama Community in New Mexico asked me to teach a conference for men only, their first, in which about forty men participated. Each day we concentrated on one Greek god and one old story, and then late in the afternoons we gathered to talk. When the younger men spoke it was not uncommon for them to be weeping within five minutes. The amount of grief and anguish in these younger men was astounding to me.

Part of their grief rose out of remoteness from their fathers, which they felt keenly, but partly, too, grief flowed from trouble in their marriages or relationships. They had learned to be receptive, but receptivity wasn't enough to carry their marriages through in troubled times (Bly, 1990: 4-5).

Bly tapped into a large unexplored area of our society and cultural space; heterosexual men's emotional pain and anxiety, fear and insecurity about who they really are as men. The opportunity to explore gender identity as a *process of self-awareness* was desired by many heterosexual men. The ability to create a place for these men to express

their emotions is a key to the popular success of the mytho-poetic movement. The following account of one member of the IMN exemplifies this point.

Initially, I was uneasy about Robert Bly reciting poetry to illustrate or amplify some point he had made. . . . I began to listen, to hear, to examine the possibility that perhaps they were the same concerns that I debate in the privacy of my mind. . . . Being in the company of so many men was frightening. I had to suppress the fear. I found chairs at the edge of the gathering and sat with my legs crossed and my arms slightly entwined across my chest. I took notes in quick, urgent scrawls, using the notebook to shield me from the feelings that kept welling up. But as I heard some of the other men speak, I began to realize that most of us were afraid. . . . afraid of each other (Raman, Fall 1991: 6).

Throughout the book Bly tells a story based on *Iron John* written by the Grimm Brothers in 1820. The themes of the story are understood as thousands of years old (Bly: 1990: 239). The story describes a boy's difficult journey involving the discovery of a large hairy creature at the bottom of a pond. The creature known as the wildman is both intriguing and frightening to the youth. A sense of initiation and transformation occurs as the boy becomes a man. Bly uses the story metaphorically to interpret masculine identity and spirituality; with its deep roots, honor and initiation process.

A tension emerges in the work between a fixed identity, so much apart of the patriarchal meanings of masculinity, and pluralistic interpretations of the identity and cultural context. Specifically, Bly tries to destabilize the linear order of the initiation process (of manhood) in the *Iron John* story. He argues that the stages to manhood can occur in any order and in a circular sense since what constitutes masculine identity is interpreted over the life course, with ever greater life experience (Bly, 1990: 233). He also claims that gender identity exists in people not in the duality of masculine and feminine, but in "...all sorts of degrees, intermediate states, unions, combinations, special cases, genius exceptions, and so on" (Bly, 1990: 236). Bly argues that naming essentialist qualities of men and women (e.g., men are strong, confident and dominating, women are passive, gentle and caring) is a problem because it places people into "boxes" (1990: 234-235).

Despite this break with linearity and the use of story and myth, with multiple interpretation of culture, he moves to maintain an essentialist image of gender identity. He does this by emphasizing biological differences as social facts. As Bly describes:

Geneticists have discovered recently that the genetic difference in DNA between men and women amounts to just over three percent. That isn't

much. However the difference exists in every cell of the body. We know that many contemporary men have become ashamed of their three percent. Some feel shame over the historical past, over oppressive patriarchies, insane wars, rigidities long imposed. Other men who have seen their fathers fail to be true to the masculine and its values don't want to be men. But they are. I think that for this century and this moment it is important to emphasize the three percent difference that makes a person masculine, while not losing sight of the ninety-seven percent that men and women have in common (1990: 234).

Bly's emphasis on this three percent difference in determining gender is significant. Through out his book, a clear picture emerges about the differences that exist between men and women. For example, men are decision-makers and mentors where as women are nurturers unwilling to allow their male children to become men.

The interpretation of biological facts as determining gender has a lengthy history in scientific discourses — typically small biological differences are used to account for socially constructed differences in gender. The body has been used as a basis for the meanings of male and female, man and woman since the late seventeenth and eighteen century. Thomas Laqueur presents convincing historical evidence that simple documentation of biological differences — between male and female — were applied to account for difference in social status (Laqueur, 1990: 154-163).

The argument that Bly is relying on is not DNA evidence — that is, the truth or falsity of the scientific evidence — but on the interpretive strategy itself. The interesting question is how this grounding in gender differences as a biological quality resonates with members of the mytho-poetic movement; that is, how is this subjective interpretation framed in relation to mobilization strategies of SMOs? This is a question that I explore in the Chapters to follow.

Feminist critics have raised concerns about Bly's politics and of the mytho-poetic movement as a whole. Suzanne Gordon, author of *Prisoners of Men's Dreams: Striking Out for a New Feminist Future*, argues that, while Bly insists that he is neither anti-woman nor anti-feminist, his book actually contradicts his claim (September 13, 1991: A5). In particular, she points out that there are few positive images of women portrayed in the book. Bly implicitly suggests that "twentieth century women are trying to turn their lovers and colleagues into soft, ineffectual wimps." His solution is for a "positive patriarchy" based on "the nineteenth century father who was revered and respected" (Gordon, September 13, 1991: A5).

Other critics agree that the treatment of women in the *Iron John* story raises many

questions. In spite of his claim that women do not try to block men's growth, he goes on to say that feminist women and mothers do not create the needed opportunities for men or boys to contact their "shadow selves," that is, their true essence as men. As evidence he points to women school teachers who teach values which demean the father, to mothers who find instinctual masculine traits to be faults and lie to their sons about their fathers, and to mothers who cannot raise sons because they have a feminine, and therefore limiting and negative view of masculinity (Clatterbaugh [quoting Bly], 1990: 99).

Finally, the mytho-poetic movement, is often criticized for marginalizing the concerns of gay and bisexual men. Many of the concerns of gay and bisexual men are silenced making many of their identities invisible. Critics contend that despite the fact that mytho-poetic literature claims to remake masculine identities, the institution of heterosexuality is not openly challenged (Kinsman, 1987: 103). One man describes his perspective on the mytho-poetic movement and its literature in this way:

As a gay man . . . I had suspicions about the heterocentrist bias of this work. It told me that my gayness existed "in addition to" my masculinity, whereas I found that it colored my entire experience of manhood. I distrusted a literature which claimed that gay men were just like heterosexual men except for what they did in bed (Kinsman, 1987: 103).

The preface to *Iron John* specifically points out that, while the text is oriented to heterosexual men, it does not exclude homosexual men (Bly, 1990: x). Bly argues that "mythology does not make a big distinction between homosexual and heterosexual men" (1990: x). According to many gay and bisexual men participating in the mytho-poetic movement, these ideas imply that gay men can only be part of the "community of men" by *pretending they are straight*. Another participant's experience supports this, as he explains:

I decided three years ago to attend a day-long men's workshop. In paying the \$250 fee, my assumption was very much like Bly's: since I was part of the "larger community of men", wouldn't my fears and anxieties be similar to those of my straight "brothers"? Dumb question. Instead of sharing new wisdom about how men can relate to one another, I was taunted with words like "faggot", "queer", and "wimp" (Gawthorp: January 1992: D13).

The mytho-poetic movement claims to accept gay and bisexual men within their ranks, yet it is obvious that there are significant barriers to the full participation of these men. However, unlike the men's rights movement which makes a direct claim that it is natural for men to be heterosexual, the mytho-poetic movement tries to decenter the

criticism of heterosexism, by focusing more broadly on personal awareness of masculinity as unifying all men. The significance of this symbolic strategy is that it creates an opportunity for mobilization based on the perceived (essentialistic) commonalities that all men share, as opposed to those that differentiate them.

In summary the mytho-poetic, men's rights and profeminist movements raise many interesting questions. If the men's movement is not unified on the question of masculine identity, as the divergent social-historical developments would suggest, how is patriarchal ideology interpreted within SMOs? And, how are the ideological meanings of hetero-masculinity articulated in terms of identity or subjectivity? To answer these questions I have brought together a theory of hegemonic hetero-masculinity and a contextually-shifting communications model. The theory developed in Chapter Two situates the patriarchal ideology of hegemonic hetero-masculinity as a form of dominance involving struggle. The implication is that the interpretation and expression of patriarchal identities are not guaranteed, but are ones that requires constant renewal and regulation.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORIZING HEGEMONIC HETEROSEXUAL MASCULINITY

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the theorization of *hegemonic heterosexual masculinity* and the way subject positions get constructed in relation to this ideology.²⁰ Hegemonic hetero-masculinity is the dominant patriarchal ideology in North American culture, one that is involved in regulating social relations of gender, sexuality and thus identity. My interest in developing the concept is to understand how members of the mytho-poetic, profeminist and men's rights movements frame their identities or subject positions and politics in relation to the dominant cultural sensibilities of heterosexual masculinity. I refer to this process in later analytical chapters as "frame alignment" (Snow and Benford, 1986: 464).

Blye Frank (1987) and Mike Donalson (1993) argue that the theorization of patriarchal ideology needs to be more substantial. This, despite the increasing use of Antonio Gramsci's (1971) concept of *hegemony* to explore heterosexual masculinity as a socially constructed and regulated form of domination. The theory explored here situates the meanings of hetero-masculinity as forms of social activity that occur in a particular social-historical context.

I begin with the critical conceptualization of ideology originally proposed by Karl Marx (1985) and further developed by Louis Althusser (1971). Both theorists ground the concept of ideology in the coordinated activities and social relationships of people. I utilize Althusser's concept of *interpellation* to explain how hegemonic hetero-masculinity is

²⁰ Hegemonic heterosexual masculinity is distinguishable from the concepts of gender identity and the structures of patriarchy. As I have described, gender identities are socially constructed through the meanings people developed out of their everyday experiences, biology and cultural discourses. This process of creating meanings of identity is a local and changing process. Certain critical moments and experiences can affect how people come to express their identities in opposition to dominant ideologies. In effect, patriarchal ideology is never guaranteed in the expression of one's identity. Patriarchy encompasses a series of these structures and is connected to the capitalist system. Patriarchy is an historical political, economic and social phenomenon involving the consolidation of men's power over women, children and over other men. In contemporary North American society, these structures include: the devaluation of women (e.g. through differential access to decision making hierarchies), control of women's sexualities and reproduction, economic inequalities (e.g. performing double shifts of housework and paid labour and wage differentials), and limitations on women's mobility (e.g. threat of violence by men and controls in relationships with men).

identified and internalized as one's own or resisted or completely rejected. With regard to masculine identity, the point is that not all men express themselves in line with the dominant sensibilities about what it means to be a man. Holly Devor (1989) provides further insight into the social construction of gender and sexuality — one that is interpreted and expressed as an uneven and contextual process. In terms of the social construction of hetero-masculinity this points to the insight that manhood may be expressed in dominant ways in some contexts, but not in others or not dominant at all. Together, I apply these formulations to understand hegemonic hetero-masculinity as internalized social meanings that can be observed in men's movement discourses. These cultural discourses are situated in both *texts (such as men's newsletters)* and *other sign systems (such as regalia or a dance)*, but only become activated through everyday social relations, e.g., the experience of being a divorced father who identifies with men's rights politics.

In theorizing the existence of patriarchal ideology, the concept of hegemony is applied. The concept enables an examination into the ways in which heterosexual men as a group acquire and maintain consensual support for their privileged social positions. Devor (1989) has aptly described this process as "the dominant gender schema" (vii, 50-53, 89).

The dominant gender schema describes the dissemination of the naturalness of heterosexuality, the glorification of masculine performance and aggressiveness in sexual activity, or the presumption of femininity as alluring and desirable for (but not expressed by) men. Applying the concept of hegemony emphasizes how dominance is never a permanent state of affairs, but one that is always a site for struggle and change. For example, feminist and profeminist organizations are strongly opposed to expressions of masculinity that involve dominance over others (e.g., violence, racism, economic exploitation, etc.). The members focus their struggles on their own identities and outward to challenge all men to oppose patriarchy.

The value of a theorization of hegemonic hetero-masculinity is a movement away from a static and monolithic conceptualization of masculinity and from a rigid view of dominant ideology as a one-way flow of communication. The emphasis on hegemony defines patriarchal ideology as a central current within cultural discourses on gender and sexuality; one that is endorsed, sanctioned and supported by the majority of societal members, cultural sensibilities and social structures. The concept of hegemony explains the contextually-shifting ways people "recreate," "oppose" or "resist" hegemonic sensibilities of how to express gender and sexual identities, as well as the cultural tensions and contradictions involved in this struggle.

Finally, I draw on Thompson's (1990) conceptualization of ideology to signify dominant ideology as an extra-discursive relationship. That is, *a distinct set of direct power relationships that are embedded in discourses* and connected to social structures involving dominance. The direct impact of an ideology that articulates dominance *always* involves privileging one social group over another subordinated and oppressed group, either in language or in practice. For example, the ideology of heterosexism naturalizes relations between men and women and vilifies homosexuality and bisexuality. In this context, hegemonic hetero-masculinity is a form of domination. It is important to recognize that this is *a dynamic or changing communications process involving the attempt to impose a specific set of cultural sensibilities and practices of how people are supposed to express gender and sexuality*. My working hypothesis is that these struggles are reflected in the unified and disunified ways members of the three men's movement frame their collective identities.

"Positive" and "Negative" Conceptualizations of Ideology

Ideology is one of the most useful and complicated concepts in contemporary social theory. By providing at least sixteen plausible definitions Terry Eagleton (1991) demonstrates the array of diverse approaches to ideology. Eagleton contends that even if it were possible to unite the various perspectives together this would devolve into an epistemological quagmire. My purpose is not to review these definitions. However, I will examine in some detail two general approaches debated in Western Marxism: the positive and negative conceptions of ideology. Qualities of both the positive and negative expressions of ideology help explain how hegemonic heterosexual masculinity works to organize social relations of gender, sexuality and subjectivity.

Jorge Larrain's (1983) distinction between positive and negative ideology has had a far reaching impact in the academic debates on ideology (Barrett, 1991: 18). As Larrain comments:

...there are, at least, two broad and basically opposed Marxist conceptions of ideology: one negative (which refers to a kind of distorted thought), and one positive (which refers to the totality of forms of social consciousness or to the political ideas of social classes) (Larrain, 1983: 4).

The reduction to "negative" or critical formulations and "positive" or descriptive theories of ideology may be criticized as over extended; however, the distinction is useful

in clarifying the various conceptualizations of ideology. The negative pole of this continuum highlights Marx's focus on "...the language of real life' in which the ideas produced by subordinate classes express and reproduce the dominant material relations and interests" (Purvis and Hunt, 1993: 477). This form of ideology explains how people consciously recreate existing social relations of oppression. The fundamental distinction between negative and more neutral conceptions of ideology is understanding how subordinate groups appear to disregard forms of consciousness that identify aspects of their own subordination. It is this focus that gives a critical edge to each of Marx's conceptions of ideology (Purvis & Hunt, 1993: 477). This includes "...ideology as illusion and mystification, the critique of religion or the theory of commodity fetishism and other forms of reification in capitalism" (Barrett, 1991: 19).

The negative view is most clearly explored by Marx and Engels (1985) in *The German Ideology*. Here, Marx's definition of ideology centers on an understanding of consciousness and how social relations seem to appear upside-down as in a camera obscura. The recurring theme in the use of the camera obscura metaphor is mystification or illusion. Ideology entails a process of "mis-conception," "mis-perception" or "mis-recognition" of social reality (Purvis and Hunt, 1993: 478). The metaphor of the reverse image relies on a set of true/false assumptions about the social world. Here ideology is exposed through a demystification of the material conditions created by people engaged in social relations. One presumption is that by demystifying ideology, people can see what their real interests are and, as a result, are more likely to support a new political project.

While some theorists have reservations, it seems clear enough that the conception of ideology as "false consciousness" is rooted in this epistemology (Thompson, 1990; Hall, 1985; and Larrain, 1984). Michèle Barrett (1991) argues that whatever the advantages to the "false consciousness view," that the concept is not necessarily Marx's. This insight is based on the fact that Marx did not use the phrase "false consciousness," which originated with his colleague Frederick Engels in his classic letter to Franz Mehring in 1893 (1991: 5).

Marx and Engels did work closely together in composing *The German Ideology* and the concept of false consciousness has traditionally been used by Marxist theorists along with their critics as a crass short-hand for Marx's view of ideology as illusion. Eagleton argues that the false consciousness perspective (or ideology as illusion) is an "unpopular" view of ideology for several reasons:

For one thing epistemology itself is at the moment somewhat out of fashion, and the assumption that some of our ideas 'match' or 'correspond to' the way things are, while others do not, is felt by some to be a naïve, discreditable theory of knowledge. For another thing, the idea of false consciousness can be taken as implying the possibility of some unequivocally correct way of viewing the world, which today is under deep suspicion" (1991: 10-11).

There are several key points to Marx's perspectives on ideology that I wish to retain in developing a theory of hegemonic hetero-masculinity. First, Marx's argument that ideas are created by people engaged in active social relations in a historically specific political and economic system is significant. Applying such a grounding to gender and sexual relations means retaining a view of ideology that is not reducible to just discourse or text. Instead, it emphasize *social relationships and lived experience*. Secondly, the conceptualization of ideology as illusion, while not a necessary element in my framework is a significant contingent possibility. That is to say, the identification and characterization of meaning as an illusion or as veiled does not necessarily entail a false consciousness analysis.²¹

Further, focusing on class relations as the only structure that sustains relations of domination, as did Marx, limits an exploration of hegemonic hetero-masculinity. In contemporary society, class continues to be significant in relations of domination and subordination. Many theorists view economic relationships as important to discussions of other forms of conflict based on sex, gender and race relations. Barry Adam (1993) emphasizes these multiplistic and contextual relationships when he says:

How people come to *identify* themselves with some others in opposition to still other people is always a particular historical process which is not pre-determined along a single political dimension, such as exclusion from production decisions, but rather follows complex patterns of inferiorization in the many spheres of life (325).

In summary, the conceptualization of ideology as illusion, mystification or false consciousness does not offer a full explanation of *how* privileged groups have advanced

²¹ As I later describe, the meaning of ideology as an illusion or as erroneous (e.g. by masking, misrepresenting, or sustaining social relations of domination) is a contingency, not a necessity. Thompson (1990) widens the analysis of ideology to various modalities which serve to sustain relations of domination. For example, one mode is "dissimulation." Dissimulation expresses how relations of domination are established and concealed. Forms of essentialist thought are reflective of dissimulation in which the diversity of gender and sexual relations are obscured in favour of an image that men, women, girls, and boys are naturally predisposed to certain roles and identities.

their social, economic and political positions over time and in relation to competing ideologies. No sense of human agency, which must be retained for a theory of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity, can be captured through these lenses.

Social Practice and the Process of Interpellation

Althusser's (1971) formulation of ideology addresses some of the concerns I have raised. In particular, he offers two contributions: an understanding of ideology as materially grounded *social practice* and an explanation of how ideas are transmitted and received by individuals through the concept of *interpellation*. In his investigation of ideology and instruments of state power Althusser insists that ideology always exists in practices located within the regiments of specific apparatuses and organizations (Althusser, 1971: 156-161). He makes a clear distinction between direct apparatus of state power (e.g., police, corrections, immigration or the military) and indirect ideological apparatus (e.g., schools, churches or news media) which express ideas and beliefs about what ought to be in line with the state (Althusser, 1971: 156-157). Both sets of apparatus have a long and changing history of regulating gender relations and subjectivity.

Drawing on Marxist theory, Althusser insists on the materiality of ideology, but he makes an important shift from discussing the production of "ideas" to the production of "subjectivities" within people's actual activities or practices. Ideology, he says, is couched in language: that is, the social interplay of signs and meaning. The creation of signs and meaning is a form of social practice (e.g., the action of bodies, such as movement or the creation of sound; or the construction of material signs, such as texts or images, etc.). Since ideology always involves social relations, the analysis must begin with language and practice.

Similar to many communications theories, Althusser positions verbal and written language over other sign systems. However, it is necessary to understand that the spoken or written word is not the only symbolic form through which ideological meanings can be investigated. Other discursive sites through which the extra-discursive relations of ideology are conveyed, include: body language, electronic images, symbols, fashion, architecture, dance and so on. For instance, I have found that within each of the three movement organizations ideological meanings on heterosexual masculinities are conveyed through a variety of mediums, aside from language, such as: dance, drumming, fashion, hugging, meeting on mass and so on.

However, it is difficult to see all practice as being reducible to ideology. Althusser argues that ideology is all pervasive in every aspect of our lives: "... (1) there is no practice except by and in an ideology; (2) there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects" (1971: 159). It is obvious that not all actions have ideological effects. The practice of dancing can be experienced purely for pleasure, e.g., exercise, aesthetics, or connecting with others socially or intimately. An individual can articulate the identity of "I am a dancer" with these pleasurable meanings in mind. Still, another could interpret the same dance as symbolic of the naturalness of heterosexual coupling or the pleasures of the dance may be symbolic of an essentialized masculinity (i.e., men actively leading a passive woman partner). A more accurate approach is to acknowledge that any social practice may have, but does not necessarily have, ideological effects (Purvis and Hunt, 1993: 484). This contingency underlines the importance of social context and multiple interpretations for the same practice. *In this sense, the onus of how ideology is interpreted lies with the reader.*

The second contribution from Althusser is the concept of *interpellation*.

Interpellation is a sophisticated explanation of how individuals are inscribed or constituted as subjects by ideology. It lends to my framework the critical understanding that hetero-masculine ideologies can be directional or extra-discursive by organizing how gender and sexuality is legitimately expressed. That is to say, that ideologies can serve to establish and maintain relations of domination. Althusser emphasizes the active social and political forces of ideology when he contends that, "...all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects, by the functioning of the category of the subject" (1971: 162).

Interpellation is *an active social process of identification*. Human agency is central because ideologies are internalized and identified *as one's own*; it is, as Hall describes it, the "I of ideological statements" (1985: 102). For example, "I am the provider for my family." In other words, interpellation involves becoming the author of an identity that results in the subjection to dominant ideas. The metaphor of "hailing" is used to convey meaning about how language "speaks" to us and how we assist in recognizing or misrecognizing the "call" (Althusser, 1971: 163). He argues that ideology interpellates individuals as subjects subordinated to the interests of the ruling class and that this hailing of subjectivities is hardly ever missed in everyday life. Of course, a discursive field (e.g., a men's movement discourse on masculine identity) usually consist of many different types of potential interpellations. Larrain notes that the social practices of a given discourse can

offer several *unified* subjectivities which can be interpellated by individuals. The idea that several subjectivities can be interpellated at the same time and in relative unity provides a key insight into the power of men's movement discourses to mobilize members in such diverse contexts. One instance of this process occurs in the mytho-poetic movement. Some members unite on the need to revitalize their identities through self-awareness of the true roots of masculinity in unison with the belief that they are victims of women's struggles for equality.

An example of the interpellation process is evident in the communication between the most recent work of Robert Bly (whom I have identified as a movement intellectual of the mytho-poetic movement) and articles published by members of the Canadian mytho-poetic movement. Recall from Chapter One, that Bly believes that "contemporary" men have become too receptive to the needs of women in their lives. Bly argues that this has occurred at the expense of a full initiation into manhood and he groups these identities into the category of "soft men" (1990: 2-3).

A central theme in Bly's book, *Iron John*, is that heterosexual men have lost their *vitality*. He argues that this coincides with an unmistakable widespread decline in men's identities occurring in the United States since the 1950s (Bly, 1990: 35). For Bly masculinity varies across social and cultural trajectories that allow certain archetypes to prevail and others to become submerged. In the 1950s the masculine archetypes that prevailed were organizational. In the 1960s and 1970s, the dominant archetypes, tied to the Vietnam war, reflected the angry macho warrior. Finally in the late seventies the "soft male" surfaced as a central expression of masculinity. Like the previous archetypes, soft masculinity is believed to be an unhealthy and limiting gender role. As Bly recounts:

In the seventies I began to see all over the country a phenomenon that we might call the 'soft male.' Sometimes even today when I look out at an audience, perhaps half the young males are what I'd call soft. They're lovely, valuable people — I like them — they're not interested in harming the earth or starting wars. There's a gentle attitude toward life in their whole being and style of living. But many of these men are not happy. You quickly notice the lack of energy in them. They are life-preserving but not exactly life giving. Ironically, you often see these men with strong women who positively radiate energy. Here we have a finely tuned young man, ecologically superior to his father, sympathetic to the whole harmony of the universe, yet he himself has little vitality to offer. The strong or life-giving women who graduated from the sixties, so to speak, or who have inherited an older spirit, played an important part in producing this life-preserving, but not life-giving man (1990: 3).

The sense that masculine identity has become unbalanced because of overwhelming feminine energy is based on two key patriarchal sensibilities: (1) the inability of women to initiate boys into manhood, and (2) the power of feminism to make men more receptive, yet lacking in vigor. These sensibilities are patriarchal because masculine subjectivity is prescribed as a dominant gender — the meanings of which must be constructed in a distinct way from supposedly weaker or inferior expressions of gender (or sexuality).

In the Iron John story, Bly highlights how overwhelming femininity unbalances masculinity and creates the archetype of the soft masculine through the Oedipal narrative. In his struggle a boy is prevented from becoming a man by his mother. The story points to a separation that must part a boy from his mother and eventually from *both* of his parents.

The initiation process begins when the father asserts that the mother will no longer caudle his son. However, both the boy and the mother desire and want to continue this "psychically incestuous" relationship (Clatterbaugh, 1990: 91). This is exemplified in the Iron John story by a *key*. The boy intends to steal the key in order to get his golden ball, which symbolizes a balanced boyhood identity, back. His ball had accidentally rolled into a cage containing the wild man, a symbolic shadow of true masculinity. The key is kept hidden under the mother's pillow, which the boy retrieves and uses to free the wildman. In the process the boy wounds himself, symbolizing how initiation involves pain and how wounds are part of everyday life. Bly emphasizes how boys and men must seek out a healing of their wounds through the company of men. Since, it is only men who can relate to a wounded masculinity, it is only men who can heal it.

For Bly, soft masculinity did not rise arbitrarily. Archetypal masculinities are based on deep seated psychological scripts, thousands of years old, that surface and resurface in different historical moments. Bly makes the claims that the cultural sensibilities that make up soft masculinity arose in the late seventies through because of feminist women and women in general, who demanded that men and boys be more receptive and less aggressive. Bly points to the conclusion that assertive women have caused the lack of vitality in men in the 70s and 80s.

Meanwhile the feminist movement encouraged men to actually look at women, forcing them to become conscious of concerns and sufferings that the Fifties male labored to avoid. As men began to examine women's history and women's sensibility, some men began to notice what is called their *feminine* side and pay attention to it. This process continues to this day, and I would say that most contemporary men are involved in it in some way.

There's something wonderful about this development — I mean the practice of men welcoming their own 'feminine' consciousness and nurturing it — this is important — and yet I have the sense that there is something wrong. The male in the past twenty years has become more thoughtful, more gentle. But by this process he has not become more free. He's a nice boy who pleases not only his mother but also the young woman he is living with (Bly, 1990: 2).

There is evidence that archetypes play a similar role for the mytho-poetic movement as the essentialistic meanings connected to "nature" do for men's rights perspectives on gender and sexuality (Clatterbaugh, 1990). Such an approach may be used politically to justify patriarchal sensibilities on gender and sexuality and may undermine their pluralistic strategies which try to break with the monolithic patriarchal identities. Instead of supporting moves towards blended gender and non-patriarchal identities, Bly reconstructs the "problem" of soft masculinity as an inadequate expression of manhood. In doing so he reinforces the patriarchal cultural sensibility that men and boys who are constantly exposed to feminine energy are weak and immature. As an example, Bly speculates that uninitiated boys, parented by single mothers, will lack a vital masculine side in adulthood.

One could ponder why, if men have overcompensated in the past, on the side of hard masculinities, do they not have a need to *further* explore their feminine side, as the so-called soft males are doing? It seems arbitrary that soft masculinity is characterized as a dominant archetype in a time, the 1970s and 1980s, with massive arms production, a re-articulation of traditional "family values," and cold war politics. Such trends require the organizational, provider and macho warrior archetypes that Bly claims to reject. Perhaps, the soft masculine archetype arose because of men resisting the more aggressive and dominating masculine expressions. Or, perhaps, these soft masculinities have always been around, having been known in other ways. For example, "mamma's boy," or "sissy."

In line with patriarchal ideology, many members of the mytho-poetic men's movement have interpreted soft masculinity as an unbalanced and weak expression of manliness. Consider the following narratives from IMN, a mytho-poetic SMO. These members have adopted identities that encourage men to reject or to make a separation from feminine sensibilities which they see as unbalancing their identities.

Men in this society are encouraged to believe that saying nice things about life will make the world a better place. That simply is not so, and I believe that this is why Bly and Meade can be quite demanding of the men they teach (McKegney, Winter 1990: 18).

True masculinity comes from contact with other men. On-going support groups are one powerful way to tap into our male energy in a safe, purposeful way. The ISLAND MEN NETWORK supports established men's groups and the formation of new men's groups (*Island Men*, Winter 1990).

...and my favourite image was of a woman with reins tight in hand riding a stallion over the countryside...In relationships with men, I believe most women do not want to mate with nice, soft male who does whatever she wants him to — that is boring for her, women tell me. Women need to ride and control the Beast, and not be the Beast...; the male Beast should resist being completely tamed by women, especially mothers:... (Maris, Winter 1993: 6-7).

Bly's interpretation of the soft male archetype demonstrates how the interpellation process always starts in a specific social and political location. Bly writes in a period in which the ideology of hegemonic hetero-masculinity is being challenged and reconstructed. Among the range of cultural archetypes available, Bly most strongly identifies the subjectivity of soft masculinity as an expression of uninitiated manhood that can find new strength and vitality through contact with other men. In effect, he identifies soft masculinity as a form of subjectivity that is socially and psychologically limiting for men and is aligned with the hegemonic sensibilities of how to be a man.²² This means adhering to sets of practices, styles and beliefs that are appropriate to the character of a man and not to a woman.

The next part of the interpellation process requires *a sense of recognition or identification by the interpellated subject*, e.g., by members of the mytho-poetic movement. In the first narrative above, McKegney accepts that sensitivity is not akin to transforming heterosexual masculinity. This emphasizes how soft masculinity is limiting for men. In the second excerpt from the editors of *Island Men*, an essentialized image of "true masculinity" is held up as obtainable through men-only contact. Some of the metaphors from this same text point to the discovery of a true masculinity as a "search" for the "true roots" of masculinity. These metaphors are grounded in the idea that gender identity is ultimately based on one's sex as a male or female. For example, "males" only become "men" through men-only contact. The hegemonic sensibility that men need to separate from women in

²² In effect, Bly interpellates soft masculinity as a debilitating form of manliness within himself. However, as a movement intellectual, he plays a key role in disseminating movement sensibilities and narratives on a collective level. This underscores the need to examine how members within the mytho-poetic movement read or interpret Bly's work.

certain contexts to find their full masculine energy is emphasized in these metaphors and narratives.

Finally, another member of *Island Men* (Maris) believes that most women do not want to mate with a nice soft male. This reifies the idea that "...we need to accept that men and women are fundamentally different; equal, but not the same" (Maris, Winter 1993: 7). He goes on to point out that "men and women should not be treated the same, whether in counselling, business, or wherever" (Maris, Winter 1993: 7). Maris argues that men's vitality is at stake in his observation that he has "...seen too many bonsai tree men around nowadays — clipped and bent and shaped and dwarfed — rather than great, tall, strong cedars, which is their destiny" (Maris, Winter 1993: 7).

The advantage of Althusser's concept of interpellation is that it acknowledges agency in a theory of the communication of ideology. For interpellation to occur an individual must identify with a preconstructed subjectivity. In the context of the mytho-poetic movement this involves a rejection of soft masculinity in favour of a "true masculinity," that then becomes identified and accepted by a member, i.e., one that is vigorous and initiated through contact with other men. A significant point is that the interpellation of a patriarchal identity is a contextual process, one that involves agency. *This points to the hypothesis that the construction of identity is an uneven and contextual process, one that may involve interpellation or one that involves some other form of interpretation and expression of identity.*

The main thrust and drawback of Althusser's theory is the assumption that individuals are interpellated in virtually the same way and always in some *functional* relation to state apparatuses (e.g., mental health institutions, education system or law). This homogeneous formulation neglects considerations of other sites of domination such as the expression of gender identities or sexualities that do not follow the norms articulated by hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. In the context of my investigation, the question remains: how is it that large numbers of heterosexual men growing up in a "free" society willingly replicate relations of dominance, while others clearly resist hegemonic heterosexuality; or to put it another way, *why do some men fail to interpellate patriarchal ideology in some contexts, but not in others?*

Towards a Contextually-Shifting Approach to Gender and Sexuality

Devor sheds some light on this uneven interpretive process in her investigation of the social construction of gender and sexuality and its affects on the experiences of gender blended females. Devor interprets genders as social expressions that are partially related to, but not determined by biological sex, and dialectically connected to the meanings of sexuality. She argues that: "[n]ot all individuals in society fit within the normal patterns that presume that females will become girls and then women, and that males will become boys then men" (Devor: 1989: vii). Devor found that some people, whom she describes as "gender blenders" clearly have characteristics belonging to one sex and identify with the corresponding gender (i.e., female-woman), but express a range of gendered sensibilities from the two standard gender roles. The implication is that individuals interpret socially constructed meanings of gender and sexuality differentially through their *experiences of the world*. As Devor comments:

Masculine socialization produces masculine behavior patterns and aspirations in the persons who experience it; persons who have been raised to think of themselves as active and aggressive competitors are not likely to develop a sexuality based on passivity and coyness. By the same token, persons who have grown up using older males as role models are not likely to cease to model themselves after them in the formation of their sexuality. Thus, females who have been substantially socialized in accordance with masculine patterns will find masculine patterns of sexuality more readily available to them as they enter into their own patterns of sexual desire and activity (1989: 90-91).

Patriarchal Ideology as an Extra-Discursive Relationship

John B. Thompson's (1987) theoretical framework is complementary to a contextually-shifting model of gender and sexual identity. Thompson succinctly explains how the meanings of dominant ideologies are conveyed as extra-discursive strategies of dominance. Thompson's compatible definition of ideology centers on "...the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination" (1990: 56). In this regard, Thompson makes two distinctions necessary to develop an critical approach to ideology that emphasizes the specific relations between meaning, power and domination. First, Thompson focuses on relations of domination as specific sites of direct power relations. As Thompson argues:

...power must be distinguished from domination, which is a specific instance of institutionally established power relations...[a]mong the

instances of domination which are particularly important in the modern world are those which involve systematic asymmetries of power between classes, sexes, races and nation-states⁹ (1987: 519).

This attention to the strategies of domination involves a sharper focus on the ways hegemonic power relationships directly privilege the meanings of some identities over others. Second, Thompson argues that language is central to understanding ideology and the ways in which social meanings support relations of domination. Yet, he also acknowledges that meanings are also conveyed through images, body language and other non-linguistic expressions which are regulated through the kind of dispersed power relations identified by Foucault.

To summarize thus far, the version of ideology critique explored here is somewhat different from that utilized by Marx. In particular, the critical view I opt for makes the illusionary/mystification conceptualization one possibility, but not the central focus of the communication of ideology within the men's movement discourses on gender and sexuality. This process involves the reinforcement and reproduction of dominant social relations and practices.

Devor's research suggest that the interpellation of ideology is never guaranteed, but that interpellation is more characteristically *an uneven and continual process of interpreting and expressing identity* — one that can involve hegemonic struggle along Gramscian lines. Further, this opens conceptual spaces to understand how new meanings can surface through chance occurrences and new juxtapositions of experiences and meanings in discourse and everyday life. These interpretations can be resistive and subversive through active struggle on the part of individuals in opposition to the meanings and practices expressed through hegemonic heterosexual masculinity.

Hegemonic Heterosexual Masculinity

The concept of hegemony can be applied to describe how heterosexual men as a social group acquire and maintain consensual support for their privileged social positions throughout society. Consensual support implies that heterosexual men are not understood as a "ruling class," but do have access to significant economic, political and cultural control in society. This control reflects a hegemony of privileged groups over subordinate groups. Significantly, ongoing assurance of this control requires the popular support and mobilization of subordinated groups. The hegemony heterosexual men have over other groups requires an ongoing struggle for dominance, but also a practice of compromise and

transformation. As I have argued, this struggle for hegemony involves the mobilization of diverse social groups — including among others feminist, gay-lesbian and the three men's movements.

The ideology of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity is a collection of ways of thinking and social expression that are so enmeshed in mainstream culture that they are rarely questioned by most people in their daily lives. This dominant gender/sexuality meaning system imposes specific practices that privilege and regulate certain expressions of identity over others. The themes of hegemonic hetero-masculinity (which include competition for dominance, heterosexism, and violence towards women, children and other men) reflect the actual lived patterns of power that are significant underpinnings of patriarchal culture (Frank, 1987: 163-4).

As I have described throughout this chapter, the ideology of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity works to regulate social relations of gender, sexuality and subjectivity. Popular support and mobilization is expressed in everyday social relations. Members of the profeminist, men's rights and mytho-poetic movements decode the referent text of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity in a disunified form. Some members accept the dominant masculine hailing in many areas of their lives: work, family, school, etc. Others members reject the dominant codes by placing them in an oppositional framework. Still others resist hegemonic codes through the contradictory sensibilities of popular culture. Overall, hegemonic heterosexual masculinity is not replicated by all men, all of the time, but in specific social-historical contexts. Collectively, the three projects of the profeminist, men's rights and mytho-poetic movements are three distinct responses to hegemonic heterosexual masculinity.

Summary of Key Concepts

(1) *Ideology* continues to be a powerful concept to explain how forms of heterosexual masculinity maintain a privileged position in contemporary society. In general, there are two broad, yet opposed Marxist conceptions of ideology: *negative* and *positive*. The negative view refers to a kind of distorted thought, and the positive identifies the totality of forms of social consciousness or to the wide ranging, yet interconnected political ideas of social-economic classes.

(2) Aspects of Marx's perspective on ideology are retained in my framework. (a) The view that ideas are created by people engaged in active social relations in an economic system.

This *material grounding in social relations* retains a view of ideology that is not reducible to discourse and therefore is concerned with social relationships that centers on lived experience. (b) The conceptualization of ideology as illusion is retained as a significant contingent possibility.

(3) Two key concepts— those of practice and interpellation — situate ideology as a social activity of people and involve the power to dominate over others. (a) *Social practice* makes it possible to think of the activation of ideology in diverse forms of human activity (i.e., gender and sexuality). Apart from spoken or written language, other discursive sites in which ideology can be studied include: body language, electronic images, hand signing, fashion, architecture, touch and so on. (b) *Interpellation* involves internalizing and identifying ideologies *as one's own*. The "hailing" metaphor helps to convey a sense of how language "speaks" to us and how we choose to identify with various subjectivities. Discourses can convey different subjectivities created through social relations in a relative unity or disunity. The process of interpellation not only involves hailing individuals through discourse, but a sense of recognition or *identification* by the interpellated subject. In various discursive contexts individuals can interpellate subjectivities with or without power and privilege.

(4) Overall, interpreting social meanings of gender and sexuality is an uneven and contextual process. This communication process is contextually-shifting as people interpret meaning and express themselves in friendship networks, work relationships, everyday life, journals and so on. A successful interpellation of a hegemonic ideology is one in which an individual interprets and expresses the hegemonic sensibilities through their own identity. In contrast, oppositional or resistive identities involve a disruption in the interpellation process. This communications process reflects societal disunification, fragmentation and struggle in relation to various hegemonies.

(5) The process of interpreting ideology can be understood through a contextually-shifting communications model that involves *hegemony*. For the present purposes, the concept of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity can be understood to express the ways in which heterosexual men as a group acquire and maintain consensual support for their privileged social positions. Hegemonic heterosexual masculinity also involves actual lived patterns of power that are significant underpinnings of patriarchal culture. The concept of hegemony

also connects with an understanding of how people "resist" dominant ideologies. At the same time it opens explanation of how hetero-masculinity supports unequal and harmful social structures and coercive practices.

In the following chapter I explain how I collected and analyzed my data in order to explore these various theoretical concepts. I also explain how I applied Thompson's methodology as way of organizing the thesis in three phases: social historical analysis, discursive analysis and what Thompson calls "re-interpretation."

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter I explicitly lay out the analytical tools I discuss the ethnographic methodology utilized in collecting the data for this study. I also describe Thompson's (1990) depth hermeneutic framework, and how I developed it in relation to social movement theory and the ethnographic and textual methods deployed. Thompson's methodological framework is essential to the organization of the thesis into three distinct phases which I fully describe further on.

I have employed an ethnographic approach that integrates textual data, including my own personal journals, and meets my requirement for elaborating perspectives from the vantage point of members of the men's movement. In part, I have drawn on basic ethnographic methodologies described in Kirby and McKenna (1989), Jorgensen (1989), Shaffir and Stebbins (1991) and Singleton et al (1988).

The ethnographic methodology is also informed by the identity oriented paradigm of new social movement theory, particularly Melucci's (1989, 1988) concept of NSM's as "submerged networks" fostering shared cultural sensibilities. Through the triangulation of the textual methods of frame, narrative and metaphor I endeavour to expose these sensibilities.²³ My focus is the discovery of how meanings, cultural sensibilities and personal experiences of gender and sexuality are collectively articulated by members of each SMO in relation to hegemonic heterosexual masculinity.

This approach is significant to the analysis of social movements and identity in several respects. First, the methods make connections between personal and collective perceptions of reality. The types of metaphors and narratives that individuals use convey *culturally shared meanings*. Second, the analyst is called upon to draw on his or her experiential knowledge of the social context, intuitive insights and cultural knowledge in interpreting the texts. It is not considered a bias, but rather a positive and intrinsic part of the analysis. Finally, there is a strong emphasis on the inter-subjective field of communication between broader discourses and both lived and textually constructed versions of reality.

²³ Triangulation involves the use of three research methods to analyze social phenomenon.

As I pointed out earlier, members of the men's movement link their personal experience of gender and sexual identities with the collective expression of movement identity frames. This process necessitates a sensitivity to macro/micro linkages between the social construction of personal gender identities and collective movement identities. I have emphasized this difference by contrasting Goffman's (1974) concept of personal identity and frame analysis with Snow and Benford's (1992, 1986) extension (of Goffman's approach) to collective action framing.

My methodology is informed by Thompson's depth hermeneutical approach which comprises three phases of inquiry: social-historical analysis, discursive analysis and (re)interpretation. Thompson's work is significant as it enables a researcher to develop an ethnographic and discursive analysis appropriate to local contexts (e.g., the submerged networks of SMOs), while maintaining a connection to social-historical conditions and broader interpretive contexts (e.g., ideology, social structures, everyday life or cultural sensibilities).

Ethnographic Methodology

The ethnographic methodology for my study took form as I mapped out my research interests and a series of questions. As Kirby and McKenna describe, many research projects emerge through a researcher's own experiential knowledge (1989: 44). I have described this process in the Introduction, along with: (1) some of my own conceptual baggage (i.e., intellectual thinking, political perspectives and personal narrative), (2) ethical concerns, (3) rationale for choosing ethnography and (4) tensions and challenges that arose for the researcher. My research questions are summarized in Appendix A. These questions reflect an "end process," since their construction involved a reflexive tack between social and political theory, literature reviews and participation in the research context. This process was helpful in accumulating a layering of knowledge and in deepening my understanding of the three social movements.

The ethnographic data that I collected and analyzed covers two main areas: (1) personal journals and research notes of my participation in the men's movement (e.g., in men's support groups, consciousness raising groups, protests, vigils and various other publicly open men's movement events) and (2) textual data and analytic notes of coded materials (e.g., publicly available organization newsletters, conference material, books written by prominent practitioners and leaders, poetry, personal letters, letters to editors, SMO research projects and so on). A summary in Appendix B describes the various groups

I participated in and the amount of textual data I gathered. I have separated the participant observation data into individual discussions with *members* (using code names to protect member's identities) and participation in *SMO groups*. Overall, this work involved approximately 83 informal discussions with individual members and attended approximately 101 men's groups — yielding approximately 550 pages of research notes and personal journals.

I was actively involved in three social movement organizations from October 1991 until January 1993. These groups, situated in Victoria, B.C., were IMN (a mytho-poetic group), MMAN (a men's rights group) and MNC (a profeminist group). All of these groups sought the participation of new members from men in the general public. The data that I gathered at this time took the form of a personal journal of my participation in various men's groups and events. Although I wasn't formally researching these SMOs at this time, the insights I gained were integrated into my course work on theory, gender and sexuality, and into two Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association papers, one on the political significance of the mytho-poetic movement, written in the winter of 1991/92 and a second on depth hermeneutic methodology, written in the winter of 1992/93.

From February 1993 to December 1994, after formulating a proposal, I purposefully gathered an extensive amount of textual data, continued my participation in MNC and maintained some connections with IMN through personal friendships. Since MMAN did not produce a newsletter or any significant amount of textual material, I began to study newsletters from MERGE, based in Calgary and Edmonton, Alberta and Seattle, Washington.

Although I have never attended a MERGE meeting, I found strong parallels in the kind of politics that members articulated, e.g., strong reactionary views against feminist politics and the women's movement, alignment on issues like men's violence, child custody and divorce, and an emphasis on the naturalness of heterosexuality, dissolution of coercive gender and sexual practices, and alliances with the profamily and REAL women's movements. As well, there are organizational similarities: e.g., both SMOs are hierarchically organized with a president and vice president, have task-oriented committees, and orientated develop research projects, reports and lobby government. Of course, there were also differences. MERGE is publicly accessible to both men and women, while MMAN is open only to men. MERGE is a much larger organization with memberships in a number of cities, while MMAN is a small organization, comprised of a mainly submerged workplace-friendship networks.

I presented myself in an open fashion to these groups, e.g., as a person interested in men and masculinity issues. Throughout my involvement I made a point of disclosing, from time to time, to individuals and groups, my interest in potentially researching the men's movement. I indicated the likelihood of applying the insights I gained in my participation to such a project. I emphasized that I would maintain the confidentiality of members' identities. One concern was members who identified themselves publicly in newsletters, whom I identify without a code name. In order to maintain the confidentiality of these members I make no references to them in my participant observations of their SMOs.

I found the newsletters to be a rich source of knowledge and insight into the social construction and expressions of hetero-masculinity. My active participation gave me a lasting impression of the complexity of member's everyday lives. Still, personal interviews could: (1) highlight with more precision the tensions and challenges that exist between members and movements, (2) open up the opportunity to gain knowledge of specific background variables, (3) open up in-depth life histories of all members (not just those who get published), (4) enable a more precise mapping of social networks (especially, submerged networks within SMOs), (5) provide more historical insight from the perspective of long-time members and (6) elicit a more variable understanding of members everyday lives. Again, with the benefit of hindsight and new skills, a researcher could make this an empowering and transformative process for movement participants.

As Appendix B indicates, I divided the textual data into primary and secondary texts. I examined primary texts in great detail to expose movement and wider cultural discourses, SMO mobilization strategies, SMO organization, social movement networks, members descriptions of their everyday experiences and members cultural sensibilities on gender and sexuality. Three newsletters encompass research in this section: *Island Men*, *The MERGE Journal* and *Men's Network News*. This involved coding 23 newsletters or 387 pages of text (e.g., articles, poetry, letters to the editor, etc.) and led to 219 pages of analytic notes.

I chose these newsletters as primary texts over others for several reasons: (1) MNC and IMN have gained some national and international status as representative profeminist and mytho-poetic SMOs, respectively, (2) MERGE, IMN and MNC appeared to have some organizational longevity and broad based membership to continue publishing, (3) IMN and MNC were easily accessible organizations both in terms of geographical location and public advertising for new male membership and (4) I had sufficient quantities of each

of the three newsletters for analysis. I obtained the full complement of the 11 issues of *Island Men* published, 7 issues of *Men's Network News* and 5 issues of *The MERGE Newsletter*. I determined from my survey of all the textual information I gathered that at least 5 issues were required for analysis, in terms of: (1) covering a wide enough range of issues that could be compared with the other primary texts, (2) providing description of SMO allies and opponents, (3) advertising SMO activities, events and resources, (4) opening the opportunity to draw out various cultural discourses on gender and sexuality and (5) disclosing a significant amount of members experiences and perceptions of personal and collective identities.

I relied on secondary texts to provide a degree of reliability. This involved comparing codes that emerged in the analysis process of MERGE, IMN and MNC texts with my reading of the wider sampling of secondary texts, especially of other SMO newsletters. The secondary texts that I accumulated are extensive and summarized in Appendix B.

Frame, Narrative and Metaphor Analysis

Frame, narrative and metaphor analysis provide a useful methodological basis for analyzing ideology. These concepts reflect the ways in which people construct and communicate their direct experience and perceptions of the world. As a combined methodology, frame, narrative and metaphor analysis can give unique insights into communication. These methods allow one to see how abstract discourses on gender and ideology connect with the interpretation and expression of identity in everyday life.

These discursive tools are useful ways of coding, sorting and analyzing textual data obtained from journals or archival work. For example, metaphor analysis is a useful way of mapping and summarizing textual data as it maintains a sensitivity to the meanings conveyed by the participants. This is especially important in understanding extra-discursive phenomena, like ideology, which are embedded in complex discourses that appear to be removed from our everyday experiences. Finally, metaphor, narrative and frame analysis are all compatible with other methods such as social-historical and interpretive analysis.

The concept of *frame* has its origins in the fields of social-psychology, cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence and has been effectively applied in analyses of advertising and political discourse (Donati, 1992: 140; Goldman, 1992). Psychologically, memories, perceptions of events or experiences are never a complete comprehension (in terms of all possible component parts). Framing provides a way of condensing vast

amounts of socially constructed meaning.

How people frame their perceptions of reality can vary significantly. This is partially because meanings are clustered together and are *socially* interpreted by people through language and other sign systems. In broad terms, a frame functions as a synthesis of meanings based on shared social knowledge and experiences that helps people communicate perceptions, stories, images, ideas, sensibilities and so on, about life.

The framing devices described by Goffman (1974, 1963) and Snow and Benford (1992, 1986) are helpful in distinguishing the personal expression of gender identities from collective action frames. Goffman describes a whole range of semiotic codes or "keys" which go into the *framing* and presentation of *personal identities* and *cultural beliefs*. His work makes a significant move away from the psychology of individuals to the social process through which people locate, perceive and define themselves (Goffman, 1974: 74). In developing Goffman's concept for my own purposes, I emphasized the ongoing interpretation and articulation of *cultural sensibilities*, that is how they are reflected in gender identity frames. The emphasis on sensibility reflects the experiential and social processes involved in interpreting and expressing meaning and constructing gender identities, such as ideology. To understand how members frame their personal identities I explore their cultural sensibilities (e.g., what does it mean to be a man) with their construction of identity in daily life (e.g., how they respond to challenges to their identities).

Snow and Benford have taken Goffman's work in a new direction by considering frames strategically, as collective action devices. *Collective action frames* are "interpretive schemata" that highlight certain issues or concerns as unjust, attribute blame to individuals or processes and identify solutions for resolution through collective action (Snow and Benford, 1992: 137).

..., we see movement organizations and actors as actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers. This productive work may involve the amplification and extension of existent meanings, the transformation of old meanings, and the generation of new meanings (Snow et al. 1986). We thus view movements as functioning in part as signifying agents that often are deeply embroiled, along with the media, local governments, and the state, in what has been referred to aptly as the 'politics of signification' (Hall 1982) (Snow and Benford, 1992: 136).

The focus on the discursive politics of movement struggles is applied in this

analysis to investigate how collective action frames challenge or support the established hegemony of heterosexual masculinity and how the frames of movement intellectuals correspond with those of movement activists.

In each of the three social movements I analyzed, members linked their framing of personal gender and sexual identity with the collective expression of movement action frames. *The common terrain across these two levels of analysis is the social construction of meanings within submerged social networks and through discourse.* As I discuss in Chapter Four, this interpretive process varies across the organization of SMOs and mobilizations of the three movements. The uneven and contextual nature of this communication process led me to emphasize the macro/micro linkages — that is, the relationship between the framing of personal identity and the framing of collective identity. The linkage of these two sets of subject positions is such that cultural sensibilities, SMO activities and ideologies are closely aligned or complimentary. As I mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, Snow and Benford refer to this process as frame alignment (1986: 464).

My interest in hegemonic heterosexual masculinity involves understanding how members of the men's movement have interpreted the dominant sensibilities of how to be a heterosexual man in the face of challenges to these sensibilities. In relation to frame analysis, the key questions are, how do members frame their own personal identities in relation to the dominant sensibilities on gender and sexuality and how is this articulated as part of a collective action frame and how are these symbolic strategies used to mobilize incumbent and new members?

In what follows I link the analysis of personal identity frame and collective identity frame with the analysis of narrative and metaphor. This approach to analyzing identity focuses on the discovery of how meanings, cultural sensibilities and personal experiences of gender and sexuality are collectively articulated by members of each SMO. Appendix E provides a detailed example of how I apply frame, narrative and metaphor analysis and Appendix F describes validity and reliability issues with regard to these methods.

Thompson refers to metaphor and narrative analysis as key instances of discourse analysis (Thompson, 1990: 65 and 289). He comments that "[a] narrative may be regarded, broadly speaking, as a discourse which recounts a sequence of events — or as we commonly say which 'tells a story'" (Thompson, 1990: 288). Similarly "[m]etaphor may dissimulate social relations by representing them, or the individuals and groups embedded in them, as endowed with characteristics which they do not literally possess, thereby accentuating certain features at the expense of others and charging them with a positive or

negative sense" (Thompson, 1990: 63). Examining metaphors and narratives in a text is a key component to illuminating cultural sensibilities involved in constructing personal identity frames and how these form to articulate collective action frameworks.

The investigation of narrative structures has a tradition in literary theory, but there is also a background for it in the social sciences. In particular, feminist sociologists and anthropologists have developed narrative techniques as means to interpret women's lives (Shostak, 1989). I apply narrative analysis to explore movement identities and to highlight shared cultural sensibilities expressed through story telling — as in Bly's *Iron John* or men's movement narratives about the Montreal Massacre. How these stories are told and interpreted conveys shared cultural sensibilities about identity and how identity is framed in relation to ideology.

Identity gets coherence by locating social relations in a sequence of unfolding events. This is partially because narratives provide a sense of direction and meaningful explanation of social relations. As well, members seem to make sense of their experiences and relationships with others through narrative. Gergen (1988) argues that by tying events to a larger story people are able to make sense out of a particular event. Narrative analysis also helps to make sense of more expansive social/cultural, political-economic and historical phenomena relevant to people's everyday lives. Narratives are often shaped and encoded with culturally valued meanings — as in the connections that some members make between the socio-biological stories of the "fight for survival in the animal kingdom" and men's "natural" predisposition towards aggression. Finally, narrative analysis ties into a study of metaphors because metaphors are closely connected to and shaped by the qualities of a story.

Exploring the use of metaphor in discourses is a further means of understanding how collective and personal identities are framed. A metaphor is a relational concept. The meanings of one event, experience or object are implied to describe another event, experience or object. It is a way of communicating by using shared experiences, interpretations and images. Lakoff and Johnson (1980a, 1980b) present convincing arguments that the use of metaphor is not just a matter of poetic imagination but essential to constituting and communicating everyday meanings, including identity.

The significant question in metaphor analysis is *how* people use them. Metaphorical concepts are formed relative to cultural, time and place activities and experiences. Therefore researchers should not expect to find exactly the same metaphors or meanings across cultural contexts. Stanley Deetz (1984) in his review of metaphor analysis argues that the

interpretive approach aims to describe and explain the structure of human experience.

Metaphors describe one's own experience in terms of another: "thinking, experiencing and acting in a culture are based upon grand systems of metaphors" (Deetz, 1983: 218). Thus, metaphors are not merely words or language, but a reflection of human thought processes. Metaphors are ways of seeing based on shared experiences. *In any culture the most commonly used metaphors delineate the meanings of shared life experiences.*

In summary, my interest in applying frame, narrative and metaphor analysis centers on delineating shared cultural sensibilities in relation to patriarchal ideology. Each of these modes of discourse analysis highlight a certain aspects of the cultural meanings of hetero-masculinity. Ultimately, these methods provide insight into the ways in which members of each movement articulate their mobilization and collective action strategies.

A Depth Hermeneutical Framework for Analysis

While my analysis draws upon the methodological techniques of ethnography and discourse analysis, the strategy for this study may be described as depth hermeneutical, in the sense employed by John Thompson. Thompson's framework takes the analysis of ideology one step farther than most cultural theorists through what he calls the methodology of depth hermeneutics. Depth hermeneutics, first developed by Paul Ricoeur, enables a researcher "...to develop a methodological framework which is oriented towards the interpretation (or re-interpretation) of meaningful phenomena, but in which different types of analysis can play legitimate and mutually supportive roles" (Thompson, 1990: 21). Thompson's approach draws on various methods of social, historical and cultural analysis to highlight different elements of ideology. While any particular method may have weaknesses and limits, I have found that the "triangulation" of various contextually-specific forms of analysis as partial stages, works to strengthen the overall framework in terms of its reliability (Singleton et al, 1988: 360-362 and Thompson, 1990: 21).

Thompson's framework orients this project to examine the ways in which frames are created and interpreted by people in their daily life. In other words, Thompson argues for a "hermeneutics of everyday life" as a fundamental and unavoidable starting point of sociological inquiry.²⁴ In Thompson's words,

²⁴ There are significant differences in Thompson's view of the everyday world compared to Dorothy Smith (1990) who explores "everyday life" conceptually. First, Thompson's approach makes a methodological break with the everyday world, preferring a hermeneutics of everyday life "in relation" to his more general

...the depth-hermeneutical approach must be based, so far as possible, upon an elucidation of *the ways in which symbolic forms are interpreted and understood by the individuals who produced and received them in the course of their everyday lives*: this ethnographic moment is an indispensable preliminary to the depth-hermeneutical approach. By means of interviews, participant observation and other kinds of ethnographic research, we can reconstruct the ways in which symbolic forms are interpreted and understood in the varied contexts of social life" (italics mine, Thompson, 1990: 379).

There are three analytically distinct phases which comprise the depth hermeneutic framework: social-historical analysis, discursive analysis and (re)interpretation.

Phase One: Social-Historical Analysis

The first phase in the depth hermeneutic approach involves social-historical analysis. In broad terms, this phase analyzes the historical context, the cultural sensibilities or social conventions and the social institutions within which ideology is conveyed (Thompson, 1990: 282). Firstly, social-historical analysis focuses on the identification of specific spacio-temporal settings in which ideology is interpreted and expressed. Secondly, this phase examines the opportunities for interaction in which individuals utilize various available types and quantities of "resources" (Thompson, 1990: 282). Thirdly, the analyst explores the social institutions involved, that is "...the clusters of rules, resources and relations which constitute them, to trace their development through time and to examine the practices and attitudes of the individuals who act for them and within them (Thompson, 1990: 282).

Thompson emphasizes that social-historical analysis is essential to the study of ideology because ideologies are not free floating discursive relations, but are ones that have an extra-discursive character. Ideology has a referential connection with social structures (e.g., capitalism, heterosexism, patriarchy, etc.). Social-historical analysis is a way of grounding the other levels of analysis. Two chapters of my study pertain to this first phase, they are: Chapter One — Social-Historical Development of the Men's Movement and Chapter Four — Comparative Analysis of Movement Organizations and Mobilization

depth-hermeneutical approach (Thompson, 1990: 280). This separation parcels daily life in a way that Smith's approach does not. It could be demonstrated that this separation can result in the objectification of daily life. In support of Thompson, I emphasize how his methodology encourages a break with objectivist perspectives that deny the participant's and researcher's interpretive viewpoints.

Strategies.

The social historical analysis in Chapter One took form with the development of a flexible and coherent social movement typology based on the categories of critical, reactionary and new age social movements. Applying such a typology is a logical extension of Thompson's framework; he argues that "We can analyze a field as a space of positions and a set of trajectories, which together determine relations between individuals and some of the opportunities available to them" (Thompson, 1990: 282). The categories of critical, new age and reactionary closely reflected the disunified politics, competing cultural sensibilities and different mobilization strategies within men's movements. A recurring problem in the social-historical analysis centered on the following question: is the men's movement is a single movement with different factions or a range of politically diverse and culturally disunified movements?

The typology described in Chapter One is useful on an *analytical level* in terms of clearly delineating the available opportunities for political action. Researchers have investigated the profeminist, men's rights and mytho-poetic movements in diverse ways, yet are almost always limited to a descriptive level. Moreover, the lack of typological clarity concerning the men's movement has eventuated in a raft of contradictory findings. Some writers combine the three movements together as a single movement with diverse "wings," "factions" or "branches" (e.g., Astrachan, 1986: 293; Eisler, 1992: 47; Harding 1992: xiii). Others identify a single men's movement with varying political perspectives (e.g., Clatterbaugh, 1990: 9; Hagan, 1992: xi). Others describe a men's movement that mutates from one perspective to another (e.g., Faludi, 1991: 307; Farrell, 1992: 307). Others identify one movement (i.e., either the mytho-poetic, profeminist, or men's rights movement) as "*the real men's movement*" or "*the men's counter-movement*" (e.g., Ruether, 1992: 14; Adair, 1992: 56; Young, B., 1993: 313), and still others question the legitimacy of applying the concept of social movement to these diverse forms of masculine politics (e.g., Carrigan et al, 1987: 162; Young, B., 1993: 324; Astrachan, 1986: 290).

I used a wide range of texts to map out the historical development of the three movements, including: academic research on the men's movement, popular books about men and the primary and secondary texts highlighted in Appendix B. I identified the various contexts in which the three movements emerged, considered the collective sensibilities that brought each movement together and examined the surrounding social structures and opportunities for political action since the 1970s. As well, I analyzed the perspectives of various movement intellectuals as they resonated with the sensibilities of

movement members,²⁵

Chapter Four is a continuation of the social-historical analysis, one that is informed by resource mobilization theory (RMT). My rationale for using RMT is that an analysis of mobilization and organization will shed light on the ways in which each movement utilizes available skills and resources to construct and circulate symbolic forms — which is a requirement of Thompson's depth hermeneutic analysis. RMT is useful in exploring contextual processes of movement activity, e.g., the mobilization of incumbent members and new recruits, the organizational dynamics and the strategies used to take advantage of political opportunities (Carroll, 1992: 38). Specifically, this phase of the social-historical analysis investigates: (1) the collective sensibilities of *SMOs* as a reflection of the member's lived experiences (which involves an identification process with movement frameworks and mobilization strategies), (2) the organizational structure and resource mobilization of various organizations and (3) strategies and methods by which activists aim to achieve their vision of change.

The analytical chapters of this thesis were mainly based on textual data. The analysis of textual data began with the development of a series of codes. I applied these codes to the three *SMO* newsletters (i.e., the primary texts) and to my research journals and notes. The codes are identified in Appendix C and correspond to research questions in Appendix A. I have summarized the process of constructing textual codes in Appendix D. The coding schema closely mirrored my research questions for each chapter, which were created through a reflexive process between theory, literature and research context. The research context was firmly ingrained in the construction of methodology, application of theory and identification of questions. Consequently, I found that once my data were coded, I could identify patterns, contradictions and sensibilities within *SMOs*, and make comparisons across *SMOs*.

²⁵ A movement intellectual refers to a wise, knowledgeable and easily identified member of a social movement. Movement intellectuals are clearly represented as articulating ideologies in movement discourses, but unlike hierarchical leadership, do not command more direct control. Instead, they articulate a type of discursive influence (i.e. as an exemplar of movement ideas and social meanings for gender and sexuality).

Phase Two: Discursive Analysis

The second phase in depth hermeneutics is known as discursive analysis. Thompson describes this process as the investigation of ideology as complex cultural constructions which display an articulated structure. He contends that, "[t]he forms of discourse which express ideology must be viewed, not only as socially and historically situated practices or products, but also as linguistic constructions which display an articulated structure" (Thompson, 1987: 526). Chapter Five — Discursive Analysis of the Core Framing Tasks within Social Movement Organizations — contains the core work of this phase of the analysis. The analysis at this stage centered on investigating how ideological considerations are central to the formation of movement politics. In order to elaborate on the way SMOs mobilize beliefs and ideas, especially in relation to patriarchal ideology, I focus on the core framing tasks prevalent in movement discourses. Snow and Benford (1988) refer to these framing tasks as diagnostic (i.e., construction of the problem), prognostic (i.e., construction of a solution) and motivational (i.e., a call to action).

This phase of inquiry involved a second more specific analysis of the coded textual data, especially emphasizing the ways in which the core framing tasks are constructed in relation to patriarchal ideology. Initially, I developed nine charts (like the one in Appendix G) in order to map out some of the coded data. This included mapping: (1) the range of cultural sensibilities on heterosexual masculinity, (2) the frame alignment between movement intellectuals and activists, (3) the SMO allies and opponents, (4) the SMO mobilization strategies, available resources with discursive strategies, (5) the problems and solutions identified in movement discourses, (6) the purpose and goals of each SMO, (7) the types of narratives in relation to the article topic, (8) the SMO reactions to challenges on their gender and sexuality with discursive strategies and (9) the SMO mobilization strategies, discursive strategies with member's visions of gender relations. I decided not to follow through with the mapping of all of these tables because of time and space limitations of this project. Instead, I developed table number 7 into Appendix G — Discursive Analysis of SMO Newsletter Content.

Appendix G summarizes the main narratives drawn on by writers in each of the SMO newsletters by the article topic. I describe this process of analysis in Appendix H — Summary of Narrative Codes for Appendix G Data and in Appendix I — Coding Procedures for Appendix G Data. I constructed this summary in order to identify how members responded to various topics. For example, did a given SMO apply a wider or

narrower range of narratives than others (e.g., poetry, story telling, myth, disclosure of personal experience and so on), or did some SMOs apply critical analysis more than others in the texts I obtained? The coding enabled me to identify and compare: (1) the articulation of competing perspectives, (2) consistent patterns on a given topic, (3) tensions in the way SMOs frame their concerns and strategies and (4) clusters of responses by SMOs on various topics and silences on others.

In the process, I also sought to get an approximation of the gender breakdown of writers in each newsletter. Writers were identified as men or women based on their name, their own disclosure of their gender and the point of view of the writer (e.g., wife, husband, mother, father, etc.). I also divided writers into the categories of (1) articles reprinted from another publication and (2) SMO members.

Phase Three: Re-Interpretation

The third phase in Thompson's depth hermeneutic framework is termed interpretation or "re-interpretation." Reinterpretation points to a more in-depth interpretation of findings. On its own this phase of analysis appears to be less systematic and more creative than the previous two phases. I have applied this phase of analysis as the summary chapter to the thesis. Phase three is facilitated by the discursive analysis, but distinct in that discursive analysis attempts to deconstruct and unveil patterns and devices which operate and are constituted within discursive form (Thompson, 1992: 289). Thompson argues that "*[h]owever rigorous and systematic the methods of formal or discursive analysis may be, they cannot abolish the need for a creative construction of meaning, that is, for an interpretive explication of what is represented or what is said*" (Thompson, 1990: 289). Re-interpretation builds upon the analytical insights of the previous two phases, but involves "...a new movement of thought: it proceeds by synthesis, by the creative construction of possible meaning" (Thompson, 1990: 289). *Reinterpretation relies on the researcher's creative abilities to explicate and elaborate on the ways in which cultural meanings and practices are communicated in a wider context — that is, the "referential aspect" of symbolic forms or constructions* (Thompson, 1990: 289).

The Conclusion — A Re-Interpretation of Findings — explores the various political projects of the three movements examined in the previous levels of analysis. The theoretical focus is to understand the political significance of pluralizing identity. A central question is whether or not a cultural politics of masculinity offers a context in which to create liberatory identities that stand in opposition to hegemonic hetero-masculinity or a cultural space in

which patriarchal ideologies gain new energy for mobilization?

CHAPTER FOUR

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS AND MOBILIZATION STRATEGIES

Introduction

A significant finding raised in Chapter One is that three distinct movements have developed since the 1970s. The profeminist movement was the first men's movement to form. These members took advantage of political opportunities created by the early women's movement mobilizations. Although changes have occurred, the mobilization strategies of profeminists have consistently sought to challenge patriarchal identities and structures. The men's rights movement grew out of a widespread discontent with changes in family structures, transformations in gender relations (in work and educational contexts, for instance) and feminist mobilizations. The mobilization strategies of the men's rights movement are organized around an equal rights framework — one that tries to disrupt feminist strategies and to support conventional subjectivities for men and women. Men's rights activists investigate what they see as extensive yet unrecognized harm done to men in specific social, legal and psychological contexts. Finally, the mytho-poetic movement mobilized in the late 1980's. Mytho-poetic activists took advantage of the desire by many of its members to explore emotional angst, fear and insecurity of heterosexual masculinity. This turn is exemplified in the way mytho-poetic participants link personal growth and introspection with the experiences of being in community with other men in support groups.

Unlike in Chapter One, the analysis to follow focuses on the mobilization strategies of specific SMOs. I examine four SMOs: The Movement for the Establishment of True Gender Equality (MERGE), Men, Mentoring and Networking (MMAN), Island Men's Network (IMN) and Men's Network for Change (MNC). As the final section for phase one — social historical analysis — I apply resource mobilization theory (Tilly 1978; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988) to analyze (1) the organization of SMOs and mobilization of SMO resources, (2) the mobilization strategies and methods by which each SMO has taken advantage of political opportunities and (3) the process of frame alignment. Frame alignment is the link between individual and collective orientations or frames.

Overall, the purpose of this chapter is to identify how material resources and skills are used by activists to pursue SMO strategies — that is to mobilize. These mobilization

strategies can then be compared and used to identify the kinds of subject positions or identities open to men within each political perspective.²⁶

As I discussed in the previous chapter RMT is useful because an analysis of the mobilization strategies of each movement pinpoints *how* available resources and skills are used to construct symbolic forms (such as masculine identities). *And, the delineation of resources used in the construction of symbolic forms is a requirement of Thompson's depth hermeneutic methodology.*

The value of RMT in structuring this aspect of the social-historical analysis is the view of "movements as collective actors" (Carroll, 1992: 6). As I discussed in Chapter One, the three men's movements have traditionally been analyzed as a single movement — a tack leading to the misperception that men's movement politics is inherently irrational and contradictory. RMT focuses on the social organization of movement politics, that is *how* resources (e.g., activists labour time and skills, technical modes of communication and financial resources) are used to articulate the claims of members.

The Mobilization of Participants Through Masculinity Conferences

As I argued in Chapter One, the mytho-poetic, profeminist and men's rights movements have had a long history of being more *rationaly organized* than many media accounts, popular books-about-men and academic researchers acknowledge. Far from simply and spontaneously appearing in the early 1990s with the popular mytho-poetic movement, the existence of distinct men's movements was obvious since the 1970s. One of the most public examples of the mobilization strategies of activists is the organization of conferences. National men's conferences in the United States were organized as early as 1974, many of which have become annual events. The large number of yearly conferences, gatherings and workshops held across North America point to the presence of rationally based organization and mobilization strategies.

The conferences in Canada and the United States, along with the retreats and workshops, serve a number of purposes that connect with member's identities and the various strategies of SMOs within each movement. First of all, the conferences bridge

²⁶ The skills and resources are material attributes, which are unevenly distributed among social movements, even within a given movement. One result of this uneven distribution is that some messages are constructed in ways that appear to be out of alignment with the dominant mobilization strategies. Sometimes these interpretations become submerged frames within movement strategies. This may explain how specific SMOs articulate critical or reactionary frames in some contexts, but not in others and may provide a sense of how patriarchal ideology is being disrupted.

"...personal growth, new experiences with other men, and emotional support on one hand, and the concern for forming a national men's organization and for seeking changes in the system on the other" (Astrachan, 1986: 293). Astrachan's study of the conferences from 1975 to 1985 indicates that they were mainly oriented to providing workshops on masculinity issues (1986: 293). For example, of 104 workshops scheduled at the tenth *National Conference on Men and Masculinity*, those of a direct political nature outnumbered issues related to gender stereotypes, sex roles and personal-growth topics.

The image of large groups of "males" meeting at conferences to discuss masculinity issues contributes to *the misperception* that a single unified men's movement is in existence. Certainly, this is the case in most media accounts which frame men coming together based primarily on their sex as males, regardless of their politics or differences in their gender identities. The image of a single unified movement is also perpetuated among members of the various movements in an effort to mobilize new members. Interestingly, each has a distinct way of framing the basis of this unity. In narrative accounts of mytho-poetic workshops, members seem to valorize a subjectivity based on the "universal pain" or metaphorical "wound" that all men are purported to share (Man!, 1992: 35-36). In many of these narratives, members argue that "what has been damaged by the masculine must be healed in the masculine, and what has been damaged in the feminine must be healed in the feminine" (Ogilvie, Spring 1991:20). Essentialist differences between these subjectivities are reinforced by the perceptions that only men can initiate boys to become mature adults — an idea that gets played and replayed throughout Bly's book, *Iron John* (Ogilvie, 1991: 21; Taylor, G., 1992: 13; Palmour, 1992: 26).

The psychological focus on masculinity in the mytho-poetic movement seems to support the participant's attempts to mobilize men from all walks of life (e.g., race, sexuality, class, etc.) despite experiential differences that may separate them in everyday life. This sense of unity is clearly emphasized at mytho-poetic conferences which integrate mytho-poetic, profeminist and men's rights perspectives under a number of collective mytho-poetic frames. For example, many mytho-poetic members argue that men suffer regardless of their politics because of absent fathers who did not assist their sons through their passage into manhood (Mitchell, Fall 1992: 36). In other words, the mytho-poetic movement attempts to unify participants under a shared masculine identity — one that supersedes the other subjectivities by orienting members to the deep rooted significance of masculinity.

Profeminists also mobilize around a sense of unity among men. Many profeminist

activists identify a shared sense of anguish and pain that men suffer. However, the source of this suffering is not specifically an absent father, nor a lost initiation ritual, but is based on the participation that all men, more or less, share in the oppression of women, children and other men. In effect, the source of men's pain is the patriarchal system in which they participate and which they recreate. For example, at the fall 1992 *National Gathering of Men* conference the education seminars and action workshops emphasized critical themes that try to breakdown patriarchal identities and structures. These themes included intervention strategies in domestic violence, men and abortion and the detrimental effects of media violence, sports and pornography on men's subjectivities. The conferences also explored political opportunities, like networking with feminist allies, lobbying government, doing childcare, fund-raising for women's projects, corporate boycotts, demonstrations and challenges to men in their everyday lives. Many of these themes attest to an experimental quality within the profeminist movement — a characteristic that is shared with the mytho-poetic movement. But, unlike the mytho-poetic movement, the profeminists apply this experimental face within a critical framework, one that clearly rejects hegemonic hetero-masculinity.

The men's rights workshops emphasize consciousness raising and the identification of political opportunities. However, a key departure from the other two movements is a mobilization of the way men are victimized. They argue that men are victimized by gender stereotypes (e.g., pervasive put-downs of men in popular culture), feminist domination (e.g., the introduction of rape shield legislation) and gender role expectations (e.g., cultural sensibilities that men are supposed to protect women). Part of the popularity of the men's rights workshops is the ability of activists to tap into the emotional experiences of men and women. The following metaphors delineate differences in the way activists frame their workshops.

TABLE ONE: WORKSHOP METAPHORS

Profeminist

Facing our own sexism

Fighting men's rights groups

The fight for *gender justice*

Men's emotional *illiteracy*

Personal is political

Provide *support*

Mytho-Poetic

A quest

Cloyneness

Process of *self-discovery*

Mutual *support*

Following *paths* from *wounded child* to *warrior* to *holy man*

A journey

Looking inward

Deep masculine

Men's Rights

The *disposable* sex

Father's *rights*

Myth of masculine privilege

Myth of male power

Men's *liberation*

Hazards of being male

Two themes surface in the metaphors used to frame the profeminist workshops. The first is the need to provide support to men (for example, support groups for the unemployed, seniors, incest survivors, helping professionals, etc.). Organizers advocate for men's "self healing," for the equality of women, gays and lesbians and people of colour. The second theme is to challenge oppressive structures, such as oppressive capitalist and patriarchal structures. This explains why MNC activists are concerned with combining personal growth in everyday contexts with wider transformations in society.

In contrast, the mytho-poetic workshops are signified by a commitment to understanding masculinity as an exploration or journey, one that involves a strong sense of brotherhood. Metaphors like looking inward or self discovery orient participants to examine their own identities as men. However, unlike the profeminists, who are ultimately concerned with dismantling sexist identities, the mytho-poetic activists emphasize movement towards "the deep masculine" or the true roots of masculinity. The fact that mytho-poetic workshops focus on discovering masculinity within each man may explain the diverse membership. Members occupy a number of subject positions, including those

participants who advocate for reconstructed patriarchal identities and others who advocate for non sexist or other identities. The overall theme in mytho-poetic workshops is not emancipatory, but initiatory and ritualistic.

Finally, the metaphors that frame the men's rights workshops identify the costs and discriminations of being a man. The main theme in these metaphors is creating awareness of the factors involved in men's victimization and feelings of being controlled. For example, the sense that being a man is a double-bind. Men are expected to express their identities within narrow roles prescribed by society (being a provider, for instance) and conform to the pressure of meeting many diverse and contradictory needs (being non-violent, but having to fight in times of war). Unlike the profeminist movement, that also identifies such contradictions, the men's rights groups attribute blame for these factors to feminists as opposed to patriarchal structures. For example, members of MMAN pointed to the antagonisms created by feminists who speak out against men's violence, but supposedly ignore the struggle of men who are required to fight or who have died in battle.

Consumerism plays an important role in men's conferences. The opportunity to construct identities through the consumption of new lifestyle products is a significant factor in attracting new movement membership, particularly in the mytho-poetic movement. In certain ways consumerism is also part of the mobilization of incumbents. For example, the connections that are apparent between willing consumers of reconstructed gender/sexual identities, grass-roots marketing techniques and readily available lifestyle products (e.g., books about revitalizing masculinity). Consumerism is reflected in the popular success of the mytho-poetic movement in the early 1990s. A recurring theme in many SMOs is the widespread encouragement of men to purchase movement texts and to attend costly workshops or seminars. As one critic describes:

... the men's movement had turned into a cottage industry complete with lecture series ('Moist Earthy Masculinity, for Men Only'), books (*Phallos: Sacred Image of the Masculine*), newsletters ('New Warrior News'), tapes (The Native Male), radio shows ('Man-to-Man with Jerry Johnson'), and even board games ('A Game of Insights for Men Only')...In New York City and Oakland, California, the Sterling Institute of Relationships, \$400 "Men, Sex and Power" weekends taught 'wimps' to become 'real men,' dressing up like gorillas, beating their chests, and staging fist-fights. These seminars alone enrolled more than ten thousand men in the 1980's. Bly's weekend retreats logged fifty thousand men in the last half of the 1980s...On Bly's retreat roster were lawyers, judges, doctors, accountants, and corporate executives... (Faludi, 1992: 307).

Aside from the consumerist threads, the conferences also provide members of all three movements with an opportunity to connect with movement intellectuals through lectures and workshops. Scores of men have taken up these key activist roles. As I earlier suggested, these "intellectuals" are not leaders in the sense of occupying positions in a hierarchical organization, such as a political party (Eyerman and Jameson, 1991: 166). Rather, each movement intellectual articulates the kind of discourse (movement frames, narratives and metaphors, for instance) that unify members within each movement. In a sense, the most pervasive narratives and metaphors within each movement are key resources of signification to be utilized in the mobilization of members. In the case of the men's rights movement the struggle for meaning involves shoring up support for conservative identities; in the mytho-poetic movement it involves re-articulating popular cultural sensibilities or spiritual awareness of masculine identities; and in the profeminist movement it involves establishing a challenge (by men) to patriarchal subject positions and structures. The public success of movement intellectuals is reflected in the popularity of some of the movement intellectual's own books. For example, Robert Bly's *Iron John* (best expressing the mytho-poetic approach), Warren Farrell's *Why Men Are the Way They Are* (articulating a men's rights perspectives), or Michael Kaufman's *Beyond Patriarchy* (presenting a profeminist politics).

Organizing Participants and Resources Within Each Movement

My field experiences in MMAN, IMN and MNC Victoria suggest that there are significant organizational differences across the three movements.²⁷ The men's rights SMO of MMAN (eight members) that I attended weekly for two and a half months was *hierarchically organized* with a president, vice-president, treasurer and executive board (that privately met). This organizational strategy is similar to most men's right's SMOs. MMAN members used formal meeting procedures, including a minute-taker, meeting schedule and an orderly opening and closing (with beverages and 50/50 tickets drawn after meetings for fund-raising purposes). Most of the sessions focused on predetermined topics such as, how feminists were over-powering, even dominating, men in various social and political contexts such as, the justice system, the family, the labour force and in Canadian culture.

Similarly, the larger men's rights group, MERGE, is organized in a hierarchical

²⁷ As I earlier indicated, my fieldwork in the men's rights movement was limited to MANN and not MERGE. However, I examined MERGE because MANN members produced few texts.

fashion with president, vice president, treasurer, secretary, board of directors and so on. Like the other SMOs I investigated, the work is done on a voluntary basis drawing from available human resources. Potential members are encouraged to call specific "contact" persons, send in articles for the newsletter and/or to make a donation. MERGE is composed of three major organizations in Calgary, Edmonton and Seattle, and includes a number of subcommittees (e.g., an editorial group, a "harm issues committee," special research groups, parenting committees, etc.). Groups meet to discuss and strategize actions and objectives on gender issues or other concerns and to hear speakers lecture on various topics.

In stark contrast, the various mytho-poetic groups of IMN (approximately six members, ten members and twenty-six members) that I attended for eighteen months met in an informal/communal fashion. There were no rigid predetermined organizational hierarchies, no designated leaders and topics were generally open to discussion. The IMN group sessions focused on a variety of topics, such as sexuality, heterosexual relationships, family, spirituality, abuse, loss and violence. Membership was open to men and monetary funds were collected through donation. The groups used various rituals [e.g., drumming, poetry, hugging and smudging (a Native spiritual ritual)], symbols (e.g., a "talking stick," which is a stick entwined with regalia, that when held by a participant symbolizes that man's right to talk uninterrupted) and "plain talk" as strategies for stepping outside rational/procedural discourse. One of the implications of the IMN organizational strategy is an on-going commitment to process activities as opposed to political protests and lobbying.

Interestingly, participant's emotional experiences and personal narratives were framed through the metaphor of *looking inward* (e.g., issues were connected to personal experiences). As I discuss towards the end of this Chapter, the process oriented approach is a central factor in the way members address contradictions in their discussions of personal, spiritual and especially political issues. Again, members distinguish their inward approach from men's rights and profeminist groups, which they frame as using *outward looking strategies*. The organizational strategy enables the mytho-poetic groups to include the perspectives of men's rights and profeminism, as long as the politics of these members are framed as part of an inward looking process, that is, seeking awareness of masculinity.

The profeminist SMO that I attended also attempted to break with hierarchical structures. Participants in MNC met together in an informal "chapter" also referred to as a "collective" — emphasizing consensus decision-making and equality of the those involved.

In contrast to mytho-poetic groups, profeminist groups are generally *organized around the planning of direct political strategies*, such as anti-violence vigils, poster campaigns against date-rape, men's drop-in groups during the women's Take Back the Night marches and other similar forms of public protest and public education. The purpose of these strategies is to get the message out that mainstream masculinity and structures of patriarchy are social problems in need of change. The commitment to outward political action and an openness to self-awareness process work attests to the experimental nature of MNC.

MNC is the national organization of the profeminist SMO I attended, and comprises a network of SMOs — most of which exist in central Canada. Membership involves individual men signing in support of a detailed "Mission Statement" and paying a per annum nominal fee. The SMOs are more formally structured than IMN, but less hierarchical compared to MERGE (or MMAN). Overall, the organizational structure of MNC is highly instrumental. This means that the success of self-awareness work and more direct political strategies is measured by the extent to which they challenge or oppose patriarchal ideology or structures. In IMN the commitment to a critical or emancipatory agenda was clearly not evident, as I later discuss. MNC members meet in regional caucuses and annual general meetings. A core group of members meets to organize the general membership. Finally, a weighty set of guiding principles, strategies and policies are in place and are consistent with the MNC mission statement.

The significance of these organizational comparisons is that they point to differences in the way patriarchal ideology is addressed within the organizational structure of each SMO. The hierarchical organization of the two men's rights SMOs concentrates leadership in the hands of a few. A hierarchical model is instrumental in focusing the mobilization of members to sets of predefined men's rights objectives. In contrast, the organizational structure of both MNC and IMN involves a conscious attempt to break with conventional scripts of masculine subjectivity within their support groups. Hierarchy is viewed by members of the mytho-poetic SMO as part of an authoritarian masculine culture and is rejected in favour of process organization. Unlike MMAN, MERGE and IMN, the profeminist members of MNC view hierarchical structures as a reflection of patriarchy. MNC tries to disrupt this model by drawing on a collectivist organizational strategy from the women's movement. Although the meanings IMN and MNC members have for their organizational structures differ, the common thread across the two is the blurring of differences between members such that power relationships break down or become somewhat hidden. For example, members are less likely to engage in competitive struggles

for leadership within the SMOs. Of course, as I later discuss, competition in the way SMO strategies are framed does exist, within both SMOs. The main point of rejecting a hierarchical model for IMN and MNC is an attempt to connect changes in men's everyday lives with wider societal structures.

Access to Resources and Skills

Overall, members of each of the SMOs have access to similar material and skill based resources to accomplish their political goals. These resources include: (1) monetary donations by members and men's groups, (2) monetary donations solicited from the general public, other organizations and other SMOs, (3) computers, office supplies and building space of members (many of whom have access through their occupations), (4) newsletters and other symbolic instruments for dissemination of ideas, services and other resources (e.g., InterNet, research reports, letters to government, mass media and so on) and (5) networks of participants with research skills, group facilitation skills, graphics skills, editing skills, clerical skills, accounting skills, advertising skills and computer skills, and knowledge of and information on movement culture (e.g., movement literature, social networks, group organization and facilitation materials).

How members use resources varies significantly across the three SMOs. For example, members of IMN direct their resources towards expanding their awareness of masculine culture. MNC resources are directed towards consciousness raising on a societal scale, such as a national campaign on men's violence towards women. MERGE members apply their resources towards consciousness raising, but unlike MNC, they focus on exposing discriminatory practices directed towards men.

In general, and like most social movements, all three SMOs are rich in human resources and poor in financial power. However, under certain conditions financial resources can be raised by members and by appeals to large organizations and the public. Unless the "cause" becomes connected with member's identities (e.g., setting up a men's center, challenging legislation or running a national campaign), they are less likely to provide financial resources, instead they provide labour time as part of their general identification with the SMO's framing strategies. *The implication is a heavy reliance on symbolic or discursive strategies to maintain an active constituency.* This is exemplified by the fact that the most heavily used mediums for transmitting symbolic strategies are SMO newsletters and consciousness raising groups.

Mobilization Strategies

The methods by which IMN members mobilize has coalesced around a key political opportunity: the desire to explore masculine identity from the perspective of culture as opposed to politics. As the following narratives suggest, many members express feelings of fear, pain and insecurity of being a man.

There is a hunger in the male psyche to taste the blood of maleness. To reawaken and cultivate the wildman (Ollsin, Spring 1991: 6).

Looking back from my present day vantage point, I feel that the chance for men to coalesce around a collective identity, at least in my life time, has been pretty shaky...we harden our hearts against the pain of life because there is no support for us to let out the hurt, to show our pain (Bixler, Spring 1991: 9).

A central theme across IMN narratives that lament the state of manhood is the need to explore identity with other men. The strategy of men supporting men in their process connects with Bly's narrative discussed earlier in Chapter One. Bly argues that only men can initiate other men or boys into a true sense of manhood. Not surprisingly, IMN resources are highly focused on the objective of "making available the experience of learning and being in community with other men" (*Island Men*, Spring 1992: 2). Members with specialized skills or interests are encouraged to develop men's groups. IMN is represented by a wide range of support and ritual groups, including drumming, poetry and political issues groups. Even the production of the SMO's newsletter is considered a men's group, one that tries to reach out to a broader community of men. A wide variety of men's gatherings (solstice celebrations, "men's feasts," outdoor gatherings and community projects, for instance) are aimed at members of the general public. Similarly, members of IMN are involved in public events such as producing or participating in theatre, facilitating self-awareness workshops and hosting lectures by movement intellectuals. These activities are meant to educate members of the general public about masculinity issues. Probably the most effective tool used to mobilize members is the construction of social networks between the various IMN groups, but also with SMOs throughout North America.

Structuring IMN in a non-hierarchical way connects with one of the main mobilization strategies, that of creating a process for members to expand their awareness masculine identity. As I earlier suggested, the non-hierarchical qualities and emotion laden politics may be read as an attempt to question and in the process resist patriarchal ideology. Members allow deep personal feelings to emerge in the company of other men and try to

work through issues: emphasizing process, rather than just getting angry and blaming others. They focus on consensus building and collectivist based procedures (as opposed to simply organizing and rationalizing issues). And, they question the social world as it affects them personally. However, it must be kept in mind that IMN mobilizations are not constructed with an emancipatory agenda in place.

My field experiences in IMN lead me to believe that most of the membership supports the strategy that the various groups, retreats and workshops provide much needed opportunities *to express and release* pent up anger and many other emotions that might otherwise be expressed coercively in other everyday contexts. Such practices create opportunities to reject the interpellation of hegemonic hetero-masculinity. As participants themselves comment, these strategies can be liberating:

One guy is talking while everyone else listens. There is a kind of unspoken order. Someone talked about his feelings. Someone spoke with feeling. Someone is snoozing and others are eating cookies. It is a place where it's OK to be sensitive and strong. There is enough time to have feelings, and enough room to express them. It is a real adventure that I don't understand but look forward to (Anonymous, cited in Richardson, Winter 1990: 7).

We have been together since I don't know when! Our name ['Straight into the Eye of the Wind'] is appropriate, since we have weathered many of life's storms together and are still intact. These men who I call my friends are my rudder when I feel becalmed, and my harbor when I need to take shelter from the storm (Anonymous, cited in Richardson, Winter 1990: 7).

We have gone through some down periods when nothing seemed to be happening. These are times when our conversations are shallow and we talk about sports or mortgages as a way of avoiding feelings. There are other times when the group is charged with energy and the evening goes by with a lot of learning, shifting of attitude and a very loving spirit. One man said 'many times I leave the group more in love with my wife.' Another said 'I feel more able to deal with the stresses in my life' (Richardson, Winter 1990: 7).

Unlike MNC — an SMO that employs emancipatory mobilization strategies that are directed towards gaining political and economic equality for women, lesbians and gays, racial minorities and other oppressed groups — the strategies of IMN and more broadly the mytho-poetic movement remain largely introspective and cultural. This means that members are oriented to exploring their identities through a self-awareness and process oriented approach — one that claims *not* to advocate for a particular political perspective. In fact, the majority of members do not view their activities as "political" in the sense articulated by

either MERGE or MNC. This may explain why IMN and more broadly, the mytho-poetic movement appears, from an outsider's perspective, to have an incoherent political agenda on the question of patriarchal ideology — one that seems to emphasize only process and self help strategies.

Towards the latter half of my involvement, I observed members engaging in a long and hotly debated process of re-writing IMN's "Statement of Purpose." The central point of contention between profeminist leaning and new age members was how to include a statement that would identify IMN as opposing sexism and heterosexism. Ardent new age members felt strongly that IMN should not advocate a particular political perspective; this was strongly supported by men's-rights-leaning members. In contrast the more profeminist leaning members felt IMN had to publicly oppose sexism and heterosexism.

The profeminist leaning participants were conscious of opposition that was rising towards IMN from local women's groups and from members of MNC. These groups were expressing concerns that IMN was complacent on the issue of men's violence. The opposition towards IMN rose after the publication of the Spring 1992 newsletter. As the following narratives indicate, the issue articulated anti-feminist perspectives, including a victim framing of murderer, Marc Lepine. These narratives reflect a direct interpellation of patriarchal ideology.

And while feminists insist on portraying women as victims and men as offenders, the truth of it is less clear. ...Marc Lepine was a victim too, but tragically he could not direct his rage at those responsible; ...But other crimes were committed before he walked into the Ecole Polytechnique, and some of them were by a woman [Lepine's mother]. This is a difficult, perhaps impossible thing for feminists to consider, because it destroys the black-and-white world they've created" (Nittel, Spring 1992: 11).

I am also bugged with certain 'soft' men who hang around these 'Women Against Rape' centers. Are they there to show those kind of women that they are good boys, please like me — see, I am good... 'Women Against Rape' and other similar groups can only go in circles (Samaya, Spring 1992: 5).

Significant tensions arose within IMN between members wanting a critical framing of men's violence and those who wanted a self-awareness framing. At the end of the debate, IMN members chose to maintain their commitment to explore the diverse facets of men's violence, over articulating a more critical approach — in the sense of opposing sexism. The following narrative clearly discloses how members chose the material for the

Spring 1992 issue.

The 'White Ribbon Campaign' focused on the violence men inflict upon women, and chose the murder of fourteen women, students of engineering, in Montreal as a symbol of this violence. During the November 25th drop-in meeting of the Island Men's Network, the question arose whether the 20 plus men present — and by extension, the Network — would endorse this campaign. We expressed divergent positions: we wanted the widest possible range of viewpoints, and decided that there was sufficient difference of opinion present to ensure that most major positions would be represented...Some of us are unhappy that the clarion calls of reform and stirring solutions are absent; others are satisfied to at least see us engaged in a process of discovery, to see our awareness heightened, and our ignorance and self-deception illuminated (*Island Men*, Spring 1992: 3).

MNC members from Ontario were especially concerned about IMN's lack of involvement in the White Ribbon Campaign and accused IMN of being anti-feminist. Some MNC members threatened to withdraw their support for MNC if IMN was to continue its involvement in the White Ribbon Campaign. As well, men's rights leaning members of IMN were concerned about their involvement in the White Ribbon Campaign — as being overtly political — and they began to isolate supporters within IMN. As the previous narrative indicates, IMN members opted to maintain their support for a perspective that claims that members "do not advocate particular philosophies, but do respect the right of individual contributors to argue passionately for their positions" (IMN, Winter 1993: 2). The strategy is in line with the dominant frame of the movement which maintains a psychological focus on masculinity in contrast to the political differences that may separate members.

One could question why the SMO values political diversity and whether or not this framework is a viable strategy. Like the men's rights leaning members the profeminist leaning members of IMN, were a useful resource, not simply because of their desires to explore masculine identity, but because of their profeminist perspectives. I was specifically told that my perspective, along with those of other profeminist members, was important to maintain the "diversity" and a "balance" within IMN. Yet, there was an increasingly strong inclination by many members to oppose profeminist perspectives within IMN. As the narrative by Samaya, above, demonstrates, the problem of violence could be shifted from men to mothers or feminists who used "shame" as a control tactic or to the problem of an unbalanced "soft" or feminized and uninitiated masculinities. In the field, I noticed that when profeminist members spoke up against men's violence, they were accused of wanting

to "shame" men or were unconscious of their being controlled by overbearing women. Where these perspective were "honored," but questioned in the early formation of IMN, they went unchallenged at this stage of this SMOs development as some ardent profeminist members dropped out.

In summary, these observations suggest that IMN mobilization strategies coalesce around self-awareness and process activities. Over the long term the pluralistic strategy could create instability as participants with more focused political agendas challenge mytho-poetics. The activists appeal to men wishing to rediscover their manhood in the company of other men. The activists also appeal to women who support IMN members in reclaiming a masculine identity that is vital and positive. On one hand, the subjectivity that IMN members advocate is *universal in that it is buried within the bodies of all males*. On the other hand, this universal subjectivity is dependent on a balance between the cultural sensibilities of soft (empathetic, holistic, emotional and intuitive, for instance) femininity and hard (competent, assertive, rational, aggressive and materialistic, for example) masculinity.

The focus of IMN strategies orients its members away from emancipatory projects in favour of the cultural exploration of manhood. The main drawback for these activists is a lack of understanding of how subjectivities are constructed in relation to patriarchal ideology. Consequently, IMN members simply explore the various subject positions open to men without any clear sense of evaluating ones that are oppressive to women, children and other men. The lack of attention to a critical agenda is one reason the movement is in the long run unattractive to profeminists. Conversely, the focus on new age rituals and emotional interdependency may be less attractive to ardent men's rights activists.

In comparison, the mobilizations employed by MNC take advantage of political opportunities that challenge both the patriarchal structures and the beliefs and practices that sustain these structures in men's everyday lives: for example, heightening public awareness of violence against women through protest vigils and marches. A great deal of the ground work for MNC mobilization strategies was already accomplished through strong associations with the women's movement. As the following narrative suggests profeminist strategies are directly influenced by feminism.

We saw that our action plans needed to learn from and mesh with the knowledge, practice and strategies of front-line feminists, on issues such as sexual harassment, wife battering, media literacy, education programs, and so on. Who's got time to reinvent the wheel (Dufresne, Spring 1992: 14).

One result of this inter-movement connection is that MNC strategies put responsibility on men to dismantle patriarchal relations. In other words, MNCs strategies orient members to examine their own identities or the subject positions they take up. For many members this opens a crucial space to oppose patriarchal ideology. For instance, members point to the need to construct strategies that overcome competitiveness, emotional isolation and violence. As one MNC member describes:

Our difficulty noticing, identifying and expressing our emotions keeps many of us in our heads, keeps us distant, half alive. This alienation not only harms us it makes us dangerous to others. If we didn't learn to separate our selves from our feelings, we could not rape, beat, or kill (MNC, 1993: 1),

MNC began to mobilize in the early 1990s through the development of a large number of chapters across Canada (e.g., in Victoria, London, Kingston, Peterborough, Guelph/Kitchener, Waterloo and Ottawa/Hull). Activists spent a large amount of time developing grassroots initiatives. Members "...decided on a decentralized model, with most decisions being made in local caucuses, with the core group facilitating inter-caucus communication" (Carter, August 1992: 2). Each caucus is responsible for designating a spokesman on behalf of regional caucuses, liaising with the core MNC group, organizing regional mobilization strategies and maintaining finances and accounts.

Unlike IMN, MNC mobilizations coalesce around the objective of making concrete social and political transformations. Members with specialized skills (e.g., the ability to communicate effectively with the media or the ability to plan and facilitate a vigil) are encouraged to develop strategies of dissention and consciousness raising. These strategies include facilitating gatherings and forums, constructing symbolic campaigns (e.g., WRC) and participation in public activities (e.g., anti-violence work in schools and women's monument projects).

A significant tension exists between the instrumental and decentralized qualities to MNC mobilizations. Because MNC drew heavily on feminist strategies, the SMO utilizes a decentralized organizational structure — one that tries to break down hierarchy, control tactics and competitiveness. Yet, MNC is instrumental in that it tries to impart a degree of discipline that extends beyond that imposed by the other SMOs I examined. Members are

expected to conform to profeminist principles and to overtly challenge patriarchal structures. These expectations are encoded in the membership application. The SMO also accomplishes this conformity through a weighty set of policies and procedures, a commitment to accountability and reporting frameworks and an elaborate organizational structure. The following narratives suggest that the struggle between these two conflicting qualities is highly charged within MNC.

The fact that we call these people the Core Group instead of the President, Vice President and Executive Officers is not without intention. Equality means that if I think the Network should be doing something that if I can take responsibility to facilitate doing it... Clearly in many ways that this Network is not effective. But I also know that it really does make a difference (Carter, 1993: 18).

The Kingston Men's Network for Change has a number of concerns with the way the national effort is being run, with the way it was raising money, with the attitude towards and mechanisms of accountability and hierarchical culture of this new national [profeminist] "boys club" ...we favour a more decentralized approach: grassroots projects and activism on local networks of accountability (Jones, Winter 1993: 6).

These opposing demands reflect MNC's attempt to implement strategies that appeal to diverse groups whose interests are not always aligned (e.g., radical, liberal and socialist profeminists). A central theme across MNC narratives is the need for grassroots mobilization strategies. For example, connecting with local feminist SMOs and articulating local strategies. However, this conflicts with the instrumental face of MNC's mobilizations, such as organizing a national anti-violence campaign or maintaining conformity to the memberships codes of the national MNC organization.

Overall, MNC draws on their resources to support the central unifying goal of critically challenging patriarchal ideology and structures. MNC is, in essence, a network of men's groups or collectives that connect with allied movements to transform oppressive structures. Although there are tensions within MNC, the central goal is to symbolically unite men to reject patriarchal identities. This goal is reflected in the way resources serve a specific critical agenda, grounded on a socialist politics of transformation.

In comparison, both MMAN and MERGE have taken advantage of widespread discontent towards changes in gender relations (e.g., in families, work and educational contexts). A central theme in the men's rights group (MMAN) that I participated in was one of angry rhetoric towards feminists and women in general and of legitimization of a

supposedly healthy male perspective. The dynamics of the meeting were much more volatile than those of IMN and MNC. Members of MMAN seemed to thrive on each other's anger, many times resulting in explosive rage. Dialogue often took the form of long personal narratives in which men were framed as victims of oppressive women. For example, I recall one lengthy story by a member who compared the Nazi regime and the American slave trade with feminism. To the laughter and delight of the other members, he shouted out: "...and if I were fired and some bitch stepped in front of me at the employment line I'd punch her lights out." This seemed to resonate with participants' fears that "[h]ealthy, instinctive maleness is threatened and under siege by vicious and destructive elements in the feminist ranks" (MMAN, 1992: 2). In particular these participants were concerned that their jobs were threatened by the existence of sexual harassment policies in the workplace. It is significant that blame for economic stresses are focused on women, and not on the specific economic structures at issue.

The vilification of women (e.g., women supporters of work site day care facilities, "rape-shield" legislation, affirmative action strategies, etc.) and groups of "anti-male feminists" (indicated by metaphors like "male-bashers," "ball-crushers," and "feminazis") reflects a strategy of fragmentation. The fragmentation strategy revolves around targeting and vilifying potential sources of opposition.²⁸ Thus, those with power will often construct symbolic forms which attempt to unify the "Us," and differentiate and fragment the "Others." Unlike some members of IMN who also interpellate patriarchal ideology in the construction of their identities, members of MMAN moved further in the direction of legitimizing the actions of men who intend to use violence against women. *Articulating these sensibilities reflects the strongest and most direct interpellation of patriarchal ideology within members identities that I observed in my fieldwork.*

What is significant about these field observations is the fact that patriarchal identities, articulated in the group context, sometimes were masked or repackaged in discursive contexts. One explanation for this masking is that the SMO mobilizes to gain more broad base support from the public. A consistent theme across the men's rights mobilization strategies is the claim that members advocate for gender equality. MMAN's "mission statement" situates these beliefs and reactions *in the context of supporting gender*

²⁸ Thompson describes fragmentation as the construction of messages that influence the break up of "...those individuals and groups that might be capable of mounting an effective challenge to dominant groups or by orientating forces of potential opposition towards a target which is projected as evil, harmful or threatening" (Thompson, 1990:65).

equality:

What We Are:

- (3) Men distressed by the glaring absence of love, understanding, unselfishness and acceptance of anything but a biased, one-way point-of-view in the profeminist movement.
- (4) Men who support the TRUE concept of male-female equality and differences, but who wish to relate to women as friends.
- (5) Men concerned by the dramatic erosion of male self-esteem and confidence and its devastating effect on family life.
- (6) Men seeking to promote and disseminate positive cooperation between the sexes — not mutual antipathy and destruction. (MMAN, 1992: 2).

The public presentation of MMAN's mobilization strategies are represented as symbolic challenges, e.g., to changing existing laws on sexual assault, child custody and divorce, challenging new legislation and public policy on sexual harassment in the workplace and challenging various feminist projects (e.g., feminist university press, existence of publicly funded feminist interest groups, women only transition houses and rape crisis centers, etc.). From 1992-93, MMAN strategies centered on lobbying the Federal Minister of Justice on perceived discriminatory hiring policies towards Caucasian men and "sexist" sexual assault legislation, attempts to expand the SMO locally and to create stronger ties with other men's rights SMOs, including potential men's rights supporters within IMN.

The mobilization strategies of the other men's rights SMO that I researched, MERGE, are equally focused on exposing discrimination against men and to discredit feminist political projects. Members of the three MERGE SMOs (two in Alberta and the other in Washington State) strategize to end gender discrimination against men. MERGE attempts to educate the general public through its newsletter, facilitation of public lectures (e.g., Warren Farrell) and support for academic research (e.g., Jones 1992 and Christensen 1992a and 1992b). As well, MERGE activists engage in concrete strategies aimed at changing legislation that discriminates against men.

Like other SMOs within the men's rights movement, the strategy of achieving true gender equality is an appeal to potential men and women supporters and an attempt to fragment feminist opponents. This strategy is grounded in a conservative perspective on "gender equality." The MERGE fragmentation strategy works by exposing feminist political projects, as well as women's sexism in general, as inherently sexist. For example, MERGE strategies attempt to block legislation supporting the rights of prostitutes to make

legitimate charges of sexual assault, to recall sexual harassment legislation in the workplace, to deny the existence of gender-based wage differentials, to end equity hiring practices and to effectively neutralize men's violence as widespread social problem. Ironically, the MERGE (and MMAN's) mobilizations have their roots in the early consciousness raising activities of the profeminist movements.

As I discussed in Chapter One, Warren Farrell was an early proponent of exposing feminist sexism as part of a broader men's rights agenda for "gender equality." Farrell's approach originated in the seventies through profeminist workshops that he conducted. He asked participants to express the opposite gender role to their own in a number of contexts. One particularly popular role reversal technique involved men playing the role of women and women playing the role of judges, in a mock beauty contest. The purpose was to increase people's consciousness of forms of sexual objectification.

As Farrell's own politics changed his main concerns refocused to the problem of the "new sexism" towards men by feminists and women in general (Farrell, 1986: 196). In an intriguing move Farrell developed the role reversal technique from his workshops into the terrain of contesting feminism. In this process, a unique men's rights vocabulary was constructed and sustained by an equal rights framing strategy. Farrell sought to demonstrate that men were equally, if not more, discriminated against in legal, social and economic contexts. Rather than focusing on men's experiences in relation to social or economic structures, he focused on the "myths" propagated by feminists and by women in general (Farrell, March/April, 1992). For example, in *The MERGE Journal*, Farrell argues that the misleading statistics propagated by members of the women's movement on wage differentials function to mobilize new members of the women's movement as opposed to having any basis in reality. Farrell refocuses the issue of wage differentials on the idea that all women could pursue higher paying jobs if they really wanted to because they have the same opportunities as men (March/April, 1992: 10). He suggests that, far from a lack of opportunities, the real basis of wage differentials is "the cancer of female rejection" — that is, men's culturally prescribed determination to pursue successful and high paying careers more often than women. Men naturally engage in the goal of a high paying job because of their fear of "female" rejection and because women's equal, but opposing goal of seeking out "male success objects" (Farrell, March/April, 1992: 10).

As a movement intellectual Farrell is instrumental in focusing members on the mobilization strategy of fragmenting feminist claims. The main theme throughout his published work over the last 16 years is reversing feminist claims on the state of gender

relations.²⁹

MERGE has adopted Farrell's strategy of reversing or fragmenting feminist perspectives. In MERGE narratives on wage differentials, women's poverty, men's violence, employment equity, harassment and many other issues the consistent theme that arises is that men are the real victims of feminist struggles for equality. The issue of harassment is one example of many, in which MERGE members deploy a strategy of fragmentation. The following narrative is represented by MERGE as evidence of how hazardous the workplace has become for men.

Is there some law that says, 'if you pay a woman a compliment she doesn't want, it's sexual harassment even if there was no prior indication she might take offense?' Before answering that, it's important to understand just what happened here. Essentially, they asserted I was guilty because I'd commented on her makeup and physical appearance. But if she'd come to work one day wearing an automatic pistol strapped to her hip and I'd said 'Wow! That pistol will really make folks notice you, but I think you're overdoing it,' would this have been construed as sexual harassment? Probably not, because wearing a pistol is not generally considered to be sexual behavior — for women. But wearing make-up is. On the issue of rape, pop-feminists often argue that make-up and provocative dress are not mitigating factors in defense of a rapist because wearing make-up and provocative dress is not a sexual behaviour. But, in the case of sexual harassment, they rely on the fact that it is sexual behaviour in order to define, by context, any comments a man might make about it as being sexual in nature (Van Mechelen, January/February 1992: 5).

Symbolically, the narrative is an appeal to potential MERGE supporters on the notion that "pop feminists" have instigated discriminatory sexual harassment policies in the workplace. These policies are "oppressive" and "discriminatory" towards men — "...sexual harassment is not about justice or dignity for women, but about their power over men" (Van Mechelen, January/February 1992: 6). The reverse of what sexual assault legislation was intended to do is claimed to have occurred — a repugnant and intimidating work environment exists for men because of the inability for a man to utter a compliment about a woman co-worker. The claim that sexual harassment policy is reverse sexism is based on a number of assumptions made within the narrative, that: (1) there is an inherent contradiction within feminist logic on harassment and sexual assault and (2) the natural course of sexual relations requires men to initiate sexual or intimate relationships.

²⁹ Like other men's rights organizations, Farrell argues that "[p]eople who do these reversals to raise people's awareness of the new sexism can be called 'masculinist'" (Farrell, 1986: 196).

The narrative suggests that there is an inherent contradiction within feminist interpretations of harassment. Sexual harassment policies have created an environment in which any comment made by a man about a woman's make-up is perceived as sexual in nature. Yet, in the context of sexual assault, make-up is not considered sexually provocative. Consequently, men's rights activists conclude that men are the real victims of harassment legislation. The strategy mobilizes both men and women to challenge sexual harassment policies since they are a threat to natural desires for heterosexual coupling. In effect, harassment is identified as an unavoidable outcome of normal heterosexual desire. Yet, most feminists make the opposite claim — it is not the meanings of make-up that are sexual, but the *unwelcome comment that implies a request for a sexual favour*. How a woman wears her make-up is *not* an open invitation for sex (nor if she wears make-up at all).

The above narrative fragments feminists into reasonable feminists and "pop feminists" who "...promulgated fear of men into the law, thereby putting all men legally at risk for doing what most women expect and demand that we do: take the initiative in creating relationships" (Van Mechelen, *January/February 1992*: 6). It is intriguing that men are seen as the initiators of relationships — an assumption reiterated again and again throughout MERGE texts. Similar, to the men's rights movement as a whole, MERGE members reify men's and women's roles. A charge of sexual harassment is simply equated with the sour attitude of a woman who rejects the sexual invitations of unsuccessful man. Farrell argues: "What men miss, though, is the woman's experience: that when she bends over the office file, sometimes the wrong man sees the rear, the leg, the cleavage. And when the wrong man pursues, it's harassment. Had the right man pursued, he would be a potential candidate for marriage" (February, 1992: 1).

These observations highlight the correspondence between the identification of men's victimization and strategies oriented to challenge feminist mobilizations. MERGE activists appeal to both men and women who are unsettled by changes in gender relations throughout society (e.g., in work, family and educational contexts). The achievement of a unified consensus of the problem (i.e., the victimization of men) and construction of strategic actions does not mean there is consistent agreement on the factors that created the problem. Overall, feminists are "blamed" for the problem of men's victimization. At the same time, activists identify a host of factors, including economic exploitation (e.g., forcing men into provider roles), legal discrimination (e.g., denying father's access to their children, while expecting them to pay child support) and media bias towards men (e.g.,

stereotyping or "bashing" men). The identification of multiple factors leading to men's victimization points to the many ways activists experience gender and sexual relations in their everyday lives. It also raises an important question: how does the construction of collective movement identities strike a responsive chord or resonate with activist's personal identities.

Frame Alignment

In Chapter Three, I discuss the application of analytical work on framing by Goffman (1974) and Snow and Benford (1986). As I earlier discussed, framing is a way of simplifying and condensing the meanings of objects, situations, ideas or experiences by encoding them with new meanings. According to Snow and Benford social movements "...frame, or assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support and to demobilize antagonists" (1988: 198). Essentially, a movement frame is a set of beliefs and meanings that reinforce a collective identity and collective strategies. In contrast, personal identity frames are condensed meaning codes that represent individual qualities or experiences. Members of each of the three social movement organizations I investigated connect their personal identity frames with the way in which each SMO collectively frames masculinity issues. This interpretive process of cultural and ideological sensibilities informs each SMO's strategies and clearly varies across the SMOs I examined. The concept of frame alignment bridges these two modes of articulating subjectivities. Snow and Benford refer to frame alignment as "...the linkage of individual and SMO interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, ideology are congruent and complementary (1986: 464).

IMN members are adamant that there is a profound need for men to rediscover masculinity as "a positive force" within themselves and collectively, within their communities (*Island Men*, Summer 1991: 2). These activists perceive a strong need for psychological, emotional and spiritual growth. The link between these perceptions is a personal and collective need for a grounding *in social process and self-awareness through social contact with other men, as opposed to articulating political criteria for membership*. As the following narratives suggest, a significant source of IMN's collective mobilizations is the need to release blocked personal feelings experienced in everyday life and personal histories:

...this [testicular cancer] isn't something that we as men discuss with any ease...I suspect that I'm like many of my gender-mates: I'd rather pay taxes than deal with something so deeply threatening to my identity" (Dragushan, Summer 1991: 9).

I and many other men in my age group, grew up knowing that 'big boys don't cry' (or show vulnerability), that men get what they want if they get angry enough, that being a star performer in every setting is very, very important...it is tragic that a majority of men in this culture live their lives in this emotional prison (Lynn, Summer 1991: 25).

What I learned was things like: getting laid was the greatest thing on earth which was the most manly thing to do sexually and nothing else really counted much at all. How you felt about it, how you felt emotionally towards your partner, or how they felt towards you didn't matter very much — just getting that excitement, that high counted the most. I also learned that pregnancy was her problem, not yours...By having all of the image of sexuality focussed on being a good stud, the leftover for me is that any failure of being a good stud is frightening.... (Brown, I., Summer 1994: 12).

Personally, I remember a lot of pressure to conform to group role models, often against my own. It seemed to be an almost constant process..It is important to remember those early decisions we made. They must be reclaimed and examined...A partial list might include competition, the need to control, standing your ground, and seeking approval...Men do not have to turn to women to find another path. We have to actively recreate our maleness inside. Our male friends can help us by reflecting their maleness. As we listen more carefully to our true feelings, needs and moral values, we learn by doing, slowly competition becomes oriented towards self improvement (Keays, Spring 1991: 7).

A central theme across these narratives is a rejection of certain ideological sensibilities of how to be a man. For example, Drangshan and Lynn's personal identity frames reject cultural codes of silence on men's issues, ones that signify a weakness or vulnerability. For example, men openly discussing testicular cancer or being open to developing intimacy in relationships. Similar to the metaphors described earlier, to frame the mobilizations of men's movement conferences, Lynn frames the solution to men's isolation as a "healing journey," to "discover how to love," and "achieve "greater consciousness." These metaphors connect with the dominant frame described earlier.

IMN members frame their identities as a process, one that aims to create a new awareness of a deep rooted masculinity. The personal identity frames in both Brown's and Keay's narratives emphasize a sense of resistance. The sensibilities articulated within these narratives could be read as resistance to hegemonic cultural codes. Both of these writers

question "outside" authorities or pressures to define manhood, e.g., number of partners. Keays describes how masculinity is formed through one's true feelings. He points to "gladiatorial contest" (e.g., the school yard fight) as an example of how boys come to define real manhood from weaker masculinities, e.g., "whimps," "losers," or "wooshies."

Based on a wider analysis of IMN discourses, I found that many of the hegemonic codes of manhood are put into question in the personal identity frames of IMN members. Drawing from the analysis summarized in Appendix G, these frames resist: (1) engaging in competition for power with other men, (2) isolating weaker masculine identities, sexualities, races and able bodied people, as a basis of men's power over others. (3) reinforcing structures that impede close intimate relationships between men (i.e., homophobia), (4) supporting violent practices as an appropriate expression of manhood (e.g., war, sexual assault, abuse, pornography and so on), (5) male hierarchies that limit women's equality, (6) articulating control, individualism and mastery in the expression of masculinity and (7) supporting economic exploitation that harms working people and the environment.

However, not all members articulate personal identity frames that resist patriarchal sensibilities. Within other IMN narratives, the interpellation of patriarchal identities is evident. Some of the patriarchal sensibilities embodied in these narratives include; (1) romanticizing violence, (2) searching for the "true essence" of masculinity, (3) glorifying masculine archetypes involving dominance over others, (4) delegitimizing feminism as shame based, (5) vilifying women and other men and (6) silencing differences in how gay men and straight men are treated in society. The following narratives reflect these complicit personal identity frames:

..., and finally, I may even be able to tell myself the truth that I can feel pleasure, feel alive, while in a violent state. There is a certain beauty in some violence (Ogilvie, Spring, 1992: 8).

This [mytho-poetic] approach uses traditional stories and myths as a form of psychological transformational awakening towards an awareness and reclamation of our true masculinity (Winkelmans, Summer 1991: 4).

First, we need to accept that men and women are fundamentally different; equal, but not the same. Therefore, men and women should not be treated the same, whether in counselling, business, or wherever. Men basically won't change, and neither should they. Women won't basically change and why should they. We all need to increase our skill in living together as different members of a team. In particular, we should not try to train boys to be like nice women, or girls to be tough and hard (Maris, Winter 1993: 7).

I reject the attitude that attempts to lay blame for a climate of mistrust and anger, which can produce violence, solely upon men. I encourage people to question the barrage of destructive, gender-biased rhetoric and journalism that insults and shames us (Batterbury, Spring 1992: 19).

Since men (some men? all men?) are being blamed for women's woes, those of us who were trained to please women feel at fault... The women become contemptuous rather than forgiving (Brown, J., Winter 1993: 8).

One explanation for the co-existence of contradictory personal identity frames is the unifying effect IMN's overall collective identity frame. IMN mobilizes members based on the acceptance of diverse subjective positions because they reflect each man's process of discovery and exploration of masculinity. Unlike MNC and MERGE, what is emphasized within IMN's strategy are relationships between members and not a clear charter or set of principles that define the movement. IMN members privilege the exploration of their everyday emotions and feelings (e.g., the pleasures of being in the company of other men or allowing painful past experiences to surface) and *resistance* to authority figures.

Members articulate multiple personal frames on masculinity, including the interpellation of patriarchal ones. In effect, a pluralist perspective frames the mobilizations of IMN participants. One implication of this insight is that the mobilization and collective framing strategies of IMN cannot adequately be understood through the conventional binary categories of progressive and countermovement politics or codes of "committed men" versus "misogynist men" (Young, B., 1993: 321-329). In fact, a full understanding of mytho-poetic politics of masculinity requires in-depth analysis.

As I earlier indicated, the pluralist approach in IMN is rooted in the metaphors of "looking inward" and "looking outward." These metaphors separate collective action into two components. The first is IMN's framing of masculinity as a process of self-awareness or journey personal gender identity. The second is what IMN activists see as the political strategies of the profeminist and men's rights movements. These movements mobilize their members around political projects, critical analysis of identities and assessment of masculine practices (i.e., outward processes). As one IMN activist describes it:

We have noticed that men's groups in different parts of the country emphasize different aspects of 'men's work.' Here in the West [Westcoast of North America], we see inner processes and development take priority over action in the world. The thrust of much of the material we have encountered in preparing this newsletter is toward symbolism, mythology and personal growth. There are some groups however that take a strong

stand on issues such as violence, rape, power, and feminism (Richardson, Summer 1991: 21).

Sometimes members of the mytho-poetic movement claim an inner-work strategy as political (drawing on the women's movement frame of "the personal is political"), but more often members argue that inner work must be done *before* accomplishing the task of transforming society. As Harding (1992), editor of the flagship mytho-poetic newsletter *Wingspan*, comments: "[u]nlike the women's movement, which is largely outwardly directed, aimed at changing laws, societal structures and other people's way of thinking, the men's movement [mytho-poetic] is inwardly directed. It is generally much less concerned with new dogmas and presuming to 'correct' other people's thought patterns and behavior than it is with encouraging men to find and follow their own path, that personal myth or mission that will give meaning and form to their lives" (xii).

This frame strongly resonates with the personal identity frames articulated by most members of IMN who resist "outside authorities" to define their masculinity and sexuality. For some members this outside authority connects with many of the failed twentieth century political projects:

"I'm old enough to have lived throughout the rise and fall of the idealistic and fanatic right, and the inflation and implosion of the doctrinaire left. ...I have no wish to participate in a movement where doctrine establishes criteria for manhood, decides what constitutes an initiation, and where the line between force and violence is drawn..." (Raman, Fall 1991: 7).

For others the metaphor of inward looking involves rejecting patriarchal expressions of manhood.

I want to actively support any person or movement bringing about positive changes in the personal and social lives of women and in the interpersonal and political environment in which we interact; I strongly believe that insight in and acknowledgement of our own personal and social history may promote our liberation as men and eventually a more sane and cooperative society; I believe that men have a personal and political responsibility to help eradicate the instruments of women's suppression and to develop new structures ensuring formal and substantive equality between men and women (Schuyff, Winter 1993a: 4).

For others, the metaphor of inward looking is simply part of a resistance to modern culture.

Most men celebrate the movement's diversity and their region's unique character, resisting calls for homogenization, umbrella organizations, and national agendas. They would rather merrily dance to their local piper than fall into a lockstep march behind the banner of any army, no matter how noble (Harding, 1992: xii).

I became aware of how strongly the collective IMN framing resonated with members through my own participation and activism within the SMO. I discovered that my profeminist perspective was generally respected at IMN meetings. IMN members listened to my views, I had a profeminist article critical of IMN published, members of IMN came to profeminist activities I helped to organize and I was actively recruited to participate in IMN activities from the fall of 1991 up to fall 1994. It became apparent to me in discussions with members that what they respected was my personal process of exploring my identity and my voice in the group, and being profeminist was part of this process.

As one might expect, this appearance of openness and acceptance of member's own process of discovery maximizes the potential for mobilizing new members, and I think this is at the heart of the mytho-poetic movement's popular success. In fact, the plurality and blurring of political boundaries is reflected in the IMN statement of purpose: IMN "...does not advocate particular philosophies, but does respect the right of individual contributors to argue passionately for their positions" (Winter 1993: 3). In support, several members point out:

Our statement of purpose makes it clear that we are a forum (Schuyff, Winter 1993b: 3).

In an effort to provide a balanced picture of the diversity of male interest and action, we have chosen to reprint some articles from further afield. We think you will see there is a variety of opinion that is being expressed and acted upon (Richardson, Summer 1991: 21).

We expressed divergent positions: we opposed violence but disagreed on what form this opposition should take. The consensus was that violence was a complex issue of special importance to men that should be discussed as fully as possible...The range of opinion expressed during the meeting was echoed and augmented in the articles received (*Island Men*, Spring 1992: 3).

In effect, the collective frame also works to unify the active political mobilizations of both the profeminist and men's rights projects within a new age movement — one that emphasizes being in the company of men, accepting men wherever they are in their process

and self-awareness (i.e., exploring identity through myth, dance, theater, drumming, poetry and ritual).

In contrast, MNC's collective frames focus on a *sustained critique of patriarchal structures and ideology*. The following sensibilities are strongly articulated in MNC: (1) the recognition of men's dominance over women, (2) the acknowledgement of men's disproportionate economic, political and social power over women, (3) a commitment to work against sexism, homophobia and forms of violence, (4) the mobilization of MNC with allied social movements (e.g., women's movement, gay and lesbian liberation movement, native peoples and anti-racist struggles, the peace, ecology and labour-union movements), (5) the identification of specific structures as a basis of inequality and (6) the understanding that there is a need for political action in everyday life (e.g., work, relationships, school, etc) and in local and national institutions. MNC's mission statement clearly reflects these sensibilities:

In a society dominated by men, a patriarchal society, men have disproportionate economic, political and social power over women. But the very things that give us power exact a price. We are not born patriarchs. The process that leads us to accept the current norms of masculinity and the domination of some over others, leaves us all brutalized, limited, and angry. We usually do not acknowledge our isolation, fear, frustration and alienation. Women, children, the planet, and indeed ourselves, suffer the consequences (MNC, Winter 1993: 15).

MNC's collective identity frames challenge members and activists both to question their own personal identities as well as to oppose oppressive societal structures collectively (e.g., patriarchy, capitalism, racism, etc.). This stands in contrast to IMN's *open* collective action framing which blends diverse perspectives and emphasizes "in-ward" or introspective action. MNC members frame the link between personal and collective transformation in this way: "[t]he changes we want in society as a whole are changes we strive to make in ourselves" (MNC, Spring 1993: 19).

MNC invites potential new members to join in a political project that identifies specific practices and politics as coercive and oppressive. In comparison with mytho-poetic framings, the MNC collective framing is oriented to an emancipatory project. The emphasis on social, political and economic transformation impacts on the recruitment of new membership in MNC. New members (and incumbents) are expected to adhere to a clearly defined profeminist discourse on gender and sexuality. Also, there is little support for members who choose to draw on mytho-poetic, men's rights or other non-profeminist

perspectives. These observations suggest that participation in MNC requires members to interpellate an oppositional profeminist identities.

The following narratives exemplify how activists articulate an oppositional personal identity framing of patriarchal ideology.

It is not easy to speak and think of one's self as a sexual abuser, a 'soft' rapist. It means taking at face value your targets' assessment of what you did, when the very method by which you did it was closing yourself to that person's will. (I am referring to women, since most men choose to rape women and to feminize the men they rape, as men). I have pressured women into sex, exploited the deep gap of silence mutual desire and a final 'No!' Please don't use the word of 'consent.' No, I never had the alibi of alcohol, faulty communication, a frat party or a sexist peer group or education, nor would I want to use them if I had. The woman I most sexually abused was the one that I loved the most (I loved many others,...) (Dufresne, Winter 1993: 2).

Today, thousands of women will be beaten, raped or murdered and many more will be the victims of hateful jokes and deliberate aggravation. My ambition is to be part of the movement which is working to end this intolerable situation. Of the men who read these words, well over half will be in the habit of suppressing the liberty of women on a routine basis. Not me, you say? I hope you said it, or at least, thought it because, if so, this article is aimed at you. Like you, I have long considered myself to be an egalitarian male, open to the problems facing women and never adding to them myself. Unfortunately, like most men, I have been in tacit approval of the system which oppresses women for the benefit of men. Most men contribute to this tyranny without ever knowing it (Francis, Winter 1993: 11).

Several core sensibilities from MNC's collective frame are encoded within these narratives. The subject positions apparent within both narratives reject coercive gender and sexual identities and the practices associated with them. Also, the intended reader is hailed in such a way that he is encouraged to take responsibility for men's violence under the rubric of a profeminist ideology.

These narratives reflect the many struggles and feelings of personal responsibility that can surface when profeminists explore the societal problem of men's violence. Using confessional narratives reflects participants' needs to identify oppressive sensibilities and practices within their own lives. As part of a collective action frame, such disclosures are also meant to provide evidence and acknowledgement of masculine privilege and domination. The strategy conveys the sense that it is both appropriate and socially acceptable to take responsibility for one's abusive actions.

On the other hand, the confessional strategy may actually cultivate counter-productive collective identity frames. If the *only* subjectivities available are those that are saturated with guilt and self-blame, then this is likely unpalatable for men unfamiliar with the basic sensibilities enmeshed in profeminist discourse. First, in the above frames there appear to be few cultural and political spaces open for the construction of masculine identities that cannot in some way be framed as oppressive. Closing the meanings of hetero-masculinity can leave one with the impression that there are few liberating subjectivities. Mobilizing new members to engage a collective action frame that consistently positions men in the political space of a privileged and coercive social group may be an undesirable place for most mainstream men. Not all MNC strategies are framed in this closed fashion.

Liberal, socialist and radical profeminist identity frames are distinguishable within MNC. Interestingly, these frames coexist within MNC's collective identity framing and mobilizations. Recall that MNC's collective framing urges men to abandon masculine subject positions that are oppressive. While all three profeminist perspectives are aligned on the need to reject patriarchy and on the solution of dismantling this and other oppressive systems, there are tensions. The central dilemma facing these perspectives is a divisive framing of profeminist subjectivities. Both socialist and liberal frames invite men to join a profeminist movement in order to open spaces for women to participate as equal members of society. The liberals use metaphors like "protecting" human rights and learning to be "at home" with equality of the sexes. The socialists examine how men "profit" from women's fear of violence and how "equal" pay for women requires a rethinking of social and economic structures. Radical profeminists on the other hand participate in an anti-sexist movement, but it is one which is distrustful even of its own membership, because men's identities are ultimately grounded in violence and oppression. For example, some of the metaphors used by radical profeminists include men's "war" against women and attempts to "weed out" profeminists who are "unaccountable" to feminists. The tension between these perspectives arose on two major MNC strategies, (1) on the symbolic value of the White Ribbon Campaign (WRC) and (2) the need to be accountable to the women's movement.

The 1989 Montreal massacre was a critical time in the expansion of profeminist political discourse into mainstream Canadian society. In her analysis of the WRC, Meg Luxton argues that the "...Montreal massacre was a significant turning point; it consolidated on mass scale the recognition that violence against women is a widespread

social problem rooted not in the individual pathologies of a few violent men, but in the deep structures of the society as a whole" (1993: 361).

During the second anniversary of the Montreal massacre, MNC began to mobilize by urging men to wear a white ribbon to signal their opposition to violence against women. As a symbolic strategy the WRC was to orient men to (1) identify their own opposition to men's violence, (2) challenge organizations in society to make changes and to respond to the social problem of violence against women and (3) make a personal commitment for examining violence to women in each of their lives. The lists of individual men supporters was impressive. Widespread support came from: politicians, native leaders, union members, broadcasters, academics, business people, athletes, actors, social movement activists and so on. Support also came from mainstream organizations such as: municipalities, schools, companies, unions, professional associations and other organizations. Some of these organizations, such as the YW/YMCA and some B.C. School Districts, continue to distribute white ribbons or WRC buttons every December.

Michael Kaufman, (founder and national director of the campaign) framed the WRC as an open and experimental strategy:

...aims to involve men across a very wide political and social spectrum, including men who disagree with some of the principles of the Men's Network for Change which we hold dear. The reason for this broad orientation is simple: our purpose is to get millions of men to personally commit themselves to work immediately to help end a reality that leaves most Canadian women feeling fearful and many living in terror (Winter 1993: 4).

Kaufman's commitment to work with men in Canadian society *who do not share the goals of MNC* was a crucial decision. *The campaign was meant to symbolically unite men publicly to oppose violence against women.* Yet, even as the campaign took off many participants found themselves in an uncomfortable political position as the following narrative suggests:

The campaign itself was limited by being tied (on the calendar at least) to the women's massacre, but not (yet) tied to any ongoing program of education, consciousness-raising or program of community activity...we found ourselves, in Kingston at least, in a damned if you do/damned if you don't situation. Some sentiment was expressed that our actions amounted to tokenism; (or too-little-to-lateism) or worse; yet other women (particularly women on the front line of the problem, i.e., crisis workers) were supportive. Some expressed anger and frustration. Yes, but also a

realization that there were few alternatives (Jones, Winter 1992: 7).

Pressure from radical profeminists within MNC increasingly developed. Some SMOs within MNC boycotted the WRC. Members of the Kingston MNC decided to disassociate themselves from the national campaign. The decision was based on the nature of the strategy and the media coverage of the WRC which, "...seemed to overpower consideration of the central issue (men's violence against women) in favour of the more newsworthy (from a media standpoint) issue of 'sensitive new age guys' and their token political gestures" (Jones, Winter 1993: 6). As well, Kingston participants believed that the timing was "inappropriate:" "...men had monopolized national attention at a moment that historical circumstances had set aside for women to share their pain and strength" (Jones, Winter 1993: 6). Finally, Kingston MNC members were concerned with the way the campaign was being run. These concerns centered on accountability to women's groups, a perception highlighted by the metaphor that the WRC was a "new national 'boys club'" (Jones, Winter 1993: 6).

Montreal MNC members were as vocal in their criticisms and also boycotted the WRC. In a similar fashion as the Kingston members, they articulated a skeptical framing of the WRC. Members of Montreal MNC portrayed the WRC as: publicly attacking feminists, "setting up feminists who cannot voice any critique of the campaign without being dubbed man-hating radicals by the media," as "reinforcing male privilege and unaccountability," and for the reasons outlined by the Kingston MNC (Dufresne, 1993: 10-11).

In contrast, responses from members of the board of directors for the WRC and Michael Kaufman framed the strategy as a "Victory for Canadian women" (Kaufman, Winter 1993: 7). Kaufman commented that:

The most exciting thing is how the idea of the WRC has become part of the fabric of national life. That's a very positive thing because it means the campaign could be taken up by men in their tens of thousands — hundreds of thousands (1993: 10).

In support, Michael Kimmel (a movement intellectual in the profeminist movement in the United States) commented:

But while Dufresne [member of Montreal Men Against Sexism] chooses to excoriate you on specious counts of political incorrectness, questioning your motives and effects, I salute what must be the largest organized profeminist men's event in the history of the world!...Dufresne chastises

you for devoting your lives to this effort and — gasp! — making a living from it. He claims that there is no structure of accountability, but it is clear that he means that you are not accountable to him and the women's groups **he** wants you to be accountable to...Those of us in the United States stand in awe of your ability to make this an issue of national concern in Canada. You have my envy and admiration (Kimmel, 1993: 3).

The WRC was successful in terms of integrating profeminist discourses into mainstream culture. The strategy involved networking and uniting men to symbolically acknowledge men's violence against women and to challenge sexist and coercive behavior. It was a first step towards popularizing movement politics in Canadian society — a goal that is at the core of the SMOs formation. The meanings that the WRC intended to get out opposed men's violence against women not as an individual issue or pathology, but as a social and political problem. In effect, they were collectively and publicly involved in disrupting patriarchal ideology.

Significantly, the WRC was articulated in a popular social context, outside of men's groups, conferences and newsletters. The effectiveness of this strategy is evident in the strong reactions of the profamily movement, men's rights movement and Christian right. These new right groups began to identify profeminist men and more broadly mainstream men supporting the WRC as wreaking havoc on the social fabric. Previously, these groups focused on women participants in the women's movement and feminists. A major criticism of the WRC by radical profeminists was that men who supported or expressed patriarchal identities might wear a white ribbon. However, the possibility of drawing these men into profeminism strikes me as an important victory. The significance of such an achievement is one of gaining a participant base from which other more practical strategies could be launched. Some other strategies include: developing potential funding sources for innovative programs for abusive men, support for changes in the law on issues identified by the women's movement and support for funding increases in the shelter movement.

Finally, the WRC was criticized for its lack of accountability to the women's movement. Given the diversity of feminism the question arises as to what can accountability to the women's movement mean? Radical profeminists within MNC supported a narrow framing of accountability. These members argued that accountability meant responding to all feminist reactions to the WRC, which amounts to an impossible task. On one hand these participants attempted to respond to feminist criticisms and believed that it was not in the interests of a profeminist movement to reject these points. On the other hand, they actually discounted the views of many feminists who argued that while

they had criticisms, this should not negate the need for men to continue the WRC.

In comparison to IMN and MNC, MERGE members articulate a collective action frame that, at first, appears to support gender equality and universal human rights. The MERGE statement of purpose endorses:

...the principle of equal rights and equal dignity for all people, and in particular for members of both sexes. Recent changes have moved society toward equality in areas where women have long been discriminated against, though much remains to be done in this regard. Men have also suffered various kinds of discrimination because of their gender, and these are no less harmful to their well being. There cannot be real equality until both sexes are freed from oppressive stereotypes and unfair treatment (MERGE, January/February 1992: 10).

Despite the framing of gender equality and human rights for all people, MERGE activists concentrate their efforts on gender inequalities and gender stereotypes that they believe are directed towards men — often unjustly in favour of women or feminist mobilizations. This frame corresponds with the mission statement of MERGE which identifies the need for the promotion of a balanced view in situations where one side is perceived as not receiving "adequate attention":

The purpose of this organization is to work in public and in private for greater understanding and equality between the sexes. All of our official pronouncements will affirm our commitment to full equality, and on any issue where either 'side' is not being given adequate consideration, we will attempt to promote a more balanced view (MERGE, January/February 1992: 10).

There are important differences between the men's rights and profeminist framing of gender equality. In contrast, to MNC, MERGE members frame the issues of gender equality as *a matter of men's rights and of perceived injustices towards men*. As well, the MERGE collective frame originates from MERGE member's own personal identity frames. For instance, some members convey stories of being unequally treated and victimized by the justice system in custody agreements or divorce, of inadequate parenting as a child, of unhealthy transformations in family structures or of their perceptions of feminism as fundamentally sexist and anti-male.

There are several prominent themes that surfaced in the analysis of the MERGE framing strategies. First, many of the narratives reflect the view that men are unjustly regarded as incidental through gender stereotyping. These themes are core factors I identify

in MERGE narratives — one's that reflect the framing of men's victimization: for example, as a result of the sexism of feminist politics. Like the members of MMAN, MERGE activists argue that feminism has become a dominant and oppressive ideology in mainstream society. Second, MERGE narratives convey a sense that women's contribution of homemaker and nurturer has become unfairly minimized in society. For instance, women's participation outside of the family has led to the devaluation of women who choose to be care-givers and homemakers. Third, men's contribution to family processes is minimized, especially in the context of child custody decisions. Activists argue that women and feminists claim a sense of moral superiority in areas of human relationships and parenting: thus, limiting men to provider roles. Fourth, traditional family structures are breaking down. Human survival and happiness depends upon adults adequately replacing themselves. Consequently, heterosexuality should be upheld as the natural foundation of the family. Fifth, deprivation in childhood through family breakdown is a major cause of a large range of societal problems. Finally, the women's movement and feminism is a major source of societal breakdown.

It is significant that these themes represent the reverse of feminist equality frames. For example, consider the sensibility on valuing women's work in the home. Feminists have also pointed out that women's contribution as homemaker and nurturer is devalued in society (Leclerc, 1990: 76). However, the key difference from the men's rights frames is that feminists identify, not the intrinsic devaluation of the work, but the devaluation of women who typically performed the work (Delphy, 1990: 95). The men's rights members on the other hand reverse the feminist sensibility, that women who perform work in the service of men be valued.

The following narratives are typically represented in the MERGE texts I examined. The personal identity frames within the narrative conveys a sense that the balance is unfairly tipped in favour of women on a wide range of issues, such as: custody and divorce agreements, sexual harassment, employment equity and violence.

One result of our system of distancing children from their father and tying them more firmly to their mother has been that certain attitudes are taken for granted in our culture: that children are basically the property of their mothers, that they don't much need their fathers — except for financial support — and that their fathers don't really much love or need them. All these ideas are tragically mistaken; in the context of divorce and out-of-wedlock birth, they are often particularly tragic. They have resulted in vast numbers of children being denied meaningful contact with their fathers...The evidence of the pain and psychological damage done by that

system is mounting steadily. There are indications that father absence is implicated in emotional deficits in children — everything from anorexia in daughters to suicide in sons., (Christensen, May/June 1992: 3-4).

Misunderstanding of each other [in heterosexual relationships], resulting from a lack of association or too much association with one sex, often manifests itself in other-sex bashing. I am not aware of one radical feminist who had a normal, let alone loving, relationship with her father (Robertson, May/June 1992: 2). (*Men may also exhibit this behaviour, possibly if they have a father deprived/possessive mother type of upbringing — editor*) (MERGE, May/June 1992: 2).

"...how can anyone regard all cases of forcible sexual activity as being equal crimes? Forcing a woman who has agreed to sexual relations for money to do it again as a 'freebie' is certainly not a crime anywhere in the category of climbing into the bedroom window of a woman asleep in her own bed and forcing her to submit to sex; yet they are both called rape (Haugaard, Nov/Dec 1991: 3).

People who studiously ignore the fact that there are some women who are violent are promoting a sexist double standard. They are creating the womb out of which tomorrow's violence will be born (Campbell, Nov/Dec 1991: 4).

The personal identity frames of the men and women who expressed these narratives connect with the MERGE collective identity frame that attempts to expose "gender related abuses of power," that is, the identification of real, yet unidentified gender inequalities (Klein, May/June 1992: 1). As I will demonstrate below, *the framing strategy of equal rights reinforces hegemonic heterosexual masculinity*. MERGE members attempt to reverse progressive social movement mobilizations against hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. This framing strategy is particularly attractive to potentially new members who are experiencing a personal transition or crisis. For example, men and women who are experiencing marital breakup or conflict in child custody agreements, or who are responding to new challenges in other social contexts, such as changing work environments. For many members of the men's rights movement, the experience of countering the subject positions of oppressor, dead beat dad or abusive husband is a form of empowerment.

The MERGE equal rights frame reflects an intensified effort to re-articulate a patriarchal ideology on heterosexuality and men and women's roles. MERGE frames and those frames of the men's rights movement more broadly, counter the subject positions articulated in the mytho-poetic and profeminist movements. Overall, the men's rights

frames justify a set of moral and biological sensibilities that support the restoration of the traditional nuclear family. On the face of it some of these sensibilities may seem reasonable. However, MERGE strategies are ultimately oriented to limiting women's choices and disassembling equality based initiatives. For instance, MERGE promotes men's roles as nurturer only in instances where men have limited or no access to their children, not in all contexts in which men are parents. Similarly, only on the issue of paying child support do members argue for men's decreased role as a provider. In effect, MERGE does not articulate a critical strategy aimed at dismantling patriarchy.

Overall, the MERGE equal rights frame is a precarious mobilization strategy. On one hand MERGE activists identify men as a stigmatized and discriminated social group and the women's movement as a primary cause of their victimization. The women's movement is portrayed as sexist. Although specific factors are mentioned, feminists are consistently "blamed" as the root cause of men's victimization.

On the other hand, the MERGE framing of "gender equality," originally part of feminist and gay and lesbian collective action framing on gender and sexuality, allows some members to articulate fragments of a profeminist politics on gender and sexuality — although MERGE members are adamantly opposed to the feminist and gay and lesbian liberation movement. For example, a *submerged, resistive frame* within the MERGE collective action frame creates significant tensions and may have the effect of disrupting the patriarchal subject positions interpellated by many members. In particular, women members articulated these progressive sensibilities. I found, through fieldwork in MMAN, that members were adamantly opposed to the participation of women members. MMAN members felt that women had a disruptive effect on meetings. The President of the SMO explained to me that the parent group of MMAN involved mixed genders. He said women members sometimes had a different agenda from that of the men. I suspect that a closer investigation of MERGE members would reveal key differences in experience. Examples of these differences may be in the experiences of child care, divorce settlements, wages and violence. Yet, it seems ironic to find women participating in a movement that would appear contradictory to their own struggle for equality.

In comparison, I found that MNC members are "men only" because of their belief that men must take responsibility for making changes in themselves and in society. And in yet another vein, IMN members found same-gender groups to be of greater benefit over mixed groups for creating a supportive masculine community:

The group was formed by men who were all involved in intensive Bioenergetic therapy in mixed groups of men and women with therapist Ben Shapiro (Ben is one of the leading Bioenergetic therapists in B.C.). During the course of therapy it became evident that same sex support was very helpful. It allowed us to confront and blocked feelings which had resisted concerted efforts to release (Richardson, Winter 1990: 6).

The recruitment of members along gender lines was also approximated in the SMO newsletters I analyzed. I found that *The MERGE Newsletter* (Movement for the Establishment of Real Gender Equality) was approximately evenly divided between 48% women writers and 52% men writers, *Island Men* (Island Men's Network) was overwhelmingly men writers (97%) and *Men's Network News* (Men's Network for Change) was 92% men writers and 8% women writers.³⁰

The following narratives highlight the profeminist sensibilities encoded into MERGE discourses — a result of the MERGE commitment to a universal equal rights frame:

Women [are] often denied full opportunity to participate in [the] worldly sphere [because of men's] sense of superiority in areas of worldly and intellectual endeavours (Klein, May/June 1992: 1).

It is human nature to either glorify or vilainize the absent and/or the unavailable, and to resent or devalue the present and the available. This often causes children to resent women and work regarded as women's work, while lending an unrealistic aura of glamour to work performed primarily by males especially since male salaries are often significantly higher (Robertson, May/June, 1992: 2).

Yes, men are expected to be successful in the dog-eat-dog world of modern business. Women's measure of 'success' — being beautiful and thin — is just as emotionally — devastating as not being 'successful' is to men. In fact, many women become 'unsuccessful' before we get out of high school, if not earlier (Posey, November/December 1991: 10).

Such personal identity frames seem to create tensions within MERGE and could

³⁰ A further breakdown of this approximate gender distribution is as follows: (1) *The MERGE Newsletter* involved 30% reprinted articles of which 11% were from women and 19% were from men and involved 70% membership articles of which 37% were from women writers and 33% were from men writers (2) *Island Men* involved 10% reprinted articles of which 2% were from women and 8% were from men and involved 90% membership articles of which 1% were from women writers and 89% were from men writers, and (3) *Men's Network News* involved 1% reprinted articles which were from men and involved 99% membership articles of which 8% were from women writers and 91% were from men writers.

potentially disrupt mobilization strategies oriented towards enhancing support for traditional values on family, gender and sexuality. The following narrative clearly demonstrates the potential for disrupting the dominant conservative and reactionary perspectives in MERGE. The member clearly supports Shared Parenting, but surprisingly contradicts REAL women (both SMOs are part of the profamily movement in Canada). As well, the member articulates strategies that are part of a feminist agenda. For example, the desire for work-site day care.

Shared Parenting is one of the local groups that has been created to support non-custodial parents and extended family seeking the right to have a role in their (grand)child(ren)'s lives after family breakup...MERGE believes, as in everything, that all sides deserve equal time and consideration in any conflict situation, not just family conflict. We suggest mediation...Compassion cannot be legislated. Conversely, equality can only be achieved when we can learn to see people in conflict as people, not as ogres or damsels in distress...Singling men out as the root cause of social evil is a farce. As feminists have been pointing out for years, women are capable of any action that a man is capable of...Groups like 'REAL Women' and U of A chemistry professor Gordon Freeman presume 'working mothers' (meaning mothers pursuing careers outside the home) are responsible for most of the maladjusted, neurotic and sociopathic people in society. But it can be argued that children of stay-at-home mothers may well have too much of mother and not enough of father; that father-deprivation has never been adequately researched...The Bible speaks of families replenishing the earth, of children as fruitful branches...It is quite clear that human survival and happiness depends upon adults adequately replacing themselves. What are some viable solutions to the problems I've underscored? worksharing, onsite day care, tax credits for stay-at-home parents, paternity leave for caregivers, multi-grade classrooms, adult and senior citizen teacher aids, use of modern communication tools... (Postey, May/June 1992: 9-10).

The collective identity frames in MERGE are generally aligned with other neo-conservative movements. The pro-family movement and the religious right play a key role in the mobilization of MERGE members. In particular, Parents Anonymous and the Shared Parenting Association of Alberta are identified as "MERGE friends" because they share common strategies (MERGE, Jan/Feb 1992: 10). Members of MERGE are encouraged to participate in these allied SMOs. As well, MERGE committees work closely with other allied SMOs in making presentations to government. For instance, making a presentation to social services for a legal remedy that would improve access of the extended family, the parents of the non-custodial parent, to children of divorced spouses. The MERGE parenting committee works closely with the Shared Parenting Association,

Children's and Parents' Equality Society, Orphaned Grandparents and the Grandparent's Rights Association. Along with these alliances, the Christian political right is also a significant factor in the mobilization of MERGE members. These alliances surfaced throughout MERGE narratives.

The breakdown of the family is placed squarely on the shoulders of feminists and sometimes women in general. According to MERGE members, feminist politics, overly possessive mothering and an unbalanced justice system that favours women in divorce and custody decisions has led to the breakdown of the "Western traditional nuclear family." *Such alliances have had a profound effect on MERGE by focusing the politics of gender and sexuality as a matter of: family values (out of which the nuclear family is understood as the basic unit in society), healthy and natural heterosexual relationships and traditional gender roles.*

Many women members of MERGE interpellated subject positions that correspond to a conventional sense of family and the normality of heterosexuality — a process that does not contradict the conservative MERGE frames. Consequently, many women may not be reacting so much to the goals of women's rights as strongly as they are to what they perceive as a feminist politics that they see as disrupting their identities. For these women, this is not "false consciousness," but a strategic and rational political project. In this case, it becomes possible to see how women members in particular might articulate some of the same sensibilities argued for in the women's movement based on their everyday experiences. For example, experiences of pay inequalities, lack of access to on-site day care and violence or threat of violence. However, these women are not necessarily aligned with feminist framing strategies. In particular, women members of MERGE clearly define family through conservative lenses — that is, the "family values" construction of family as only being a two parent family (one male and one female) where the male is the natural head of the household.

In effect, MERGE members share common mobilization strategies, even though they may have different experientially based interests. MERGE participants, like the men members of MMAN, articulate a framing of gender equality that is somewhat misleading — both in the mission statements and in the actual meaning of the mixed-gender membership. Although all members of MERGE collectively share a men's rights agenda, the appearance of equality allows men in particular the opportunity to articulate a particularly aggressive politics — a politics that serves the interests of men's rights members in continuing to replicate privileged masculine identities.

In summary, the SMOs I have analyzed deploy competing mobilization strategies. Although each SMO has access to similar resources (e.g., consciousness raising groups and newsletters), how these resources are used varies significantly. IMN members use their resources to help participants value or discover a deep rooted manhood. The activists create ritual spaces in support groups, poetry groups, drumming groups and drop-in groups. These strategies create opportunities to expose and articulate a wide range of subject positions in the "safe space" of movement networks. The activists also communicate movement frames through publicly accessible mediums such as theatre, SMO literature, public speaking events, etc. IMN is constructed in such a way that it discourages members from mobilizing the SMO as a whole towards outwardly directed strategies (e.g., political lobbying and protests).

MNC activists utilize many of the same strategies articulated in the women's movement, e.g., candle light vigils, anti-violent protests, collectivist organizational strategies, etc. Like IMN, MNC also has an experimental face. The experimental quality of MNC strategies can be found in the way activists are willing to introduce creative and contextual activities, like using poetry to explore identity and being open to new age healing rituals. However, unlike IMN, the MNC strategies are always grounded within a critical framework — one that aims to dismantle patriarchal subjectivities and structures. In contrast to the other SMOs, the profeminist activists put the "blame" for men's suffering on the oppressive structures and identities.

Both MERGE and MMAN activists articulate strategies that counter what they see as the core destructive elements in society, including pervasive gender stereotypes of men, discriminatory child custody decisions, unfair sexual harassment legislation, etc. Activists identify the victimization of men as ultimately being connect with feminism. Both MERGE and MMAN activists reject feminist equality frames and label them sexist. As an alternative to feminism and profeminism, the members of the men's rights SMOs launch their own equality frames of gender and sexuality. Lobbying government, disseminating research reports and facilitating public events on men's issues are some of the strategies these SMOs apply.

MERGE, MMAN, MNC and IMN strategies connect with the needs of members who identify with each SMO and more broadly with each movement. The connection between personal identity frames and collective frames of activists is a significant factor in the formation and on-going activity of SMOs. How members of IMN articulate their collective identity frames in relation to their personal frames is one of the most intriguing

aspects of this study. The personal identity frames of these members varies radically. Some members interpellate patriarchal identities (e.g., romanticizing or dissolving responsibility for violent identities) and others completely reject them. Still, others have found subject positions that represent neither a complete opposition nor interpellation of patriarchal ideology. IMN members who articulate these wide ranging identities do so within a contradictory social movement context. It is difficult for many observers to understand how IMN members can unite under a collective frame. Some observers point to the participant's sex as males or to universal wounds as unifying factors. Others deny that there is a mytho-poetic movement at all. My analysis suggests that the key unifying factor is the IMN commitment to self-awareness processes which are used in the exploration of manhood.

Members of MNC articulate critical collective identity frames — ones that challenge men to engage in a critical politics both personally and collectively. MNC strategies are consistently oriented towards an emancipatory or transformative agenda. A core theme in MNC narratives is the acknowledgement that men themselves are disadvantaged by the same oppressive systems that maintain patriarchal structures. But unlike the mytho-poetic and men's rights movements, the subject positions open to MNC members are ones that focus responsibility on men to dismantle oppressive gender structures and identities (as well as racist and economically oppressive structures).

Finally, both MERGE and MMAN oppose feminism as a predominantly discriminatory politics in mainstream society. The men's rights SMOs examine the factors involved in men's victimization and associate them with feminist mobilizations. These factors range from the breakdown of the traditional family to victimization in child custody cases. MERGE members frame their strategies as representing the true struggle for gender equality. The collective identity frame in MERGE connects with the participant's own personal identity frames. Many of the MERGE narratives raise the point that men are not privileged, but discriminated against in society. Members point to their own experiences of being accused of sexual harassment, lacking sufficient access to children or fear of being devalued as a man or woman. A major finding in the analysis is that the MERGE equality frame is contextually-shifting. For instance, at times members argue that men's role as provider needs to be broken down or that their role as nurturers needs to be increased. Yet, these transformations are only discussed in contexts where men lack access to their children in custody decisions. Nowhere in the MERGE narratives can one find members arguing for these transformations occurring on a widespread level throughout society. The men's rights activists are not discussing the need for fathers to be more involved in child care or to take

up the role of stay-at-home dads — except as a strategic tactic for men's rights in child custody and support payments.

Overall, the men's rights strategies attempt to increase the awareness of men's victimization and feelings of being controlled. Members want to identify the dangers of being a man. A significant problem for the SMOs is making a legitimate claim that gross inequalities favour women. The profeminists make a case that men are alienated, and even oppressed (e.g., through economic, racial, or heterosexist oppression). Unlike the profeminists, MERGE and MMAN members try to make the case that feminists have created the structures (e.g., laws, policies and social theories) that assume the inferiority of men. The collective action frames of MERGE lack the enthusiasm and concrete support for their positions. Some frames may even be at odds with the conservative and reactionary perspectives. In particular, some members actually articulate claims for access to universal day care or for an increased role for women in decision-making.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CORE FRAMING TASKS WITHIN SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction

Chapter One and Chapter Four shed some light on the ways ideology is involved in moulding dissatisfactions and conflict into a politicized agenda, constructing a sense of collective identity and specifying certain material and signifying resources, within a social-historical context. For members of all three social movements, ideological considerations are central to the formation of movement politics. As I discussed, MNC members generally utilize oppositional liberal, socialist or radical profeminist ideologies to contest patriarchal ideology and social structures. And, as I further explore, MNC activists are clearly aware that feminist ideology is a central axis around which the SMO mobilizes.

In contrast, members of MERGE and MMAN seem to take ideological processes for granted. However, a closer investigation suggests that ideology has a significant place in gluing the grievances of men's rights members together. For instance, members of MERGE and MMAN, referred to as reactionary masculinists, have framed their strategies from a socio-biological perspective. To justify some forms of men's violence and men's control in heterosexual relationships some activists present their interpretations of anthropological evidence and research on the behaviour of laboratory animals. Other members argue that men naturally compete with each other and are the natural protectors of their children and of women. In effect, the meanings of manhood, womanhood and family in these discursive contexts are considered naturally acquired — which is in line with conservative ideology on gender, sexuality and the family.

Yet, within MERGE the conservative tradition exists alongside other ideologies such as the men's rights critique of men's provider role and the costs of being a man. In particular, many members frame traditional gender roles as a danger to men, not because of the detrimental character of patriarchy for men, but because women receive an inordinate amount power which they use over men. These members articulate a type of equal rights discourse that I will refer as liberal masculinist. Both the reactionary and liberal perspectives articulate distinct, yet allied assessment of gender and sexuality.

Members of the mytho-poetic movement are concerned with ideology. However, a key departure from the other two movements is their claim that they do not represent a

single ideological perspective. As I earlier indicated, IMN members have organized through a kind of cultural pluralism — one that creates a space for a repertoire of ideologies to be articulated within the same social movement.

In summary, each SMO mobilizes in a way that reflects the ideas, beliefs and symbols that resonate with members. Ideological meanings provide a way to understand problems, construct solutions and motivate in collective action (Buechler, 1993: 222). The exploration of social-historical development and the delineation of resources used in the mobilization of political agendas is a requirement of Thompson's methodological approach to culture and ideology. However, this analysis only highlights some elements of ideology.

The second phase of the depth hermeneutic methodology — discursive analysis — examines the framing activities of MERGE, IMN and MNC. Analyzing the signifying practices of each SMO can reveal elements of ideology not highlighted in the previous chapters. Embedded within the narratives of all three SMOs are social movement frames. As practices of signification, these frames indicate the severity of societal problems, the types of solutions, the methods for making change happen and the motivations for members to take action (Snow and Benford, 1988: 192). In the context of social movement politics, the meanings and beliefs conveyed in these frames are fundamentally ideological. As I discussed in the previous chapter, framing strategies convey useful information on the way participants interpellate patriarchal ideology.

In order to elaborate on the way SMOs mobilize the meanings and ideas of gender and sexuality, I have drawn from Snow and Benford's analysis of "core framing tasks" (1988: 199). Snow and Benford argue that there are three core framing tasks that must be attended to if successful mobilization is to occur. These framing tasks are: (1) a *diagnosis* of some problematic aspect of social life and attribution of blame or causality, (2) a *prognosis* or solution to the problem, involving strategies, tactics and targets and (3) an understanding of why participants should mobilize, i.e., the motivation for corrective action.

Analyzing SMO Newsletters

To analyze the core framing tasks within each SMO — the way SMOs frame their symbolic challenges in relation to patriarchal ideology — I have mapped out the main textual narratives that best describe each article in SMO newsletters. The following summary table describes the main narratives in SMO newsletters, based on my coding

schema.³¹

TABLE TWO: CORE NARRATIVES UTILIZED IN SMO NEWSLETTERS

NARRATIVE CODE	NUMBER OF ARTICLES BY SMO		
	MERGE	IMN	MNC
Radical Profeminist		1	13
Socialist Profeminist	2	6	32
Liberal Profeminist	9	8	18
New Age Masculinist		32	5
Liberal Masculinist	17	2	
Reactionary Masculinist	22	5	

Overall, I coded 172 articles as representing one of the 6 rudimentary narratives described in Appendix H. I found that the framing tasks delineated by these narratives clearly varied within and across each SMO. The diversity observed provides empirical evidence that supports Magnusson and Walker's hypothesis that movements articulate a contextually-shifting politics — that is, the dominant strategies and framing devices are not articulated constantly in every context.

MERGE Framing Tasks

Members of MERGE articulate two prominent narrative types: liberal masculinist and reactionary masculinist. Their relatively equal presence within MERGE suggests that they provide distinct, yet allied perspectives on gender and sexuality. A less prominent set of progressive narratives is also present within the MERGE articles. Among these are liberal profeminist narratives. As I discussed in Chapter Four, one reason for the existence of these progressive narratives, within a predominantly reactionary SMO, is that MERGE claims to represent a balanced approach to gender and sexuality. It is significant that several of the articles containing liberal profeminist narratives were reprinted from other sources and almost always carried warnings about their perceived gender bias. Still, a number of profeminist narratives were articulated by MERGE members, which suggests that the SMO

³¹ As I discussed in Chapter Three, I have defined these codes in Appendix H, the procedures for coding articles in Appendix I, and presented a detailed table of the analysis in Appendix G.

does not articulate only masculinist perspectives.

The main diagnostic frames in the liberal profeminist narrative focused on sexism and the beauty myth, custody payments, lack of support for assertiveness in women and lack of access for women in leadership roles and in science. In turn these were connected to prognostic strategies that advocated for women's rights. Examples of the rights oriented prognostic frames are: changing the way beauty is constructed, discussing ways to enforce support payments and supporting women's right to have careers involving leadership roles. Interestingly, the motivational frames of the profeminist narratives always focused on raising awareness of a specific concrete problem as opposed to a calls for political mobilization.

The core diagnostic frames in the reactionary and liberal masculinist narratives center on the problem of men's victimization. As I indicated in Chapter Four, the context in which members identify this victimization varies widely. Within the liberal masculinist trajectory, members frame women's sexism, men's cultural role expectations and unfair divorce and custody as the main problems. In contrast, the reactionary masculinist narratives are more extreme in emphasizing feminists as the main cause of men's victimization through: (1) hate or male bashing, (2) false or mis-labelled accusations of violence towards women and (3) faulty research and mobilization strategies. Common to both narratives is the sense that feminists have disrupted traditional gender relations. Members tell stories of their own experience. These testimonials are provided as evidence that feminists are destroying the family, time honored dating rituals and parent and child relationships. Thompson has argued that these modes of story telling may be used establish or sustain those with power — he suggests that the stories may be decontextualized (or even invented) to fit political needs (1990: 61).

A common theme in the MERGE narratives is the vilification of feminists as destroying families or usurping men's power. One key difference between the liberal and reactionary masculinist narratives is that the liberal narratives tend to make a distinction between radical (or popular) and liberal (or like-minded) feminists — where the radical feminists are identified as being man haters or sometimes of having an unhappy childhood. In contrast, the reactionary perspectives write off feminism as a legitimate perspective all together.

The main theme cutting across the prognostic frames of both liberal and reactionary masculinist narratives lies in demonstrating that heterosexual men's gender oppression is a reality. Participants in the men's rights SMOs reverse many of the claims made by the

women's movement as fundamentally sexist. In the process, a number of men's rights identities are articulated, some of which are contradictory. Some members clearly want to re-establish conservative family values as the bedrock of gender and sexual relations — for men this means being the head of the household. Conversely, other members reject men's role as the provider. Both subject positions are a response to transformations in gender and sexuality. In the first instance the nature of family has changed. The traditional nuclear family now exists alongside a wide range of family models. In the second instance, there is increased pressure to make child support payments. Many men's rights members argue that forcing men to make child support payments while having conditional or limited access to children is fundamentally abusive to men, children and their former partners. Interestingly, the members who argue for men's decreased role as providers are often the ones suggesting that men are victimized by the pressure to make child support payments. In other words, the narratives are strategically constructed to highlight men's victimization through lack of access.

The masculinist framing strategies are part of a strategic men's rights agenda of distorting and falsifying feminists' discourses and truth claims. As I discussed in Chapter One and Four, Warren Farrell is a key player in shaping men's rights discursive strategies. In *Why Men Are the Way They Are*, Farrell describes how the reverse strategy may be applied: for example, in the contexts of discrimination against men in the media, legal system, heterosexual marriages or in the workforce. Farrell's arguments are also very influential in MERGE and particularly resonate with members articulating the liberal masculinist narratives.³²

If women really earned 59 cents to the dollar for the same work as men what business could compete effectively by hiring men. At any level? One of the most important reasons women's and men's full-time pay differs is their different career choices. Both sexes have equal knowledge that engineers will average a higher income than a French Literature or Art History major. As for secretaries, 99 percent are female Why? If a man is a secretary, he knows a female secretary will look right past him to a male executive. He knows the male physician will marry the female nurse, but the female physicians will not marry the male nurse. Men, then, narrow their career options to jobs everyone knows pay more whether or not they enjoy the work. Including jobs that involve a 6000-percent higher incidence of work-related accidents (over 2 million disabilities and 14 000 deaths each year). The myth that women earn 59 cents to the dollar for the same work as

³² For instance, the SMO supported a visit by Farrell to lecture to Alberta members of MERGE and to the public (MERGE, November/December, 1991: 8).

men reinforces traditional roles. It does not encourage women to control their own lives. It does encourage women to find male 'success objects'. In brief the myth may be good for the women's movement; it is not good for women" (Farrell, March/April 1992).

Farrell's assessment of the problem is that women's lower economic income is based on their natural inclination to care-giving: "None of this is women's fault. Women are still 43 times more likely than men to leave the workplace for six months or longer (for family reasons)," and to women's inclination to "marry up' for economic security" (March/April 1992: 10). As I earlier indicated, the women's movement and feminists are commonly blamed for their own lack of opportunities and lower pay and for the exploitation many men experience in the work force, i.e., by portraying feminists as reinforcing traditional gender roles.

The following reactionary masculinist narrative from an influential member of MERGE, points to another application of the reverse discourse strategy:

Because of MERGE's special concern with gender roles, our section begins by noting how these roles have helped to create a problem in the first place. The common family pattern in this century, with its stay-at-home mother and go-off-to-work father, is highly atypical in human history, produced by the rise of factory industry in the last century. The more natural pattern for human beings is for father to be about as heavily involved in child rearing as the mother, at least after infancy. In earlier centuries in this culture, for instance, a son would learn his adult place in society by working beside his father from an early age (Christensen, May/June 1992).

Christensen's comments demonstrate how ideology can be adapted to shore up support for men's control in divorce and custody. He articulates conventional sensibilities that frame a separated or divorced father's access to his children as a universal right — which is in line with the hegemonic ideology on masculinity, heterosexuality and family. However, *now this right is re-framed as being rooted in the natural participation of men in raising their children, particularly their boys*. On one hand, men and fathers are collectively constructed as maintaining the rights they have always had — the guardianship of their children. Now, it is natural for all fathers to be involved in child rearing as a matter of maintaining "meaningful contact" and preventing the problems of "emotional deficits in children," "anorexia," and "suicide" which is a result of the "absent" father (Christensen, May/June 1992: 3).

On the other hand, separated or divorced fathers who do not have access to children

are framed as "victims" (Christensen, May/June 1992: 3). The connection between diagnosis of the problem (i.e., men's victimization) and prognosis (i.e., involvement in childcare) are connected to motivational frames. Sympathy is garnered by identifying the situation as "tragic," unnatural as "some mothers are thrust into a situation basically designed for fathers," "adversarial" as the justice system rules in favour of women and neglects to "mediate" access and custody decisions (Christensen, May/June 1992: 3). Potential adversaries are framed as acting out of self-interest and "...often exploit stereotypes of violent males to keep fathers away from their children" (Christensen, May/June 1992: 3).

Nowhere in the MERGE articles on divorce and custody did participants question whether or not children, youths and former spouses desire the participation of fathers — they assume that it is men's universal right regardless of context. There is very little attention to the *social context* in which marital breakdown occurs, especially where violence occurs. How MERGE members actually view a nurturing expression of fatherhood and partnership is also a question that goes unanswered in the newsletter. Perhaps this is because MERGE members are largely concerned with negative stereotypes of men.

The wide range of problems for which feminists are blamed has to have strategic value for men's rights activists. Naming feminists as the source of men's victimization appears to be a way of defining men's rights politics in relation to feminism. The strategy seems to add a sense of legitimacy or normality to men's rights frames, while fragmenting the messages of feminists as untrustworthy and harmful (Thompson, 1990: 60-63).

Framing the problem of men's victimization and the achievement of men's liberation in relation to feminism also reflects the limitations of men's rights politics. For instance, the topics men's rights activists discuss so closely mirror those of feminists and the prognostic frames are so oriented to simply demonstrating that feminist perspectives are erroneous, that there is actually very little innovation in the reactionary and liberal masculinist narratives. Possibly, this reliance on feminism for a political context in which to discuss men's victimization is one reason men's rights activists have had difficulty in gaining widespread sympathy for their claims (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1994 and Clatterbaugh, 1990: 154).

IMN Framing Tasks

Based on the articles I examined, I found that IMN members conveyed the largest range of narratives in comparison to the other SMOs. Every narrative code I employed could be identified in the IMN newsletter. The dispersion is consistent with IMN mobilization strategies and identity construction processes discussed in the previous chapter. Members seem to explore a wider set of identities in comparison to the other SMOs. Ultimately, the multiple ways of addressing identity within IMN are viewed as part of a search for a deeper sense of manhood.

Most of the IMN narratives convey the sense that a deep seated crisis exists in masculinity — which is a core IMN diagnostic frame. The most common prognostic frames are expressed in terms of the pleasures of being in men's communities, heightening the awareness of masculinity and exploring cultural texts on masculinity (e.g., myth, stories, poetry, dance, drumming and so on). IMN participants predominantly draw on the masculinist types of narratives. However, unlike the masculinist narratives articulated in the men's rights groups, the masculinist narratives of the mytho-poetic movement are best labelled "new age." As I discussed in Chapter One, Rosenau provides an insightful category — the new age postmodern movement — that best describes the politics of IMN. Similar to the other new age postmodern movements examined in Rosenau's analysis, IMN narratives coalesce around a number of politically relevant sensibilities. One of these sensibilities is IMN's refusal to endorse a single ideology that defines mytho-poetics. As the following narrative suggests, totalizing ideologies and modernist political solutions are adamantly rejected (1992: 144).

I have read enough history to have a sense of how well-meaning ideological framework becomes streamlined into orthodoxy which is then simplified into a social, political or religious structure that is in turn institutionalized and bureaucratized into a repressive oligarchical force. I am terrified of the puritan purges that are part of the cycle of ideological movements (Raman, Fall 1991: 7).

The plurality of identities apparent in IMN narratives puts into question Young's (1993) analysis that: (1) situates IMN participants as "followers" regurgitating Robert Bly's spiritual language and mythology, (2) positions participants as articulating the same strategies — "once removed" — as those in the men's rights movement, (3) paints all participants with the same brush, as "misogynist" and (4) reveals little more understanding than the mainstream press who frame the more disruptive practices of the mytho-poetic

movement as comical (e.g., struggling to openly express feelings, showing affection for other men, being sensitive and caring in relationships, accepting diverse viewpoints and constructing a place to discuss personal problems) (328-329). As Young comments:

Pro-feminist men should not be swayed by Bly's spiritual language and reliance on mythology. The mythopoetic movement comes dangerously close to identifying with the men's rights view stressing the power of women to harm men and then concluding that it is for this reason that men are violent towards women. Beware of iron men wearing red armour, riding powerful chestnut horses, grunting Ho!, and bearing gifts to relieve men's grief (Young, Spring 1992: 6).

As I earlier discussed in Chapter One, a more sophisticated, critical analysis of the mytho-poetic movement is required. Mytho-poetics represent a new politics of masculinity which is complex and quite distinct from the reactionary politics of the men's rights movement and the critical politics of profeminism. The problem with Young's analysis is that it assumes members of IMN are unified by patriarchal ideology. As I discussed in the previous chapter, some members of IMN do articulate the highly misogynist identities found in some men's rights groups e.g., romanticizing violence narratives as part of what it means to be a man. Yet, these patriarchal identities coexist with other participants who claim they are advocates for non-oppressive gender and sexual identities. In effect, it must be some other set of beliefs and ideas that binds these participants together in a way that is distinct from men's rights politics and profeminism.

A plethora of diagnostic frames can be observed within IMN texts. Members identify a variety of problems which, as part of a wider discourse on hetero-masculinity, are highly contradictory. Some narratives identify feminine cultural sensibilities as making men too soft. Others suggest that culture influences men to be aggressive and violent. Some members believe men need to bond in order to become fully masculine. Others believe men need to create intimacy between each other in order to break with the constraints of heterosexism.

The core problem that cuts across all of the IMN narratives is one that points to a full blown hetero-masculine identity crisis. The factors that have led to the core problem, however, vary widely and can be grouped into the following categories: (1) the patriarchy (e.g., use and production of pornography or men's violence practices), (2) the fragmentation of masculinity (e.g., men have become too feminine, men lack appropriate initiation rituals or men have lost appropriate ways of bonding), (3) men's victimization

(e.g., unfounded feminist claims on violence or unfair custody/divorce decisions), (4) economic (e.g., workforce discrimination against men) and (5) cultural (e.g., absent fathers, suppression of feelings in the experience of masculinity and isolation of heterosexual men).

The most salient factor across IMN narratives involves the cultural diagnostic frames. The cultural frames were especially prominent in the new age masculinist narratives that I coded in the *Island Men* newsletter. Cultural frames play a key discursive role in the politics of IMN by aligning the ideas and beliefs of the other perspectives with the perceived cultural disruption of masculine identity. In effect, the diagnostic frames play a key role in the construction and alignment of pluralistic movement identities.

A recurring theme in the cultural diagnostic frames is how the meanings of masculinity and sexuality have been extensively disrupted and fragmented:

Looking back from my present day vantage-point, I feel that the chance for men to coalesce around a collective identity, at least in my lifetime, has been pretty shaky. As boys we each form a sense of right and wrong out of our own instincts and our identification with important adults. Somehow, perhaps when our independent judgement develops, many of us feel betrayed and disillusioned along the way to becoming an adult male in North America. This damages the natural heart-bond between men (Bixler, Spring 1991: 11-12).

For most participants in IMN, the true roots of masculinity center on the formation of a collective identity or "bond" that is an instinctual part of every man, whether he is aware of it or not. I found that many participants look to the reconstruction of the "deeper" meanings of masculinity and heterosexuality through submerged texts, e.g., the mythologies of the past and new age rituals. As a way of recreating a community or collective identity, participants metaphorically attempt to step around the modern to retrieve cultural sensibilities from the pre-modern and integrate them into their present day hetero-masculine identities. This process of juxtaposing cultural sensibilities and creating new fluid and superficial meanings of identity is part of a postmodern culture that Rosenau believes is at the core of such new age postmodern movements.

Similarly, the IMN prognostic frames are grounded in diverse political perspectives. Members identifying patriarchal practices and structures as the basis of the masculinity crisis promote their destruction as the main solution. For example, narratives that examine the effects of pornography on hetero-masculinity, encourage men to reject its use in expressing their sexuality. Similarly, narratives that examine the connections

between homophobia and sexism suggest men develop closer more intimate relationships with each other as the solution. Frames that diagnose the fragmentation of masculine identity as a manifestation of the crisis, tend to advocate for a reconstruction of masculinity — towards a more holistic sense of manhood.

Men's victimization frames were most often connected to the need for a greater awareness and for men's equality. In every one of these narratives, feminists were targeted as the underlying cause of men's victimization — which is consistent with the most prominent men's rights strategies. However, the distinguishing feature of the IMN narratives is to articulate a men's rights politics within the IMN cultural frames. Economic frames — which diagnosed the problem from a socialist perspective — also advocated for similar ideologically based solutions, e.g., greater labour unity to address the impact of globalization. Finally, the most pervasive and unifying prognostic frame is connected to the cultural narrative codes. The solutions suggested in these narratives emphasized the need for men to rediscover the metaphorical roots of manhood and to value their identities.

Such diagnostic and prognostic frames are interconnected with motivational frames — the "call to arms or rationale for action" (Snow and Benford, 1988: 202). In the case of the mytho-poetic movement a central motivation to action is the call for community and collective support among men:

The gift of *Island Men* (Spring 1991) has confirmed and affirmed my need and desire for brotherhood on many levels. It is now that my journey carries with it new hope and respect for men, males and masculinity. A new warrior emerges looking to connect, learn and grow from the wisdom of other men (Carruthers, Fall 1991: 4).

The motivation for collective action is often framed in terms of "brotherhood." Generally speaking, the incentive for change encompasses a call for unity among men in relation to a specific problem and solution. The connections or bond across men of different political stripes is evident in metaphors like "brotherhood," "journey," "healing," "deepening men's community," and "nourishing small groups of men" (*Island Men*, Fall 1992).

The cultural framing strategy coordinates or mediates the various identities expressed within *Island Men* articles. As I discuss in the Conclusion, the cultural frames work within a wider context by pluralizing gender and sexual identities as opposed to imposing fixed cultural identities. The IMN approach to masculinity politics provides an overarching framework within which other, contradictory perspectives can co-exist. It

should not be surprising that organizers view the organizational structure of IMN as a "vehicle" to explore various expressions of masculinity. Thus, the cultural solutions emphasize introspection and self-awareness, e.g., discovering masculine archetypes and creating a new manhood based on experiential re-interpretations and mythology.

The following motivational frames highlight how cultural solutions enable members from various backgrounds to come together to engage in their own process of exploration:

We believe that at this time in our culture there is a profound need for men to rediscover the roots of masculinity as a positive force in ourselves and our communities (*Island Men*, Summer 1992: 3).

Willy-nilly, I became a part of the 'Men's Mytho-poetic Movement.' I, who don't join parties, associations, clubs, found myself part of a movement! For a while I was not sure I was comfortable among the throngs of men marching towards a bright new future where feelings and manhood would not be in conflict (Raman, Fall 1991: 6).

As I further discuss in the Conclusion, there are several consequences to IMN's cultural strategy. On one hand, masculinity is explored in a cultural context that is more fluid or reflective of everyday life — as opposed to a social movement context that requires the membership to express their identities according to a specific ideology. One implication is patriarchal identities may be expressed alongside non-oppressive ones. The following IMN narrative on men's violence clearly demonstrates how fluid, socially constructed meanings can become in a new age postmodern context — offenders can become victims and violence can be romantic.

"All violence comes from a victim. Don't blame the victim? I say, 'Don't look anywhere else!' once I see myself as a victim, all manner of violence can emanate from me and I will think it was more than justified. ...I see violence as a natural human mechanism of self-survival where, when I am threatened by being overwhelmed, I abruptly push back. The fear of being overwhelmed is at the core of violence. I experience this fear as I am being physically pushed around or psychologically shamed. ...I can recognize that we all have this necessary raging Beast within and yet I can become skilled at not releasing that Beast from inside, or if I do, by keeping the Beast on a short chain through discipline. ... and finally, I may even be able to tell myself the truth that I can feel pleasure, feel alive, while in a violent state. There is a certain beauty in some violence" (Ogilvie, Spring, 1992: 8).

On the other hand, exploring identity in a more fluid, cultural context offers members the opportunity to open up new cultural spaces and to see new possibilities. The

following narrative, also by an IMN member, clearly reflects a dislocation between a fixed/rational identity and one that fluctuates between pluralistic identities and emotional states:

I am glad we have agreed to the use of a 'talking stick' at our meetings. I would like to adapt this borrowed tradition to suit our own cultural needs. We can begin by learning to listen, and to respond beyond tolerance to voices different to our own. We can start by taking a closer look at the assumptions and values that underlay the conduct of our business. This will test our commitment to building a truly new way for men to interact: with each other, with women, with children and elders, with animals and with the earth (Raman, Winter 1990: 4).

In effect, the cultural prognostic frames draw members together to explore hetero-masculinity through ritualistic activities, drumming, dance, myth and poetry from diverse past and present cultures. Through an inward search or exploration members attempt to reclaim a part of themselves that they see as being split off — regardless of their political perspective. For example:

One of the most interesting concepts I heard that evening [at a men's movement conference] was this: what has been damaged by the masculine must be healed in the masculine, and what has been damaged in the feminine must be healed in the feminine (Ogilvie, Spring 1991: 20).

I will never forget the unity and accomplishment I felt as 30 men stood in a circle in the house at our closing ceremony, and gave acknowledgement to the wonderful men who organized the event [building a replication of a native pit house] (*Island Men*, Summer 1991: 5).

For me the recovery of my split-off heart has been the ongoing work of my personal therapy, my men's group and my training to become a bioenergetic therapist. Helping other men recover their hearts is a major part of the work I now do as a therapist. This has been my personal response to the male dilemma that I've tried to outline (Bixler, Spring 1991: 10).

In this sense, the prognostic framing strategy of exploring pluralistic identities funnels activity away from emancipatory projects, like challenging men's violence and orients members to an inward exploration of identity. Linda Kauffman (1990) has described this process as a retreat from the public sphere. Kauffman argues that an "anti-politics of identity" takes the initial concerns of identity politics away from engagement with institutionalized structures of power (1990: 68). The mobilization strategies of these apolitical movements focuses on introspection and a diffusion of political

energies. Ultimately, Kauffman suggests that these movements present "one of the greatest barriers to the development of contemporary progressive politics" (1990: 68).

MNC Framing Tasks

MNC appears to be the most unified SMO in terms of articulating frames that are constructed in opposition to patriarchal ideology and structures. Most often socialist profeminist narratives are represented in the newsletter and to a lesser extent liberal and radical profeminist narratives. The unifying theme across these narratives is support for profeminist ideologies. The consistency within MNC's newsletter provides some support to my earlier point that ideology is the central axis around which MNC mobilizes. The following narratives emphasize the way activists have framed their discursive strategies in relation to feminist ideologies.

There is an underlying assumption to our work: Feminist ideas and orientations can be mainstream ones. Feminism is not something that should be at the margins of society. It should be, can be, and will be a set of beliefs and social practices that are pervasive in our society (Kaufman, 1993: 7).

I felt that during the [National Gathering of Men] conference there had been a good deal of pressure for us to conform to an —ism that may be politically correct, but which has never been adequately discussed: I am referring to profeminism (Cunnington, 1993: 3).

A profeminist organization should, by definition, make itself accountable to the feminist movement. It should never bash feminists, make a point of opposing their proposals or pander to anti-feminism. Now, how do we get there? Implementing this kind of basic principles is going to take some frank talk and some truly democratic process. The people who raise these issues may at first be labeled divisive, PC puritans, guilt, shame, or power trippers, etc. But they will go on raising them and seeking better ways to walk our talk and to realize substantive accountability to the feminist movement in everything we do as dissident men. Otherwise, our profeminist stance will become (remain?) a mere front for masculinism as usual (Boucher et al., Spring 1992: 10).

Accountability to women, it seems to me, does not mean we get to pick and choose which parts of the women's movement we will support and which we will oppose depending on *who we agree with and what we want to do*. The battered women's movement is not our movement. They are in a war with abusive men and the male-supremacist State...They must make the decisions. The place of profeminist men is to provide material support to their struggle without political conditions and without siding with the State against them (Brown, B., Spring 1993: 3).

Members of MNC articulated socialist profeminist narratives in 47%, liberal profeminist narratives in 27% and radical profeminist narratives in 20% of the articles I coded. The core framing tasks all three perspectives were developed from the various factions of the feminist movement. Common to the socialist, liberal and radical profeminist perspectives is an oppositional ideological position based on gender and sexual identity — a position that unites its membership to oppose patriarchal ideology and structures.

As I earlier pointed out a diagnostic framing identifies the problem and attributes blame or causality. There are four factors that MNC activists in all three camps discuss as the cause of women's oppression: (1) men's violence (e.g., rape, battering, war, etc.) (2) men's sexism (e.g., pornography, harassment, beauty myth, etc.), (3) heterosexism (e.g., privileging heterosexual marriages and separating men from each other) and (4) economic structures that disproportionately privilege men over women (e.g., wage inequalities, access to economic opportunities, etc.). Commonly, activists connect diverse issues together. For example, some members metaphorically described "homophobia as the glue that holds sexism together" — a diagnostic frame that resonated in all three profeminist narrative codes (Editorial Collective, 1993: 1).

The oppression of women is not the only unifying diagnostic frame articulated within MNC narratives — cooperation also exists in the framing of other issues such as capitalist exploitation, racism, environmental destruction, hunger and other forms of dominance. Although wholly environmental or anti-racist narratives were uncommon in the articles I coded, it is clear enough from MNC's mission statement and various points made throughout MNC articles that these are important issues. For instance, MNC's mission statement makes it clear that their anti-sexist struggles with the diagnostic frames of other allied movements. A common motivational frame resonating with most profeminist activists is uniting politically to dismantle the patriarchal system.

Another salient feature is the way the three perspectives are connected through highly analytical prognostic frames. All three perspectives construct detailed prognostic frames that urge members to: (1) expose coercive gender and sexual practices, (2) critique programs and solutions oriented to prevent violence, (3) advocate for ending men's violence and (4) examine social structures that perpetuate violence, heterosexism, racism and inequalities. Significantly, MNC was the only SMO in my study to maintain an in-depth and public critique of its own symbolic strategies.

Similar to IMN, the notion of brotherhood is sometimes used to motivate members into collective action. However, a key difference is that the motivating sensibility for MNC

members is involvement in a politically transformative project:

Brothers: do not be dissuaded from your extraordinary efforts to make men's violence a men's issue! (Kimmel, 1993: 2).

The use of battle metaphors (e.g., allies, victory, campaign, tactical, etc.) is also a relatively common motivational framing strategy in MNC. Battle metaphors are commonly connected to diagnostic and prognostic framing strategies.

We want men working in their own communities, throughout the year, to contribute to an end to the problem [of men's violence]...Our approach is **tactical** because is a catalyst to talk to other men, to search their souls, and to talk to women about the problem...It [White Ribbon **Campaign**] gives men a sense that things can be different and that men can work together, and work with women as **allies**...We should be proud of what we've done. Although we have a long way to go...We can be proud, but ultimately the WRC is a **victory** for the Canadian women's movement (Kaufman, Winter 1993: 14).

The diagnostic and prognostic frames of socialist, radical and liberal profeminists also diverge. The socialist profeminist narratives present the most detailed diagnostic frames in conjunction with what the members see as practical solutions. There is a strong correspondence between the socialist diagnostic and prognostic frames. In the most general terms, patriarchy is an oppressive system that must be challenged and struggled against (diagnostic), men are called upon to make the change happen (prognostic) and profeminists called upon to find a point of unity with sexist men to make change occur (motivational) (MNC, 1993: 1 and Kaufman, Winter 1993: 7).

The radical profeminists are more inclined to expand their diagnostic and prognostic frames beyond the boundaries charted out by socialist profeminists. All men are identified by the radical profeminists as oppressors despite racial, sexual or class differences that may limit or create differential access to oppressive power. In contrast to the socialist profeminists, the radical profeminists expand men's responsibility and accountability — to claim that a profeminist organization should be accountable to *all* groups of feminists.

Overall, the main theme in the radical profeminist frames is a pervasive "skepticism" (Jones, Winter 1993: 6). The skepticism of the radicals seems to focus on the idea that profeminist political projects will: (1) invariably monopolize and misuse power, (2) ignore the claims of women, (3) take public sympathy away from women and focus it on to men, (4) reconstruct patriarchal hierarchies and systemic privilege and (5) integrate

sexist men into the profeminist ranks (Jones, Winter 1993: 6).

Finally, there are differences in the socialist and radical profeminists narratives from those (diagnostic and prognostic frames) of the liberal profeminists narratives. The liberal narratives are especially concerned with the problem of equality for women. Commonly, the liberal narratives frame the central political problems to be addressed in terms of women's lack of rights. The most ardent factors identified in the analysis were: (1) economic rights (e.g., wage differentials or gender specific occupations), (2) political rights (e.g., women's safety in marriages or women's right to equal historical representation) and (3) social equality (e.g., support for assertive women's identity). The most salient prognostic frames connected to these problems were: (1) the achievement of gender equality throughout society, (2) valuing women's diverse ways of expressing themselves and (3) opening social, economic and political opportunities for women to be independent and responsible.

In summary, these observations suggest that ideological considerations are central to the construction of the core framing strategies within each SMO. Ideology provides a way to identify problems, create solutions and call members into action. MERGE members present themselves in a neutral fashion, insisting that they represent the legitimate discourse on gender equality. The analysis of MERGE narratives suggests that ideology plays a crucial role in framing issues of gender and sexuality. Members of MERGE predominantly frame their strategies in relation to patriarchal ideologies — in a form that will perpetuate women's inequality.

One of the main tasks taken up by MERGE is to demonstrate that men are oppressed in a society that grants them a wide range of privileges. Both the liberal and reactionary masculine narratives focus on the problems of men's victimization. The liberal trajectory focuses on the problems of men's victimization through women's sexism, cultural stereotypes and unfair court decisions. These narratives call for men's equality and an end to unfair and debilitating images of masculinity. The reactionary trajectory is more extreme. The problems identified in these narratives revolve around the way feminists have attacked men in legal, cultural and social contexts. Reactionary masculinist narratives are less focused in terms of concrete solutions to the problem of men's victimization, but clearly identify feminists as the main target. In effect, the solutions put forward by these members are oriented to successfully de-railing feminism. The call to action is weighted towards fear and insecurity. That is to say that the motivation for action is based on the fear that feminists are harming men of all walks of life. Yet, MERGE frames are not completely

constructed in relation to patriarchal ideology. A set of progressive narratives is articulated — ones that identify a number of oppressive structures and practices against women and identify concrete solutions for change. An intriguing finding is that these progressive narratives do not contain clarion calls for action, but a call for awareness of specific issues. In this sense, the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames in the liberal profeminist narratives are not cohesive enough to launch a successful profeminist mobilization effort within MERGE.

The *Island Men* newsletter reflected the widest number of narratives in comparison to the other SMOs. The diversity within IMN is aligned with the core strategy that puts an inward exploration of identity over that of articulating an emancipatory political project. A common theme across the IMN narratives is the sense that a deep seated crisis exists in the expression of masculine identity. Such a diagnostic frame is so general, that it easily resonates in the contexts of the diverse ideologies that are interpellated by IMN members. Similarly, IMN's prognostic frames are grounded in diverse political ideologies. For example, members who are concerned with patriarchy as an oppressive system are equally concerned with its destruction. Members who focus on feminist strategies as fundamentally sexist are interested in valuing more traditional modes of manhood. Again, cultural (prognostic) frames mediate the various political ideologies by valuing each solution as part of each man's own search for identity.

Finally, MNC appeared to be the most unified in terms of the participant's support for feminism. Most often socialist narratives were articulated in MNC's newsletter and to a lesser extent radical and liberal profeminist narratives. The consistency with which MNC members support feminism suggests that ideology is a central axis around which the SMO mobilizes. Not surprisingly, the problems and solutions articulated by MNC members have their origins in the women's movement. However, the context in which they are articulated (i.e., a men's movement in support of feminism) creates its own tensions and variations.

In conclusion, the framing tasks clearly vary within and across each SMO. The findings suggest that SMOs are not interpellating patriarchal ideology in the same fashion, but are more likely articulating a contextually-shifting politics.

CONCLUSION: A RE-INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

A pervasive image of the men's movement and indeed of manhood is one that is heterosexual, unified and essentialistic. In fact, a closer look at the politics of masculinity articulated in the profeminist, men's rights and mytho-poetic movements suggests that there are wide ranging and contradictory masculine identities being expressed. The working hypothesis of this project has been that the patriarchal sensibilities of how to be a man have been disrupted — that is, one can no longer identify a single uniform modality as the normal, legitimate expression of heterosexual masculinity.

It is certainly the case in the profeminist movement that patriarchal identities are critically interpreted and challenged politically. Members of this movement have launched the most strident oppositional challenges to sexist and heterosexist practices, as well as other forms of oppression. In the case of the men's rights movement there is a strong reaction to transformations in gender and sexual relations. Most of the members seem to believe men are being victimized by pervasive attacks from feminists, unfair courts decisions in custody and divorce settlements and anti-male cultural stereotypes. Possibly the most interesting face of hetero-masculine politics has to be the new age politics of the mytho-poetic movement. The identities expressed within the mytho-poetic movement are the most wide ranging and contradictory. Members who completely abhor patriarchal identities have participated with members who romanticize and value privileged hetero-masculinities.

Overall, the study has found that members are not interpellating patriarchal identities in a homogenous fashion. In the context of each men's movement this disrupted sense of how to express hetero-masculinity is primarily the result of the impact of the women's movement and the gay and lesbian liberation movement. A transformation in the expression of hetero-masculinity seems to be occurring, from a fixed sense of identity to one that is pluralistic, i.e., the expression of masculinities as opposed to a single collective sense of manhood. Chapter One raised the point that the women's movement and the gay and lesbian liberation movement — since the 1960s — have had a pervasive impact on the expression of hetero-masculinity. Each of the three movements I investigated address the impact of feminism on the expression of manhood. And, each movement articulates a sense that hetero-masculinity is as much a political category as it is an expression of identity. A significant finding is that it is increasingly difficult for men to discuss their own identities in isolation from the discourse of the progressive movements. As I discussed in Chapter One,

these political challenges have opened new opportunities for a diverse politics of masculinity.

The profeminist movement organized initially in the 1960s. Its membership was composed of men who identified with feminism. The movement began as members met to discuss women's experiences of sexism, but also how patriarchal society negatively affected men. The participants attempted to raise the consciousness of other men to the oppression experienced by women. The support for feminism and the critical approach to masculine identity gave profeminism a distinct quality from the women's movement. In particular, members tried to motivate men into action through the idea that they can opt to transform their identities and patriarchal structures. One consequence of this approach was a liberatory framing of gender and sexuality. Members rejected the idea that they were born patriarchs, i.e., men can choose to challenge or to participate in the patriarchal system.

The men's rights movement developed in the 1970s under a derivative frame of "men's liberation." However, a major difference from the profeminists was the goal of achieving men's rights. A prominent movement intellectual of the time, Warren Farrell, led the charge for men's rights and continues to do so today. Farrell was the first to articulate the prominent men's rights strategy of reversing the claims made by feminists — he originally developed it in the profeminist movement as a way of understanding women's experiences of sexism. Members of the men's rights movement are adamant that men are not a privileged group and that patriarchy is simply a politically correct code word for male disposability. Instead, participants point to social statistics that indicate men are victimized or more at risk than women.

The mytho-poetic movement is likely the most well known as the "men's movement." Mytho-poetics emerged in the 1980s with men participating in ritual groups and retreats. The movement brought together men from many political stripes to explore the cultural meanings of masculinity. A significant political opportunity was capitalized upon by movement activists — the chance to connect and revitalize men with a failing sense of identity. Robert Bly had a significant impact on the mytho-poetic movement. Similar to Farrell, Bly provided members with a popular method to explore masculine identity. Bly presented a reading of various myths, narratives and poetry as a means of understanding contemporary manhood. In effect, he connected with a largely neglected face of contemporary masculinity — men's emotional fears and insecurities.

Members of the mytho-poetic movement are not unified by a single ideology. For instance, some new age participants, like Bly, suggest men have become too soft or

feminine. Other new age members suggest the opposite and connect this cultural face of masculinity with a critical profeminist agenda for change. Still other members are neither insecure about soft masculinity nor adamantly supportive of profeminism, but are very alarmed by societal shaming rituals towards men or the lack of appropriate initiation rituals for young men.

Chapter Four compared the organization and mobilization strategies of SMOs. A significant finding here is the presence of three rationally organized and strategic men's movements, as opposed to a single unified movement. Although members of the SMOs have access to similar resources, the way in which mobilizations have occurred has differed. Members of the mytho-poetic movement mobilize through a distinctly cultural strategy — one that attempts to create a place for men from all walks of life to explore manhood. For instance, IMN is organized in such a way that the participants are encouraged to explore masculinity through ritual, myth, poetry and other cultural approaches, but are discouraged from articulating overtly transformative agendas, e.g., directing the organization to engage in profeminist or men's rights political lobbying and protest. Profeminists do the opposite by deploying strategies geared towards dismantling patriarchal and other oppressive structures. For example, MNC members work within a critical framework, one that emphasizes social and political transformation. The men's rights movement is presented as an alternative to profeminism and feminism. Activists attempt to address the problem of discrimination against men by deploying an equal rights strategy. The movement activists claim they will emancipate men from controlling and harmful practices.

A second finding is that activists adopt distinct interpellations of the ideas and beliefs related to gender and sexuality — some interpellate dominating ideologies and others more resistive or oppositional ones. As I discussed in Chapter Four, the connections between personal and collective identity orientations play a crucial role in the formation of each SMO's mobilizations. Members of the profeminist movement express the most oppositional subjectivities to patriarchal ideology. Activists are consistent in critiquing subjectivities and structures of dominance which they relate to their everyday lives. An important distinction from the other movements is that profeminists are interpellating a set of allied ideologies, in that these ideologies reject the power to dominate others.

In contrast, the men's rights members predominantly interpellate patriarchal subjectivities, e.g., ones that seek to maintain hetero-masculine privileges. These members attempt to make the case that men are not victimized by patriarchy or capitalism, but by

women's struggles for equality. For instance, some activists claim men are victimized by harassment and sexual assault legislation which prevents natural mating rituals from occurring. Other members point to the costs of being a man in society, e.g., going to war, being a provider, higher rates of heart attack and suicide, etc. Typically, these activists suggest that feminists are a root cause of their victimization. Many members point to their own or other men's experiences of unfair custody decisions or perceptions that the workplace, the courts and Canadian culture has become anti-male. Still, it would be simplistic to reduce the men's rights politics solely to a reactionary position. As I discussed in Chapter Five, there are at least two prevalent ways that the men's rights politics of MERGE gets framed, as well as a submerged set of progressive frames.

The identities articulated in the mytho-poetic movement are perhaps the most colorful. For instance, IMN activists express a wide range of personal and collective identities. Like members of the men's rights movement, some members of IMN have interpellated patriarchal subjectivities. For instance, some IMN participants privilege the experiences of heterosexual men over those of gays and bisexuals. These members argue that the experiences of gay and bisexual men is much like that of straight men. Other IMN members seem to romanticize dominating expressions of hetero-masculinity as normal expressions of manhood. Some activists articulate the kind of subjectivities that are in line with the profeminist movement: advocating for anti-violence campaigns, urging men to look within in order to dismantle patriarchal identities, etc. Still other members of IMN are resistive to patriarchal ideology, but do not deploy the critical profeminist frames. In effect, the various forms of interpellation and expressions of identity have given rise to a distinct masculinity politics of cultural pluralism.

IMN members are concerned with the way their movement addresses ideology. The activists claim they do not advocate for a single ideological perspective in the construction of hetero-masculinity. The result of this form of activism is a repertoire of ideologies that coalesce around a search for deep seated meanings of manhood: patriarchal, liberatory and resistive. However, such an approach is not actualized without tensions. Critical profeminist participants in mytho-poetics the movement often criticize the politics as neglecting wider issues like patriarchy. Men's rights participants sometimes shun mytho-poetics as too personal. Overall, IMN is not directed towards an emancipatory project, (e.g., for women's equality or ending men's violence), yet on a micro-political level participants challenge patriarchal ideology (e.g., by getting men to explore their identities in a non-hierarchical and more intimate context).

Overall, members of IMN articulated the most diverse types of narratives in comparison to the other SMOs in this study. Yet, this diversity is only able to flourish through a mobilization strategy that re-routes all the various ideologies as part of an inward search. IMN's introspective or process oriented approach funnels a wide range of diagnostic and prognostic frames into an emphasis on the crisis in manhood and a search for a more vital sense of identity.

MERGE and MMAN appear to take ideological processes for granted; however, such a conclusion would be misleading. Ideology plays a significant role in connecting the various grievances of these activists together. One of the most prominent ideologies within MERGE and MMAN seems to be geared towards reinstating traditional gender roles, heterosexuality and a conventional sense of family as the norm. However, this set of beliefs and ideas exists along side other ideologies. Some members are determined to dismantle cultural expectations for men to become providers for their families. Overall, these members are not really concerned with the negative effects of patriarchy, but on the victimization of men by feminists.

One of the main framing tasks taken up by MERGE participants is in demonstrating that the problem of men's victimization is a reality. Both the liberal and reactionary trajectories of the masculinist MERGE narratives identify problems relating to men's victimization. These frames exist within a discursive context of achieving equal rights for members of all genders. However, the main diagnostic frames focus on achieving men's liberation by targeting feminists as the main cause of their problems. The motivational frames or the call for collective action in both narratives also revolve around a sense of crisis — that women's struggle for equality have been at the expense of men. A set of progressive narratives within MERGE articles identifies a number of oppressive structures and practices that harm women and describe concrete strategies for change. Although these narratives are often coated with warnings of gender bias, their existence points to the fact that, in some contexts, progressive narratives may surface within a reactionary discourse.

Members of MNC are especially conscious of ideology as a way to mobilize. MNC activists define their whole movement in relation to feminism and articulate the most consistent opposition to patriarchal ideology. The most cohesive set of narratives within MNC is socialist and to a lesser extent liberal and radical profeminist. Profeminist ideology helps members identify problems, construct solutions and motivate participant support in alignment with feminist mobilizations. The consistency with which MNC approaches its core framing tasks is not without tensions. As I discussed in Chapter Four there are several

areas of contention within MNC: accountability to feminists, working with sexist men and articulating more national, as opposed to grassroots strategies.

One explanation for the diverse ways patriarchal ideology is interpellated or addressed in the mytho-poetic, men's rights and profeminist movements is the wider cultural sensibilities of how to be a man are changing. One possibility is that the expression of masculinity is changing from fixed and universal codes to pluralistic and fluid ones. Evidence of this impact is found in the framing of movement strategies and identities.

Members of the men's rights movement are the most reactionary in addressing transformations in gender and sexual relations, preferring to express more fixed and privileged repertoires of hetero-masculinities. More radical are the claims of some members of both the mytho-poetic and profeminist movements who are most ardent in their rejection of the notion of a universal and fixed modern identity. These mytho-poetic and profeminist activists favour a repertoire of pluralistic identities that claim to affirm difference. Some mytho-poetic and profeminist men's groups encourage members to be emotionally open with other men, to value gentle masculinities and to reduce the need to be competitive and controlling, the opposite sensibilities of those valued in modern man. Such cultural resistances and oppositional perspectives occur during unique moments, in which identity is disrupted or put into question.

The new age ritual groups of the mytho-poetic movement are a unique response to what they perceive as a crisis of manhood. The members of the mytho-poetic movement pluralize hetero-masculinity into a series of possible identities in order to explore the cultural face of heterosexual masculinity. Similarly, the collectivist organization of the profeminist movement creates a space in which the dominant meanings of hetero-masculinity are always in question and non-oppressive expressions of masculinity are supported.

The significance of pluralizing fixed hetero-masculine identities within the experimental context of a social movement is that the cultural repertoires of hetero-masculinity may expand beyond those identities prescribed by patriarchal ideology (e.g., being the sole provider, dominant decision-maker, heterosexual, etc.). With legitimate alternative identities, the patriarchal ideology of hetero-masculinity — the patriarchal sensibilities of how to be a man — becomes less certain or are some what disrupted. A disruption of patriarchal masculinity is a crucial step since it opens opportunities for men to challenge and reject oppressive social structures, such as those involving violence, racism, or economic exploitation. My research into the men's

movement, not as a single unified movement, but as a fragmented and competing movement politics, provides some evidence of this shift in the interpretation and expression of hetero-masculinity — *from a culture that only recognized a fixed and universal sense of identity to diverse cultures that are pluralistic and changing.*

However, simply pluralizing identity without a critical perspective on power relations can also have the opposite effect — that of reconstructing patriarchal identities. A paradox faces many men's movement activists — that simply changing the meanings or language of hetero-masculinity does not simply correlate with a change in social structures. A key difference between the mytho-poetic and profeminist movements is the emphasis in the mytho-poetic movement on mobilizing men to explore the cultural expression of hetero-masculinity as an inward psychological process. My analysis of the mytho-poetic discourses suggests that this tack can create opportunities to resist the interpellation of hegemonic hetero-masculinity, but it is not a strategy that will transform the patriarchal system.

For some men, the new age politics of the mytho-poetic movement can serve as a basis for replicating patriarchal identities. The political agency for progressive systemic change is absorbed as one of many fictional accounts of masculinity. The activists and participants champion diverse and multiple forms of manhood (liberating, oppressive and resistive), but are clearly unable, or unwilling, to launch a concrete political project that supports the emancipation of oppressed groups — a project that might turn heterosexual men's resistance and opposition against hegemonic heterosexual masculinity.

What kind of masculinities emerge when all identities get refocused towards a romantic vision and valorization of the mythical roots of manhood — a set of pure cultural sensibilities that all men are purported to share? In contrast to the biological essentialism of the men's rights movement, this kind of *cultural* essentialism may be at the core of the criticisms raised by members of the feminist and gay and lesbian liberation movements. It may also be one reason why the mytho-poetic movement has greater difficulty in sustaining the membership of gay men and profeminists in comparison to the more conservative participants. By renewing the patriarchal meanings, the most pervasive picture of the masculine identities in the mytho-poetic movement are ones that are heterosexual, hierarchical, Euro-caucasian and supposedly, devoid of class. Without a critical politics in which to interrogate or deconstruct patriarchal subjectivity, and then construct liberating identities, the mytho-poetic politics ultimately reproduce the patriarchal politics many of its members claim they do not support.

In contrast, the profeminist movement is sharply focused on dismantling patriarchal structures and rejecting identities that are constructed in relation to hegemonic hetero-masculinity. The profeminist movement is oriented to making the patriarchal power encoded into hegemonic hetero-masculinity, discussable. But, more than just a struggle against the cultural codes of hetero-masculinity the profeminist movement also aims to dismantle oppressive social, economic and racist structures. *One explanation for the differences between the profeminist, mytho-poetic and men's rights movements is that the profeminist movement is grounded in a socialist politics of transformation, while the mytho-poetic movement is concerned with a new age postmodern politics of identity and the men's rights movement with a reactionary politics of rights.*

Nancy Fraser observes that "the 'struggle for recognition' is fast becoming the paradigmatic form of political conflict in the late twentieth century" (1995: 68). Fraser argues that cultural domination has supplanted exploitation as the fundamental injustice, making cultural recognition the fundamental political struggle. Her observation resonates in the analysis of all three movements, but it is only the profeminist movement that sustains an analysis of material inequality, as well as an interrogation of the cultural sensibilities and meanings attached to these inequalities. The crucial problem remaining for the profeminist movement is how to construct a popular left opposition in contemporary society.

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Introduction

- (1) How did the researcher become involved in this project personally, politically and academically?
- (2) How did the project impact the researcher's perspectives of gender and sexuality?
- (3) How significant is this topic? How much research has been accomplished in this area?
- (4) Specifically what is the thesis and what does this project involve?
- (5) How is the men's movement defined?
- (6) What are the differences between sex, gender and sexuality? How are these concepts connected through the hegemonic ideology on sex-gender-sexuality? Are these concepts static in everyday life or do they vary over time and in different cultural contexts?

Chapter One — Historical Development of the Men's Movement

- (7) Is the men movement a single movement with different factions or a range of politically diverse and culturally disunified social movements?
- (8) How have the profeminist, men's rights and mytho-poetic movements developed in recent history?
- (9) What factors lead to the development of a men's movement? What opportunities were opened for articulating a masculinity politics through social movement mobilization?
- (10) Who are/were some of the key leaders of the early men's movement?
- (11) What tensions or rifts lead to the development of diverse movements?
- (12) Are there European, American and Canadian differences across the three social movements?
- (13) How have some feminists and gay and lesbian activists responded to the various movements?
- (14) Who are some of the allies and opponents of each movement?
- (15) What are some of the basic sensibilities of each movement? What are the main political goals and strategies?
- (16) How are SMOs organized and what do members do as part of their involvement?

Chapter Two — Theorizing Hegemonic Heterosexual Masculinity

- (17) What areas of social and political theory are useful to a conceptualization hegemonic heterosexual masculinity?
- (18) Why the need for a theorization of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity?

- (19) What is ideology?
- (20) What definitions of ideology are important for exploring hetero-masculine forms of domination?
- (21) How is ideology communicated? Is this communications process monolithic, involving an unchanging view of oppression or is it pluralistic, involving struggle, resistance and change?
- (22) How does a theory of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity connect with actual activities of the men's movement (provide examples)?
- (23) What actual ideological strategies are used to reinforce dominance?
- (24) If ideology can be re-positioned as a matter of discourse how are these relationships distinguishable?
- (25) What is hegemonic heterosexual masculinity?
- (26) What are the differences between ideology, identity and patriarchy?

Chapter Three — Research Methodology

- (27) What is the methodology and analytical framework for this study?
- (28) How are the methods appropriate to an investigation of identity and culture?
- (29) Is the analytical focus of this study on the macro or micro level?
- (30) What is the researcher's conceptual baggage?
- (31) Are there any ethical concerns in this research?
- (32) What is the research setting and time frame?
- (33) What data are involved in this study?
- (34) How was data collected?
- (35) Are the SMOs chosen for this study appropriate representations of each movement?
- (36) How was the researcher presented in the context of men's movement activities?
- (37) How is confidentiality of SMO members maintained in this study?
- (38) What further research could be done?
- (39) Why is the textual information used in this study appropriate?
- (40) Are the methods chosen reliable and valid measures for analysis of the data? What are the challenges to this reliability and validity?
- (41) How was the data analyzed?
- (42) How do analytical and theoretical constructs connect?
- (43) How was data coded and what procedures were involved?
- (44) Were any analytical stages dropped from the study?

Chapter Four — Comparative Analysis of Movement Organizations and Mobilization Strategies

- (45) How is each SMO constructed in terms of structure or form? How are basic SMO sensibilities reflected in these forms?
- (46) How are collective SMO sensibilities a reflection of lived experiences?
- (47) How do the organizational structures and mobilization strategies of each SMO compare?
- (48) What are the main problems of mobilization for each group?
- (49) What are the main types of resources available to each SMO? Are SMOs rich or deficient in available resources?
- (50) What are the practical strategies/methods by which each SMO works for change? Compare types of activities/events supported by each SMO? Is a problem defined? If so what are the solutions or strategies put forward to resolve the issue?
- (51) Who are identified as the main allies or opponents of each group? Compare types of services/events supported by each SMO.

Chapter Five — Discursive Analysis of the Core Framing Tasks within Social Movement Organizations

- (52) How does each SMO mobilize the meanings and ideas of gender and sexuality?
- (53) What are the core framing tasks accomplished by each SMO?
- (54) Focusing on the narratives expressed in each SMO, identify what participants see as the main societal problems, types of solutions, methods for making change happen and motivations for members to take action?
- (55) How is hegemonic heterosexual ideology addressed in relation to SMO frames.

Conclusion: A Re—Interpretation of Findings

- (67) What are the major findings in this study in relation to the hypothesis?
- (68) Taking into account the previous levels of analysis what is the transformative potential of each SMO in terms of defining new liberating and non-oppressive types of identities in the broader sense of Canadian society?

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

Participant Observation

(IMN-Island Men's Network; MMAN-Men Mentoring and Networking; MNC-Men's Network for Change; MERGE-Movement for the Establishment of Real Gender Equality) (Individual member contacts are identified through aliases)

Member/SMO	Social Mymnt	#Meetings	Group Type	Time Frame
A1	Profeminist/ Mytho-Poetic	22	IMN/MNC	1991-1995
A2	Profeminist	10	IMN/MNC	1992-1994
A3	Profeminist/ Gay Activist	31	IMN/MNC	1992-1994
B1	Mytho-Poetic	7	IMN	1992-1993
B2	Mytho-Poetic	6	IMN	1991-1995
B3	Mytho-Poetic	2	IMN	1992, 1994
C1	Profeminist/ Gay Activist	2	Academic	Spring 1993-Spring 1994
C2	Profeminist/ Gay Activist	3	Academic	Spring 1992-Spring 1994
IMN	Mytho-poetic	9	Editorial	1992
IMN	Mytho-poetic	25	Support	1991-1992
IMN	Mytho-poetic	1	Drumming	Winter 1991
IMN	Mytho-poetic	2	Drop-in	1992
IMN	Mytho-Poetic	1	Theatrical	1992
MNC	Profeminist	15	Consciousness Raising	1992-1994
MNC	Profeminist	18	Take-Back-Night Drop-in	Fall 1992-1994
MNC	Profeminist	8	Vigil/Planning	Fall 1993
MNC	Profeminist	10	Anti-rape Protest	Winter 1993-1994
MNC	Profeminist	5	White Ribbon Campaign	Fall 1992
MMAN	Men's Rights	7	Support/Consciousness Raising	1992

Textual Data

(IMN-Island Men's Network; MMAN — Men Mentoring and Networking; MNC — Men's Network for Change)

Primary Texts

Newsletter	Social Movement/SMO	#Issues	Time Frame	#Articles
Mens Network News	Profeminist/ MNC	7	1991-1993	68
Island Men	Mytho-Poetic/ IMN	11	1990-1994	54
The MERGE Journal	Men's rights/ MERGE	5	1991-1992	50

Secondary Texts

Movement Text	Total #Texts	Identifiable SMO
Profeminist Newsletters	1	Manitoba Men's Network
Mytho-Poetic Newsletters	28	The Lodgepole Pine
		MAN!
		Men's Magazine
		Thunder Stick
		Lodestone
		Wingspan
		Valley Men's Newsletter
		Seattle MEN
		Quest
Letters	36	Island Men's Network
Unpublished Articles	42	Island Men's Network
Poems	24	Island Men's Network
Profeminist Research		Montréal Men Against Sexism
Reports	4	Michael Kimmel
Men's Rights Research		Insearch of Justice
Reports	4	MERGE
Manuals for Starting		
Mytho-Poetic Groups	2	
Manuals for Starting Pro-		
feminist Groups	1	
Profeminist Anthology	1	Achilles Heal
Mytho-Poetic Anthology	1	Wingspan
Media Articles	25	
Newspaper Articles	30	

APPENDIX C
CODING SCHEMA

Code	Code Definition	Applicable Questions
MOBILIZATION	Problems of SMO mobilization	(48)
FORMS	SM organizational forms	(16) (45) (47)
RESOURCES	SMO resources	(16) (47) (49)
ACTIVITIES	SMO activities/resources offered/ events supported by the SMO	(16) (47)
SERVICES	Services supported by the SMO	(16) (47)
STRATEGIES	SMO strategies for change	(11) (16) (47) (50)
SAGE	Commentary on or by movement intellectuals: Robert Bly (mytho-poetic), Michael Kaufman, (Profeminist), Warren Farrell (men's rights)	(10) (47)
ALLIES	SMO allies	(14) (51)
OPPONENTS	SMO opponents	(14) (51)
STRUCTURES	Structures identified in need of change	(59)
DISCURSIVE	Discursive strategy	(52-55)
SYMBOLIC	Symbolic challenge	(15)
PROBLEMS	Specific problem identified	(15) (50) (52-54)
SOLUTION	Solutions to identifiable problems	(15) (50) (52-54)
HHM	Identifiable sensibilities that reflect hegemonic heterosexual masculinity	(15) (55)
THREATS	Threats to hetero-masculinity	(15) (52-54)
VISION	Vision of gender/sexuality	(15)
REACTION	Reaction to other individuals or groups	(15)
CONSTRUCTION	Construction of identity	(45-46) (52-55)

APPENDIX D

CODING PROCEDURES

Pre-Coding Procedures

- (1) Review ethnographic notes, theory, methods and literature.
- (2) Review research questions (identify new questions and refine old one as appropriate).
- (3) Identify possible codes based on research questions.
- (4) Review primary texts and make general notes.
- (5) Review secondary texts and make notes when necessary.
- (6) Identify remaining research questions and codes.

Coding Procedures for Primary Texts in Notebooks

- (1) Record Volume/Issue number, author, title and page number of text in the notebook.
- (2) Review an individual text (e.g., article, poem, list, journals and so on) and using appropriate codes label code in the notebook.
- (3) Identify key metaphors, narratives and framing techniques where appropriate and record these in the notebook.
- (3) Record code, metaphor, narrative and framing techniques in the margin of the notebook.
- (4) Record key quotations and insights in relation to code, metaphor, narrative and framing techniques.
- (5) Write further research notes in the process of coding, e.g., summarize findings, map networks/connections across SMO's, review possible comparisons, make summary charts [Re-formulate research questions and codes as appropriate].
- (6) Number notebook pages.

APPENDIX E

AN EXAMPLE OF FRAME, METAPHOR AND NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

The following example is from a mytho-poetic newsletter on men's violence:

Violence has been creatively defined as "boundary crashing" where the boundaries are physical, emotional, or psychological. Men often express this violence physically; women exhibit it most often emotionally or psychologically. I see violence as a natural human mechanism of self-survival where, when I am threatened by being overwhelmed, I abruptly push back. The fear of being overwhelmed is at the core of violence. I experience this fear as I am being physically pushed around or psychologically shamed. Erupting violence has been beautifully described in a section of Robert Bly's poem *Chinese Tomb Guardians*: 'When what was swallowed, pushed away, sunken, driven down, begins to rise from the earth once more and the madness and rage from the wells'. Since I accept that men and women are equally violent animals but often exhibit their violence differently, I do not see men or women as defective creatures who need to be changed. Men are not the problem here. Women are not the problem. The issue is this: Victims create victims, and the cycle of violence continues. Once the trigger to violence has been pulled, how do I as an individual deflect my natural inclination to exhibit violence and instead use other methods of handling the perceived attack on me? (Ogilvie, Spring 1992: 8).

In this excerpt the author is responding to women and feminist challenges to men by dissolving men's responsibility for their own violent acts and for cycles of violence. Through a series of frames men's violence becomes dissolved as a social problem and personally framed as something wonderful: "...I may even be able to tell myself the truth that I can feel pleasure, feel alive, while in a violent state. There is a certain beauty in some violence" (Ogilvie, Spring 1992: 8).

The first part of the collective framing process begins when the author draws on recovery movement discourses. Here men who resort to the use of physical force are positioned as implementing a reasonable response to "boundary crashing."⁵ In the background of this framework is a narrative about heterosexual relationships: she "psychologically shames" him, he "abruptly pushes back." In effect, the real source of men's violence is women's emotional and psychological violence.

The second part to this frame constructs men's violence as a "natural human mechanism of self-survival." In this instance the author is drawing on various biological and mechanical metaphors (e.g., violence is a **trigger of a gun**, violence is **natural**, violence is a **mechanism** and violence is **survival of the fittest**). Men's violence is positioned as a natural, unchanging and an automated/mechanistic response to supposed

aggressive verbal attacks by women and feminists in an "animal" environment. The author also uses the metaphor of a battle to describe perceived psychological abuse by women and feminists: "the perceived **attack** on me," "the typical victims fear of being **annihilated**," "sensing an **attack** on me," "the **trigger** to violence has been **pulled**" and "the **sword of revenge**" (Ogilvie, 1992: 8). These metaphors are used as part of an overall frame of justifying violence as an equality issue and offenders as victims.

These images set the stage for the third part of the frame, in which the author draws on and *reverses* feminist discourses of equality and victimization. Here violence is framed as a socially equal event: physical violence is the same as emotional or psychological abuse; "men and women are equally violent animals"; and "victims create victims." Framing men's violence as an equality issue obviously ignores social statistics that overwhelmingly point to men as being responsible for many types of violence. As well, the separation between physical violence and emotional or psychological abuse hides the fact that emotional and psychological torment is embodied in cycles of coercion, even precipitating men's violence.

Framing men as victims dissolves responsibility and enables the author to diagnose that change is unnecessary except for the following personal approaches: maintain "discipline," "Name the Shame! Find the Victim! Discover the Sword of Revenge!," and "acknowledge the pain and reality of the victims' fears, and allow for fuller expression of anguish by the victim, including anger, sorrow, and grief" (Ogilvie, Spring 1992: 8).

Clearly, the author's personal identity frames are of his own choosing and similarly the collective action frame I identify in this example is also articulated by this single individual. However, I have found that this way of interpreting social problems of violence also resonates with many other members of *Island Men*. Therefore, I have identified it as a collective action frame. It should also be noted that in this particular SMO, there are radically different frames articulated within its publication. The frame in the above narrative connects with a dominant collective action framing in IMN — one of introspection and self-awareness and the acceptance of diverse perspectives in "the community of men." For example, in this same issue of *Island Men* "profeminist," "men's rights" and other mytho-poetic perspectives were also presented.

APPENDIX F

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

There are several important validity concerns regarding metaphor, narrative and frame analysis. Validity generally rests on the correspondence between the constructs being studied and the categories used to identify them. In this regard it is especially important to demonstrate that the texts are a valid representation of the the phenomenon being investigated. This can be a tricky task since the selected texts can simply reflect the researcher's theoretical arguments. Therefore an important question is whether or not the texts should be selected by some random sampling scheme or by thematic representation of the phenomenon of interest.

I chose thematic representation, involving the use of my expert knowledge to choose texts. This involved drawing on my experiences in the various SMOs I participated in as they related to texts and comparing frames, narratives and metaphors in the primary texts with secondary texts. Further, it was necessary to present a clear argument for the correspondence between the theoretical concepts and data (i.e., beginning the research process in my own participation in the various movements and applying a reflexive approach, between theory, methods and data, to construct research questions).

Unfortunately this approach can result in the weakest demonstration of validity (often called face validity) because it potentially pits the researcher's expert knowledge solely against rival research findings and other researchers' expert knowledge. This is the case primarily because the researcher is usually the central interpreter of data at all levels of investigation. Locke et al (1987) suggest that in research of this nature the researcher's biography becomes particularly relevant (e.g., values, ways of seeing, 'intellectual baggage', interpretive skills, etc.) to collecting, analysing and interpreting data (86).

Another issue centers on semantic validity in which the researcher must demonstrate that metaphors placed in the same categories have similar meanings or connotations, that narratives are true personal accounts, or that frames are indeed constructed and interpreted in the way the researcher describes. I addressed this issue by becoming as familiar as possible with the social contexts, discourses and texts — to the extent that I was able to examine images, words, stories and phrases (in terms of a textual analysis) and map them according to their meaning or connotations.

Reliability is also an important issue in interpreting frames, narratives and metaphors. Generally problems focus on the accurate interpretation of the meaning; for

instance, of a given metaphor in mapping or coding schemas. Mapping metaphors requires a sensitivity to coherency within and across texts or social groups. Inconsistencies in coding either by the same coder or by multiple coders constitute unreliability. There is a further concern in interpretation in that the researcher potentially ‘intellectualizes’ the experience of people’s texts. By analysing texts and suggesting that people are unaware of how discourses or ideologies create meanings, is the researcher not imposing him or herself as the expert interpreter of other people’s reality? Who’s voice or meanings are really being put forward? Other critical issues center on choosing the important metaphors or narratives. For instance, how the researcher decides to classify metaphors will have a major impact on the interpretation of people’s reality.

There are several ways to improve the validity and reliability when employing a discursive analysis based on metaphor, narrative and frame. I outlined the specific interpretive procedures, e.g., Introduction, Chapter Three and Appendix A-I. This involved being clear about the phenomenon of interest in theoretical terms as well as how a particular item may be interpreted in a given context — this is an on-going reflexive process. These points suggests that there is a clear need to be honest about concepts and categories; personal biographies, biases and experiences; and the social context at the start of an analysis. Yet, it should be pointed out that this need not take away from a reflexive approach in which the researcher is open to tailoring procedures as new insights arise, e.g., between textual relations and everyday social relations.

A second way I demonstrate reliability involves a critical approach in examining how structures are produced and reproduced. This involves maintaining a critical awareness as to how meaning is structured in a given metaphor, narrative, frame, text and discourse, and how this relates to direct social relations, e.g., Chapters One and Two in comparison with Chapters Four and Five. In this regard it is important to approach a text with a definite theoretical framework *oriented to how people create, articulate and replicate meaning in their lives*. This illuminates the need to ultimately move beyond textual analysis.

A third way in which I could improve the validity and reliability is to compare schemas with interpretations with other researchers and most significantly, with the participants themselves, e.g., through interviews or group session. This approach can demonstrate a high degree of reliability if the cultural mapping produces the same results.

APPENDIX G

DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS OF SMO NEWSLETTER CONTENT

CODING: Radical = Radical Profeminist Narrative; Socialist = Socialist Profeminist Narrative;
 Lib-PFem = Liberal Profeminist Narrative; New Age = New Age Masculinist Narrative;
 Lib-Masc = Liberal Masculinist Narrative; Reactionary = Reactionary Masculinist Narrative

† Editors note follows article to counter perceived gender bias in the article

* Article is reprinted from a non-SMO publication

ARTICLE TOPIC	# ARTICLES BY NARRATIVE CODE		
	MERGE	IMN	MNC
Analysis of the Body			
Criticism of Breast Implants	1 Socialist * † 1 Reactionary		
Exploitation of Women's Breasts/Sexism			1 Socialist
Information on Testicular Cancer		1 New Age	
Criticism of Genital Mutilation	1 Lib-PFem * † 2 Lib-Masc		
Commentary on Penis Enlargements	1 Lib-Masc		
Changing Gender Power/Beauty Myth	1 Lib-PFem		
Tabacco Industry/Advertisng/Women	1 Socialist * †		
Interrogating Heterosexual Masculinities/Patriarchal Identities			
Patriarchal Meanings of Hetero-Masc.			2 Socialist
Heterosexism and Homophobia			4 Lib-PFem 3 Socialist
Effects of HIV and AIDS/Stigmatization			2 Socialist
Critique of Dominant Spirituality/ Sexuality		1 Socialist *	
Effects of Pornography		1 Socialist *	
Beauty Myth — Men's Desires	1 Lib-PFem		
Violence Against Prostitutes/Poverty			1 Socialist
Critique of Technology/Patriarchy in Child Selection — De-Valuing Girls			1 Socialist
Unsafe/Sexist Work Site for Women			1 Socialist
Marriage Privacy and Women's Safety			1 Lib-PFem
Analysis of Custody/Divorce Issues			
Enforcement of Support Payments	1 Lib-PFem		
Absent Fathers and Custody/Divorce	1 Reactionary		
Father's Rights and Custody	1 Lib-Masc		
Shared Parenting and Violence/Custody	1 Lib-Masc		
Male Victimization in Custody/ Divorce Cases	1 Reactionary 1 Lib-Masc	1 Reactionary	

ARTICLE TOPIC	# ARTICLES BY NARRATIVE CODE		
	MERGE	IMN	MNC
Analysis of Heterosexual Male Victimization			
Argues for Degrees of Sexual Assault	1 Lib-Masc		
Male Victimization and Date-Rape	1 Reactionary		
Male Victimization and Sexual Harassment	1 Reactionary		
Empathizing with Men's Dating Role/Ritual	1 Lib-Masc		
Societal Effects on Masculine Identities and Roles			
Effects of Depression on Masculine Identity	1 Lib-Masc		
Effects of Aging on Masculine Identity		1 New Age	
Effects of Work Force Exploitation on Men	1 Socialist	2 Socialist	
Heterosexual Men's Isolation/Dependency		1 New Age	
Effects of Violence and Male Socialization		1 New Age	
Effects of Violence and Male Victimization	1 Lib-Masc 2 Reactionary	1 Lib-Masc	
Cultural Sensibilities on Women's Identities			
Addressing Women's Emotional Needs	1 Lib-PFem		
Stereotypes by Women Against Women	1 Lib-Masc		
Support for a Strong Identity for Women	1 Lib-PFem		1 Lib-PFem
Assertive Women and Everyday Sexism			1 Lib-PFem
Analysis of Socio-Biological Perspectives on Gender/Sexuality			
Socio-Biological on Gender/Sexuality	1 Lib-Masc		
Critique of Socio-Biological View			1 Socialist
Fragmentation/Pluralization of Heterosexual Masculinity			
Pluralizing Meanings of Hetero-Masculinity		6 New Age	
Transforming Masculinities/Changing Cultural Sensibilities			
Support for Re-Evaluating Men's Roles			1 Lib-PFem
Transforming Competition/Hierarchy		2 New Age	
Transformation Through Self-Awareness		2 New Age	
Transforming Gender-Role Socialization	1 Lib-PFem	1 New Age	
Transforming Men Through Initiation		4 New Age	1 New Age
Support for Men's Bonding/Community		2 New Age	1 New Age
Healing Men Through Group Work		1 New Age	1 Lib-PFem
Subverting Male Privilege			2 Radical

ARTICLE TOPIC	# ARTICLES BY NARRATIVE CODE		
	MERGE	IMN	MNC
Interrogating Cultural Sensibilities on Masculine Identities			
Emotional Control/Ending Men's Violence			1 Socialist
Father-Son Relationships			1 Lib-PFem
Critique of "Soft" Masculine Identities	1 New Age		1 New Age
Victimization (Shaming) by Men to Men	2 New Age		
Support for a Peacemaker Identity for Men	1 New Age		
Ambivalence with Male as Protector Identity	1 Lib-Masc		
Men's Violence and Breaking Men's Silences			2 Socialist
Critique of Guns and Masculinity			1 Lib-PFem
Violence- Taking Responsibility/Action			3 Socialist
Violence- Self-Awareness as Solution	5 New Age		
Within Movement Critique			
Patriarchal Meanings in Mytho-Poetic	1 Radical		
Fear of Gay Men in Mytho-Poetic	1 Lib-PFem		
Critique of Michael Kaufman (MNC)			1 Radical
Accountability in Pro-Feminism			1 Radical
SMO Conflict (Pro-Fem./Mytho-Poetic)			1 Radical
SMO Conflict (Within MNC)			1 Socialist
Criticism of White Ribbon Campaign			4 Radical
Profeminist Accountability to Women			1 Radical
Anti-Rape and Men's Movement Politics			1 Radical 1 Socialist
Opposition to Feminist Politics			
Feminism is Erroneous on Men's Violence	3 Reactionary	1 Reactionary	
Feminism is Erroneous on Harassment	1 Reactionary		
Feminist Theory is Erroneous/Hysterical	1 Reactionary		
Male Victimization Discredits Feminism	1 Reactionary		
Lesbian Violence Discredits Feminism	1 Reactionary		
Workforce Discrimination by Women, Against Women Discredits Feminism	1 Lib-Masc		
Feminism is Erroneous on Affirm. Action	2 Reactionary		
Feminism is Erroneous on Women's Poverty		1 Reactionary	
Feminism is Erroneous on Wage Differences		1 Reactionary	1 Reactionary *
Invokes Reversals on Feminist Analysis	1 Reactionary		
Feminism is Hate and Sexual Harassment is a Weapon of Feminist Power	1 Reactionary		
Compares Feminism with Hate Groups	1 Reactionary		
Identifies Women as Sexist	1 Reactionary	1 Reactionary	
Romanticism of Certain Violence/Victims		1 Reactionary	
Re-Framing- "Gender Related Abuses"	1 Lib-Masc		
Re-Framing- "Gender Based Violence"	1 Lib-Masc		
Examines Women Supporters of Nazism	1 Lib-Masc		
Discredits <i>Backlash</i> by Susan Faludi	1 Lib-Masc		

ARTICLE TOPIC	# ARTICLES BY NARRATIVE CODE		
	MERGE	IMN	MNC
Descriptive Analysis of Mytho-Poetic Movement			
Analysis of the Iron John Story			1 Lib-PFem
Biographical Analysis of Robert Bly			1 Lib-PFem
Opposition to Anti-Feminist Politics			
Devaluing Women in Reactionary Groups		1 Lib-PFem	
Homophobia in Mytho-Poetic Movement			1 Socialist
Essentialism in Mytho Poetic Movement			1 Socialist
Mytho-Poetic Movement as "Boy's Club"			1 Radical
Robert Bly's Work as Reactionary Politics			1 Radical
Bly Ignores Gender Power Differences			1 Socialist
Critique of Backlash Politics			1 Socialist
Support for Feminist Politics			
Support for Women's Shelters		1 Lib-PFem	1 Lib-PFem
Support for Feminist Analysis		1 New Age	1 Socialist
Support for Women in Science	1 Lib-PFem *		
Support for Women Leaders	1 Lib-PFem		
Support Through Profeminism		5 Lib-PFem	
		1 New Age	
		1 Socialist	
White Ribbon Campaign Supports Fem.			4 Socialist
			2 Lib-PFem
Support for Anti-Violence School Programs			1 Socialist
Support for Women's Monument Projects			1 Lib-PFem
Critique of Men's Hate Mail on Feminists			1 Socialist

APPENDIX H

SUMMARY OF NARRATIVE CODES FOR APPENDIX G DATA

Coding Schema for Classifying SMO Articles

(1) Liberal Profeminist Narratives

(1) Sensibilities — The cultural sensibilities in the liberal tradition are clearly identifiable in this narrative, these include: equal rights, the Enlightenment belief in the power of reason, the understanding that individuals are formed by their experiences, and the power of self determination.

(2) Framing — Diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames revolve around the goals of obtaining women's equality and rights.

(3) Feminism — The author may not necessarily specify their identity as profeminist, but articulates predominantly liberal-feminist sensibilities, such as: achieving women's rights, valuing women's diverse ways of expressing themselves, striving for gender equality and opening social, economic, and political spaces for women to be independent and responsible. For example:

"So, are women managers and leaders better or just different than their male counterparts? I suspect, like male managers and leaders, it is an individual — made of character, experience, opportunities and personal values — who leads. If that person happens to be a woman, why restrict her to her gender?" (Postey, March/April 1992: 8).

"..., the assumption that the court order is gender-biased, may not be statistically correct. ..., the allegations that a woman 'can perjure herself with impunity' and that 'a woman is exempt from most court orders' are sexist and misleading" (Robertson, Summer 1992: 3).

(2) Socialist Profeminist Narratives

(1) Sensibilities — The cultural sensibilities described by this code involve the need to question traditional gender roles and structures as they affect men, impact women and children and maintain barriers between heterosexuals and gays, lesbians and bisexuals. A common theme across these narratives is a critical analysis of men's power and privilege. Socialist-profeminist sensibilities involve creating a society based on collective decision-making and shared resources, eliminating oppressive conditions that exist for women in social, economic and political contexts, establish freedom and independence for women, egalitarianism and so on

(2) Framing — The diagnostic frames situate men as holding an inordinate amount of power and privilege over women, children and other men in a wide number of contexts. Prognostic frames focus on ways of ending male domination. Socialist-profeminist narratives focus on the way patriarchy and capitalism intersect in the oppression of women. These narratives emphasize the importance of changing basic structures of society which privilege some groups (men, capitalists, whites) of people over others (women, workers, people of colour). Socialist profeminists either analyze capitalist-patriarchy together as a unified concept or separately as dual oppressive systems. The importance of a material grounding is emphasized, although this grounding can vary (e.g., an historically grounded mode of production or reproduction/sexuality).

(3) Feminism — The socialist profeminist narratives are constructed to be in alignment with the goals of the women's movement. For example:

"Essential to the understanding of the problems we face personally and societally is the concept of 'patriarchy'. We may want to shy away from feminist critique. However, an appreciation of a global imbalance in terms of who holds power and privilege, and who bears costs, is crucial" (Teixeira, Summer 1991: 7).

"... you have included stuff about the ways we, as men, put each other down, continuing the cycles of oppression we saw and learned at an early age. One specific example of this I haven't seen portrayed yet is the shame, anger and inferiority many poor and unemployed men feel. The social pressure to earn money, provide for others and climb the ladder up is a coercive one. And here is the crux of this issue — in my experience these pressures come to a poor man from another man: bosses, social workers or it may be the well-off man on the TV screen. Being poor, having received welfare, currently being on unemployment insurance, I have felt these pressures and struggled against them. It helps having the support of friends. But many aren't so fortunate" (Parsons, Spring 1992: 5).

Our activism involves challenging sexism, homophobia, racism, manifestations of men's superiority and systemic inequality (Fisher, 1993: 2).

Yes, men are hurt, too. Yes, men also need to stop the violence that we do to each other. Yes, we need to get in touch with our feelings, our humanity, our self-worth. Yes, we must stop hurting the women in our lives. But equally important, we must take responsibility for stopping other men's violence, not just our own... (Men's Network for Change, 1993: 1).

(3) Radical Profeminist Narrative

- (1) Sensibilities — Radical profeminist narratives are in line with the other profeminist factions who reject separatism and question men's "disproportionate economic, political and social power over women" (Men's Network for Change, Spring 1992: 16). A core sensibility is that men need to rethink their lives as men, especially their participation in violence, in order to re-create society. Unlike the other profeminists, the radical profeminists seem to construct all men as oppressors despite racial, sexual, or class differences that may limit or create differential access to oppressive power. For example, their claims that all men are rapists or all men practice violence over women.
- (2) Framing — Women's oppression is viewed as being deeply entrenched in the patriarchal sex/gender system. The male birth right of privilege and dominance over women serves as the basis of other forms of oppression such as economic exploitation of the environment. Men are clearly identified over societal or environmental factors as actively forcing women into subordinated gender and sexual roles.
- (3) Feminism — These narratives convey strong support for the women's movement, especially for women who are determined to expose and transform the sex/gender system and to gain freedom from the world of male supremacy. For example:

It would be a collective loss if the first *Men and Sexual Abuse* theme issue of a profeminist magazine merely discussed sexual abuse as something which men *survive*. It is easier to survive when one is the abuser. Indeed, it is not as men that some men are occasionally sexually abused, but it is as men (free, autonomous, self-interested holders of gender privilege) that men sexually abuse women and sometimes, men. It is not easy to speak and think of oneself as a sexual abuser, a 'soft' rapist. It means taking at face value your targets' assessment of what you did, when the very method by which you did it was closing yourself to that person's will. (I am referring to women, since most men choose to rape women and to feminize the men they rape, as men). (Dufresne, Winter 1993).

(4) Liberal Masculinist Narratives

- (1) Sensibilities — The articles described by this narrative code articulate universalist sensibilities, such as: equal rights, fixed and rational identities and individualism. The narratives draw from traditional liberalism to articulate a men's rights agenda. These sensibilities include: demands for social and political change that would eliminate the unjust advantages women entertain in divorce and child custody decisions and establish equal rights for men on issues (e.g., harassment, rape, media images) in which men are discriminated against.

(2) Framing — Members of the men's movement drawing on this narrative tend to focus on issues raised by the women's movement. The liberal masculinist narratives try to liquidate the concerns raised by feminists, e.g., framing men's violence as family violence, female circumcision as genital mutilation, date-rape as a kind of third degree rape and so on.

(3) Feminism — Women's issues, feminism, women's rights are constructed as unbalanced and sexist (i.e., as advocating an agenda of inequality, by focusing solely on women's rights/experiences). For example:

Entering into a divorce, a man can count on two things: A woman can go into court and perjure herself with impunity, and she is exempt from most court orders...A woman does not have to show the man is violent or has ever been known to be violent. Just the slight suggestion of anger has been known to send a judge scurrying to put his/her name on a piece of paper (Charland, May/June 1992: 6).

'Zero Tolerance' are the politically-correct buzz words these days for feminist advocacy groups and their professional groupies. Zero tolerance of doctors who have sex with female patients, zero tolerance of men who harass women in the workplace, and zero tolerance of wife batterers. Zero Tolerance: Abra Kadabra...The feminists have falsely endeavored to have 'zero tolerance' apply, predominantly, to women. They try to have husband battering swept under the rug. During the past year I've had the opportunity to speak to several battered husbands. They face the same problems and experience the same emotions I did as a battered wife (Robertson, November/December 1992 1991: 2).

(5) Reactionary Masculinist Narratives

(1) Sensibilities — Articles described by this code claim that the victimization of men is a direct result of feminist domination. The narrative points to men as being victimized through: military deaths during war time, entertainment/popular culture narratives, feminist theory, custody/divorce settlements, violence, harassment and so on.

(2) Framing — The diagnostic frames of the reactionary narratives emphasize the problem of women's subordination of men in various contexts. The prognostic frames encoded in these narratives try to demonstrate how men are legitimate victims of women's domination, vilify feminists as sexist hate-mongers (often comparing feminists to Nazism) and fragment feminist discourses as distortions/misrepresentation of men's and women's experiences.

(3) Feminism — These narratives reflect a strong reaction in opposition to feminist discourse and political strategies. For example:

"If one man commits a crime, must all men share the guilt? ...Surely it is possible to admit a balanced picture without either trying to excuse the guilty or excusing oneself by presenting an emotionally — charged, one-sided attack? ...Men usually either sense or know that many feminists and pro-feminists are not presenting a whole or accurate picture, but it is dangerous to protest. We might have to face female anger or rejection, and ever since we were two years old and mother wanted us to behave on her terms, we men have had trouble with that" (Batterbury, Spring 1992: 18).

"All violence comes from a victim. Don't blame the victim? I say, 'Don't look anywhere else!' once I see myself as a victim, all manner of violence can emanate from me and I will think it was more than justified. ...I see violence as a natural human mechanism of self-survival where, when I am threatened by being overwhelmed, I abruptly push back. The fear of being overwhelmed is at the core of violence. I experience this fear as I am being physically pushed around or psychologically shamed. ...I can recognize that we all have this necessary raging Beast within and yet I can become skilled at not releasing that Beast from inside, or if I do, by keeping the Beast on a short chain through discipline, ..., and finally, I may even be able to tell myself the truth that I can feel pleasure, feel alive, while in a violent state. There is a certain beauty in some violence" (Ogilvie, Spring, 1992: 8).

(6) New Age Narratives

(1) Sensibilities — This code emphasizes the need for masculine self-awareness. A core sensibility is the expression of the widest possible perspectives on masculinity. The meanings of masculinity reflect a strong commitment to group process and personal introspection. Identities are viewed in a more pluralistic sense as opposed to being fixed in time.

(2) Framing — Men's need to explore masculinity is framed as a process requiring a safe, yet open context. Conventional masculinity is framed as being blocked because of competition, shaming, pent-up feelings, lack of same-gender support and so on. The solution of heightening the awareness of masculine identities is connected to the articulation of new age political/cultural strategies, e.g., poetry, myth, dance, ritual, etc. is clearly articulated.

(3) Feminism — New age narratives are neither supportive of or ambivalent about feminism. Feminism is viewed as providing for women what the men's movement presently needs to provide for men (support, valuing masculinity, etc.). It is accepted that men's work or introspection must proceed according to men's experiences and views — not by addressing feminist insights or challenges. For example:

"All I can do is take a moral (intellectual) position. Make distinctions between force and violence; sadly allowing the former, wrathfully condemning the latter.

Wrathfully? Ya hypocrite! is wrath not an emotion?!???

You're right. I do get hot under the collar when I hear of rape, child abuse or wife-beating. As I follow this tendril of self-examination I begin to recognize the aftertaste of fear under the acidity of righteous anger.

Afraid? Of What?

The Whipping
The yank at the ear.
The shouting.
Father's icy accusation, derision, contempt.

LET'S GET THE-HELL OUT-A HERE!!! Let's head back to the air conditioned comfort of reason, and scuttle to the dictionary: ..." (Raman, Spring, 1992: 20).

"The consensus was that violence was a complex issue of special importance to men that should be discussed as fully as possible. ...We wanted the widest range of viewpoints, and decided that there was sufficient difference of opinion present to ensure that most major positions would be represented. ...This is not the last word on violence. Some of us are unhappy that the clarion calls of reform and stirring solutions are absent; other are satisfied to at least see us engaged in a process of discovery, to see our awareness heightened, our ignorance and self-deception illuminated" (editors, Spring 1992: 3).

"... let us cultivate our capacity to **dance**. The dancer moves in circles of power, mediating between and unifying all power sources, but only taking sides long enough to define them, before heading back into the centre" (Nordstrom, Winter 1990: 10).

APPENDIX I

CODING PROCEDURES FOR APPENDIX G DATA

Pre-Coding Procedures

- (1) Review ethnographic notes and coded notes.
- (2) Review research questions.
- (3) Identify possible narrative and discourse codes based on review.
- (4) Review primary texts and make general notes on types of narratives and discourses.
- (5) Review secondary texts and make notes as necessary.
- (6) Construct a coding typology of common narratives and discourse types based on this review of texts.
- (7) Construct a table to chart out codes by topics.

Coding Procedures for Identifying Genres and Discourses by Topic in Primary Texts.

- (1) Review each individual text (e.g., article, poem, list, journals and so on) and code the appropriate narrative and discourse for each text. In situations in which it is clear that more than one narrative applies code the two most dominant narrative based on the coding criteria. Code only the most clearly articulated discourse for each text based on the coding criteria.
- (2) Record both narrative and discourse codes directly on the text and in the table.
- (3) Write further research notes in the process of coding, i.e., summarize findings, map networks/connections across SMO's, review possible comparisons, describe methods [Re-formulate research questions and codes as appropriate].

APPENDIX J**GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS**

IMN	Island Men's Network
MERGE	Movement for the Establishment of Real Gender Equality
MMAN	Men, Mentoring and Networking
MNC	Men's Network for Change
NSM	New Social Movement
RMT	Resource Mobilization Theory
SMO	Social Movement Organization
WRC	White Ribbon Campaign

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1986

Publications:

1991 *Report on Street-Involved Youth and Housing Resources in Greater Victoria*. The Inter-Church Housing Society and the Victoria Youth Empowerment Society: Victoria, B.C.

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Title of Thesis: The Repertoires of Heterosexual Masculinity: A Depth Hermeneutic Analysis of the Men's Movement

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September 23, 2006