

CHAPTER – I

MALE IDENTITY: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Identity
- 1.3 Gender Identity
- 1.4 Masculinity
- 1.5 Male Identity
- 1.6 Three Approaches to the Male Identity
 - 1.6.1 The psychoanalytic approach
 - 1.6.2 The role theory approach
 - 1.6.3 The sociological approach
- 1.7 Characteristic Features of Male Identity
 - 1.7.1 Fear of femininity
 - 1.7.2 Status and Achievement
 - 1.7.3 Emotional inexpressiveness
 - 1.7.4 Homophobia
 - 1.7.5 Need for Power and Control
 - 1.7.6 Obsession with Success
 - 1.7.7 Aggression
 - 1.7.8 Adventure
- 1.8 Development of Male Identity
- 1.9 Conclusion

CHAPTER I

Male Identity: Theoretical perspective

1.1 Introduction

Although research on men has a long history, within the last 20 years there has been increasing research interest in men, masculinity and the male experience. The present study of male identity revolves around the male in general, society, culture, characteristics of male and different approaches for understanding the male identity as well as what is the identity, gender identity, masculinity and the development of the male identity. Stereotypical real male identity identified with some masculine traits such as strong, independent, achieving, hard working, heterosexual, tough, aggressive, unemotional, physical, competitive and forceful. Men are as per their typical physical set up doing masculine works such as earn money, protect their families, take responsibilities, solve problems, leads in action, do the job and enjoy outer activities such as travel, sport, drink. These are even calling the traditional masculine traits. Any man who does not perform like these masculine traits is not a real man. The real men must be having some of the masculine traits. The real men are prohibited from doing is: cry, express feelings other than anger, and perform “women’s work” (e.g. washing dishes), etc. The typical roles real men perform are those of athlete, professional, worker, father, husband, leader, etc.

Male studies are normally known as masculinity studies. The male identity was developed mainly in response to the growing and rising men's rights movement, which was formed in response to the active feminist

movement and women's political action groups. In recent times, there were many universities, which considered the men's study since 1970s. Men's studies courses and programs center mainly on the psychology of masculinity and various other aspects of masculinity. However, apart from the traditional masculine traits of male identity they also include more modern discussions and discourses about masculism, men's rights, patriarchy, matriarchy, queer theory and feminist theory. It also includes the study of the historical, cultural and social composition of masculine strength.

1.2 Identity

When we think of the term 'identity' we use it to describe a person's composition and expression of his/her individuality or group affiliations. The term comes from the French word 'identité' and it also relates the Latin noun *identitas*, -tatis which means 'the same'. It is defined as follows:

The distinctive characteristic belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group.¹

The word identity has two different meanings. First, it stands for the collective aspect of the set of characteristics by which a person is recognized, the individuality, which is just your own. The second is the quality or condition of being the same as something else, which means to have an identity, in every aspect of a being, there must be at least one person or thing with that attribute. So the term is essentially comparative in nature as it emphasizes the sharing of degree of sameness with others in an area.

1.3 Gender Identity

In most societies, there is a basic division between gender attributes assigned to males and females. The term 'gender identity' was originally a medical term but also found in psychology. Gender identity is defined by biological and social factors. Gender Identity emerges at the age of two or three and is influenced by a combination of biological and sociological factors, and once gender identity is established, fixed for the life. In 1965, John Money used the term 'gender identity' first time, meaning a person's relative sense of his or her own masculine or feminine identity. He used the term to distinguish the subjective experience of gender from the concept of "gender role" which he used to describe the socially determined attributes of gender.

Robert Stoller introduced the term into the psychoanalytic literature in 1968. He used the term to distinguish between the psychological and biological dimensions of sex. Gender roles are a set of standards which lay on expectations on the behavior of men and women. These socially accepted behaviors are varying from culture to culture and change over time. Some of the gender differences are biological, but others are a product of socialization of experiences.

1.4 Masculinity

The term 'Masculinity' has been freely used with male identity. It is also defined as something traditionally considered being characteristic of a male. Masculinity is a characteristic related to traditional real men. Masculinity is one aspect of gender identity. In general, the characteristics associated with men are strength, ambition, command, stubbornness, aggression, etc. The class, race, sexual orientation, and many other factors all enter the equation at the level of

identity, the term ‘masculinities’ refers to the fact that no two people’s performance of so-called masculine traits will ever be exactly the same. In society, some symbols like a sword and shield are describing the strength in a historical manner. The symbol is an open book which reflects the intellectual strength. Many symbols for masculinity are often portrayed with earth color, red, brown, black, orange, grey and silver. Blue is often shown as masculine color, symbolically as the color of wisdom.

1.4.1 Definition of Masculinity

Many scholars have given different definitions of the term masculinity with different points of view. As we identified some characteristics under the name of masculinities, it does not mean that masculinity is opposite to femininity. Connell argues that,

[m]asculinity” does not exist except in contrast with “femininity”².

Connell posits that the sexes became identified with equivalent and differing characteristics. Under the societal structure, many definitions of masculinity arise regarding the relationship between gender and identity. For example, Craig’s states that,

[m]asculinity is what a culture expects of its men³.

This definition suggests that masculinity essentially exists only in a cultural context as something rooted in the traditions, codes and expectations commonly held by a society. Definition of masculinity is a construct by society under the social norms. Similarly, Mosse’s definition of masculinity as,

The way men assert what they believe to be their manhood⁴.

It also suggests that masculinity is widely understood as a way of behaving in accordance with one's sex-defined characteristics, either as a manifestation of one's sexual identity, or by way of a responsibility towards the 'general order' provided by understandings of gender. Masculinity according to Connell is

Masculinity is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture⁵.

As the general point of view, Kimmel explains about masculinity that, Manhood had been understood to define an inner quality, the capacity for autonomy and responsibility, and had historically been seen as the opposite of *childhood*. Becoming a man was not taken for granted; at some point the grown-up boy would demonstrate that he had become a man and had put away from childish things. At the turn of the century, manhood was replaced gradually by the term *masculinity*, which referred to a set of behavioral traits and attitudes that were contrasted now with a new opposite, *femininity*. Masculinity was something that had to be constantly demonstrated the attainment of which was forever in question – lest the man be undone by a perception of being too feminine.⁶

In society, the ideas about masculinity fit into people's mind. After the delivery of a newborn child, immediately people call it a boy or a girl as per its gender. These biological distinctions based on the characteristics of both sexes are set into people's mind. Doyle said that,

Immediately sets restrictions, grants privileges, defines status and lays down expectations⁷.

As masculinity fits into people mind, like that it also fits into society. Society relates the connection between roles such as that of the protector-provider and the social power associated with them. Gilmore defines manhood as,

the approved way of being an adult male in any given society⁸.

Boy child grows with emphasis of masculine role by society. So boy gains masculine traits, which are constructed biologically, socially and culturally. Masculinity is associated with the social roles, behaviors and meanings prescribed for men in any society at any time. In other words, it focuses on gender and the diversity of identities among different groups of men.

1.5 Male Identity

Up to the recent times male identity was defined as a traditional role of protector and provider. Male identity has been taken a new dimension in society after the men's movement. The men's movement emerged in the 1980's as a complementary counterpart to the feminist movement.

Male identity has always been defined by cultural considerations-notions of 'maleness' vis-a-vis femininity.

The male identity is a broad topic. Gender Identity and Majority Identity are two major concepts in male identity. Gender Identity

for males are those masculine characteristics that society has attributed to males. Majority Identity is a belonging to a dominant group. There are five development stages: Unexamined Identity, Acceptance, Resistance, Redefinition, and Integration. The males go through the majority development stages as historically males have maintained more power as an entire gender. There are varieties of developmental stages men are at in their personal identities. The Gender Identity questions had cohesive answers. The questions aimed at the Majority Identity placement were more scattered. The masculine characteristics engraved in us as youths seem to stay present in us as adults. The men all confidently answered: dominant, aggressive, confident, strong, and breadwinner. Though each man may not contain all the qualities listed, they are what they describe as male traits. If we take one example about changing last names for marriages to consider, how the gender characteristics, we grew up with affect some of the own decisions. Most of the males expected their spouses to take their last name; however, no one was okay with changing their own last name.

Men discover they are men at an early age. One of earliest identifications is gender. From that, we begin to shape own other identities: sexuality, race, ethnicity, etc. The Unexamined Identity development stage of the Majority Identity is probably only a brief moment as a baby and toddler. By kindergarten, most boys understand there are two genders: male and female. The Acceptance stage begins, and some men never seem to go beyond. The acceptance stage is when men understand the gender roles assigned by society and accept them as a foundation for their lives.

The man who believes there is no lack of power may still be on the first stage of development, but the rest seem to be beyond that

point. Some males move on to resistance, where the individual begins blaming the dominant group for the minority group situations. Some of the interviewers commented on the fact feminists tend to blame men for all their problems. Some women are in the Resistance and Separation development stage where they reject the dominant group and become sensitive to ill-treatment. It is important to note that women and men scatter throughout the development stages. This means some people are sensitive or aware of minor inequalities while others take no note of any indifference. These observations have allowed view at the many ranges of male identities.

1.6 Three Approaches to the Male Identity

Male Identity revealed a variety of different approaches for understanding maleness. These approaches include the psychoanalytic approach, role theory approach and sociological approach. The first approach is constructed by Sigmund Freud during the late nineteenth century. In this approach Freud addressed the thoughts, feelings and fantasies of people in order to explore how these might have been affected by early childhood experiences. The role theory approach is a combination of psychotherapy and sociology which uses a theatrical metaphor to describe men's roles as the performance of socially prescribed behaviors. The third approach is produced by the sociologist.

The social relations perspective, identifying "masculinity" as a "set of distinctive practices that emerge from men's positioning within a variety of social structures".⁹

1.6.1 The psychoanalytic approach

Freud was the founder of psychoanalysis. He believed that children are naturally driven toward certain types of physical satisfaction, and the way in which parents respond to this drive is the key factor in establishing a child's identity. Infants become attached to and identify with their first caretaker. He said, during the first few years of life, there is little difference that exists between the psyches of boys and girls. Afterwards at the age of three and six children's psychosexual energies focus on the parent of the opposite sex. It means the male child has a strong pull toward his first love object, his mother and at the same time he pulls away himself from his imagined rival, his father. This stage of desiring mother and hating father, Freud termed as an 'Oedipus Complex', and through resolving this struggle that the male develops an inflated superego and learns to repress his feminine side, in fear of his father. According to Freud as follows:

Along with the dissolution of the Oedipus complex the object-cathexis of the mother must be given up. Its place may be filled by one of two things: either identification with the mother or an intensified identification with the father. We are accustomed to regarding the latter outcome as the normal... In this way, the passing of the Oedipus complex would consolidate the masculinity in the boy's character.¹⁰

This marks the beginning of a boy's masculine identity. Boys soon realize that they are different from their mothers and must establish a male identity. As Freud asserted that the male child learns to repress his feminine side, has illustrated another critical aspect in Freudian thought on gender. He believes that everyone has both masculine and feminine qualities. Moreover, he hypothesized, by nature, humans are

bisexual, so that, for successful gender identity development; one set of qualities must be suppressed. Freud's theory has been challenged and elaborated by Carl Jung, Freud's colleague. He developed Freud's theory and added some dimensions to describe the male child's drive. He explored a different dimension of explanation for male behavior through his concept of "archetypes" and "collective unconscious". Like Freud, Jung also believed that people are naturally bisexual, with each gender inherently carrying both masculine and feminine qualities. He argued that the different genetic structures of males and females are naturally held in the "collective unconscious" of each group, resulted in different psychological development for the two groups. In males, the masculine archetype, called "animus," is dominant, but the feminine archetype, called "anima," remains representing the existence of female genes and the male's female ancestry.

In the development of Freud's conception of masculine identity Harry Stack Sullivan also contributed a lot. He introduced the importance of interpersonal relationships to identity development where Freud stressed biology and Jung stressed psychology. His ideas of the Oedipus complex lie on the experiences between parents and child rather than on genetics. He believes that a sense of empathy naturally grows between a child and the parent of the same sex. As a result, the male child develops the characteristics of his father and begins to develop his father's attitudes about people of the other sex. Also, it is the father who teaches male children about the difficult aspects of life, forming a closer bond between father and son than between mother and son.

After that, some psychoanalysts continue to build on and rethink the ideas originally discussed by Freud, Jung, and Sullivan. Some critics have criticized the psychoanalytic theories of male identity

development. They include a new generation of psychoanalysts who assert that the psychological processes described by Freud and elaborated by others are not causes of the sexist society, but are consequences of that society. They have begun to ask a different set of questions about male identity, summarized by Edley and Wetherell:

...if being a man does not mean being emotional, dependent, and caring (like his mother), then what sort of relationships will men enter into with their parents, children and friends? Moreover, if and when men begin to sense that they do have emotional needs and desires, how do they deal with these feelings?¹¹

1.6.2 The role theory approach

Role theory is based on the assumption that behavior is determined by socially prescribed roles. Gender role is different sets of behaviors; characteristics, attitudes, and feelings society expect of men and women. Men take on masculine identities, performing as if in a theatrical work; the roles assigned them by society (Edley and Wetherell, 1996). David and Brannon broadly define the "roles" of role theory as,

Any pattern of behaviors which a given individual in a specified (set of) situation(s) is both: (1) expected and (2) encouraged and/or trained to perform¹².

Men's male identity develops as men learn to perform these roles. According to Edley and Wetherell, role theory was first developed in the 1930s by Luis Termini and Catherine Miles. The masculine role attributed such values as courage, roughness, and self-reliance. Gender identity is depending on the individual's traits. If anyone found many masculine traits, he exhibits a masculine identity. After that

many role theorists describe male identity with some characteristics to men. David and Brannon identified four themes which,

Seem to comprise the core requirements for the role:

1. No Sissy Stuff: The stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities, including openness and vulnerability.
2. The Big Wheel: Success, status, and the need to be looked up to.
3. The Sturdy Oak: A manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance.
4. Give 'Em Hell!: The aura of aggression, violence, and daring.¹³

The first one is "No Sissy Stuff" the requirement to men for never be like a woman or strongly avoid the feminine traits. At first, this proves to be difficult because every child either male child or female child, identify closely with their mothers. Naturally at some point male children must fight the urge to continue that identification and begin to perform a masculine role. So the male children are more pressured fully take on a masculine identity than female children are to take on a feminine identity. The second "The Big Wheel," according to David and Brannon, is the requirement of the male role "to command respect and be looked up to for what one can do or has achieved".¹⁴

The third "The Sturdy Oak" is the male role requirement to display toughness, confidence, and self-reliance. For example, male movie actors and their roles, including Amitabh Bacchan in Lawaris, Amir Khan in Ghulam, all of whom lack social status, but have something which is,

harder to identify, for it seems more a matter of style than tangible achievement, and its ingredients are variable.¹⁵

All these characters are confident. They played real men who are ready to die at any cost. They are physically and mentally tough. The fourth "Give 'Em Hell" is the male role requirement which involves the atmosphere of aggression, violence, and daring. It is opposite to "The Sturdy Oak."

1.6.3 The sociological approach

Society has facilitated the construction of these narratives and identities hence the need to study men from a social constructionist approach. Socialization is a process by which we learn the ways of a society or social group so that we can function within it. The sociological approach is based on men's position within a variety of societies. Socialization approach emphasizes conscious social learning. The sociological approach is influenced by the feminist movement. It is addressed how cultural institutions (such as family, school, work, and peer groups) and cultural identifiers (such as race, class, gender, and sexual orientation) affect the development of individuals' identities. If men are, in fact, aggressive, oppressive, unemotional, and competitive, they argue, this is only because of their positions within social structures. 'Proper' behavior is reinforced through rewards while inappropriate behavior is punished. Like other approaches, this approach also believes that the foundations of male identity development are established during childhood.

At an early age, children develop stereotypical conceptions of both genders, and begin to use these conceptions to organize their knowledge and behavior. The family is the first cultural and emotional influence on male children. According to Andrew Tolson as follows,

Boyhood experiences are romanticized - as daring exploits, and dramatic confrontations. But right at the heart of these experiences, as the thread of memory and imagination which binds them together, is a growing sense of what it means to be a man. Boyhood is also enveloped by a masculine sensibility - an awareness of the power conferred upon men by the world of work and money. And because of the form in which this masculinity appears, because of the specific ways in which masculine feelings are structured, a boy begins to feel ambivalent about his masculinity, and begins to feel the need to 'prove himself'¹⁶.

In the beginning years of the child, parents are their society and the socializing agent. In this period parents treat them as per gender. From boyhood to manhood this need for males to prove themselves is encouraged institutionally, by family, school and peer groups. In the family, he learns by parents that 'boys never cry' and 'boys will be boys'. Parents always tell them that boys are always strong never emotional and weak. These kinds of messages are given to boys with the cultural pressure to match the achievements and social status of their fathers. In the case of father's absence, boys develop a strong need for recognition and reward as well as they constantly struggle and compete for both. Children learn proper behavior for girls and boys through parents, the media, peer groups, and other sources of socialization.

After that schooling encourages further struggle and competition. In the schools, he faces academic and athletic competition. School also introduces boys to the idea of hierarchy. As boys learn how negotiate a number of hierarchical dimensions and work through these hierarchical structures, they adopt masculine values, such as competitiveness, personal ambition, social responsibility, and emotional restraint. Media is an important medium which conveys messages about

gendered behavior and interactions. Media includes television, movies, magazines, and books. Gender is maintained and reinforced through everyday interaction and social performance.

1.7 Characteristic Features of Male Identity

There are a few common traits that essentially make up the masculine gender. Though roles vary slightly in each culture, there are certain characteristic features that appear in almost every male. Whatever the positive or negative manifestations of these may be, they are truly what make a man what he is. In all these approaches, we learn that how male identity develops and how similar themes emerge from the different approaches. These themes, describing characteristic features of male identity, include: 1) fear of femininity, 2) status and achievement 3) emotional inexpressiveness, 4) homophobia, 5) need for power and control, 6) obsession with success, 7) Aggression and 8) Adventure. These characteristic features are in general because every man has different features apart from these.

1.7.1 Fear of Femininity

The Dread of Women is a paper by Karen Horney discussed the men's fear of the feminine in the 1932. He is a German psychoanalyst and critic of Freudian theory. From the early childhood, the fear of femininity is instilled into the boys. Males are encouraged to avoid behaviors, interests, and personality traits that are considered 'feminine'. Real men do not express feelings, show that they are emotionally vulnerable, or have an interest in feminine professions. As the parents tell them that boys should never behave like women, they always fit in their mind and behave like a man. They quickly learn to exhibit all things

masculine. But at the same time they are discouraged if they have any signs of femininity and suppose as their insult. Chris Blazina is also a contributor in this study. He is a professor of Tennessee State University and psychodynamic psychologist who considers that;

The fear of the feminine helps define what is masculine.¹⁷

In society, men are highly influenced by their mothers and social, cultural norms. The influence often suggests about their behavior, which accepted by society as men. All these things suggest that it is deep-rooted fear of femininity of males that constructs their identities.

1.7.2 Status and achievement

Men's status and achievement are depending on their success in all they do, especially sports and work. With the combination of physical ability, wit and ambition men are tries to achieve their goals. It is central to the masculinity. Every man is eager to gain status in life.

1.7.3 Emotional Inexpressiveness

This is one of the characteristic features of male identity. Men always replace emotion with reason, intellectualizing and rationalizing feelings. They cannot display their emotional feelings because of social norms. This characteristic feature helps them to make rational decisions in every situation. They are believes on intellectual capabilities rather than on emotion. In society, men are always inexpressive and the independent.

1.7.4 Homophobia

It is related with the fear of homosexuality. The term was coined by psychologist George Weinberg in the late 1960s and discussed in his 1972 book *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*. Men think that if they are homosexuals they lose their social power and control because in society homosexuality is unaccepted. Men employed this fear to enforce social conformity of masculine roles. It is maintained the social power and control of men. In the male identity hierarchy homosexuality is a bottom place, while heterosexuality is upper place. Men do not want to lose their power in society as labeled 'homosexual'.

1.7.5 Need for Power and Control

In the world, many communities follow a patriarchal culture. In such communities men dominated others, especially females. So the power and control are central to men's self-identity. Real men are holds power and control over others. If any man did not having the power and control, he is not better than a woman. A man is always defined with their power and control. Power is often seen as physical power, and with this they can control over others. It is very important characteristic of the male identity. It is the reason behind inferiority of women. It leads men towards the success and achievement. Every successful male has been having these qualities.

1.7.6 Obsession With Success

In society success is often related with the person's income as well as his prestige, fame, and power. So for getting a higher status men are always related with the work and spending much of their lives working as well as planning for work, which give them an income as well

as prestige, fame and power. Every man is obsessed with success, and this is an important characteristic feature of men.

1.7.7 Aggression

Masculinity is characterized by physical strength, adventurous and aggressive nature of men. Physical ability is important for being a real man, in any situation of life like sport, competition and fighting. Aggressive nature is indirectly dominated on the other people. For example, most of the time people are half-frighten because they seen an aggressive nature of man as fighter.

1.7.8Adventure

Each man must be adventurous in his life, and this is society excepted from him. Adventurous nature of a man means who always ready to taking initial, taking physical risk, with sufficient confidence and self control. These characteristic features lead men towards the real men.

1.8 Development of Male Identity

The expression of male identity develops as per culture, place and time. Each culture has been different norms about the male identity. In some cultures, civic participation of men is shown their masculinity, and men's emotional responsiveness is important. Male identity is developing by time. The norms of masculinity are different in every century. Time passes through events and processes. Each event and process may affect on the male identity, for example, urbanization, industrialization, capitalism, etc.

Male identity changes geographically also. In Latin America men are identified with their machismo. The macho is an ideal

for male gender. Macho man is many characteristics of masculinity like; strong, unemotional, independent, winner, adventurous and successful. Sociologists are related masculinity with the class, age, race, ethnicity and geography.

Thus, through the theoretical discussion so far we find that man develops his male identity in society, family and culture.

References

- 1 Rummens, J. *Personal Identity and Social Structure in SintMaartin/Saint Martin: Plural Identities Approach*. Unpublished Thesis/Dissertation: York University, 1993. "Identity (social science) - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia." *Self-identification* N.P., n.d. Web. 26 Feb 2014.
- 2 Connell, R.W. *Masculinities*. Polity Press, Cambridge, 1995 p. 68.
- 3 Craig, Steve. 'Considering Men and the Media', in Craig, Steve (ed.), *Men, Masculinity and the Media*. Sage, London, 1992: 3.
- 4 Mosse, George L. *The Image of Man: the Creation of Modern Masculinity*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1996: 3.
- 5 Connell, R.W. *Masculinities*. Allen and Unwin, St Leonards 2005:71. "Gender Forum: Masculinities." *Historical masculinities as an intersectional problem* N.P., n.d. Web. 26 Feb 2014.
- 6 Kimmel, M. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York: The Free Press, 1996: 119-120. "CALAMUS." *Calamus.Tumblr* N.P., n.d. Web. 26 Feb 2014.
- 7 Doyle, James A. *The Male Experience*. Wm. C. Brown, Dubuque, Iowa, 1983 p. 3.
- 8 Gilmore, David A. *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1990 p. 1.

- 9 Edley and Wetherell. *Men in perspective: practice, power, and identity*. Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1996.
- 10 Freud, Sigmund. *The Future of an Illusion*. Hogarth Press, London, W. W. Norton & Company, 1927, p. 41
- 11 Edley and Wetherell. *Men in perspective: practice, power, and identity*. Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1996, p. 100.
- 12 David, D. S., & Brannon, R. *The forty-nine percent majority: The male sex role*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1976, p. 5. "Misrepresenting Masculinity- Jack Donovan." *No-mans-land -Misrepresenting masculinity* N.P., n.d. Web. 26 Feb 2014.
- 13 *ibid*, p. 12.
- 14 *ibid*, p. 19.
- 15 *ibid*, p. 24.
- 16 Tolson, Andrew. *The Limits of Masculinity*. Tavistok, 1977, p. 23. "uir.unisa.ac.za –UnisaIR Home." *Bitstream* N.P., n.d. Web. 26 Feb 2014.
- 17 Blazina, C. The Fear of the Feminine in the Western Psyche and the Masculine Task of Dissidentification. *The Journal of Men's Studies* Vol 9, no 22, 1997.