

"Male Gender Role Strain" : A Pastoral Assessment

by

Jun, Dong Chan



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Promoter: Prof. D J Louw

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Declaration

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Abstract

1) The purpose of this study was firstly to investigate Korean males' gender role strain, its impact on their spirituality and identity, and the relationship between male gender role strain and the issue of power within the Korean context, based on Pleck's male gender role strain paradigm.

Firstly, the empirical study (in-depth interview with the fifteen Korean males within the Cape Town region) found that the majority of males (12 out of 15) experienced anger, shame, anxiety, helplessness, guilt and health problems as related to male gender role strains. Secondly, the research also indicated that their dysfunctional strain seemed to lead them to seek a God who guarantees material well-being, prosperity, and success, while their discrepancy strain seemed to generate an intense low self-esteem that is associated with a distant, callous and unfair God. Thirdly, this study indicated that the strains in their roles were closely related to the issue of power (12 out of 15). They identified the source of their strain as getting ahead, competition, winning, anxiety about performance, longing for a sense of superiority, a sense of comparison, and their wish to boast about their competency.

2) The second purpose of this study was to examine whether a theological understanding of God's vulnerability help pastoral care to address the problem of men's power and psychological struggles (male gender role strain) - possibly to reframe the notion of power in order to foster spiritual maturity in males.

In order to reframe the concept of power from a theological perspective (through reinterpretation of the notion of God's power), the researcher has selected three interpretations of a theology of the cross and resurrection (Luther, Moltmann and Louw). Three interpretations of a theology of the cross and resurrection can contribute towards this paradigm shift. The first concerns our human existential predicament of helplessness, while the second is about the theological problem of God's identity: God's relationship to the notion of suffering. The third has an implication for pastoral therapy and identity formation.

The research finding is that, if the concept of the *pantokrator* can be reframed by a pathetic interpretation of the cross, this theological reframing has consequences for the human understanding of power. A reinterpretation of God's power could bring about a paradigm shift from the notion of power as strength, control, domination and success, to that of power as vulnerability, service and pathos of other-empowerment. Such a hermeneutics of power can foster spiritual growth and healing in males by helping them to shift their concerns to serving others, and empowering fellow human beings from pursuing strength and control.

Opsomming

1) Die doel van hierdie studie was eerstens om die Koreaanse manlike geslag se spanning te ondersoek, en die impak daarvan op hul spiritualiteit en identiteit, asook die verhouding tussen die rol van die manlike geslag se spanning en die idee van mag binne die Koreaanse konteks, gebaseer op Pleck se rol van die manlike geslag se spanningsparadigma.

Eerstens, die empiriese studie (in-diepte onderhoude met 15 Koreaanse mans in Kaapstad se omgewing) vind dat die meerderheid mans (12 uit elke 15) ervaar woede, skaamte, angs, hulpeloosheid, skuld en gesondheidsprobleme wat verband hou met spanning in hul manlike geslagsrol. Tweedens, die navorsing het ook aangedui dat hul disfunksionele spanning skynbaar daartoe gelei het om hulle 'n God te laat soek wat materiële welsyn, welvaart en sukses waarborg, terwyl hul teenstrydige spanning skynbaar 'n intense lae selfbeeld genereer wat verband hou met 'n veraf, gevoellose en onregverdige God. Derdens, hierdie studie het getoon dat die spanninge in hulle rolle ten nouste saamhang met die aspek van mag (12 uit elke 15). Hulle identifiseer die bron van hulle spanning as vooruitgang, kompetisie, oorwinning, angs oor prestasie, die sug na 'n superieure posisie, die obsessie om altyd te vergelyk en die hubris oor eie vaardighede.

2) Die tweede doel van hierdie studie was om na te vors of 'n teologiese verstaan van God se weerloosheid vir pastorale versorging sal help om die probleem van die manlike magsbeheptheid en sielkundige stress (spanning van die manlike geslagsrol) aan te spreek – moontlik om die begrip van mag te herdefinieer teneinde spirituele volwassenheid in mans te vestig.

Om die konsep van mag vanuit 'n teologiese perspektief te herdefinieer (deur die herinterpretasie van die begrip van God se mag), het die navorser drie interpretasies van 'n teologie van die kruis en die opstanding (Luther, Moltmann en Louw) gekies. Hierdie drie interpretasies kan bydra tot hierdie paradigmaskuif. Die eerste gaan oor ons menslike eksistensiële toestand van hulpeloosheid, terwyl die tweede oor die teologiese probleem van God se identiteit gaan: God se verhouding tot die begrip van lyding. Die derde het implikasies vir pastorale terapie en identiteitsontwikkeling.

Die bevinding van die navorsing is dat, indien die konsep van die *pantokrator* herdefinieer kan word deur 'n patetiese interpretasie van die kruis, dan het teologiese herdefiniëring gevolge vir die menslike verstaan van mag. 'n Herinterpretasie van God se mag sou 'n paradigmaskuif kon teweegbring vanuit die begrip van mag as krag, beheer, dominansie en sukses, na 'n begrip van mag as kwetsbaarheid, diens en die patos van bemagtiging van andere. So 'n hermeneutiek van mag kan spirituele groei bevorder en heling vir mans teweegbring deur hulle te help om hul kommer te verplaas na diens aan andere, en om hul medemens te bemagtig in plaas daarvan om krag en beheer na te jaag.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADD: After-Downsizing Desertification

GRCS: Gender Role Conflict Scale

GRS: Gender Role Strain

ISSP: The International Social Survey Programme

MF: Masculinity and Femininity

MGRCS: Male Gender Role Conflict Scale

MGRST: Male Gender Role Stress

MGRS: Male Gender Role Strain

MGRSS: Male Gender Role Stress Scale

MSRI: Male Gender Role Identity

SPC: Success, Power and Competition

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INTRODUCTION

1. MOTIVATION

“Prior to the 1950s, little had been written about men and masculinity, at least in a questioning or critical sense. This started to change as feminist thinking developed. What had been understood as positive, fixed and concrete soon took on the appearance of a problem” (Whitehead, 2002:20). From the late 1960s, authors, such as Turner (1970), Jourard (1971), and Goldberg (1976), described the pressures and tensions surrounding male socialization, and the acquisition of codes of male gender role began to be seen as fundamentally damaging to males. From the 1970s, masculine therapy has been noted and, in America, Pleck, O’Neil and Eisler presented the terms "gender role strain," "gender role conflict" and "gender role stress.” Regarding these, there has been much research to indicate the deleterious association of the masculine gender role strain (Good, Dell & Mintz, 1989; Good *et al.*, 1996; Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1993a, 1993b). This deleterious association was also suggested with the high death rate and high suicide rate of Korean males in the 40s and with the increasing number of homeless men with families (Kang, 2001; Sung, 2003; Cho, 2005). But little research has been done in which researchers attempt to relate variables that may serve to buffer the effects of the resultant stress and strain (Weissman, 2003:2). Weissman suggests the concept of hardiness, proposed by Kobasa (1979), as a construct that highlights resistance to stress and strain. Kamyra (2000:231) has also attempted to investigate variables that may act as buffers to the potentially harmful effects of stress. He found some personality characteristics that also serve as resources for resisting the negative effects of stress. These include hardiness, spiritual well-being, and self-esteem. This finding has motivated the researcher to explore the possibility of relating the concept of "gender role strain" to “spirituality" as a variable to buffer the potentially harmful effects of strain. However, there has been little investigation of a correlation between gender role conflict and spirituality (Mahalik & Lagan, 2001). Mahalik and Lagan explored the relation of the masculine gender role conflict to spiritual well-being in terms of internal-external religious orientation. Yet, the correlation between gender role strain and spirituality, in terms of the spiritual concept of vulnerability and the impact of gender role strain on a cultural understanding of power, has never been studied. This is the researcher’s motivation for choosing this topic.

2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF RESEARCH PROBLEMS

Men were viewed as biologically predetermined to act in certain ways. They were more violent, angrier, communicated less, and certainly demonstrated fewer emotions (except anger) than women. Traditional gender roles dictated that in marriage men provided for their families by earning money and women stayed home and raised their children. Activities viewed as "feminine" were not

acceptable for men to engage in (Pleck, 1981). In the late 1970s, drastic changes occurred. The changes brought about by the Women's Rights Movement led the way and, at times, insisted that men begin to explore the negative impact of the traditional male gender roles. Male problems have been described as suffering from feelings of inadequacy that compel them to prove their masculine ideology (Brannon, 1976). This new trend in the issue of men and masculinity suggests that masculine gender role strains (Pleck, 1981, 1995) or conflicts (O'Neil *et al.*, 1995) or stresses (Eisler, 1995) are the causes that motivate male problems, such as alienation, male violence against women and children, substance abuse, and environmental destruction (Pleck *et al.*, 2008; Good *et al.*, 2006; Connell, 2000:5).

In his book, *Sexual suicide*, George Gilder (1973:7) reveals:

Men commit over 90 percent of major crimes of violence, 100 percent of the rapes, 95percent of the burglaries. They comprise 94 percent of our drunken drivers, 70 percent of suicides, 91 percent of offenders against family and children. Single men comprise between 80 and 90 percent of most of the categories of social pathology and on the average they make less money than any other group in the society. As any insurance actuary will tell you, single men are also less responsible about their bills, their driving, and other personal conduct. Together with the disintegration of the family, they constitute our leading social problem.

Because male emotional problems were believed to result from men's rigid adherence to masculine roles, masculine norms, or masculinity, researchers have developed theoretical formulations regarding what constitutes these standards of masculinity (Brannon, 1976; Levant, 2003; Mahalik, 2003). This leads to a discussion regarding male gender roles.

1) Male gender roles

Brannon (1976), O'Neil (1981) and Gilmore (1990) have attempted to define the roles to which males adhere as a result of their socialization. Generally, they distinguished traditional male roles from modern male roles.

(i) Traditional male gender roles (norms)

Brannon (1976) identifies the four central standards or themes of masculinity: No Sissy Stuff (avoiding femininity and concealing emotions); The Big Wheel (having a breadwinner gaining status and being admired and respected); The Sturdy Oak (conveying toughness and projecting an air of confidence); Give 'em Hell (violence and adventure). In summarizing a decade's research on men and masculinity published in the 1970s, O'Neil (1981) culled from this literature the following traditional attitudes and beliefs about masculinity that were deemed inherent in stereotyped male gender roles: 1) Men, as humans, being biologically superior to women, have greater potential than women; 2) Masculinity was the superior, dominant, and more valued form of gender identity; 3) Essential to a

man's ability to prove his masculinity were power, dominance, competition, and control; 4) Any kind of feeling, emotion or vulnerability was inherently feminine, and was therefore to be avoided; 5) Any sort of interpersonal communication that emphasized human emotion, intuition, feelings, and physical contact was inherently feminine, and was therefore to be avoided; 6) Having sex was one of the primary ways that men proved their masculinity. Therefore, affection, sensuality, and intimacy, being inherently feminine, were to be avoided; 7) Intimacy and vulnerability with other men were to be avoided. Because a man could be taken advantage of and lose the upper hand, he could not be vulnerable with a male competitor. Also, intimacy with another man implied both femininity and possible homosexuality; 8) Work and success in a career were measures of masculinity; 9) Since men were superior to, and different from, women in career abilities, a man's role was that of an economic provider and caretaker of his family.

According to Kimmel (2005), stereotypes about traditional male gender roles have typically included expectations of leadership, assertiveness, dominance, strength of personality, forcefulness, aggression, willingness both to take risks and to take a stand, independence, and defence of one's beliefs. Inherent in these stereotypes are a considerable number of attitudes and assumptions about exactly what it means to be masculine.

To date, outside Western society, Gilmore (1990) is regarded as one of the leading researchers of masculinity on a global scale. He examines ideologies of masculinity from a sample that traverses socio-economic categories. His data are drawn from the Mediterranean to the South Pacific, Central New Guinea, East and South Asia, Tahiti and Semai, the Amazon in Brazil, to East Africa. In the final analysis of what it means to be a man in different cultures around the world, Gilmore (1990:224) notes that, in most societies, manhood demands that "men do three things: impregnate women, protect dependants and provide materially for both." As a result, "Boys must be hardened and inducted into a masculinity based on self-reliance, discipline and self-direction" (1990:5). "Men nurture their society by shedding their blood, their sweat and themselves, by bringing home food for both child and mother, by producing children and by dying if necessary in faraway places to provide a safe haven for their people" (1990:230).

In brief, Levant (1996:9-13) and Culbertson's definitions can summarize all these definitions of the traditional male identity. Levant defined masculine ideology as comprising seven dimensions: avoiding all things feminine; resisting emotionality; appearing tough and aggressive; being self-reliant; achieving status; objectifying attitudes toward sexuality; and fearing homosexuals. Culbertson (1994: 35) suggested that, traditionally, the male, as a husband, a father, a man, is expected to be, and expects himself to be, procreator, protector, and provider. Male identity is captured in these traditional roles.

(ii) Modern male roles (norms)

As Beynon (2002:15) aptly described, “it was not only feminists who have attacked masculinity since the 1960s. In the 1970s, some men themselves began to call it into question, particularly within the so-called “men’s movement” in North America. Traditional male roles began to be regarded as “neuro-muscular armour” that forced them to suppress tenderness, emotion and any signs of vulnerability.” Traditional masculinity began to be questioned and what was needed was “male liberation.”

In “the crisis of masculinity and the politics of identity,” John MacInnes (2001) claims that the material progress of modernity constantly undermines men’s ability to sustain what is meant to be a man. “In this sense we are witnessing the end of masculinity” (2001:313). He argues that the male breadwinner ideology has all but collapsed. Even though older men and women still adhere to the ideology of the male breadwinner and the female homemaker, younger men and women do not do so (2001:321). “What were once claimed to be manly virtues (heroism, independence, courage, strength, rationality, will, backbone, virility) have become masculine vices (abuse, destructive aggression, coldness, emotional inarticulacy, detachment, isolation, and inability to be flexible, to communicate, to empathize, to be soft, supportive or life affirming)” (2001:313).

According to Beynon (2002:100), pro-feminist men in the United Kingdom and the United States attempted to foster a more caring, sharing, nurturing new man who was the retort to denigrate the “old man,” his father, and a refugee from the macho type of masculinity. While Whitehead (2001:356) argues that the new man turned out to be no more than “another media invention; an attractive but simplistic outcome of the tabloidization of complex social phenomena,” Hearn and Morgan (1990:173) indicate that the “new man” demonstrates “a wider range of domestic involvements, a wider range of emotional responses and a greater willingness to criticize his own practices.” Beynon’s definition of the new man in two elements best fits the opposite descriptions of the new man. For Beynon, the new man is firstly a nurturer, as Hearn and Morgan define, and the new man is also a narcissist, as Whitehead describes him. But, in the final analysis, Beynon (2002:120) says that, while there is a broad consensus that male gender roles have changed considerably during the 1980s and 1990s, there is no longer any clear consensus as to what the new man actually stands for. The only possible definition is that he certainly is not his father, not the “old man.”

Regarding the contemporary trend, MacInnes (2001:323) states that there is widespread acknowledgment that urges men to abandon traditional masculinity in order to get in touch with their feelings.

On the other hand, Bly (1991) sought to reconfirm men’s power and social position through recourse and retreat to, essentially, a men’s movement. He calls for the recovery of some of the old male cer-

tainties, and bemoans the lack of a masculine presence in the United States. In his view, American men have been stripped of all moral authority, the courts have economically disadvantaged them and they are the victims of an uncaring patriarchy. Beynon (2002:142) cites Coward who deplores that young men in the United Kingdom are in the thralls of a “me-culture” based on pop music, computer and video games, consumerist desires, a high octane fashion consciousness and a weekend lifestyle, based on clubbing, drugs, cars, football and more football. Furthermore, masculinity’s moral status, built on the foundation of hard work, a single career, and the aim of providing for a family, has completely disappeared. In this context, Evans (cited by Bartkowski, 2004:11), a leader of Promise Keepers, argues that men must now reclaim their manhood. They must *take* it back, not *ask* for their role back.

For some typical male roles, Ian Harris (1995) provides the most comprehensive study to date of the socialization into roles, a perspective based on extensive interview data with large numbers of men in the United States, gathered over a number of years. Harris’s study is a very comprehensive “map” of contemporary American masculinity in the men’s own words. The socializing messages emanate from parents, teachers, peers, the media, organizations such as the church and the Scouts, and constitute a series of “scripts,” or guidelines, by which men live. They can be grouped as follows, telling men they must strive to become: 1) Standard bearers, who do their best and achieve as much as possible; 2) Workers, who become good breadwinners and develop a strong work ethic; 3) Lovers, whether faithful husbands and partners, or as playboys; 4) Bosses, by overcoming all possible hurdles and taking control; 5) Rugged individuals, who are prepared to engage in dangerous and adventurous acts, with faith in their abilities.

In 2008, Chris Blazina summed up ten commandments of being a male as follows:

1) There is only one way to be a man; 2) Fear the feminine; 3) Males must funnel all their feelings into sex or aggression; 4) Affection is always associated with sex; 5) A boy needs a male role model or his sense of being a man is flawed; 6) You big ape. Boy society is based on power, strength and paranoia; 7) If your father is rejecting, you must learn to please him; 8) If you don’t please your mother, you must marry someone like her; and 10) A man must follow the Commandments even if it causes him to be emotionally stunted or leads him off track (Blazina 2008: Chapter 1).

Blazina’s (2008) and Harris’ (1995) studies reveal that males’ self understandings do not differ from those decades ago, even though young men have all been touched by the definition of new man or “metro-sexuality” in one form or another, conveyed by men’s everyday interaction as well as mass media, such as TV, movies, songs, advertisement and the press. As Balswick (1997:120) expressed a decade ago, a competitive spirit, militancy, violence and the desire for power in males still remain

strongly in a world of career and sports, and that males are still deemed to be active, self-reliant, strong, tough, aggressive, instrumental and very active sexually. This will contribute to intensify male gender role strain. This phenomenon can be also found in Korea.

2) Changing gender roles in the Korean context

In the traditional Korean society, the male was regarded as an origin of the universe's creation, displaying heavenly characteristics, progressing, strong, a symbol of all that is good, and the male becomes both lawmaker and executive (Choi, 1994:221). Boys were expected to be solemn, rigid, upright and to answer in a loud voice. Boys were expected to rise in the world (this means to succeed) and to gain fame for their family (Choi, 1994:223). Male virility was also regarded as their most important role, which justified men without sons to take second wives when a first wife was not able to provide male progeny (Choi, 1994:215). Therefore, as the head of the family, a man should be able to govern and support himself and his household and should be able to produce male progeny.

However, throughout the 1990s, economic globalization has changed the masculine role of the family provider, which has made job security more problematic. In television dramas and films, the male image is described as weakened and feminized; now, multiple roles for the male have become the norm. The ideal image of a father should be that of a breadwinner, as well as a nurturing supporter, which intensifies male gender role strain.

When Korean males are acculturated to a foreign country, the changes of male gender role are much more complicated and may impact on their male identity.

3) The impact of a different culture on male identity

Benedict (1959) observes the influence of a culture on persons in a given society. She writes,

The life history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth the custom into which he is born shapes his experiences and behavior. By the time he can talk, he is the little creator of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its responsibilities his responsibilities (2-3).

It is also inevitable that uniquely different groups meet and are absorbed into one another as cultures merge. This process of incorporation may at times be conflictual (Shon & Ja,1982). Immigration to a new country and acculturation to a new lifestyle are believed to place immigrants at greater risk for mental health problems. Certain cultural differences can have a significant impact on an individual's

psychological well-being and ability to adjust to a new country (Vu,2000:3). In a comparison between immigrant and non-immigrant populations, Vu reveals that the immigrant population, in general, exhibits greater psychological disorders than non-immigrants. Hurh and Kim (1990) claim that when they examined mental health status and life satisfaction among a sample of Korean immigrants in Chicago, they found higher rates of mental health problems than in a white comparison group. Although there are many cases of reported mental health problems and acculturative stress among immigrant populations, Asian Americans may avoid mental health services because to seek outside help will bring shame to their families (Sue, 2005).

As such, acculturation and assimilation can be stressful and challenging processes. The strain of adjusting to life in a foreign country may impact the lives of immigrants. But among many tasks faced by immigrants as part of their adjustment to a new country, gender role expectations (gender role conflict) are likely to be one of the major areas of confusion, especially for men. One hardship which immigrants have to face while living in a new country is gender-role acculturation. This acculturation occurs when cultural expectations exert subtle or often unexpressed pressure upon people to conform to prescribed gender behaviors (Sung, 2003).

In many Asian countries, men are traditionally perceived to be the preferred gender. In the context of Confucian tradition, men are expected to play many roles including being the breadwinner, decision-maker in important familial matters, and protector of the family’s name and honor (Lee & Saul, 1987). While Asian men usually relate to other men comfortably, in general they have difficulties in submitting or subjugating themselves to an unknown person unless that person’s authority is clearly understood. Knowing one’s place in society is imperative in a culture where saving face is always the highest priority in any interaction (1987:181). In most Asian countries, psychotherapy still barely exists compared to the United States. In times of crisis, Asian men tend to look for traditional means of releasing their bad feelings.

David Sue (2005:360) provided a potential difference between Euro-American males and Asian American males based on E.C.Chang (1996) and Leong (1998).

Table 1. Areas of potential difference between Asian American and Euro-American Males

Asian American Males	Euro-American Males
Collectivism: individual needs are subordinated to those of the group	Individual focus, independence
Hierarchical relationships in which males are given higher status	Egalitarian relationships

Restraint of strong emotions indicates maturity	Expression of assertiveness and emotions is emotionally healthy
Respect for authority	Challenge areas of disagreement
Modesty is a virtue	Self-aggrandize to get ahead

Table .2. Comparison of Generic Characteristics

A. Comparison of Generic Characteristics Distinguishing Traditional Counseling from Asian Male Value System	
Traditional Western Counseling Model	Asian Male Belife/Value System
Predicated on the assumption of horizontal relationship, individuation, independence, self-disclosure, and change	Based on vertical relationship, interdependence, self-control, and acceptance of what is
Emphasis on "getting in touch with your feelings" as a beneficial treatment	Trained to internalized and meditate about one's personal conflicts. The concept of relating one's innermost personal conflicts to a stranger is seen as negative
Value of being verbal, direct, assertive, and individualistic	Valuing use of will power, solving one's own problems, being non-confrontive, practicing humility and modesty, and avoiding bringing shame to the family
Utilization of verbal therapies	Meditation approaches, emphasis on introspection, self-discipline, self-control of negative thoughts and feelings
Goal of therapy: insight, verbalization, and change	Self-discipline and self-mastery, acceptance of what is
B. Suggested Therapeutic Approach Set	
Focus on internal conflicts	Focus on external stress (s)
Process-oriented discussion	Emphasis on direct problem-solving techniques, active problem-resolution management
Offering internal resolution(s)	Offering external resolution (s)

Daniel Booduck Lee and Tuck Takashi Saul (1987:180-191) have proposed that there was a necessity to consider the effects that the impact of gender has on influencing the processes of therapy for the Asian-Americans. From their clinical experiences, they have provided the comparison (Table 6.2) to highlight the differences between the traditional Western counseling model and the Asian male belief/value system.

Among traditional Asian men, masculinity is not determined by personality or physical appearance but by adhering to traditional values and successfully inculcating these values into their offspring. However, when Koreans immigrate to America, these social roles seem to change dramatically (Sung, 2003) and they experience gender role conflict while trying to retain or redefine these traditional roles (gender role acculturation). Having come from male-dominated societies where “saving face” is always the highest priority, Asian-American men may encounter identity crises during their acculturation into the American society. Thus, conflict may arise from holding on to traditional male gender roles and from the perceived shame of not being able to take care of themselves and their families (Vu, 2000). Traditionally oriented Asian American fathers feel that their masculinity is being threatened since they are no longer regarded with respect and admiration by their acculturated children (Sue, 2005:361). Also, the fact that Asian male immigrants are acculturating at differential rates relative to their spouses intensifies their strain.

One of the results of gender role conflict is physical violence. Since men are often no longer considered to be the primary economic providers for their families, they may resort to physical violence to express their control and frustration (Koh, 1998). In a sample of 150 immigrant Korean women in Chicago, 60 percent reported that they were battered by their spouses. Of the Korean men who were abusive, 58 percent had lower-level jobs in the United States by comparison with those they had held in Korea (Huh & Kim, 1990).

Another consequence of this male gender role conflict is a feeling of inferiority. Cheng (1996) reported that in American society, Asian men have been described as stereotypes of being poor at sports, good in mathematics, and villains in mass media. On Bem's Sex Role Inventory, Asian American men were rated as “cheerful,” “gentle,” “naïve,” “shy,” “quiet,” “too nice, not tough enough,” “understanding,” and “passive,” which are usually considered to be “feminine characteristics,” and thus, they are not seen to possess the traditional masculine traits. These characteristics of Asian men are at variance with the qualities associated with a good manager, such as “being in control,” “decisive,” “aggressive and assertive,” “ambitious,” “analytical,” “competitive,” “independent and self-reliant,” “individualistic,” and “having a strong personality”. All this contributes to feelings of inferiority and a poor self-image in Asian Men (Sue, 2005).

From this debate, the following question arises: what are the current trends in male gender roles and what impact do different cultural settings and contexts have on male identity? Furthermore, to what extent do men adapt to the so called “new role functions”? It also needs a probe into the realm of male identity, the link with culture and impact on self-esteem, self-image and identity. Immediately questions surface regarding emotional consequences, personal stress and gender role strain.

4) The gender role strain paradigm

To date, the most important theoretical framework in the area of male gender roles and their consequences has been Pleck's (1981) gender role strain (GRS) paradigm,¹ which was formulated in *The myth of masculinity*. This produced a number of major research models which have widened our understanding of men's experience of their strain resulting from their attempt to adhere to the impossible male gender roles.

In any discussion on male gender role strain, the works of Pleck are considered as classics. Burke (2002), McCarthy et al (2004), Lips (2005), Good & Brooks (2005), and Brannon (2005) have dealt with the theory of Pleck. They all comment that the male gender role strain paradigm suggested by Pleck is the foundational model to explain male role strain. In his comprehensive review of the study of men and masculinity over the last 30 years (until 2003), Smiler (2004; 2006) considered Pleck's theory as the dominant one and Whorley & Addis (2006) revealed that the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS; O'Neil et al., 1986) based on Pleck's paradigm was the one used in almost 65% of men's studies in America. In fact, the GRCS was used 3.5 times more frequently than the next most common measure (O'Neil's Gender Role Conflict Scale was based on Pleck's theory). O'Neil (2008) reported that 232 empirical articles have been published using the Using the Gender Role Conflict Scale over the past 25 years (1982-2007). While 94 Empirical Research Papers have been presented on Gender Role Conflict Scale at American Psychological Association Annual Conventions and Other Conferences, there have been 87 Ph. D. Dissertations on Gender Role Conflict over 8 years (2000-2007). Mahalik makes use of Eisler's model and O'Neil's model which are based on Pleck's theory in his cognitive therapy for men (2007; 2005). Pleck's male gender role strain paradigm was also used for Levant's model (*Clinical application of the male gender role strain paradigm*, 2003), Fisher's model (2007) and Chris Blazina's model (2007). Levant and Richmond (2007) argue,

The new psychology of men has advanced our understanding of gender, using the Gender Role Strain paradigm as an overarching theoretical framework (Pleck, 1981, 1995). The Gender Role Strain Paradigm emphasizes the centrality of gender ideology as a cultural script that organizes and informs everything from the socialization of small children to the emotions, cognition, and behavior of adults... The MRNI is a useful tool for measuring the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology in the United States and abroad, and for examining the relationship between social location/individual difference and cultural contextual variables and the endorsement of traditional male gender role norms. (2007:1)

¹ Pleck (1981:145,146) defines gender role strain as a negative psychological and social consequence resulting from violating gender roles (norms and stereotypes). O'Neil (1990:24,25) provides a definition of "gender role strain" in relation to "gender role conflict," which is "a psychological state in which gender roles have negative consequences on the individual or others" by the restriction, devaluation, or violation of oneself or others. Gender role strain is physical or psychological tension experienced as an outcome of gender role conflict.

According to Pleck, the gender role identity paradigm, which had dominated the research on men and masculinity for 50 years (1930-1980) cannot account for the observed data. It also plays a role to promote the patriarchal bifurcation of society based on the stereotyped gender roles. The gender role identity paradigm assumed that people have a certain inner psychological need for gender identity, and that healthy personality development centres on obtaining traditional gender role. From this perspective, homosexuality, anti-femininity and negative hyper-masculinity are regarded as a result of failure to achieve a male gender role identity. In its place, Pleck formulated the gender role strain paradigm (Pleck, 1981, 1995; Levant, 1995).

Pleck (1981:9, 1995:11) proposes ten propositions that form the basis of the gender role strain paradigm. They also serve as a theoretical basis of subsequent research, over 20 years, into masculinity:

- a) Sex roles are operationally defined by sex role stereotypes and norms.
- b) Sex roles are contradictory and inconsistent.
- c) The proportion of individuals who violate sex roles is high.
- d) Violating sex roles leads to social condemnation.
- e) Violating sex roles leads to negative psychological consequences.
- f) Actual or imagined violation of sex roles leads individuals to over-conform to them.
- g) Violating sex roles has more severe consequences for males than for females.
- h) Certain characteristics that sex roles prescribe are psychologically dysfunctional.
- i) Each sex experiences sex-role strain in its paid work and family roles.
- j) Historical change causes sex-role strain.

In updating his original conception of the gender role strain paradigm, Pleck (1995:12-18) explains that, implicit in these propositions, are three broader ideas about how cultural standards for masculinity have the following potential negative effects on individual males:

The first idea is that a significant proportion of males exhibit long-term failure to fulfil male-role expectations. The resulting disjuncture between these expectations and these male characteristics leads to low self-esteem and other negative psychological consequences. This dynamic is "gender role discrepancy" or "incongruity" (discrepancy strain). Secondly, even if male-role expectations are successfully fulfilled, the socialization process leading to this fulfilment is

traumatic, with long-term negative side effects. This is the "gender role trauma" argument (trauma strain). And the third theoretical notion is that the successful fulfilment of male-role expectations can have negative consequences because many of the characteristics, viewed as desirable or acceptable in men (e.g., low level of family participation), have inherent negative side effects, either for the males themselves or for others. This is the "gender-role dysfunction" argument (dysfunction strain). These three ideas correspond to three theoretical subtypes of male gender role strain: the strains of discrepancy, trauma, and dysfunction.

Comparatively, the first branch of research (discrepancy strain) within the GRS paradigm provides the most empirical support. Based on male gender role strain paradigm, researchers (O'Neil and Eisler) hold that gender roles negatively affect men in two main ways: a) Gender role conflict, and b) Gender role stress.

a) Gender role conflict is a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative impacts or consequences on the subject, or others. Gender role conflict occurs when rigid, sexist, or restricted gender roles result in restriction, devaluations, or violations of others or the self (O'Neil, 1981, 1990, 2008). Six patterns of gender role conflict were originally hypothesized and were later reduced to four patterns, i.e., success, restrictive emotionality, restrictive affectionate behaviour between men and conflicts between work and family relations. Studies have found that men's gender roles are associated positively with numerous constructs of psychological struggle including: depression, anxiety, anger, negative attitudes to seeking psychological help, and low self-esteem (Choi et al., 2005; Cohn & Zeichner, 2008; Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Blazina, Burrige, & Eddins, 2007; Blazina, Pisecco, & O'Neil, 2005; Blazina, Settle, & Eddins, 2008; Breiding, 2004; Carter et al., 2005; Zamarripa, et al, 2003)

b) Eisler and Skidmore hypothesize that many men, who are strongly committed to the traditional male role, experience male gender role stress (MGRST) when faced with situations that they perceive as posing a threat to their masculine identity (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Eisler, Skidmore & Ward, 1988). These authors hypothesized the most prominent gender role stress-producing situations for men as (1) physically inadequate, (2) emotionally expressive, (3) subordinate to women, (4) intellectually inferior, or (5) inadequate performers. Several studies have asserted that scores on the MGRST are related to alcohol problems, anger, aggression and violence (Mahalik et al, 2005; Cohn & Zeichner, 2006; Mussap, 2008; Fischer, 2007; Copenhaver et al., 2000; Copenhaver et al., 2004; Schmidt, 2003).

In this way, the gender role strain (conflict and stress) theory emphasizes that men have emotional problems because traditional masculinity tends to suppress emotion and deny vulnerability, therefore men suffer from masculine stereotypes.

Bereska and Levant (Time's report, 2004; Bereska, 2003; Levant, 1996) argue that male gender roles have already changed but the phenomenon of male gender role strain has not yet diminished. The implication of this debate is that we need to call the current analysis of a cure (emotional articulacy) into question. We need to find a different perspective with which to view male gender role strain. This leads to the possible relationship between male gender role strain and the notion of power.

5) The relationship between male gender role strain and the notion of power²

² The feminist movement strives to enhance women's status and to promote equality between the sexes. One of the basic assumptions underlying this movement is that power differences exist between women and men. Power operates between women and men on personal, collective, and institutional levels, all of which are interconnected under the umbrella of a system of gender power relations (Anne C.F et al. 2003; Lips, 1991; 2005; Stanford dictionary of philosophy, 2005).

From this perspective, power is usually described as a characteristic of certain groups in society—men and the middle class. Men have all the power and they maintain it by a systematic repression of women. Foucault suggests power as relational, which is one way of rethinking power. For Foucault, power is not inherent in particular institutions or situations or individuals. Foucault explains this as follows: "Power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society" (Foucault, 1980:93). Another important concept of Foucault's understanding of power is that "power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (1980:93). Foucault writes, "We must not look for who has power..., and who is deprived of it" (1981: 99). The implication of this view is that because we are all involved in the operations of power, no particular group including women can absent itself from the operation of power because no group exists in isolation. In this understanding of the concept of power as relational, it becomes very difficult to hold to a position that simply attributes power to any one group in society (Anne C.F et al, 2003:67).

In response to Foucault's claim that subjects cannot exit outside of power, several authors (Martin, Fraser, and Hartsock) argue that Foucault's view will result in a position that woman's oppression may easily be lost among the pluralities of new theories of ideologies and open-ended points of view of power (Shane, 1990; Smith, 2001). Shane (1990) claims that Foucault's analysis of power is not a theory for women because it does not examine power from the epistemological point of view of the subordinated, and that Foucault's analysis of power fails to adequately theorize structural relations of inequality and domination that undergird women's subordination.

Despite these feminist critiques of Foucault's idea of power, feminist poststructuralism has been engaged in applying and extending Foucault's work (Stanford Dictionary of Philosophy, 2005). According to Smith (2001), postmodern feminists regard Foucault's account of power as useful for feminist theory. Feminist post-structuralism is underpinned with the understanding that language and discourse reinforces subjectivity. Smith (2001) analyzes how "male-created discourse" functions to oppress women and identifies white, male-produced knowledge as a major component of a racist, classist, and sexist "matrix of domination." Sawicki (1986) claims that women have been subjugated by internalized power relations through the development of norms and competences, not simply by taking power away. As Foucault explains, there is no centralized oppressor, but rather the habits and comportment of masculinity and femininity that women perpetuate themselves through dieting, exercise, fashion, beauty technique, and which implicate the lived experiences of women's bodies.

For these feminists, Foucault's view of power does not mean that some groups are not potentially privileged by their position within mainstream society. It does argue against simplistic structural models which hold that all men are abusive and all women are victims (Anne C.F. et al, 2003:67). Jana Sawicki (1986) has argued that Foucault does not deny that the juridico-discursive model of power describes one form of power. He merely thinks that it does not capture those forms of power that make centralized, repressive forms of power possible, namely, the myriad of power relations at the microlevel of society. It is clear, then, that Foucault is saying that there are positions of power and oppressed groups, but he is more interested in the subtleties of and complexities of power. According to Jana Sawicki (1986), "Foucault's alternative model is designed to facilitate the description of the many forms of power found outside the centralized loci. He does not deny the phenomenon of class (or State) power, he simply denies that understanding it is more important for resistance. Foucault expands the domain of the political to include a heterogeneous ensemble of power relations operating at the micro-level of society. Foucault's "bottom-up" analysis of power is an attempt to show how power relations at the micro-level of society make possible certain global effects of domination (e.g., class power, patriarchy).

Whitehead and Barrett (2001:17) incorporated the Foucauldian view of power into social constructionist understanding of power, arguing that "through taking up and being inculcated with dominant discourses or ideologies of gender, men contribute in knowing and unknowing ways to both self-identity process and power inequalities. To understand how men become powerful, we need to understand how men learn to be masculine, and how dominant discourses of masculinity connect with other forms of power around, for example, class, ethnicity, race, age, religion, culture and nationhood." Through male's self-regulation (a process of identity work), masculine power is largely exercised and the privilege of being a male is validated in particular cultural setting.

The focus of gender role strain has been more on males' feelings and their emotional articulacy. However, the essential source of gender role strain might be more closely connected to the issue of power than to feelings. According to O'Neil (1981), males, socialized from an early age to believe that power and control are essential for self-esteem and a positive self-image, are also taught that competition is the key to obtaining power and control. Behavioural characteristics of this factor include striving for influence and authority over others, regulation, restraint, and command of others, and a drive to continuously compare oneself to, and establish superiority over, male competitors. In addition to control, power and competition, many rigidly socialized men equate achievement, influence, ambition, and wealth with masculinity. To attain necessary levels of achievement and success, many men become obsessed with power, status and success, a need to control and manipulate others, and develop a pervasive mistrust of others, viewed as competitors. Capraro's (2000:310) analyses prove that the traditional male identity and gender role strain result in the contradictory nature of masculinity: men must be both powerful and powerless. In objective social analyses, as a group, men have power over women, but in their subjective experience of the world, men, as individuals, do not feel powerful. In fact, they feel powerless. When men are not powerful (experience gender role strain), they may often compensate for their lack of power, or seek an alternative to obtaining social power, by means of alcohol or exercising violence (McClelland *et al.*, 1972:119). Kaufman (1994:142-143) aptly concludes that men's social power is the source of individual power and privilege, but it is also the source of the individual's experience of pain and alienation. In this regard, the gender role strain theory could be related to the issue of power.

On the basis of this discussion, the following question emerges: Is there any possibility of male gender role strain being connected to the notion of power as the core source of male strain? Thus, one of the research problems of the current study is to investigate the relationship between male gender role strain and the notion of power. So, what kind of pastoral care should emerge that best addresses male gender role strain (conflict and stress) resulting from adherence to the traditional male identity? What should spiritual development/growth and maturity entail in order to address the issue

If we understand Foucault's account of power in Sawicki and Whitehead et al's view, his view of power is compatible with Pleck's and the social constructionists' view of power on which the current study is based. Pleck and the social constructionists all have "the virtue of reinforcing an emphasis on individuals' adaptation to gender expectation as a lifelong process, as well as one in which individuals are not only acted upon but act" (Pleck, 1995:24). Both Pleck and social constructionists put emphasis on masculinities rather than masculinity (or on hegemonic masculinities), cultural variances and social construction of gender (through the process of socialization and gender relation in which discourses in Foucault's understanding of power are inculcated). "Social constructionist theory holds that gender is actively created in social interactions and that the way gender is created depends on what is at stake in particular interactions. Furthermore, what is at stake in an interaction is informed by social structures such as race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation" (Mansfield et al., 2003:7). This shows that social constructionists expand their understanding of power beyond the old dichotomies of power (male- dominance/female-subjugation). Especially, Kaufman's thesis, men's contradictory experiences of power, clearly indicates that there exist many forms of power just as Foucault suggests a heterogeneous ensemble of power relations operating at the micro-level of society. In this sense, the concept of power in the study includes Pleck's and Social constructionists' and even Foucault's views of power.

of gender role strain to prevent gender role strain becoming a hampering factor in pastoral care to males?

According to Neuger's (1997:57) research,³ the identity or gender role strain question led many pastors into a discussion regarding meaning and spirituality. Within the Christian context, the questions that drive men include: Who is God? How must I understand and interpret the power of God? How can I find the hope that I need? This leads to the issue of spirituality in relation to male gender role strain and its interconnectedness to the notion of power.

6) The notion of a spirituality of vulnerability

Benner (1988:104) describes spirituality as the response to a deep and mysterious human yearning for self-transcendence and surrender. Christian spirituality relates to, and affects, all of life. It also influences psychological functions. Benner (1988:127) hypothesizes that psycho-spiritual maturity involves maturity of both the basic psychological aspects of personality (symbiotic dependency; differentiation of self; relatedness; individuation; self-transcendence; and integration of personality) and spiritual aspects (development of basic trust; awareness of call for self-transcendence; recognition of the call as from God; awareness of insufficiency of own sinfulness; receipt of divine forgiveness; progressive freedom from sin; progressive evidence of the fruit of the Spirit; and a deepening intimacy with God).

Genia (1990) suggests a five-stage growth model of developmental faith (spirituality): 1) egocentric faith (spirituality), 2) dogmatic faith (spirituality), 3) transitional faith (spirituality), 4) reconstructed internalized faith (spirituality), and 5) transcendent faith (spirituality). Genia (1990:93) presents ten characteristics of a person experiencing transcendent faith spirituality: 1) A transcendent relationship with something greater than oneself; 2) A style of living, including moral behaviour, consistent with religious values; 3) Commitment without absolute certainty; 4) Openness to diverse religious viewpoints; 5) A mature religious faith divested of egocentricity, magical thinking and anthropomorphic God concepts; 6) A mature religious outlook that includes both rational and emotional components; 7) Social interest and humanitarian concern are important priorities; 8) Life-enhancing and growth-producing mature religiousness; 9) Possesses meaning and purpose in life; 10) The belief that mature religious faith is not dependent upon a particular dogma, set of practices, or formal religious structure.

³ Neuger (1997:48) interviewed 20 pastors across three mainline denominations (Presbyterian, United Methodist, and United Church of Christ) in two regions (New Jersey and Minnesota). He found that about one-third of the pastors suggested that the shifting identity is a prime issue for men in their churches. Their observation indicates that men are in transition and in some confusion about what it means to be a man in today's changing world with changes at work and at home. Men are asking, "Who am I as a man?" (1997:56).

Richards (1988:192) describes true Christian spirituality as living human life in a union with God and experienced within human relationships. All these authors view spirituality in terms of the inner, private dimensions as well as the external dimensions (social and public contexts).

In the discussion of the concept *eusebeia*, Louw (1998:194) defines Christian spirituality as follows: 1) Spirituality, as godliness, denotes an existential knowledge of God, based on obedience to Him; 2) Spirituality has an eschatological dimension. It functions within the tension between salvific truth and daily life; 3) Spirituality denotes a changed life-style (new ethos) linked to the ethical dimension of the Christian faith, and with implications for our daily lives; 4) Spirituality, as piety, is not a mere psychic event of emotional experiences;

Spirituality involves subjectivity and has implications for the existential and human dimension of Christian faith. Basically, spirituality should be interpreted as an exponent of a living faith. It is fulfilled *coram Deo* and is experienced in the fellowship of believers.

Louw (2005:132) summarizes it in a nutshell: Spirituality takes into account the sacred within the secular, or the sacramental dimension within daily occurrences. Spirituality designates the creativity of the soul (the ability to transcend reality) as well as the beauty of the soul (the ability to anticipate creatively the new, despite nothingness).

With regard to spiritual growth, Louw (2005:133) states that spirituality is not a fixed entity to be classified, but a dynamic entity to be lived. Within soulfulness, spirituality indicates the dynamics of transcendence as a continuous movement and process of growth. Louw describes spiritual growth as the movement and transformation of the human I, based on Nouwen's (1997) description as follows: 1) From loneliness to solitude (authenticity); 2) The discovery of the other: from hostility and enmity (resistance) to hospitality and intimacy (unconditional love); 3) Worshipping God: from the illusion of immortality (the irrational self-centred idea that one is indispensable and will always be there) to vulnerability of grace (Godliness); 4) The fostering of meaning: from anxiety (performance anxiety and the anxiety for loss) to hope; 5) The changing of position and attitude: from anger to peace; 6) The reframing of work: from achievement (stress) to vocation, devotion and service (reaching out); 7) Shifting priorities: from competition to compassion (sacrifice).

When dealing with the issue of power and control that occurred in Jesus' disciples' arguments in Luke 22:24 and Matthew 20:20, He denotes a spirituality of vulnerability by requiring the renunciation of power, violence, dominion and servanthood. Mark 10:42-45 (NIV) says:

Jesus called them together and said, "You know that those who are regarded as rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their high officials exercise authority over them. Not with you. Instead, whoever wants to become great among you must be your servant, and whoever wants

to be first among you must be slave of all. For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many."

Jesus likened their concern to Gentile rulers who lorded it over them. In contrast, Jesus set the model for service by saying that He came not to be served but to serve and give his life as a ransom for many (Oates, 1994:39). Jesus also provides a model for vulnerability. He taught meekness, powerlessness and humbleness in the Beatitudes. He was rejected, despised and died on the cross - weak and powerless. But through his resurrection, he displayed his ultimate strength. So Lohifink (1985:117) argues that this is paradoxical authority to the very last, and authority that, in its unprotectedness and vulnerability, turns any other type of authority upside down.

A spirituality of vulnerability implies that we accept our limitation and renunciation of self-control, and that God is in control of our lives. A spirituality of vulnerability is also closely related to God-images: God's faithfulness and his vulnerability. Louw (1995:70) presents the concept of the faithfulness of God who promises that He will never desert us and will always be with us even after death. God proves his faithfulness by the covenantal baptism, the crucifixion, resurrection and ascension of his Son, so that we may know that He will do what He promises. Because of his faithfulness, we accept his free gift of grace. We are speechless when we discover that what God did through Christ (reconciliation) was all for me!

In addition, the concept of God's vulnerability is crucial with regard to the issue of male gender role strain in relation to the notion of power. In the discussion of God's power, omnipotence and sovereignty, Louw (2000:69) perceives God's, or the Father's, power as almighty in terms of grace, mercy, servanthood and sacrifice, and views it as "a power which is closely connected to God's covenantal encounter and graceful identification with our human misery." "God overcomes all his enemies, not by annihilating them, but by loving them." Louw views sovereignty in terms of his grace and unconditional love. "Sovereignty does not mean that God controls all and everything. One should rather say: 'God empowers'" (2000:70). As Louw points out earlier in this paper, men's spirituality of vulnerability could lead them to spiritual growth by helping them to shift from the irrational self-centred idea to the vulnerability of grace, from performance anxiety and the anxiety for loss to hope, from anger to peace, from achievement stress to vocation, devotion and service, and from competition to compassion and sacrifice.

On the issue of power, this implies that God's vulnerability and faithfulness could set an example that help males to step out of the spirit of achievement, competition, power, dominion and control. Instead, they motivate males to live for vocation, devotion, compassion and service with hope and peace. This spirituality of vulnerability based on God-images (God's faithfulness and vulnerability) could also enable males to live meaningfully and purposefully for spiritual maturity in the midst of predicaments

by generating a therapeutic effect on existential issues, such as despair, anxiety and guilt. These male existential issues, related to male gender role strain, could be helped effectively through a spirituality of vulnerability based on God-images (God's faithfulness and vulnerability).

From this discussion, the following questions arise: Can a theological understanding of God's vulnerability help pastoral care to address the problem of men's power and psychological struggles (male gender role strain)? Can such a theological understanding of vulnerability be applied to foster spiritual maturity and spiritual well-being in them? Can a theology of vulnerability guide males in our postmodern global society to reframe male identity and spiritual growth? Thus, the main research problem that will be explored is whether any possibility exists for a theological understanding of God's vulnerability to contribute towards liberating males from the ideology of power and their psychological struggles.

3. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research will be guided by the main research question: If male gender role strain has psychological and spiritual consequences for males, how can we deal with male gender role strain as related to the issue of power? Can a theological understanding of God's vulnerability help pastoral care to address the problem of men's power and psychological struggles (male gender role strain) - possibly by reframing the notion of power in order to foster spiritual maturity in males?

Under this main research problem, the study will be guided by the following three related research questions

- 1) What are current trends in male gender roles within both the Western society and the Korean context as well as the impact of different cultural settings and contexts on male identity? Furthermore, to what extent do men adapt to the so called "new role functions"?
- 2) Within a Christian context, what is the importance of the discourse on male gender role strain? If the consequences of male gender role strain have been found in the area of male's psychological health and interrelationships and even in politics, in which way and to what extent can male gender role strain affect the different practices of faith as well as how churches' response to the notion of offices in both the American and Korean churches?
- 3) If a discussion of emotional expressiveness in males has not been proved to cure male gender role strain, is there not more at stake in male gender role strain than merely male emotional expressiveness? Could the notion of power perhaps play a fundamental role to the way in which males respond to new demands in our current cultural setting?

4. HYPOTHESES

1) The main hypothesis is that a spirituality of vulnerability could contribute to the reframing of traditional male roles in culture. It could also play an important role in therapy in order to free males from both the ideology of power and personal psychological struggles. The notion of vulnerability, and how it is connected to God-images, can foster spiritual growth in males despite existing cultural paradigms. In this regard, a “theology of vulnerability” and the notion of the “weakness of God” can play a pivotal role in pastoral care and pastoral therapy.

2) The related three hypotheses are:

- Men’s roles are changing but traditional stereotypes persist in contemporary societies, including the Korean society. And this rigidly adherence to the traditional male gender role intensifies the phenomenon of gender role strain.

- Male gender role strain could also hamper the fostering of spiritual maturity in males. Furthermore, gender role strain does impact on the different practices of faith and how churches respond to the notion of offices in both the American and the Korean church.

- The essential source of gender role strain might be more closely connected to the existing paradigm of power than to feelings and emotional expressiveness.

5. METHODOLOGY

I made use of the following research methods: a critical analysis of the literature; a hermeneutical method, and qualitative research method.

1) A critical analysis of the literature has been undertaken in order to examine the nature of gender role strain as related to male identity and the nature of a spirituality of vulnerability on the issue of power in terms of God’s faithfulness and vulnerability. It is because male gender role strain might be connected to the notion of power, and reframing the notion of power on the basis of God-images could present an answer to that.

2) Donald Capps, in his book *Pastoral care and hermeneutics* (1984), has provided a methodology of hermeneutics within the context of practical theology and pastoral care. He focuses on the fact that pastoral action reflects the meanings it had when first enacted but in addition opens up unintended worlds of meaning and significance (1984:39). The task of pastoral hermeneutics is, then, to capture the deeper meaning of this pastoral action, and this interpretation is possible through conceptual

schemata. Charles, Gerkin shares his opinion with Capps, saying that pastoral care is focused on the “fusion of horizons.” Gerkin writes,

Pastoral work always entails a dialogical relationship the issues and problems involved in the particular human situation at hand and the core metaphorical values and meanings of the Christian story...both the particularity of the situation at hand and the horizon of meaning contained in Christian story become open to reassessment, reevaluation, and reinterpretation (1991:19).

For Gerkin, attending to this dialogue is best described as a hermeneutical (interpretative) task of pastoral care. Within this pastoral hermeneutics, Gerkin has made a significant statement : “One’s cognitive understanding of a human problem or question may indeed be changed...by the alteration that takes place in the horizon of one’s understanding” (1984:37-38).

With the respect to the task of practical theology, Swinton and Mowat (2006) state that “practical theology takes seriously the givenness of the gospel, but also recognizes the inevitable interpretive-hermeneutical issues surrounding the interpretation and authentic performance of that revelation” (2006:10). They relate the ongoing hermeneutical task of the practical theology to the effective reading of particular situations. According to Louw (1998:97), a hermeneutical method involves: “the interpretation of the meaning of the interaction between God and humanity, edification of the church and becoming engaged in praxis through communities of faith in order to transform the world or to impart meaning in life.” In this way, the pastor should attempt to link the story of salvation to the story of parishioners’ struggle, agony, suffering and joy (1998:256). Thus, the art of interpretation and the quest for meaning become a focal point in pastoral care and counseling (Louw, 2004:63).

Based on this understanding of hermeneutics as the primary task of pastoral care, the researcher makes use of the hermeneutical method to explain and interpret the nature of masculinity (meaning dimension) within cultural contexts. A hermeneutical approach can help the research to pose the questions regarding the meaning dimension of male identity, its connectedness to dominant paradigms and an understanding of the qualitative dimension of gender roles within the dynamics of relationships. Due to the notion of Christian spirituality, a hermeneutical approach is important in order to address the interplay between God-images and male identity.

3) In this study, I used a qualitative approach (in-depth interview) since this method is more adept at portraying issues of meaning. According to Babbie and Mouton (1998:270), qualitative research distinguishes itself from quantitative research in terms of the following key features: Research is conducted in the natural setting of social actors; A focus on process rather than outcome; The actor’s perspective (the “insider” or “emic” view) is emphasized; The primary aim is in-depth descriptions and understanding of actions and events rather than explanation of human behaviour; The main

concern is to understand social action in terms of its specific context (idiographic motive) rather than attempting to generalize to some theoretical population. This qualitative method is concerned about “the unique ways that individuals and communities inhabit it” (Swinton & Mowat, 2006:29). In relation to practical theology, Swinton and Mowat state,

Qualitative research assumes that the world is not simply out there waiting to be discovered. Rather, it recognized the world as the locus of complex interpretive processes within which human beings struggle to make sense of their experiences including their experiences of God. Identifying and developing understandings of these meanings is the primary task of qualitative research (2006:29-30).

In this regard, I made use of qualitative research method in an attempt to understand my participants’ experiences of both the world and God. By using a qualitative method, I was more engaged in the participants’ experiences than I could have been if a quantitative method had been used. This qualitative method allowed me to investigate an untold story that could not be fully captured using a quantitative method. I was able to better capture personal accounts of male gender role strain, its connectedness to the notion of power and its impact on God-images in a specific context.

A pilot study with four Korean middle-aged males and one Korean university student was conducted to see if the questions asked were relevant and to ensure that the interview achieved the goal of the empirical research.

For this study, only 15 Korean Christian males who attended the First Korean Church in Cape Town have been selected. There are three main reasons why I have selected this sample for the study.

Firstly, it is estimated that there are around 1,300 Koreans in Cape Town, who are mostly found in churches.

Secondly, I have been working with Korean male university students and other male adults for several years. During this period, I have been given a great opportunity to hear their untold story directly from them. In my experience of working with Korean Christian males in a Korean church in Cape Town, I found that males disclosed their deep pain both in our male adult group sessions on Sunday and at personal meetings. I rarely heard this kind of personal story from men which included their weakness and failures and vulnerabilities during my previous 15 years’ ministry in Korea. The relationship between males and pastors in Korea is quite superficial in the sense that males do not approach pastors for counseling, show no signs of weakness, and do not share their deep experiences of fear and anxiety, etc. Their wives mostly communicate their issues indirectly since pastors seldom, if ever, have the opportunity for personal contact with males. But here in a Korean church in Cape Town, due to my identity, as a group leader in the capacity of a lay person, not as a senior pastor or paid pastor, I have had a chance to meet males at a deeper level than in Korea. This opportunity has generated my

curiosity about the impact of male gender role strain on them and motivated me to study the males in my church.

Thirdly, in this study, the personal accounts of male gender role strain were explored in the lives of 15 Korean Christian males who attend a Korean church in Cape Town. Ten Korean middle-aged males are all engaged in our male adult group. Five Korean university students in the same church have been selected to compare with the middle-aged males with reference to their unique strain. The reason why I want to compare a male adult group with a male university group is that several researches (Seo, 2001; Cho, 2002; Kim, 2004) have reported that the Korean people's gender role strain varies according to the subject's cohort. For this reason, the age of participants was restricted to two groups: College students (from 20 to 25 years) and middle-aged adults (from 40 to 55) to identify the differences of their experiences of male gender role strain.

I conducted in-depth interviews with 15 Korean males (10 middle-aged men and 5 male Korean college or university students who attend the Korean First Church in Cape Town) to identify their male gender role strain, its relatedness to the issue of power, and its impact on their spiritual maturity.

During an adult male group meeting (which the researcher leads in this Korean Church every Sunday afternoon), I asked them to choose a specific time and place for in-depth interviews according to their preference and convenience. All the 15 interviews, consisting of three sets of questions, were conducted in October 2008. I conducted a personal interview with each person, lasting between 60 and 90 minutes, and asked each of them three sets of questions. During the process of these interviews, participants were first briefly introduced to basic information about this study.

All interviews were conducted with structured questionnaires questioning the participants' understanding of male gender role strain, its interrelation to the issue of power (competition, control, domination, success and achievement) and its impact on their spiritual maturity. With their permission, all the interviews were tape-recorded. The material from the interviews has been used for this section to assess the interrelation between male gender role strain, the issue of power and its impact on their spirituality.

Given previous reports that the Korean people's gender role strain varies according to the subject's cohort, the age of participants was restricted to two groups: college students (from 20 to 25 years) and middle-aged adults (from 40 to 55) in order to identify differences in their experience of male gender role strain.

6. PROVISIONAL STRUCTURE OF CHAPTERS

In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the outline of this dissertation is as follows:

Chapter 1: I will probe into male gender role in transition, which gives a background of male gender role strain within both Western and Korean context.

Chapter 2 will deal with gender role strain resulting from rigid adherence to the traditional male gender role stereotypes, which is an attempt to probe into the connectedness between male gender role strain and the issue of power. It will also attend to the phenomenon of male gender role strain and the impact of this strain on the different practices of faith and how churches respond to the notion of offices in both the American and Korean churches.

Chapter 3 provides an empirical study. It deals with the interplay between male gender role strain and culture. The objective of this chapter is to probe into the area of Korean males' Christian spirituality, their understanding of power and the interplay between God-images and the self-understanding of males within a Korean cultural context, but located in South Africa. The Korean context will be taken into consideration, as well as how male gender role strain was created within the Korean society in Cape Town, South Africa.

Chapter 4: I will explore the question whether a spirituality of vulnerability can deal with the problem of power within male gender role from the perspective of care and healing.

7. DELIMITATION

Firstly, this study focuses only on male gender role strain, not on female gender role strain. Dealing with female gender role strain would be very different to dealing with male gender role strain.

Secondly, the current study focuses only on the issue of power and culture as sources of male gender role strain.

Thirdly, the study deals with only male gender role strain in the Korean context among Oriental contexts.

Fourthly, an empirical study is carried out among the Korean males, especially 15 Korean males in Cape Town in South Africa. However, even though in-depth interviews have been conducted with only 15 Korean males in the Western Cape, South Africa, this research could raise issues and offer insights that reach beyond the Korean cultural context in South Africa⁴.

⁴ According to Swinton and Mowat, as well as Babbie and Mouton (2006:46-47; 1998:274-278), although qualitative research is small, thus it is difficult to generalize from the findings, it is not the primary task of qualitative researcher to generalize. Their responsibility is to provide as rich and broad a description of the situation in hand as possible and to ensure the accuracy of their description. Nevertheless, Swinton and Mowat (2006:47) believe: "there remains a degree of shared experience which we believe can, to an extent, transfer from one context to another" and they also argue (2006:47) that

8. THE PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the current study is:

- 1) To attain clarity on current trends in male identity, in general.
- 2) To explore the impact of gender role strain on spiritual maturity from a Christian perspective.
- 3) To investigate the phenomenon of gender role strain and its connectedness to power.
- 4) To investigate whether a theological understanding of vulnerability can help pastoral care to address the problem of power in male identity. Attention will be given to the meaning of pastoral assessment. The objective is to see whether a reframing of God-images can contribute to spiritual maturity and therapy (healing) regarding male gender role strain.

I hope that the current study will impart insight to pastoral care-givers who serve Korean males in South Africa about the relationship between male gender role strain, the issue of power and a spirituality of vulnerability, thereby enabling them to care for those who experience this strain from a Christian spiritual and pastoral perspective.

qualitative research create “a resonance with people outside of the immediate situation who are experiencing phenomena which are not identical, but hold enough similarity to create a potentially transformative resonance.”

CHAPTER 1

MALE GENDER⁵ ROLE⁶ IN TRANSITION

INTRODUCTION

Participation in the female labour force, accompanied by a cultural shift and government family policy resulting from the new economy, has caused the transformation of gender roles in the workplace and home. Now, the role of the male provider has disappeared and a dual-earner family has become the norm in place of the male breadwinner. As a result, male roles had to change to adopt new multiple roles characterized by emotional intimacy, expressiveness, nurturing and caring that have never been considered as the male domain. Above all, men are now required to be participant fathers in child-care, as well as do a second shift in domestic work without reducing their job hours in the workplace. In the past, men were respected for only being breadwinners, but now it is not enough for men only to be providers; they must be able to show their feminine side. However, although male gender roles are changing, the dominant form of the traditional male roles still persists, leading to "male gender role strain" (Pleck, 1981). This seems to be a global phenomenon that can be found in both the Western and Oriental society, which includes the Korean society. In what follows, the researcher tries to explore how male gender role has been changing, what factors are serving to create this change, how the traditional male ideals persist and how this disturbs males within both the global and Korean context.

1.1. The Neo-liberal economy is changing the workplace

Due to the recent impact of globalization,⁷ gender roles are rapidly changing in many ways. In contemporary society, one of its central concept of the modernization theory still seems convincing:

⁵ Psychologists used the term "sex" to describe the difference between males and females. But, because of the implication of a biological basis for these differences and its inclusion of too many meanings (Brannon, 2005:15), a group of psychologists propose the term "gender" as an alternative (Unger, 1979; Deux, 1985). Rhoda Unger explains that this term describes the traits and behaviour that the culture regards as appropriate for women as well as men. Unger (1988) notes that the definition of "sex" typically includes traits that are caused directly by biological sex, whereas "gender" refers to those aspects of female and male for which causality has not been established. Thus, gender is a social and psychological description. In contrast, sex emphasizes the biologically constructed nature of maleness and femaleness. In following their definition, psychologists prefer the term gender instead of sex in most contexts (Burn, 1996:p.xx). Thus, the researcher uses the term gender to reflect the socially constructed nature of maleness in this dissertation, although the biological aspect of maleness is not completely excluded.

⁶ In discussing the gender role, firstly, it will be helpful to distinguish between two components (concepts): descriptive gender role norms (stereotypes) and prescriptive (or proscriptive) gender role norms. Most psychologists used the term "gender role" to describe both typical gender role norms (stereotypes) and desirable (proscriptive or prescriptive) gender role norms (Basow, 1992:2; Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979:222; Brannon, 1976:5; Eagly *et al.*, 2004:275). Pleck (1981:10) explains very clearly that the term "gender role" refers to the set of behaviours and characteristics widely viewed as 1) typical of women or men (gender stereotypes), and 2) desirable for women or men (gender role norms). Secondly, the term gender role also connotes aspects of personality and social roles in the above-mentioned literature. Therefore, in this dissertation the term "gender role" will be used to indicate descriptive and prescriptive gender role norms, which connote aspects of personality and social roles.

“industrialization produces pervasive social and cultural consequences, such as rising educational levels, shifting attitudes towards authority, broader political participation, declining fertility rates, and changing gender roles” (Inglehart & Baker, 2001:16). But, the question is: How does globalization change gender roles? The researcher’s central argument is that globalization transforms gender roles in three major ways. First, globalization has changed the economic system by providing external conditions to adopt new gender roles. Second, the process of post-modernization (cultural globalization) transforms societal values in association with an economic factor (security). Accordingly, this newly developed philosophy provides internal conditions that adopt new gender roles. Third, under the influence of the global economy, the policies of welfare states offer an environment in which new gender roles grow without being condemned in a given society.

In line with the neo-liberal definition of globalization, the researcher will note the fact that the transformation of the global economy has had a huge impact on the workplace in the global context including the Korean context. Many factors have been suggested, but increasing job insecurity and stress, labour’s feminization and casualization will be concentrated upon in this section.

1.1.1. Structural changes at work (from manufacturing to services)

The effect of globalization on structural changes in the workplace has been described in two main ways. First, a shift from Fordism to post-Fordism, that is, market standardization to flexibilities. Wood (1996:539) focuses on “economic transformations, changes in production and marketing, or in corporate and financial organizations with a preoccupation with new technologies, new forms of communication, the Internet, and the information superhighway (informational technologies)”. Second, some authors call the current trend of economic globalization “the post-industrial society.” Bell (1976:126-127,348) suggests that "a post-industrial society is based on services ... what counts is not raw material, or energy, but information A post-industrial society is one in which the majority of those employed are not involved in the production of tangible goods." Debrah and Smith (2002:10) also note that the advancements in technology in a globalized era have transformed production processes.

⁷ Debrah and Smith (2002:2) use the term “globalization” in an economic sense to refer to the shift towards a more integrated and interdependent world economy that implies a borderless flow of capital. But, for others (Giddens, 1990 and Lewellen, 2002), globalization refers to more than the flow of capital. According to Giddens (1990:4), globalization is described as the intensification of worldwide social relations that link distant localities in such a way that events occurring many miles away and vice versa shape local happenings. Lewellen’s (2002:7) definition: "Contemporary globalization is the increasing flow of trade, finance, culture, ideas, and people brought about by the sophisticated technology of communications and travel and by the worldwide spread of neoliberal capitalism." In describing globalization, he emphasizes "the worldwide spread of neoliberal capitalism." "Neoliberalism is the semi-official philosophy of the United States government, of the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, as well as most university departments of economics and myriad political and financial organizations, such as the Trilateral Commission" (2002:8). In this definition, he emphasizes not merely capitalism, but a very particular type of capitalism, not merely economic flows, but also cultural flows, and not merely globalization, but also regionalization and localization. This view is more relevant to the current study than Stark’s view of globalization as Westernization (2006).

The rise of the information economy has resulted in a shift from manufacturing to service industries with profound implications for workers.

According to the above-mentioned authors, under the term "restructuring," the service sector employment has been increasing, whereas employment in the manufacturing Industry is decreasing. For example, from 1971 to 2007 in the UK, jobs in the service sector have increased from 15.6 million to 21.2 million. In contrast, manufacturing work has fallen from 7.0 million to 4.2 million (Tables 1.1). According to Goodwin (1999:44), at the turn of the 20th century, men were concentrated in engineering and heavy manufacturing with the majority working full-time. Due to the decline in heavy industry and the rise of new technology, men have become the main participants in the service sector (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003:24).

This change has also occurred in the United States. The demand for female workers in the service sectors, such as education, medicine, government, and recreation has increased significantly since the 1940s. For example, in 1950, 62% of all clerical workers and 45% of all service workers were women. In February 1991, the numbers were 79% and 59% respectively (U.S. Department of Labour, 1991). In the 1980s, nearly two-thirds of the displaced workers in the United States were men, the reason being that the manufacturing field, which predominantly employed men, has been shrinking (Serrin, 1984, December 9. "White men discover it's a shrinking job market." *New York Times*, p. E2). This same trend of shifting from the industrial sector to the service sector is also occurring in the OECD countries, as portrayed in Table 1.1. This universal shift to service employment, which results from de-industrialization, has removed many jobs that were conventionally regarded as male, such as in mining, steel, and heavy industry (Crompton, 1999:15).

Table 1.1. Percentage distribution of civilian employment in the economic sector in 10 countries, at 10-year intervals, 1970-2002

	Agriculture				Industry (manufacturing)				Services			
	1970	1980	1990	2002	1970	1980	1990	2002	1970	1980	1990	2002
U.S	4.5	3.6	2.8	--	33.1 (26.4)	29.3 (22.1)	25.1 (18.0)	--	62.3	67.1	72.0	--
Canada	7.6	5.4	4.2	2.7*	29.8 (22.3)	27.4 (19.7)	23.5 (15.9)	22.3*	62.6	67.2	72.2	75.0*
Japan	16.9	10.1	6.9	4.5*	35.7 (27.4)	35.1 (25.0)	33.9 (24.3)	27.6*	47.4	54.8	59.2	67.5*
Australia	8.0	6.5	5.6	3.8*	35.0 (24.9)	28.9 (19.9)	24.1 (15.3)	21.0*	57.0	64.6	70.4	75.0*
France	13.5	8.7	6.0	4.1	38.4 (27.5)	35.0 (25.8)	29.0 (21.3)	25.4	48.0	56.3	65.0	70.5
Germany	8.5	5.2	3.5	2.5	48.7 (39.5)	42.9 (34.0)	39.0 (31.6)	32.4	42.8	51.9	57.6	65.1
The Netherlands	6.4	5.2	4.7	3.0	37.5 (26.8)	29.7 (21.3)	25.8 (19.1)	20.8	56.2	65.1	69.5	76.2
Sweden	8.2	5.6	3.8	2.5	38.0 (27.7)	31.5 (24.3)	28.3 (21.1)	23.0	53.9	62.9	67.9	74.4
Italy	20.1	14.2	8.9	5.0	39.8 (27.7)	38.1 (26.9)	32.5 (22.8)	31.8	40.1	47.7	58.6	63.2
U.K	3.2	2.6	2.1	1.3	43.2 (34.7)	36.2 (28.3)	28.2 (20.2)	24.3	53.6	61.2	69.7	74.2

Source: Monthly Labor Review October, 1993:9. Eurostat: Office for National Statistics; UN, Employment sector, 2004. Note: * indicates 2004 instead of 2002. Dash indicates data not available.

In Korea, it has also been observed that under the term "restructuring," this same change from the manufacturing industry to the service sector has been occurring, as Table 1.2 shows.

Table 1.2. Percentage distribution of civilian employment in the economic sector from 1990 to 2007 in Korea

Year	Agriculture				Industry (manufacturing)				Services			
	1990	2000	2005	2007	1990	2000	2005	2007	1990	2000	2005	2007
Korea	17.9	10.6	7.9	7.4	27.6	20.4	18.6	17.7	54.5	69.0	73.5	75.0

Source: The Korean National Statistical Office.

This profound shift from Fordism to post-Fordism, as well as from manufacturing economy to service economy, has led to downsizing, lay-offs, outsourcing, job losses and job insecurity, long working hours and job flexibility, both in organizations and for most people.

1.1.2. Job insecurity

Increasing job losses and stresses in males have accounted for the most negative impact of the transforming global economy on labour. As businesses downsize and shed labour to reduce production costs, the increase in unemployment and underemployment, as well as job stress to cope with radical competitiveness, is most obvious. David Broad (1995) shows that the International Labour Organization estimates that 30% of the world's labour force of about 2.5 billion people are either unemployed or underemployed, and expects this situation to worsen. This trend toward a short-term contract and freelance culture has led to what employers refer to as "the flexible workforce." Research (Cooper & Lewis, 1999:38) has shown that "the psychological contract between employers and employees in terms of reasonably permanent employment for work well done is being undermined as more and more workers do not regard their work as secure, and growing numbers engage in part-time work."

Chaykowski and Giles (1998) explain how economic globalization undermines the traditional concept of the workplace insofar as the physical location of production and employment is concerned. Globalization, assisted by technological changes, has encouraged the spatial transformation of both production and work. Consequently, production sites and economic activity are now more dispersed globally, and new activities start up in previously undeveloped sites, as production sites are more easily relocated. This move to a post-Fordist task has been made easier by the e-economy which "enables the purchaser to negotiate directly with suppliers and also to outsource from the global market much more easily" (Debrah and Smith, 2002:292). According to Debrah and Smith, many companies invest their efforts and resources on core competencies, and outsource nearly everything else. As a result, massive de-layering and downsizing has an impact upon all sectors of the workforce, including middle and senior management. Thus, these kinds of practices play roles to create job losses, work intensification, increased income inequality and the consequent anxiety for both skilled and unskilled workers.

Frenkel and Peetz (1998) claim that organizations became very sensitive to meet international competitive standards on the three Ps: price, productivity, and profits. To tackle the competitive issues, organizations tend to adopt strategies aimed at increasing both organizational and labour effectiveness, particularly on productivity and quality. In the process, firms put more emphasis on cost reduction and quality enhancement while, at the same time, removing or curtailing job security. One consequence of this trend is the erosion of job security for competent work and effort. Cooper (2000) cites a survey of working conditions in 17 European countries to show how workers' employment security declined considerably between the mid-1980s and late 1990s: the UK - 70% to 48%; Germany - 83% to 55%; France - 64% to 50%; The Netherlands - 73% to 61%; Belgium - 60% to 54%; and Italy - 62% to 57%.

In response to economic globalization pressures, economic restructuring and privatization have resulted in significant job losses. According to Debrah and Smith (2002:9), in Ghana, for instance, since the initiation of a privatization programme in 1989, 132 state-owned enterprises have been sold off and have become 232 privately owned companies. A further 168 are being prepared for privatization. This has resulted in significant job losses.

All the attention has usually been on working class unemployment, but Beynon (2002) notes that middle and senior managers, too, have increasingly experienced their own form of alienation as they have been excluded from decision-making in a world of corporate take-overs. Citing Worrall and Cooper's survey, Cooper and Lewis (1999:38,39) show that, among British managers at the end of the 1990s, 61% of a national sample of managers have undergone major restructuring over the past 12 months; 60% felt that they were in the dark about their organizations' future strategies, and 48% said their biggest worry was financial security and employability in the wider labour market. Manual workers and middle managers alike have been undermined by the workplace's technologization and loss of all guarantees of a job for life. Thus, both now share a deep sense of uncertainty and instability. In this new economic environment, males face constant job role changes, the threat of unemployment and daily job-related stress. According to Coward (1999:52), globalization has resulted in redundancy and downsizing: in Britain less than 50% of men aged 55 and over are employed and many of them die prematurely.

In Korea, as a result of complying with the conditions of the IMF, there have been massive lay-offs since 1997. In the absence of a government welfare system, as in the U.S.A. and Western European countries, the Korean public feared for their future (Keunsu Lee, 1998:4). In the first quarter of 1999, the unemployment rate reached 8.4% (approximately 2 million workers had been laid off) (Chunik Park, 2001). A study that the Korean Labour Institute (2001) carried out revealed that 25% of 1181 companies had downsized and laid off workers who were 49.2 years of age on average. In a study in

2003, the Korean Labour Institute revealed that almost 50% of males aged 50 to 54 were retired, as shown in table 1.3.

Table 1.3. Percentages of retirements in age groups

Age of retirement	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	over 75
Male	47.72	21.09	18.87	7.77	2.59	1.97
Female	49.63	17.39	17.69	6.60	6.00	2.70
Paid workers	52.47	22.50	17.69	1.93	1.93	0.96

Source: The Korea Labour Institute (2003).

According to the Korea National Statistical Office (2007), non-labour force participation rate over the age of 55 was recorded as 64.0%, although the average life expectancy rate had increased to 79.2 years (males: 75.7; and females: 82.4). In 2005, the non-participating labour population, including unemployment, increased to 600,000 more than in 2004, but the ratio of people in their 40s, who succeeded to be re-employed after being unemployed, was approximately 18.3% (the Korean National Statistical Office, 2005). Because of this low level of success for re-employment, many retired people attempted to change to self-employment to support their families, but it was reported that success was very rare (3.2%), and that 1016 self-employed people committed suicide in 2003. The number of suicides among the unemployed in their 40s was recorded as 1153 in 2005, which had increased 3.2 times compared with records in 1996 (*the Donga Daily News*, 2007.2.15). Traditionally, males aged between 45 and 55 are expected to have strong financial capacity to support their children in high school or at university, as well as their parents. But, at this very time, they became powerless financially with little help from their wives' employment, because most of their wives stay at home (48% of married women were employed in 2004, but at relatively lower salaries, insecure jobs, and poor working conditions).

In respect of the death rate in Korea, statistics have shown that the death rate of men in their 40s was three times higher than that of women in 2001 (*The Weekly Korea*, 2002.10.13). Stress is believed to be cause. According to the Korea Job Stress Study, the percentage of stress in jobs was 95% in Korea, 40% in America, and 61% in Japan (*The Yunap News*, 2007.4.10).

Today, whether within or outside the workplace, job insecurity has a huge impact on male workers in the world. In addition, global restructuring has produced labour's processes of feminization and casualization.

1.1.3. The feminization of labour⁸

⁸ The term "feminization of employment" was coined to indicate the entry of increasing numbers of females into the labour market in the second half of the 20th century (Beynon, 2002:88). But, as Beynon suggests, it can also be seen to refer to changes in the nature of work itself from an industry sector dominated by male labour to a service sector operated by technology and machines (2002:88).

During the past three decades, women's rate of labour participation has continually expanded in all Western industrial capitalist countries, while the men's has declined across all the countries in OECD over the same period as shown in Table 1.4. Except in Italy, females' rate of labour participation in all European countries exceeded 60% in 2006. For Canada, it has increased by 26.3% from 47.2% to 73.5% by 2006. Given the fact that men's part-time employment has increased from 3.7% in 1973 to 16.0% by 2006 in Australia, it is quite apparent that men's employment rate has greatly declined over the three decades (see Table 1.4). Overall, the percentage of men involved in the labour force is on a downward trend; however, for women the trend⁹ is upward. These statistics illustrate that, over the past 36 years, the sex-based constitution of the labour force has changed.

Table 1.4. Percentages of the rate of the labour force participation (15-64 years)

	Males				Females			
	1973	1983	1994	2006	1973	1983	1994	2006
Australia	91.1	85.9	83.5	82.9	47.7	52.1	62.8	69.0
Belgium	83.2	76.8	72.0	72.7	41.3	48.7	51.2	58.9
Canada	86.1	84.7	82.0	82.2	47.2	60.0	67.8	73.5
Denmark	89.6	87.6	83.7	83.4	61.9	74.2	73.8	76.7
France	85.2	78.4	74.1	74.2	50.1	54.4	59.3	63.9
Germany	89.6	82.6	79.8	81.4	50.3	52.5	60.9	66.9
Japan	90.1	89.1	84.4	84.8	54.0	57.2	58.3	61.3
The Netherlands	85.6	77.3	79.6	81.9	29.2	40.3	57.3	69.4
Sweden	88.1	85.9	81.3	82.6	62.6	76.6	77.0	77.7
Italy	85.1	80.7	74.2	74.6	33.7	40.3	41.9	50.8
United Kingdom	93.0	87.5	85.1	83.2	53.2	57.2	67.1	70.3
United States	86.2	84.6	84.3	81.9	51.1	61.8	69.4	69.3

Source: OECD database on Labor Force Statistics, 1971-1991, 2007.

Now, the women's lifetime workforce participation is practically the norm in a growing number of countries, as this table indicates.

In Korea, the percentage of men involved in the labour force is on a downward trend. However, for women, the trend is rising, even though figures are much lower than in Western European countries, as Table 1.5 shows. There are no big differences between married and unmarried females in this trend, as depicted in Table 1.6.

Table 1.5. Percentages of the labour force participation rate (over 15 years) in Korea

	Male	Female
--	------	--------

⁹ Under the influence of the socialist regime, the participation rate of the female labour force in East European countries was high compared to Western countries in the 1960s. This picture remained stable until the political turnover in 1989, after which the rates of economic activity decreased in East European countries where the decrease seems to be due to a general decrease of employment. This is suggested by the fact that, when expressed as a percentage of the male activity rate, the female activity rate increased in most of the former socialist countries between 1988 and 1995 (Van Dijk, 2002:2).

Year	1980	1990	2000	2007	1980	1990	2000	2007
Korea	76.4	74.0	74.2	74.0	42.8	47.0	48.6	50.2

Source: The Korean Statistical Office (2007).

Table 1.6. Percentages of the female labour force participation rate, classified by marriage (over 15 years)

Year	Married				Unmarried			
	1985	1995	2000	2004	1985	1995	2000	2004
Korea	41.0	47.6	47.0	48.7	44.7	50.4	48.7	53.3

Source: The Korean Statistical Office (2005).

Why is the female labour force participation rate so low despite the female attendance rate of university or college reaching 63.4% in 2007 (the Korea Statistical Office)? According to a survey of 1147 married women by the Korean Women's Department, women quitted their jobs because of marriage (29.2%), downsizing (12.3%), child-care (21.5%), and childbirth (23.7%). Overall, 74.4% of the women stayed at home after marriage and were dependent on their husband's income. Another survey by the Korean Central Information Institute (of 2950 unemployed, married women) asked, "Do you want to be employed?" The response was: Yes: 7.6%, and No: 92.4%. Most of them did not want to be employed because of their age (too old, 28.3%), child-care (24.6%), household cares (26.5%) and health problems (15.6%). They also wanted to remain at-home moms, which is reflected in the cultural value system. It is argued that this generates from the lack of pre-schooling and after-care facilities, and from the company-oriented welfare system (Sangkyun Nam, 2006:314).

In Western countries, as a result of the feminization of jobs, men have lost the power to exclude women formally from jobs or education and training, simply on the basis of their sex or marital status, which leads to masculinity being in crisis. In some sense, it is also true for Korea, but in a different sense; males in Korea still have power because women still want to be dependent on the men's sole income. Yet, for this very reason, Korean males experience great tension and strain in times of job insecurity mentioned earlier (fear of being laid-off) and will be discussed later (in the section dealing with casualization of labour). There is no way to being "a man" without being a sole provider. They accept this as their inescapable destiny. Wives, societies, relatives, and children still expect men to be the sole good providers, which, today, is well reflected in many stories about men in Korea.

1.1.4. Casualization of labour

As Cooper (2000) points out, , employers are more likely to hire temporary employees (by contracting out and casualization) rather than permanent employment under the pressures of global. In order to cut the cost of wages and benefits, employers use causal labour to control over the labour market as globalization continues to shape the world economy. As a result, the idea of a permanent job disappears and an increase in short-term contracts or part-time work has been observed to be common (Ruyter & Burgess, 2000).

According to studies by Economic Statistics Canada, so-called non-standard or contingent labour now constitutes two-fifths of the Canadian labour market. As Table 1.7 indicates, casual labour is the fastest growing type of labour. Particularly in Australia, the male part-time employment rate has increased over 450%, from 3.7% to 16.0% over 33 years. For The Netherlands, it has increased from 5.5% to 15.8% over 25 years.

Table 1.7. Percentage composition of part-time employment (15-64 years)

	Part-time employment as a proportion of the total employment							
	Males				Females			
	1973	1983	1994	2006	1973	1983	1994	2006
Australia	3.7	6.2	12.9	16.0	28.2	36.4	40.1	40.7
Belgium	1.0	2.0	4.4	6.7	10.2	19.7	30.0	34.7
Canada	4.7	7.6	10.8	10.9	19.4	26.1	28.8	31.9
Denmark	5.2 (1979)	10.4 (1990)	9.8	11.4	46.3 (1979)	38.4 (1990)	26.2	25.6
France	1.7	2.6	5.3	5.1	12.9	20.0	24.5	22.9
Germany	1.8	1.7	3.0	7.6	24.4	30.0	28.0	39.2
Japan	6.8	7.3	11.7	11.8	25.1	29.8	35.7	40.9
The Netherlands	5.5 (1979)	15.8 (1990)	11.3	15.8	44.0 (1979)	61.7 (1990)	54.5	59.7
Sweden	5.4 (1979)	7.4 (1990)	7.1	8.4	46.0 (1979)	40.9 (1990)	24.9	19.0
Italy	3.7	2.4	4.2	5.3	14.0	9.4	20.6	29.4
United Kingdom	2.3	3.3	7.0	9.9	39.1	42.4	41.2	38.8
United States	8.6	10.8	8.5	7.8	26.8	28.1	20.4	17.8

Source: OECD database on Labor Force Statistics, 1971-1991, 2007. Note: "Part-time employment" refers to workers who usually work less than 35 hours a week.

In the Korean context, after the Korean economic crisis, the number of irregular employees in Korea has rapidly increased, but this Korean style of irregular employment differs from part-time employment in other countries in that irregular employment includes temporary workers, day workers, part-timers, contingent workers and quasi-independent contractors. In 2000, in the labour market, the percentage of irregular workers amounted to 53% of the total number. Moreover, in the case of female workers, only 31.9% had full-time permanent positions, while almost 70% were employed in the irregular workforce (the Korean Statistical Office, 2000). According to the Korean Statistical Office in 2004, the percentage of irregular workers reached 55.9% of the total number. This means that most workers face unstable employment in poor working conditions with low wages (about 70% of the regular workers' wages) and frequent changing of jobs, without any security.

In short, the impact of the Neo-liberal economy on the workplace is so great and far-reaching that it cannot be turned back unchanged. In particular, changes that the new economy has brought are crucially harmful to males both in the Western and Korean societies. Increasing job insecurity, feminization and casualization of labour are all combined to undermine male identity as a family provider and sole breadwinner. However, despite the importance of the transformation of the system

of economy, this is not the only factor that accounts for changing the gender role. We need to investigate the cultural shift further to identify why, apart from the economic change, women began to question their traditional roles.

1.2. Cultural change

As Stark (2006) noted, globalization transforms and reconfigures female gender roles by changing culture. Female employment and attitude changes towards gender roles and the family has led males into new male gender roles.

1.2.1. Cultural value changes

The modernization theory's central claim is that industrialization, or technological and economic changes, are linked to coherent and predictable patterns of cultural and political change.¹⁰ Following Weber, whose stance is between Marx's economic determinism and Comet's cultural determinism, Inglehart (1997:14, Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Inglehart & Baker, 2001:17) argues that economic, cultural, and political change merge in coherent patterns and that the rise of new values and lifestyles is a profoundly important aspect of what is taking place today throughout the advanced industrial society.¹¹ On the basis of the World Value Surveys,¹² Inglehart (1997:42; Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Inglehart & Baker, 2001) reveal that, "throughout the advanced industrial society, there is evidence of a long-term shift away from traditional religious and cultural norms." They present postmodern values that are eroding many of the key institutions of industrial society in four realms.

- 1) In the political realm, the rise of post-modern values brings declining respect for authority, and growing emphasis on participation and self-expression.
- 2) In the economic realm, existential security leads to increasing emphasis on subjective well-being and quality of life than economic security and economic achievement motivation.

¹⁰ However, there has been a continuing debate over the casual linkages: does economic change cause cultural and political change, or does it work in the opposite direction? (Inglehart, 1997:9). Some modernization theorists say that economic development brings sweeping cultural change while others argue that cultural values are enduring and exert more influence on society than does economic change. In the 19th century, Karl Marx emphasized the economic factor, arguing that a society's technological level shapes its economic system, which, in turn, determines its cultural and political characteristics (1997:9). In the 20th century, non-Western societies were expected to abandon their traditional cultures and assimilate the technologically and morally "superior" ways of the West (Inglehart & Baker, 2001:17). On the other hand, Weber emphasized the impact of culture; it was not just an epiphenomenon of the economic system, but an important causal factor in itself; culture can shape economic behaviour as well as being shaped by it. Thus, the emergence of Protestant ethics facilitated the rise of capitalism, which contributed to both the Industrial Revolution and the Democratic Revolution: this view held that belief systems influence economic and political life, and are also influenced by them. Some of Marx's successors shifted the emphasis from economic determinism toward greater emphasis on the impact of ideology and culture (Inglehart, 1997:9-16).

¹¹ Using the term, "post-modernization," instead of modernization to explain the recent changes in the family, Inglehart (1997:14) claims that the term, "postmodern," is potentially useful: it implies that social change has moved beyond instrumental rationality that was central to modernization and now takes a fundamentally different direction.

¹² Inglehart conducted the World Values Survey, which is a two-decade long examination of the values of 65 societies coordinated by the university of Michigan's Institute for Social Research.

- 3) In the realm of sexual behaviour, reproduction, and the family, there is a continuous trend away from rigid norms toward individual sexual gratification, and individual self-expression.
- 4) In the realm of ultimate values, diminishing religious authority, flexible rules, situational ethics and an emphasis on meaning and purpose of life are emerging as a new trend (Inglehart, 1997:42-45).

According to Inglehart (1997:41), post-materialists' attitudes are far more permissive, individual and autonomous toward gender roles and social norms (abortion, divorce, extramarital affairs, prostitution, euthanasia, and homosexuality) than materialists'.

Nearly 50 years ago, Emile Durkeim (1964) predicted that such a division of labour and the resulting growth of individualism would lead to a breakdown in commitment to social norms. In Goode's opinion, social change has produced today's cultural values. But, more importantly, behind this new phenomenon lies one central value system. Goode (1963:19-26) argues that a major theme in Western ethics and philosophy is their belief that all males and females have a right to equal opportunities to develop themselves. In Goode's understanding, values, such as equalitarianism and individualism, seemed to be major themes that cause changes in gender roles, especially in families.

Similarly, Popenoe (1996) points out the cultural shift toward self-fulfilment being the main underlying cause of gender-role changes in the family. For him, large segments of the population now regard self-fulfilment as their dominant goal in life, while pushing aside such traditional "Victorian" values as self-sacrifice, commitment to others, and institutional obligation. He finds that people today place a much lower value on moral obligation and a much higher value on self-realization and personal choice (1996:45). His emphasis on intensive individualism, as the culprit disrupting social norms, is echoed in Fukuyama (2006:5-6) analyses of family issues. He claims that, over the past 50 years, the culture of intensive individualism has corroded virtually all forms of authority and weakened the bonds holding families, neighbourhoods, and nations together.

Apart from the emphasis on individualism as a cause of changing culture's value, Stark (2006) is concerned about the impact of globalization on women's roles. He quotes the definition of globalization from the Communist Manifesto written 150 years ago. "Globalization is the constant revolutionizing of production and the endless disturbance of all social conditions. It is everlasting uncertainty. Everything fixed and frozen is swept away and all that is solid melts into air" (2006:1554).

Even though globalization is not new, it has effect on the relationships between men and women. Relationships are changing. Globalization has transformed women's roles in the market and in the

home, which shifted the balance of power within families. As a result, divorce, as the expression of the pursuit of individual well-being is increasingly available and accepted.

Although the above authors express different factors that cause changes in gender roles from different perspectives, they state in unison that, as a society moves from a modern to a post-modern society, the new values, such as the pursuit of individual well-being, self expression, quality of life, radical individualism and self-fulfilment take root firmly in people's belief systems, in women's minds in particular. Women now hope to be financially independent, be in egalitarian relationships, and have satisfying careers.

Empirically, the International Social Survey Programme about changing gender roles and family issues, as well as Oskamp's survey, provide valuable insights about value changes represented in attitude changes in the global context. For the Korean context, a survey on Korean family life conducted in 2002 (among 1500 subjects) (Lee Dongwon, *et al.*, 2002), as well as other various research, sheds light on value changes in Korea.

1.2.2. The cultural value changes reflected in empirical studies in the global context

There is evidence that things have changed towards gender equality. Oskamp (1991) also reported that, in the past 20 years, there has been evidence of increased support for the women's movement. In 1985, 73% of women and 69% of men said they were in favour of efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society, compared to 40% of women, and 44% of men in 1970. A Gallup Poll conducted in 1993 and reported in *The Gallop Monthly* by Newport, also showed to what degree attitudes have changed, and suggested that many Americans are supportive of changes in gender roles. In 1975, 48% of those polled said that women did not have job opportunities equal to men; in 1993, this rose to 60%. In 1975, 68% of those polled approved of wives working, even if they had a husband who could support them economically; in 1993, this figure rose to 86%. Of those polled in 1993, 99% agreed that women should receive the same salaries as men when doing the same work.

Arland Thornton and Linda Young-DeMarco (2001) review changes in the role expectation of both men and women in America. Using data on the attitudes of high school seniors from 1976 to 1998, they report that disagreement with the statement, "The husband should make all the important decisions in the family," rose from 72% to 85% among women, and from 44% to 49% among men. Disagreement with the statement, "It is usually better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family," rose from 42% to 71% among women, and from 17% to 37% among men. In 2003, Martin & Kats (2003) surveyed changes in families and work in 12 countries, 1998-2001. They reported that profound changes in family structure and employment patterns occurred in 12 developed countries over the last two decades. In

2004, the Spike poll indicated that 55% of men professed to have no preference for either a male or female boss, while 9% actually preferred a woman. Proof that men may now recognize the advantage of having women in the workplace is evident in another poll number: 55% say they have no problem dating someone who earns significantly more than they do (Orecklin, *Times*, 2004, Aug 23. A3). Jones (2005) reported this change in Southeast and East Asia. They found that “over the past two decades, some dramatic changes have taken place in this area. Non-marriage for women is becoming much more common, and in many of the big cities” (2005:93). In the past, marriage was close to universal in most Asian countries. But this is no longer the case.

Changing gender roles

More systematically, in 1988, the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) conducted attitudes toward family issues in 7 countries, in 1994 in 22 countries, and in 2002 in 32 countries. The ISSP is an effort to generate a comparative data set on attitudes in industrialized countries by coordinating research goals and questionnaires ranging from national identities and social inequality to gender roles. Here, the 1988, 1994 and 2002 modules are used to analyse the changing nature of gender roles. Firstly, the gender role norms in relation to employment were analysed with the following four items where respondents were asked to state their degree of disagreement or agreement.

1. "A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children."
2. "A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and the family."
3. "Being a housewife is as fulfilling as working for pay."
4. "Both men and women should contribute to the household income."

Regarding women's employment, the survey presents the statement: “A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children.” The rate of positive answers to this question, including “agree” and “strongly agree,” is decreasing in all countries, as reflected in table.1.8. Austria has dropped the most - from 60.8% in 1988, to 27.0% in 2002.

Table 1.8. Percentages of positive answers to the statement that women's primary job is taking care of the home and children, including “agree” and “strongly agree” in 22 countries

Countries	1988	1994	2002	Countries	1988	1994	2002
Austria	60.8	44.1	27.0	Australia	--	35.0	28.4
Great Britain	32.6	27.6	26.0	Israel	--	43.0	41.9
Hungary	76.4	70.5	61.7	Japan	--	51.4	45.0
Ireland	56.7	50.9	39.9	Philippines	--	75.1	68.3
Italy	49.8	46.4	--	Poland	--	65.2	51.0

The Netherlands	36.6	31.0	29.0	Russia	--	62.4	51.4
United States	34.4	33.0	39.6	Spain	--	49.9	41.9
West Germany	42.2	35.3	24.3	Sweden	--	34.5	25.7
East Germany	--	19.8	17.9	New Zealand	--	23.7	24.5
Bulgaria	--	73.1	60.5	Norway	--	31.5	25.7
Czech Republic	--	59.7	60.0	Taiwan	--	--	78.4

Source: Reconstructed from Family and Changing Roles I, II, III, Surveys conducted by ISSP in 1988, 1994, and 2002 respectively.

To the statement: “A husband’s job is to earn money; a wife’s job is to look after the home and family,” the positive answer rate is also dropping, except in Israel and East Germany. Sweden was ranked first (7.6%), followed by Norway (9.4%), The Netherlands (12.4%), and Ireland (18.5%). The North Western and Scandinavian countries recorded a very low level of agreement, compared with the Eastern European and Asian countries (Table 1.9).

Table 1.9. Percentage of positive answers to separating husband’s job from wife’s job, including “agree” and “strongly agree”

Countries	1988	1994	2002	Countries	1988	1994	2002
Austria	55.6	48.1	29.5	Australia	--	27.3	21.6
Great Britain	28.6	25.6	19.8	Israel	--	24.7	26.9
Hungary	44.3	56.3	39.2	Japan	--	39.8	30.9
Ireland	41.4	34.5	18.5	The Philippines	--	79.9	71.5
Italy	39.7	32.5	--	Poland	--	67.0	45.7
The Netherlands	26.9	19.0	12.4	Russia	--	68.9	58.4
United States	28.1	21.5	23.6	Spain	--	37.4	24.7
West Germany	44.5	37.2	23.3	Sweden	--	11.4	7.6
East Germany	--	11.2	14.6	New Zealand	--	23.5	19.8
Bulgaria	--	65.3	44.4	Norway	--	15.6	9.4
Czech Republic	--	53.4	47.1	Taiwan	--	--	50.6

Source: Reconstructed from Family and Changing Roles I, II, III, Surveys conducted by ISSP in 1988, 1994, and 2002 respectively.

To the statement: “Being a housewife is as fulfilling as working for pay,” the proportion of positive answers, including “agree” and “strongly agree,” is decreasing in most countries. The greatest decreases were in Russia (46.6%) and in Hungary (39 %) during the period of 14 years.

Table 1.10. Percentage of positive answer to being a housewife including “agree” and “strongly agree”

Countries	1988	1994	2002	Countries	1988	1994	2002
Austria	60.0	50.5	38.5	Australia	--	47.8	47.7
Great Britain	43.5	44.5	47.4	Israel	--	21.7	23.8
Hungary	91.0	56.7	53.0	Japan		69.0	69.3
Ireland	66.1	61.2	49.9	The Philippines		67.5	70.8
Italy	41.9	26.4	--	Poland		60.5	53.0
The Netherlands	43.5	38.4	26.2	Russia		87.8	41.2
United States	53.8	56.2	62.8	Spain		49.3	42.0

West Germany	49.9	48.2	40.7	Sweden		29.8	29.4
East Germany		20.0	26.8	New Zealand		46.1	45.2
Bulgaria		61.1	51.7	Norway		32.2	24.6
Czech Republic		26.0	34.2	Taiwan			80.9

Source: Reconstructed from Family and Changing Roles I, II, III, Surveys conducted by ISSP in 1988, 1994, and 2002 respectively.

To the statement: “Both the husband and wife should contribute to the household income,” all except the Eastern European countries, have higher figures, partly from the legacy of socialism encouraging women’s contributions to the household income.

Table. 1.11. Percentage of positive answers to contributing to the household income, including “agree” and “strongly agree”

Countries	1988	1994	2002	Countries	1988	1994	2002
Austria	66.0	74.0	82.1	Australia		44.9	44.6
Great Britain	54.0	62.3	60.9	Israel		86.7	80.2
Hungary	84.7	72.5	80.4	Japan		54.4	48.9
Ireland	65.2	76.8	71.1	The Philippines		90.6	91.0
Italy	73.0	81.2	--	Poland		58.3	74.1
The Netherlands	24.0	28.6	40.1	Russia		73.3	78.0
United States	49.7	57.7	58.3	Spain		84.4	87.9
West Germany	50.4	66.9	66.0	Sweden		81.5	83.9
East Germany	--	93.5	91.2	New Zealand		28.6	45.1
Bulgaria	--	92.7	87.7	Norway		60.4	72.2
Czech Rep	--	81.0	88.8	Taiwan			86.2

Source: Reconstructed from Family and Changing Roles I, II, III, Surveys conducted by ISSP in 1988, 1994, and 2002 respectively.

Changing norms about sexuality and marriage

Now, the social norms in relation to children, sexuality and marriage will be investigated. In the past, men and women were expected to get married with chastity, and to raise children with sacrifice. The following items will be analysed:

1. Married people are generally happier than unmarried people.
2. Divorce is usually the best solution when a couple cannot seem to work out their marriage problems.
3. It is all right for a couple to live together without intending to get married.
4. It is a good idea for a couple who intend to get married to live together first.
5. Do you think it is wrong or not wrong that a man and a woman have sexual relations before marriage?

Statement 1: “Married people are generally happier than unmarried people.” As table 1.12 shows, the rate of positive answers is continually decreasing in most countries. This result provides people’s perception about the relationship between general life satisfaction and marital status, although it has been suggested that marriage can still serve as an arena of personal growth and exploration within a highly mobile, complex and impersonal world (Ryan *et al.*, 2002).

Table 1.12. Percentage of positive answers to marriage, including “agree” and “strongly agree”

Countries	1988	1994	2002	Countries	1988	1994	2002
Austria	50.5	45.1	36.0	Australia	--	44.0	44.2
Great Britain	34.2	24.8	25.1	Israel	--	49.8	50.6
Hungary	54.8	59.3	52.7	Japan	--	40.3	35.6
Ireland	47.1	33.4	32.6	The Philippines	--	62.5	60.4
Italy	39.9	31.7	--	Poland	--	62.2	41.7
The Netherlands	17.7	13.5	22.7	Russia	--	58.1	61.4
United States	53.4	46.5	41.0	Spain	--	33.1	24.8
West Germany	43.1	41.5	35.2	Sweden	--	18.9	15.7
East Germany	--	45.2	42.4	New Zealand	--	25.0	24.5
Bulgaria	--	76.3	57.8	Norway	--	17.7	16.7
Czech Republic	--	45.8	40.5	Taiwan	--	--	37.4

Source: Reconstructed from Family and Changing Roles I, II, III, Surveys conducted by ISSP in 1988, 1994, and 2002 respectively.

In an answer to statement 2: “Divorce is usually the best solution when a couple can’t seem to work out their marriage problems,” the choice of divorce as a solution has slightly increased in most countries, as table 1.13 indicates. In 2002, the Asian countries had the lowest marks: 33.8% in Japan, 36.6% in The Philippines, and 44.0% in Taiwan.

Table 1.13. Percentage of positive answers to divorce, including “agree” and “strongly agree”

Countries	1988	1994	2002	Countries	1988	1994	2002
Austria	--	73.6	83.5	Australia	--	57.7	52.5
Great Britain	--	58.1	62.4	Israel	--	65.7	66.9
Hungary	--	57.7	58.4	Japan	--	35.1	33.8
Ireland	--	51.3	61.4	The Philippines	--	39.3	36.6
Italy	--	65.2	--	Poland	--	57.2	63.9
The Netherlands	--	73.5	74.2	Russia	--	56.4	54.0
United States	--	48.5	43.0	Spain	--	78.0	81.4
West Germany	--	72.8	73.6	Sweden	--	57.7	54.5
East Germany	--	78.0	80.5	New Zealand	--	53.0	52.5
Bulgaria	--	55.7	66.4	Norway	--	51.6	55.8
Czech Republic	--	56.0	63.1	Taiwan	--	--	44.0

Source: Reconstructed from Family and Changing Roles I, II, III, Surveys conducted by ISSP in 1988, 1994, and 2002 respectively.

Statement 3: “It is a good idea for a couple who intend to get married to live together first.” The percentage of positive answers to this statement is reflected in Table 1.14.

Table 1.14. Percentage of positive answers to cohabitation before marriage, including “agree” and “strongly agree”

Countries	1988	1994	2002	Countries	1988	1994	2002
Austria	--	75.6	80.6	Australia	--	47.9	51.5
Great Britain	--	59.1	62.2	Israel	--	63.5	57.1
Hungary	--	50.5	61.4	Japan	--	22.9	31.5
Ireland	--	50.9	63.3	The Philippines	--	33.2	34.9
Italy	--	48.5	--	Poland	--	44.0	51.6
The Netherlands	--	57.0	67.9	Russia	--	73.0	61.6
United States	--	33.7	47.9	Spain	--	56.7	71.2
West Germany	--	70.6	75.9	Sweden	--	87.1	86.0
East Germany	--	70.0	79.5	New Zealand	--	46.2	53.8
Bulgaria	--	66.5	65.9	Norway	--	77.6	80.4
Czech Republic	--	70.2	76.1	Taiwan	--	--	37.4

Source: Reconstructed from Family and Changing Roles I, II, III, Surveys conducted by ISSP in 1988, 1994, and 2002 respectively.

Statement 4: “It is all right for a couple to live together without intending to get married.” As Tables 1.15 and 1.16 show, attitudes toward cohabitation reflect the increase in cohabitation in the developed countries, notably Sweden and Norway. In particular, this survey provides us with a valuable clue to whether cohabitation is becoming a durable alternative to marriage.

Table 1.15. Percentage of positive answers to cohabitation, without considering marriage, including “agree” and “strongly agree”

Countries	1988	1994	2002	Countries	1988	1994	2002
Austria	--	63.8	76.8	Australia	--	57.0	65.4
Great Britain	--	64.6	69.6	Israel	--	60.7	52.9
Hungary	--	70.8	74.3	Japan	--	37.4	42.5
Ireland	--	50.9	62.0	The Philippines	--	17.1	20.3
Italy	--	59.4	--	Poland	--	52.7	60.5
The Netherlands	--	83.6	89.6	Russia	--	78.0	55.6
United States	--	41.8	46.5	Spain	--	64.0	76.3
West Germany	--	68.3	77.8	Sweden	--	82.7	86.9
East Germany	--	70.3	71.0	New Zealand	--	60.5	63.7
Bulgaria	--	51.9	49.3	Norway	--	74.0	79.0
Czech Republic	--	54.4	57.6	Taiwan	--	--	27.8

Source: Reconstructed from Family and Changing Roles I, II, III, Surveys conducted by ISSP in 1988, 1994, and 2002 respectively.

To question 5: “Do you think it is wrong or not wrong that a man and a woman have sexual relations before marriage?” the proportion of the answer, “not wrong at all” is very high in Western Europe, moderately high in most countries, except the Asian countries.

Table 1.16. Percentage of answers, “not wrong at all,” to sexual relations before marriage in 1994

Countries		Countries		Countries		Countries	
Austria	68.6	The Netherlands	76.8	Australia	59.5	Russia	57.0
Great Britain	69.8	United States	41.0	Israel	64.7	Spain	60.6
Hungary	54.0	West Germany	79.0	Japan	14.6	Sweden	89.5
Ireland	41.9	East Germany	87.1	The Philippines	11.2	New Zealand	76.8
Italy	59.0	Bulgaria	57.1	Poland	60.1	Norway	77.2

Source: Reconstructed from Family and Changing Roles I, II, III, Surveys conducted by ISSP in 1988, 1994, and 2002 respectively.

Overall, the survey suggests a substantial change in attitudes about everything - from gender roles to family issues - over the three decades. Although it is difficult to determine whether attitudinal changes could account for the uneven results, political ideology and a welfare policy could be responsible for this. The survey illustrates that the Eastern European countries have conservative ideas about gender roles when compared with the West. But, concerning divorce, premarital sex and cohabitation, the survey indicates that the Asian countries still adhere to their traditional value systems. East European countries differ considerably from Western countries when it comes to attitude towards women's employment. High female employment rates were a rule in Eastern Europe, and conservatism was the professed policy regarding gender roles and family issues. This political tendency is evident in these surveys. We can determine the differences in countries by noting that a different welfare policy could produce different social norms, as shown in the next section.

America's new way in gender role changes and the family is worth noting. In America, during the later 1980s and 1990s, there were some setbacks and reversals in earlier trends of family issues: "the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment Bill to be passed in 1982; the emergence of the antifeminist, pro-life and pro-family movements ; and the increasing emphasis on family values that called for a return to the traditional nuclear family, characterized by a sharp division of roles, with the female as full-time housewife and the male as primary provider and authority" (Botkin *et al.*, 2000:934). This is reflected in the attitude toward divorce, marriage and cohabitation, as shown in Tables 1.13 to 1.16. But, in comparing the attitude over 15 years towards gender roles and gender role norms related to the family, Western European and North American countries appear to play a leading role in transforming the world's attitudes and social values. Most of the other groups of countries tend to follow the examples of the first group of countries, as the ISSP surveys show. This tendency of following the examples of the Western societies can also be found in Korean society.

1.2.3. Cultural value changes in the Korean context

Whereas the discourse about post-modernity in political and economical areas focuses on the completion of the modern project, and synchronic assignment of modernity and post-modernity, when social change is considered, after 1990, Koreans already experienced post-modernity (Kyungseop Chang, 1996; Inglehart, 1997). Korean sociologists (Youngbok Ko, 2001; Heeseop Im, 1994, 2002; Jaeseok

Choi, 1994) summed Korean traditional social values up as "authoritarianism, collectivism (family-oriented), and humanism" in a sharp contrast to "egalitarianism, individualism, and materialism." They all agree that traditional Korean social values have changed greatly.

Changing social values from authoritarianism to egalitarianism

A report ("Culture of Net Generation," 2002:281-306) by one of the leading sociologists in Korea, Kilsung Park about the "net generation" (born after 1977) describes a massive change in values among 13 to 24-year old Korean generation. It shows that their values are undergoing an overall generational shift from traditional social values. First, the report shows that they have rejected traditional values, the authority of parents and teachers, as well as their parents' authoritative attitude towards them. They are not tied to traditional family values and gender-oriented behaviour, but they are rather more concerned about libertarian values and behaviour. Of the high school students, 90% agree that men should share domestic unpaid work with women at home. They are committed to a particular ideology and concern about a particular set of issues. Second, the report reveals that they have manifested intense individualism and are not committed to family-oriented and collective-oriented values. Whereas the older generation tends to be committed to higher values than themselves, they tend to display much more concern about themselves. When they were asked, "What is the most important thing in the world?" 49.1% of high school students around the country answered, "myself" (by contrast, 21% of the parents answered, "my life").

According to surveys about Koreans' values and consciousness in 1996 (of 1768 subjects - male: 50.3%, female: 49.7%; 37.5% in the 20s, 29.7% in the 30s, 19.3% in the 40s and 13.5% over 50s), in 2003 (of 1200 subjects - male: 50.3%, female: 49.7%; 24.6% in the 20s, 25.8% in the 30s, 24.1% in the 40s and 25.5% over 50s), conducted by the SamSung Economy Institute, authoritarianism has declined in social relations in the private sphere, as Table 1.17 indicates. The surveys show that the younger, more educated, and higher income group tends to feel that authoritarianism prevails in social relations in Korea. Among the significant factors that determine the changes in the Korean society's values, age turns out to be the most salient factor, which demonstrates a rising generational gap. The surveys also reveal that Korean people feel that, while its influence still dominates social relations in the public sphere, authoritarianism has declined in social relations in the more private sphere between parents and children, and husbands and wives. This massive change in social values is well reflected in women's changing views of themselves, sex, marriage and family issues.

Table 1.17. Percentages of the degree of consciousness of authoritarianism in Korean society by comparing 1996 and 2003

	1996			2003		
	Authoritative	Mean	Democratic	Authoritative	Mean	Democratic
Between parents and children	40.2	32.2	27.6	32.6	40.1	28.3
Husbands and wives	33.4	34.1	32.5	28.9	39.8	31.4

Employers and employees	63.0	28.2	8.8	72.3	18.8	9.0
Superiors and subordinates in companies	-	-	-	70.1	20.8	9.1
Teachers and students	47.9	32.7	19.4	50.6	33.1	16.3
Public officers and civilians	49.4	35.4	15.2	56.5	30.1	13.5

Source: The SamSung Economy Institute (1996, 2003); “-“ means that data is not available.

Changing attitudes towards sex, sexuality and marriage

According to a 1980 study in regard to premarital sexual relations, 68.8% to 81.1% of the women approved of women maintaining premarital chastity, but the percentage was reduced to 47.5% to 24.2% in 1990. In contrast, the ratio of answers to premarital sexual relationships being acceptable if couples love each other or they plan to be married indicated that 38.7% of male and 19.8% of female respondents agreed in 1985, but these figures were reduced to 72.9% and 49.8% respectively in 1995. When it comes to answers to “having experienced premarital sex,” 88.3% said “No” in 1981, but 46.1% said “Yes” in 2002. This indicates that one out of every three had experienced premarital sex, and especially in the case of men in the 20s, it appears that seven out of ten people (67%) had had premarital sexual relationships (Inhee Ham, 2002:53-64).

Regarding conjugal infidelity, whereas 15% of married men answered that they had committed adultery, only 3% of women answered positively. To the question, "If you knew that your spouse had committed adultery, would you get divorced?," the response of 38% of the men was “Yes” and 19% of women said “No”; but 17% of these women had a friend of the opposite sex. Among them, women in their 20s had the highest rating, i.e. 34%. Of these, 60% would allow their spouse to have a female friend (Sunyoung Kim, 2002:204-212).

In the post-modernity, the concern for intimacy and sexual gratification is gradually overtaking concern for the family, children, and even parenthood. Kyungran Park predicts that, in future, marriages will be based on more intimate relationships. The majority of couples will marry, not because of being forced together, but because of the expectation of enjoying each other in future. Future marriages will not be connected to financial stability, but rather to romantic love (Kyungran Park, 2001:91). In 1995, a survey was conducted on 800 married couples nationwide. To the question "What is the role most expected from your spouse?," husbands in their 40s and 50s answered that “managing the house” was first, and responses of wives in their 40s and 50s was “making money.” “Love” was the fourth priority for husbands, and the third priority for wives. But husbands in their 20s and 30s indicated that love and sexual satisfaction were their first priority (the *Chosun Daily Newspaper*, 2002:4.3). In 1970, the criteria for selecting a spouse were ranked in the following order of importance: personality, health and family. By 1980, they were ranked: health, personality, future possibility and occupation or career. But in 2000 the survey revealed that love was the first priority when choosing a spouse for 41.9% of

couples, personality was the second priority for 34.5%, and appearance and future potential moved to the third position (Inhee Ham, 2002:49,62).

Hyejeong Cho writes that, in post-modern Korean society, young mothers prefer not to be mothers in their desire to be "charming and sexy." They are not ashamed of being sexual beings whose emotional and sexual needs are to be satisfied (Cho, 2002:163). In a similar way, Sohee Lee (2002:145) argues that younger Korean women prioritize their identities as sexual beings, and explore female sexuality in the popular culture. Today, young Korean mothers endlessly desire their husband's personal attention and support, and demand that their heterosexual partners satisfy their own private feelings (Cho, 2002:181). In addition, women now pursue self-realization through their careers beyond their traditional roles. Hyejeong Cho (2002:179) expressed this as follows:

The image of the independent and self-sufficient female was propagated widely. Women began to talk about self-realization, asserting that they wanted to be defined not by familial relations but as individuals. A slogan, "pro is beautiful" attracted the mass media. The buzzword, "self-realization" was so loudly proclaimed that housewives felt depressed and frustrated. They felt overshadowed by working women, who were portrayed as enjoying social recognition and economic rewards. Subtle conflicts between housewives and working women surfaced.

The general opinion regarding female employment reveals that only 8.1% are satisfied with mere housekeeping, 35.4% want a job under any conditions even after marriage, 13.8% want a job once their children reach maturity, and 25.4% indicated that they would like to work both before marriage and after their children have reached maturity (the National Statistics Office, Society Statistical Research Report, 2002). This result means that an increasing number of women wish to continue to keep a job also after marriage, even though a majority of women want to stay at home to fulfil their role with childbirth and child-rearing. Once again, women have expressed a desire to move beyond the boundaries of the home and to achieve a great degree of self-realization.

Changing gender roles

Traditional, modern and post-modern family values coexist in Korean society. This is reflected in a survey on Korean family life conducted in 2002 (among 1500 subjects) (Lee Dongwon *et al.*, 2002). The survey showed:

1. To the statement: "A wife must serve only a single husband" (or: A wife must show commitment to a single husband for a whole lifetime), 81% of both males and females agreed (43% strongly agreed, 38% agreed, 19% disagreed, and 5% strongly disagreed). While 46% of males and 16% of females in the 20s strongly agreed, 2% of males and 16% of females strongly disagreed.
2. To the statement: "Man's old wife must not be abandoned," 84% of the subjects answered "Yes" (52% strongly agreed, 32% agreed, 16% disagreed, and 3% strongly disagreed). Men of all ages appeared to be consistent, but 30% of women in the 30s, and 28% of women in the 20s disagreed).

Conversely, approximately 70% of women in the 20s and 30s agreed with this statement, which indicates very conservative attitudes towards marriage.

3. To the statement: "People must have a son," 43% of both sexes agreed (12% strongly agreed, 31% agree, 41% disagreed, and 16% strongly disagreed).

4. To the statement: "Women's happiness depends on their efforts to make their husbands and children succeed," 58% of the subjects agreed (13% strongly agreed, 45% agreed, 42% disagreed, and 10% strongly disagreed).

5. To the statement: "For men, their job is more important than their family," 54% agreed (8% strongly agreed, 46% agreed, 36% disagreed, and 10% strongly disagreed); 64% of women in the 20s disagreed, and none of the women in the 20s strongly agreed. Conversely, 46% of the people answered that, for men, their families are more important than their jobs. This indicates value changes in views of jobs and families.

6. To the statement: "It would be better for women to quit work after marriage or childbirth," 63% of the subjects disagreed (strongly disagreed: 16%, disagreed: 47%).

7. To the statement: "While men could stay at home, women could go to work," 53% agreed (strongly agreed: 6%, agreed: 47%).

8. About cohabitation of children, 95% of people disagreed (strongly disagreed: 51%, disagreed: 44%), and regarding celibacy of their children, 91% of the people also disagreed (strongly disagreed: 40%, disagreed: 51%).

As shown in statements 1 to 4, the survey reported that although eight Koreans still remain conservative concerning marriage, they feel that fixed gender roles are no longer relevant. There is also evidence that Korean couples have changed in the direction of gender equality. This phenomenon has been reaffirmed in the power relations between couples, which is studied mainly with regard to who has the final decisive power in important family matters.¹³ Making use of the methodology of Blood and Wolfe, they divided the patterns of conjugal decision-making into four types: the husband as a high position type, the wife as a high position type, couples as self-regulation types and couples as cooperative types. Between 1970 (455 couples) and 1990 (355 couples), Namje Han (1997:169) conducted a comparative survey under the title of power change in the urban family. Regarding the decisive power in domestic affairs, such as purchasing a house, the wife's career, the choice of home appliances, holidays and decisions about food expenses, the high-position type of husband was 24.6% in 1970, and 10.7% in 1990; the cooperative type was 47% in 1970, and 58% in 1990; wives of a high position type was 3.1% in 1970, and 7.3% in 1990; the couples' autonomous type was 25.3% in 1970, and 23.9% in 1990. The survey that Byungchul An conducted in 2000 on the same issue showed the

¹³ Namje Han, 1997; Yeongju Yu, Sunok Kim & Yeongsin Kim, 2000; Minja Park, 1992; and Jaeseok Choi, 1971:77-95.

couples' cooperative type as 65%, the wives' high-position type as 17.7%, husbands' high-position type as 13.8%, and the autonomous type as 3.5%. The combined percentages of the cooperative type and the wives' high-position type reached 82.7%.

According to Heeahn Kwon's (2002) 1992 survey, regarding the issue that leadership must be in the hands of the husband to ensure the stability of a marriage, 70% of the men agreed and 61.2% of the women agreed. But the same survey in 2000 showed that 40% of the husbands agreed and 19.7% of the wives agreed (Byungchul Ahn, 2000). These surveys indicate changes in the role expectation of both men and women in Korea. An advertizing company's survey (2004) of 300 people between 17 and 39 years of age reported that 66.7% of male and 57.3% of female respondents answered that they are androgynous. Among the male respondents, 69.3% indicated that they do decorating work, such as jewellery and even makeup; 75.3% answered that they are proud of financially competent women, and 62% answered affirmatively to "A man can stay at home instead of a woman." Among the female respondents, 53.3% answered that, sometimes, they would like to be strong; 58.7% said that they can ask their boyfriends to caress them. Just 20% of the males and 29.3% of the females are masculine male and feminine female types respectively. The younger, the more they are "Mr. Beauty" and "Mrs. Strong" (Park, 2005:120-121). These changes in women's employment and attitudes towards gender roles have been accompanied by significant demographic shifts in the family

Added to female employment and attitude changes towards gender roles and the family, it is suggested that legislations encourage the transformation of gender roles by forcing people to conform to states' policies. How the different welfare models can contribute to create a gender role change in a different way will now be explored.

1.3. FAMILY POLICY AND CHANGING MALE GENDER ROLE

How is family policy related to changing gender roles? Tommy Ferrarini (2006:23) has analysed family policy legislation in 18 post-war welfare democracies from a macro-sociological perspective; he argues that "the way welfare states organize family policy institutions thereby also reflects different views and norms of how families and family labour are to be constituted, in particular regarding the gender distribution of paid and unpaid work." According to him, each welfare model has a different family policy, thereby influencing the gender roles indirectly.

Ferrarini (2006:29,30) observes that, during the first half of the 20th century, family policy benefits were frequently legislated with the aim of supporting women in the role of housewives. The development of family policy institutions, such as marriage subsidies, child benefits and maternity leave, were promoted. Support to traditional family patterns met little opposition in the early post-war decades but, since the 1970s, opposition has increased against the official political consensus in welfare demo-

cracies over the ideal gendered division of paid and unpaid work. This new tendency has developed in different directions depending on the different welfare models.

1.3.1. Three welfare models

Esping-Andersen (1996:26-30) identifies what he calls three regimes of welfare states - conservative, liberal, and social-democratic as follows.

1. Conservative welfare regimes stress the ways in which state welfare is used to maintain and even reinforce existing class and status differentials, thus encouraging social and political stability and continued loyalty to the state.

Esping-Andersen (1996:26) explains that they are usually committed to the maintenance of traditional family forms, and the state intervenes only when it feels that the family cannot resolve its members' problems. The entry of married women into the labour market is discouraged, and benefits tend to encourage motherhood, while collective forms of child-care provision are underdeveloped. The underlying assumption is that family members can depend on the full-time male breadwinner, and that the wife is generally responsible for social care within the household (1996:66). However, there is widespread agreement that it is clearly necessary to diminish families' dependence on the single male earner and to augment the supply of, and demand for, female workers (1996:20). Along with this suggestion, it is important to note that the EU has started to adopt the definition of social policy in terms of the labour market and employment-based rights similar to the market-oriented welfare model (Cochrane *et al.*, 2001:284). This could bring about an important shift from their family policy, based on the male-breadwinner model to a dual-earner model that, in turn, could bring about transformation of the family structure, the family demographic picture, and gender roles.

2. Liberal welfare regimes (the neo-liberal state, or market-oriented welfare state, or the American model) seek actively to sponsor market solutions. They pursue this via the double strategy of encouraging private welfare provision as the norm, and by limiting public responsibilities to acute market failures (Esping-Andersen, 2002:15). The so-called "Third Way" is closely related to the market-oriented model.¹⁴ Regarding family policy, the third way, or a new synthesis, embraces both cultural and economic explanations of family change, rather than taking sides in the polarized left-right debate.

¹⁴ The Third Way reflects an attempt by contemporary social democracies to forge a new political settlement which matches the conditions of modern society and the new global economy, but which retains the goals of social cohesion and egalitarianism (Surrender, 2004:3). It seeks to differentiate itself as distinct from the political ideologies of the New Right and Old Left. Though commonly linked to the US Democratic Party in the Clinton era, it can also be traced to the political debates and discourses in European social democratic parties during the mid-1990s, most notably the New Labour in the Tony Blair era in the United Kingdom (2004:15,16). In social policy terms, the model attempts to transcend the fixed alternatives of the state and the market. Instead, civil society, government, and the economy are viewed as interdependent and equal partners in the provision of welfare; and the challenge for government is to create equilibrium between these three pillars. The individual must be pushed towards self-help and independent, active citizenship, while business and government must contribute to economic and social cohesion (2004:4).

It acknowledges growing evidence that divorce, teenage pregnancy, and out-of-wedlock births are injurious to children and that some public policies unwittingly discourage parental responsibility and marriage. Yet, it also pays equal attention to how economic changes were undermining the male traditional breadwinner role and forced families to send both parents to work to sustain a middle-class standard of living (Marshall & Sawhill, 2004:199).

On the basis of this third way, U.S. policy-makers forged a progressive family policy constituting four guiding principles for the 21st century:

- 1) Encourage and reinforce married, two-parent families, as they are best for the children.
- 2) Improve prospects for the millions of children who will grow up in single-parent families.
- 3) Continue to reform policies that unwittingly promote divorce and out-of-wedlock births, and discourage marriage in favour of single parenthood, or cohabitation.
- 4) Rebalance work and family life in the light of two irreversible trends - more egalitarian marriages and the growing link between two-adult households and economic success (Marshall & Sawhill, 2004:202).

The UK's New Labour government followed the examples of the USA's New Left. As with the Scandinavian model (Esping-Andersen, 1996:17), this model implies that the male breadwinner model has disappeared and the dual-earner model has become the norm. With this practical reason, males now must contribute to unpaid household work, as well as child-care, to mitigate their working wives' loads. The male responsibility is not only defined in law towards the finances, but now males also must be involved with the children. But, more importantly, specifically within this American market-oriented model, males receive scant support apart from what individuals gain in the labour market, supplemented by tax credits for the poor, and tax exemptions for the more affluent. Males are treated principally as workers and employees. Male identity depends mainly on men's capacities and luck in the labour market. Thus, those men who are unable to contribute economically to their families' support are subject to a male crisis (Orloff & Monson, 2002:90,91).

3. In contrast to two models above, as feminist scholars have coined the term "female friendly policy" to refer to the Scandinavian welfare states (Bergman & Hobson, 2002:92), principles of universalism and equality characterize this model. As this policy aims at gender egalitarianism, gender equity and equality, this model has supported the changing role of the female by accommodating women's employment and by improving conditions of work for females (Hemerijck, 2002:179). Esping-Andersen (2002:13) described the Scandinavian model as one-centred on two policies. First, the Scandinavian social-democratic welfare model has actively "de-familized" welfare

responsibilities with two aims in mind: one, to strengthen families by unburdening them of obligations; and, two, to strive for greater individual independence. Secondly, it has also actively de-commodified citizens' welfare needs, thus seeking to minimize the degree to which individuals' welfare depends on their fortunes in the market. By these two de-familized and de-commodified policies, the Scandinavian welfare model aims at harmonizing motherhood and careers, thereby enacting more policies to accommodate women's participation in the labour force. As Esping-Andersen (2002:69) indicates, in the Nordic countries, the housewife has all but disappeared and women's earnings now account for almost 50% of all household incomes. Thus, Lewis (1993) puts this Scandinavian model (especially Swedish) in the dual breadwinner group concerning family and gender policies.

Sweden is well known for its pioneering, interventionist and liberal (as opposed to conservative) family policies. For example, the legal status of illegitimacy was abolished in 1917, liberal divorce reform was introduced in 1920, homosexuality was decriminalized in 1944, and compulsory education in sex and birth control was introduced in schools in 1956. Historically, public support for single mothers and their children has been comparatively generous and cohabitation has been treated with relative tolerance (Ginsburg, 2001:213). According to Ginsburg's study, notions of women's primary roles as mothers and housewives, sustained by the male breadwinner's family wage, dominated policy discourse from the 1920s to the late 1950s. Until the early 1960s, Swedish women constituted a smaller proportion of the labour force than the OECD average. However, as a second wave of family policy reform began in the mid-1960s with a concern for pronatalism and family poverty, women's participation in paid employment greatly increased. A second wave of feminism advocated the break-up of the sexual division of labour and patriarchal power in the home, and promoted equal opportunities and affirmative action policies in the welfare state, political representation and employment (2001:214). Ginsburg (2001:216) argues that the growth of women's paid employment from the 1960s onwards and the rise of the sex-equality and women's movements made a striking impact on policy concerning the parenting and care of children, particularly pre-school children. Among three policies, the parental leave policy is supposed to achieve greater gender equality, thereby encouraging fathers' participation in unpaid housework and child care.

1.3.2. Paid parental leave

As from the 1970s in several countries, paid parental leave has been extended to include also the father, thereby making institutional provision for dual-earner dual-career families (Ferrarini, 2006:32). Ferrarini (2006) argues that Swedish dual-parental insurance, implemented in 1974, was the first programme to support the father's role as a carer. In the Nordic countries, the inclusion of both parents in the care of babies was thought to redress within-family imbalances in the distribution of unpaid care work, and to increase the possibility for more equal gendered labour market participation.

The introduction of so-called “daddy days,” designed to enable the father to spend time with the mother and baby during the first weeks of the child’s life, soon followed the implementation of dual-parental insurance in the Nordic countries (Denmark in 1999, Norway in 1993, and Sweden in 1994). The purpose of both was to relieve the mother and to integrate the father in care work (Ferrarini, 2006:41). The major aims of the individualization of parental leave were to equalize parental responsibilities for child-rearing and to strengthen the father-child relationship.

This trend of fathers’ participation in unpaid domestic work and child-care is evident outside the Scandinavian welfare states. As Ferrarini reveals, the conservative welfare states, or countries with general models of family policy, which primarily direct support to highly gendered divisions of labour, had introduced no dual-parental insurance benefits by 2000. Recently, however, France and Belgium enacted three “daddy days” while Austria and Belgium also introduced “daddy quotas” in the child-care leave benefit. Another interesting case is that of Canada, which is the only country with a market-oriented model of family policy that had enacted dual-parental insurance by the end of 2000 (Ferrarini, 2006:68). Although the importance of the EU is still very limited (Kuhnle, 2001:117), the European Union now occupies a central place in the contextual conditions of national welfare systems (Cochrane *et al.*, 2001:285). It is also worth noting that, as the EU adopted a Directive on Parental Leave in 1996 with the objective of establishing minimum requirements in parental leave and to promote equal treatment of men and women, all member states introduced a statutory right to a minimum of three months’ unpaid parental leave for each parent by the end of 1999. Now an increasing number of EU countries have also extended paid parental leave to fathers (Ferrarini, 2006:35). Kuhnle (2001:118) argues that “a number of Asian countries are also looking to Europe, and more particularly to the Nordic countries, for solutions for state welfare policies, in spite of the assumed or contended and continued importance of Confucian values and traditions of family welfare provision, since America is not the leader there.”

Although the conservative welfare states and market-oriented welfare states (notably the USA) still retain the male breadwinner model, the huge implication of this analysis is that the increasing number of countries in the world will follow the family policy of the Nordic welfare model for a male role change. Esping-Andersen’s (2002:92) coined “feminization of men’s life cycles” describes this phenomenon in Nordic countries and in other countries resulting from a direct family policy. Males must be more involved in child-care and household work, which means a shift from males as breadwinners to males as breadwinners as well as participatory in the care of their children. In feminist terms, males have become superfluous, as the Nordic welfare states provide women with opportunities to organize households without husbands and to exit bad marriages, or form families outside of marriage - without men (Bergman & Hobson, 2002:93).

Korea might follow the examples of the Nordic welfare model that encourages gender role change in the near future. However, even in the current Korean welfare model, we find some contributing factors that call for gender role change, which leads to male gender role strain.

1.3.3. The welfare state in the Korean context

The Korean welfare style belongs to the conservative welfare regime (Esping-Andersen, 1996), which emphasizes the family as a primary provider of welfare. Government intervenes only when the family cannot resolve its members' problems. Because of this stress to sustain traditional family norms, the male breadwinner and female house manager roles tend to be encouraged. In respect of the welfare of the aged, Article 3 of the law for the welfare of the aged stipulates, "The state and people must strive to maintain a healthy family system based on filial piety and respect for the aged" (Korea Women Development Institute, 2002:220). Notably, women are expected to offer family-based welfare to family members, including aged parents and children, without the state providing grants or allocation¹⁵. The Korean family policy (Youngjoo Yoo *et al.*, 2000:330; Sungchun Kim, 2003:3-41; Haekyung Chang *et al.*, 2002:220-247; Seungyoung Son, 2001) is characterized by:

- 1) inconsistency (the Korean welfare world ranking was recorded as 120th in 2003);
- 2) a cure-oriented policy rather than prevention;
- 3) it is centred on a troubled family member rather than on all the family members;
- 4) the family takes care of the aged rather than the state.

In spite of changes in the economy, early retirement and the lack of allocations for unemployment, housing and families, the state still forces families to take responsibility for their own survival, which seems to be an essential source of the high level of male suicides and females' running away. In this way, the current Korean welfare style seems to contribute towards causing negative gender role change.

In short, along with the shift in economic structures and cultural changes, family policies seem to create gender role changes, in general both in the Western and Korean societies. This causes males to re-configure their gender roles, including their social roles and gender norms.

1.4. RE-CONFIGURING MALE GENDER ROLE

In the past, the male breadwinner model was the norm that gives males the right to expect support from a family. But, as with the decline of the male breadwinner role, they are supposed to offer their

¹⁵ Since 2004, Korean government began to take care of the aged but it is still in early stage of the welfare state

family emotional support and share in the household work. Likewise, some, but not all, norms of male gender role have also been changing.

1.4.1. Re-configuring the male social roles

1.4.1.1. From the role of a sole provider to that of a co-provider

Men were good providers, against which masculinity was measured. The good provider had to achieve, win, and dominate. He was a breadwinner! He had to show strength, cunning, inventiveness, and endurance. As men, they were judged by the level of living that they provided (Demos, 1974:436). They were judged by the myth that endows a money-making man with sexiness and virility, and is based on man's dominance, strength and ability to provide and care for his woman (Gould, 1974:97). Bernard (1989:226) writes:

The good provider was a family man. He provided a decent home, paid the mortgage, bought the shoes, and kept his children warmly clothed. He might, with the help of the children's part time jobs, have been able to finance their educations through high school and, sometimes, even college. There might even have been a little left over for an occasional celebration in most families. The good provider made a decent contribution to the church. His work might have been demanding, but he expected it to be.

However, in the post-industrial society, men now see the decline of the male breadwinner or good-provider role. As the male share of the family income is steadily declining, that is, as their economic power declines, the good-provider role, with all its prerogatives and perquisites, has undergone profound changes. Its death knell was sounded when the 1980s census no longer automatically assumed that the male member of the household was its head (Bernard, 1989:236). Men who provide the sole or major economic support for their families have not disappeared but, as a group, they no longer predominate and are unlikely to do so in the foreseeable future. In 2006, the percentage of households consisting of a married couple dependent on a sole male breadwinner had dwindled to less than 26.5% in Canada, 23.3% in Denmark, 22.3% in Sweden, 29.7% in Britain, and 30.7% in America (OECD database on Labour Force Statistics, 1971-1991, 2007). When it comes to part-time/full-time employment as a proportion of total employment, female full-time employment rates are 69.1% in Canada, 74.4% in Denmark, 81% in Sweden, 61.2% in Britain, and 82.2% in America in 2006 (OECD database on Labour Force Statistics, 1971-1991, 2007). These statistics imply that we no longer live in single-earner societies; they have already shifted to dual-earner societies. Furthermore, in America, as the married working women's contribution to family earnings has grown, wives earn more than their husbands in 20% to 25% of dual-earner couples (Winkler, 1998:1). Walsh writes,

Dual-earner families now comprise over two-thirds of all two-parent households. Two paychecks have become essential for most families to maintain a modest standard of living. Traditional

gender role divisions are no longer typical, as women's career aspirations, divorce, and economic pressures have brought over 70% of all mothers into the workforce (2003:12).

Stark (2006) noted that the transformation of the global economy has transformed women's roles in the market and in the home. Now, the earnings gap between men and women has been decreasing and accordingly, the balance of power within families has been changing.

These trends may have affected family decision-making, and has given some women more input into family financial and career decisions, and left husbands at home in some cases. Tyre *et al.* (2003) report that an increasing number of men have adopted the role of at-home support for employed wives. A few men have chosen to be a "Mr. Mom" and to devote time to being with the children. In Britain, there were estimated to be some 90,000 full-time "at-home dads" in 1993. But, the latest research from the Office of National Statistics (2006) reveals that there are now 200,000 men staying at home to bring up their children. Nearly 160,000 men stay at home with their children in America (the U.S. Census, 2006). The number of "stay-at-home dads" in Canada was 77,000 (the Canada Census, 1998). In addition, especially among black males, Ellwood (2002:16) argued that "high levels of unemployment, weak connections to mainstream employers, rising levels of imprisonment, and the low ratio of young black men to women has created a shortage of marriageable black men." Studies of British cohabiting families suggest that some mothers prefer cohabitation to single motherhood, or to marrying a man whom they were uncertain they could rely upon for support (Marshall & Sawhill, 2004:203). Thus, for uneducated and disadvantaged males, the male good-provider role has lost its meaning. They are now grouped as "unmarriageable men" as a result of new economy.

Now, more cynically, it is also perceived that women no longer need men for provision or protection - the traditional male family roles. For provision, most women now have independent access to the labour market; if they do not, they have access to government-supported welfare programmes. For protection, women have the police and, in any event, it is usually their male partner from whom they must be protected! It is not clear whether fathers any longer provide something unique to their children. There is not much they do that mothers do not, or cannot, do just as well (Popenoe, 1996:7). Now, male breadwinners or male sole-providers seem to be disappearing. This phenomenon can be best explained by the augmentation of the economic strength of career women, which gives them a different view of man's basic role as a breadwinner.

1.4.1.2. Multiple roles

As women's employment has diluted the prerogatives of the good-provider role, it increased the demands made on the good provider, especially in the form of more intimacy, expressiveness, and nurturing in the family, more sharing of household responsibilities and child care (Bernard, 1989:234).

This is also seen in Morin and Rosenfeld's report in the *Washington Post*. A growing number of women pursue careers on a full-time, uninterrupted basis and men no longer provide the sole support for their families; now, multiple roles have become the norm for men (Morin & Rosenfeld, 1998:A1). As Morin and Rosenfeld report, and the previous sections indicate, contemporary gender role expectations are becoming less characterized by Talcott Parsons's (Parsons & Bales, 1955) notion of gender specification: women performing expressive roles while men perform instrumental roles.

Thus, the assumption that both women and men should be free to involve themselves in similar roles and activities, increasingly characterize gender roles. Men recognize the importance of building successful marriages, raising children and leading satisfying lives apart from the male provider role (Morin & Rosenfeld, *Times*, 1998:A1). Canberra Times noted that as social and economic changes shifted the old rules of manhood, males are faced with contradictory expectations about how to behave ranging from being a breadwinner to being a nurturing caretaker (February 23, 2004).

In the past, female homemakers were the traditional caregivers, but employed women need to receive support from, as well as provide support to, their families. Male breadwinners could expect the support of their wives, but now they are expected to provide their wives with emotional support and also help with household work. According to a report in 1995, 10% of men were the primary grocery shopper for their family and over 50% bought their own clothes. As of 2003, 36% of men were the primary grocery shopper for their family and over 75% were active shopper in discount and department stores in America (Hill & Harmon, 2007). Using a sample of 326 men, Hill and Harmon (2007) found that "men today hold more gender neutral beliefs regarding traditionally female role behaviours such as purchasing groceries and clothing, clipping and saving coupons and finding bargains."

As far as needing and providing support are concerned, both women and men are now similar and these similarities represent changes in their traditional roles.

Feminization of masculinity (male expressiveness)

In the 1970s, even some men began to call masculinity into question with their call for male liberation. "Traditional masculinity was seen to be based on a very fragile foundation and what was needed was male liberation" (Beynon, 2002:15). In the 1980s, this was embodied in the ideal of the new man in the United Kingdom and the United States. Ehrenreich (1989:35) describes the new man as follows:

The old man expressed his status through his house and the wife who presided over it; the new man expects to express his status through his own efforts and is deeply anxious about the self he presents to the world. Typically, he is concerned - some might say obsessed-with his physical health and fitness. He is an avid and style-conscious consumer, not only of clothes

but of food, home furnishings and visible displays of culture. Finally, and in a market reversal of the old masculinity, he is concerned that people find him, not forbearing or strong, but genuine, open and sensitive.

In Ehrenreich's (1989:41) evaluation, none of these tastes and proclivities of the new man serves to differentiate him from the occasional affluent woman of his class. She pinpoints who the new men are. They are likely to be from 25 to 40 years old, single, affluent and living in a city. It is among such men that the most decisive break in the old masculine values is occurring.

In Beynon's (2002:100) definition, the image of new man is described as a nurturer and as a narcissist. Ehrenreich emphasizes Beynon's (2002:104) description of the new man as a narcissist, who is associated with commercial masculinity and consumerism. In the hands of photographers and advertising agencies, a narcissistic, self-confident, well groomed, muscular, but also sensitive new man has emerged. This narcissistic image of the new man has been blamed for what some perceived to be the feminization of men's fashion and has also been criticized widely.

The new man, as a nurturer, is associated with domestic involvement. In the United Kingdom and the USA, pro-feminist men attempted to raise both their own and their fellow-men's consciousness and to foster a more caring, sharing, and nurturing new man. They willingly supported the women's movement in taking a full role in the domestic arena (particularly in respect of child-rearing). These men were usually middle class, well educated intellectuals. Changing patterns in family life, with men marrying later or not at all, along with a willingness to take on a supportive role in a woman's career, resulted in the emergence of the new man as an ideal (Beynon, 2002:100). This definition of the term "new man" recalls what Hearn and Morgan (1990:173) indicate. "The new man is to demonstrate a wider range of domestic involvement, a wider range of emotional responses and a greater willingness to criticize his own practices."

Twenty years ago, Cancian (1986) noted that the typical feminine style of relationship was increasingly becoming the norm for both males and females. Ochberg's (1987:173-174) study also revealed how male expressivity was required in the workplace. He reported that the culture of upper-middle class careers was not monolithically impersonal. Certainly, the corporate world expected men to divulge little of their personal lives and to hold in check whatever personal sentiments, especially affection, they may have felt toward their colleagues. At the same time, that world also had demanded that men perfect a form of businesslike glad-handedness, that they be sufficiently affable to be part of the team. In fact, the balance between detached, self-interested calculation and disingenuous affection was one of the formative tensions built into the fabric of the business world. But for many men, this social tension resonates with a private conflict. Men are no more perfectly dispassionate than the culture within which they serve; men long to establish personal relationships with their colleagues, yet

fear that any overture of affection will leave them vulnerable prevents them. Thus, a harmony of mutually exacerbating ambivalence exists - on the one side, a tension constructed by conflicting social demands and, on the other, by conflicting personal desires.

Cooper and Lewis (1999:41) show that being a good manager is now less about competitiveness, aggression, and task orientation and more about good communication, coaching, people skills, and being intuitive and flexible, all more typically, or at least stereotypically, associated with women. Males must try to develop more feminine skills. In 2005, Callahan, Hasler & Tolson examined the levels of self-reported expressiveness among senior organization leaders (781 males, 669 females). They found that males who are in key positions reported themselves to be significantly more expressive than females, while males who are in certain executive positions did not differ from female in terms of expressiveness.

Thus, Whitehead (2002:127) points out that one of the paradoxes of the age is that organizations supposedly strive to engender so-called feminine traits of trust, team-working and cooperation in work sites where masculine values of instrumentality, competition, and individuality are demanded through a work culture of performativity. Brannon (2005:458) observes that a growing number of men are seeking for the typical style of intimacy and now men became to be engaged in more emotionally intimate relationship in friendships, marriage, and even the workplace.

Apart from men's expressiveness, feminization of masculinity is perceived in men's concern about their appearance. Ailee Slater (February 06,2006) writes,

For more than 30 years, the United States found itself in the midst of a gender revolution: women were burning bras, hiring baby-sitters and taking on the world of corporate America...The previous pop culture models of masculinity, such as James Dean, Sylvester Stallone and Rob Zombie, were hyper-masculine examples of what young boys could one day hope to become. Traits such as strength, anger and almost-arrogant individuality were the makings of a Healthy Man. Nowadays, we see the effects of the musical/fashion movement, and the popularity of a gay culture, which has lead to the idea of metrosexuality, as well as icons from shows such as "Queer Eye for the Straight Guy."

For Ekins, this new trend in males can be described as "male femaling." Based on his observations of several thousand cross-dressers and sex-changers made over a 17-year period (1997), he coined the term "male femaling" to describe these male femalers. According to Ekins, "Doing femaling might be said to take place whenever male femalers adopt what they take to be the thoughts, feelings, attitudes, behaviors, accoutrements and attitudes of genetic females" (1997:86). As a result of male femaling, men began to be concerned about their personal appearance and fashion. Schneider-Levy, Barbara (2005) reveals that boys are talking about a lot more than sports and girls these days. Fashion is figuring in their conversations. Younger guys are increasingly becoming more fashion-conscious and

many straight men are becoming more comfortable with fashion and beauty. Now the brands you wear represent who you are.

Dublin and Louise reported the effect of the changing role of men on consumer markets, with regard to men's clothing, accessories and toiletries (Dublin, 2007; Louise, 2008). Louise (2008) says that the men's market is one of the fastest growing within health and beauty. According to her, the male market was developed under the marketing label, 'metrosexual' which describes "young, sophisticated men who are comfortable with pushing boundaries and enjoying their own mix of roles, embracing childcare, self-sufficiency or shopping." To Simpson, who coined the term "metrosexual, "David Beckham was the prototype metrosexual: An urban dandy, wearing nail polish, married to a former Spice Girl" (Kimmel, 2005:225). As the older action heroes were increasingly laughed off as cartoons, metrosexual promised an alternate route to the achievement of masculinity through high-end consumerism. He is still secure in his masculinity, he has little to prove to anyone, yet he is equally comfortable expressing emotions and dispensing advice about hair care products (2005:225). Louise (2008) writes, "thirty years ago, personal care products for men comprised razors and aftershave. Not any more. The male grooming market has exploded and is growing in importance, not just in the West but also throughout Asia and Latin America... the male grooming market grew by 61% between 2002 and 2007" (2008). Quoting the recent surveys, she reports that three-quarters of men think that spending time in front of the mirror is important, and equally importantly they want to do it without compromising their sense of masculinity.

The participant father (participation in domestic work and child-care)

As Gilbert noted, "men's greater involvement in relationships, caring, and parenting is likely to be the hallmark of the 1990s" in America (Gilbert, 1993:43). Pleck (1987;1993) acknowledges that, though the father-breadwinner model, established in the 19th and early 20th centuries, remains culturally dominant today, there is an unmistakable trend toward greater father involvement (1987:93). Pleck (1987) identifies the period from the 1960s to the 1970s as a time when the new father model began to gain salience. This new father (Pleck, 1987) or participant father (Rotundo, 1987) has been characterized by the expectation that he will dramatically increase his physical and psychological presence in the family, as well as his emotional immersion in his children's lives.

The chief quality of this emergent mode of fathering is the active and engaged participation of a man in all facets of his children's lives – i.e. participant fatherhood. This new mode of fathering encourages a man to share in a more expressive and intimate relationship with his children. Participant fatherhood is a most direct result of the imaginative redesign of gender roles influenced by the women's movement. It is also a response to many more practical conditions of women's entry into

the labour force (Rotundo,1987:76). Essential to this model are beliefs that men are ethically obligated, and intrinsically able, to make parental contributions equivalent to those of mothers. Furthermore, increased participation is viewed as reciprocally beneficial - as not only important in the children's development, but as a major source of emotional satisfaction and stimulus for developmental growth in many men (Cowan et al, 1988).

Among recent changes in men's roles, most dramatic is the increased involvement of divorced fathers, particularly those who successfully attain custody, either jointly or solely (Hopson, 2002). Reports from the Department of Labor of the USA indicate that few men welcome long working hours. In its place, they are increasingly seeking flexible schedules and using vacation and sick days in order to take care of newborns and other children (2006).

According to Esping-Andersen, all the Nordic countries now boast explicit incentives for fathers to take leave during pregnancy and childbirth. The male share of total child-leave days certainly remains modest, but is rising. In the 1990s, the parental share rose by 32% in Denmark, 67% in Finland, and 45% in Sweden. Sweden is undoubtedly a test-case for the specialization thesis. To begin with, male paternity leave is twice as frequent (13% of total leave days) as in other Nordic countries. Although the gender gap in domestic work persists, men's domestic participation has increased. From 1969 to 1987 in America, men increased their share of housework from 15% in 1969 to 33% in 1985 (Gerson, 1993:8). Notably, Sweden holds the international record in terms of a husband's contribution to unpaid, domestic work: an average of 21 hours a week. This is not only far ahead of other countries with comparable levels of female participation (in Denmark, as in the US, the male contribution averages around 13-15 hours a week), but it is also approaching female levels (working women's weekly domestic hours typically lie in the 25-30 hour range).

Coltrane's study shows, "employed women do one-third less family work than non-employed women. Employed men, like women, also do more housework when they work fewer hours. Similarly, fathers who work less and have more flexible work schedules do more child-care than others" (2007:21). Besides, with the regard to overall work hours (paid labour plus unpaid family labour), men and women now share equally, while women in dual earner family disproportionately did a double workday in the 1980s and 1990s (Coltrane, 2007:21). Besides the doubtful possibility of males' voluntary participation in the works of households, this new phenomenon can be attributed to internationally very narrow gender earnings differentials, to welfare state incentives and to fully utilize paid parental leave. "The fathers' actual use of the program remains substantially less than the mothers', but has grown impressively over approximately the past ten years" (Esping-Andersen, 2002:92).

The motivations for men's increasing involvement in parenting appear to be related to practical reasons stemming from women's employment, social change and government interferences. Among this, Brooks (1995:271,272; Dublin, 2007) emphasizes the perceived equality of the husband's participation in family work as a factor that contributes towards marital satisfaction in dual-earner families. They conclude that men now are encouraged and permitted to involve themselves in loving relationships with their children. Thus, many men no longer have a choice about being involved fathers; they are now compelled to redefine their role as fathers. "Being the uninterested, distant, traditional father who *takes* care but does not *give* care is inconsistent with current societal norms and practices and with the expectations of female partners" (Canberra Times, 2004). However, despite the many societal changes just described, we need to take into account the fact that many males struggle to adjust (Pry, 2004). We also need to note subtly camouflaged hidden changes in men's domestic work.

A survey conducted by *Washington Post* (Morin & Rosenfeld, 1998, March 22, A1) reveals that most men in the polls loved to share child-care and domestic chores with employed wives. Yet, since household duties still remain sharply divided on the basis of gender (Working mothers still do twice as much housework as their husbands), more than half of all women said that they feel some dissatisfaction with the amount of help their husbands provide around the house. The Daily Mail (November 30, 2006) reported that women now feel pressured because they need to have time to cook, clean and do child-care even though they are taking on high-earning jobs. Singleton & Maher (2004:15) shows that optimistic comments about Gen X men and their commitment to equality in the domestic sphere would be a hasty conclusion.

He concludes: "Among Gen X men themselves, he found a picture of continuity rather than change with respect to young men's domestic roles, identities, and obligations. Men remain largely peripheral to work in the domestic sphere despite the prevalence and appeal of positive rhetoric that things will be different for young people."

1.4.1.3. Re-configuration of the multiple male social roles in the Korean context

In Korea, very similar to America and the United Kingdom, throughout the 1990s, economic globalization subverted the masculine role of the family provider, which undermined job security and an expectation for a rising standard of living. Moreover, the perceived need to invest in children's education has compelled wives to pursue informal economic activities. A South Korean feminist newspaper reported on a small but significant number of men who claim that they want to be good fathers. They involve themselves in family life, especially child rearing, and meet regularly as a group (Moon, 2002). Surveys report that the male image has undergone a shift from the traditional male gender roles (Han, 1997; Park, 1997). According to a study based on in-depth interviews of 27 men collected by

snowball sampling from various classes and generations, almost all respondents said that their fathers' images have shifted from a symbol of authority to that of a weakened and feminized father, and they expressed their anxiety about the decline of paternal authority that accompanies this change. Younger men said that the ideal father should be simultaneously a provider and an emotional supporter (Han, 1997). Using the Bem sex role inventory,¹⁶ Park (1997) found that males in television dramas were portrayed as men with both masculine and feminine characteristics, rather than the typical traditional male characteristics.

A survey that *Herald Newspaper* (2005.10.15) conducted on 100 couple managers of the Korean Marriage Information Company, Duo, reveals that popular masculine ideals have been changing throughout the Korean history. In 70's, while strong and active masculinity with a frontier spirit characterized the ideal of manliness, in 80's, professional men, such as doctors, lawyers and professors who succeeded in their jobs, and were respected tough guys in 90's. But, in 2000, kind, considerate, good-looking, soft men with financial power were highlighted in the mass media.

Studies that examined the changes in masculinity in Korean society report that, while traditional masculinity speaks of "working men, self-made men, men with physical strength and sexual virility, and perfect men," the new masculinity talks about "serving or kind men, conscious of their appearance, men with sexual appeal, vulnerable men, and men who enjoy life" (Eunkyung Han, 1996, 2000; Kihyung Chung, 1997, 2002). This new masculinity is being represented in advertisements, television dramas, sitcoms and popular movie stars who express a societal trend.

From 1996 to 2002, a survey was conducted of 844 advertisements by analysing those that used male models in Korean men's magazines (Guiok Lee & Wonjung Lee, 2003). The result proved that the most frequent masculinity type was "men with a good appearance," which is one of the new emerging masculinity types, and the second type was "successful men with a good reputation," which is one of traditional masculine types. However, there were significant differences in frequently used types of masculinity in terms of the year, product category and magazine type. While the use of the new masculinity types seemed to become prevalent, the use of the traditional masculinity types seemed to decrease. Also, while the new masculinity types were dominantly used in fashion, cosmetic, and the new communications technological categories of advertisements, the traditional masculinity types were frequently used in corporate public relations and financial services advertisements. Regarding the magazine types, the new masculinity types were frequently found in men's fashion magazines targeting young males, while traditional masculinity types were still dominant in men's news magazines that target older men.

¹⁶ Feminine characteristics include being considerate, generous, soft, caring, nurturing, sharing, etc., while masculine characteristics indicate being self-reliant, aggressive, assertive, competitive, dominating, leading, adventurous, etc.

According to Bae Kuknam (*My Daily News*, 2006.1.18), whereas male movie stars who displayed physical strength and masculine beauty and virility were recognized from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, men with wealth, charisma and romance were welcomed from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. Now, strength and toughness no longer have any appeal but instead feminine traits, such as softness, warmth, and nurturing, are emerging as male movie star images. Even cross-sexual images of masculinity are rapidly increasing on the screen, especially among the youth. It has been pointed out that this recent trend reflects the decline of male patriarchal power in Korean society.

Several researchers have analysed popular Korean films to examine how modern masculinity in Korea has changed. Yunshik Choi (2000) analyses four Korean films released in the late 1990s, which are of the melodramatic genre: "Love affair" (정사, 1998), "Happy end" (해피엔드, 1999), "The contact" (접속, 1997), and "The interview" (인터뷰, 1998). The first tells the story of an immoral relationship between a married woman and an unmarried man, but it reveals that the members' gender role assignments are dysfunctional. The second begins with the reversal of gender roles (the man stays at home, the woman works), but restores the typical gender roles by the hero punishing (murdering) the heroine in the end. The fourth describes a man who renounces the privileged status of the male. Choi concludes that these four films illustrate the significant changes in Korean masculinity.

Suyoun Lee (2005) and Backyup Sung (2001) observe that Korean films recently have been showing diverse descriptions of masculinity. Both regard two films, "The weird girl" (엽기적인 그녀, 2001), and "My wife is gangster" (조폭마누라, 2001) as displaying the reverse of the images of men and women. In "The weird girl," both the hero and heroine are portrayed as deviations from the stereotypical gender roles, but the hero has been depicted as a much weaker and feminized male. Suyoun Lee (2005) analyses that, for women, an ideal image of a man in this film is portrayed as a man who displays a sacrificial image, not the macho image. In line with her, Backyup Sung (2001) concludes that the contribution of these two films lies with the collapse of the firm borderline between the male and female gender roles, which reflects changes in male and female roles.

Another trend observed in Korean films is that of unstable masculinity, which describes men's anxiety and inability to adapt to new circumstances. Hyungjung Lee (2003) analyses men's unstable identity as reflected in Korean films since the late 1990s. She divides these films into three areas. First, "Friend" (친구, 2001) and other Korean gangster films are considered to be the signals of a desire for social relations. These films form the male identity, based on the rules of fatherhood and solidarity among homogeneous men. They represent men's return to traditional masculinity in a form of violence with an awareness of their inability to adapt to the changed society. Second, in "Happy end" (해피엔드, 1999), "Killing wife" (마누라 죽이기, 1999) and "A higher animal" (플랜다스의 개, 2000),

men have lost their status as breadwinners, meaning a loss of traditionally defined masculinity. Finally, they try to restore their masculinity by punishing or expelling women from the public sphere. Hyungjung Lee (2003) concludes that men now have to search for this new masculinity and broaden their identity under the pressures of cultural changes.

We can also perceive this new trend in television dramas and sitcoms that convey images of fathers in their time. Ten years ago, a drama, "What is love?" (1998), portrayed the shifting image of the patriarchal father of Daebal; his wife and daughter-in law had slowly challenged and changed his authority. In contrast, a drama "High kick without hesitation" (2007) describes Sunjae, a frivolous and undignified father, without any authority that patriarchy requires. In another drama, a top rated television programme (29.5%), "As much as sky and earth" (하늘만큼, 땅만큼, 2007), three fathers are portrayed as the best images of fathers that the contemporary Korean society are seeking.

- i) A father who, rather than scolding his son, sheds tears upon hearing of his son's decision to be divorced;
- ii) a father who is distressed about his daughter's anxiety regarding her friendship with her boyfriend and tries to relieve her pain; and
- iii) a father who becomes a peacemaker between a strong, perfect mother and his daughters.

These three fathers express the new image of the father as being nurturing, expressive, kind and considerate in Korea. Now, males are not only forced to adopt multiple roles, but also to adapt to changing male gender norms.

1.4.2. Changing the prescriptive male gender role (male gender norms)

Some psychologists have demonstrated several elements that constitute male gender role norms. As in all formulation, being a real man might vary somehow. Yet, these male gender role norms can be summarized in a few main themes.

1.4.2.1. Traditional norms of male gender role

According to Pleck (1996), early psychologists, such as Zelditch (1955), Hartley (1974), Turner (1970) and Komarovsky (1976), regarded male gender role according to two sets of social norms. They believed that being a man comprised two themes: 1) Men should develop an independent style of achievement, and 2) they should develop incompetency in all feminine activities. Sawyer and Pleck (1974:170-173) identified the essential elements of the male role as becoming a successful man in achieving positions of dominance and emotional restriction. Goldberg (1976) sums this up: being masculine has meant males spending their time trying to prove what they are not (not feminine, not passive, not weak, not soft, not sensitive).

The psychologist, Robert Brannon (David & Brannon, 1976:11.12), identified another blueprint for male gender role. He recognizes that there are several ideal images of the real man in American society, rather than one ideal image of being a male. He provides several male ideal images as follows:

The football player: big, tough, and rugged, though not precisely a towering intellect / The jet-set play boy: usually sighted in expensive restaurants or fast convertibles, accompanied by a beautiful woman (whom he is ignoring) / The blue-collar brawler: a quick temper with fists to match; nobody better try to push him around / The big-shot businessman: the Babbit traveling salesman Rotary Club booster type of expansive back-slapper / The Don Juan: he's smooth, smoldering, and totally irresistible to women; a super-stud on the prowl / The strong, simple working man: he's honest, solid, direct, and hard-working / The Truly Great Man: a statesman, prophet, scientist, deep thinker, awesome genius.

Brannon believes that every male image is not as masculine as these. According to their age, class, ethnic subgroup, and physique, as well as individual talents and capacities, there can be many acceptable combinations and certain styles. However, he argues that "beneath all the permutations, are a small number of basic themes which pervade and ultimately define the norms of male gender role as the pure masculine part of a man's image." Brannon (1976) offered four major themes as his version of the norms of male gender role in the following headings:

- * No sissy Stuff: The stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities, including openness and vulnerability.
- * The Big Wheel: Success (wealth, fame), status, competence, good breadwinning and the need to be looked up to.
- * The Sturdy Oak: A manly air of toughness, physical strength, athletic prowess, confidence, and self-reliance.
- * Give 'em Hell: The aura of aggression, violence, adventure, and daring.

O'Neil (1981) elaborated the following traditional attitudes and beliefs about maleness that were thought to constitute the traditional male gender roles : 1) Men, being biologically superior to women, had greater potential as humans than did women; 2) Masculinity was the superior, dominant, and more valued form of gender identity; 3) Essential to a man's ability to prove his masculinity were power, dominance, competition, and was inherently feminine, and was therefore to be avoided; 4) Any sort of feeling, emotion, or vulnerability was inherently feminine, and was therefore to be avoided; 5) Any sort of interpersonal communication that emphasized human emotion, intuition, feelings, and physical contact intimacy, being inherently feminine, were to be avoided; 6) Having sex was one of the primary ways men proved their masculinity. Therefore, affection, sensuality, and control; 7) Intimacy and vulnerability with other men were to be avoided. Because he could be taken

advantage of and lose the upper hand, a man could not be vulnerable to a male competitor. Also, intimacy with another man implied both femininity and possible homosexuality; 8) Work and success in careers were measures of masculinity; 9) Since men were superior to, and different from, women in career abilities, a man's role was that of economic provider and caretaker of his family. deem

After an empirical study (based on 400 collegiate male samples) of male gender norms that were thought to govern the traditional male role, Pleck (Thomson & Pleck, 1987) identified three main factors composing the traditional masculinity: status (the need to achieve success and others' respect); toughness (strength and self-reliance); and anti-femininity (avoiding stereotypical feminine activities). The status factor is composed of what Brannon classified as "the big wheel and the sturdy oak" dimensions. Toughness includes what Brannon defined as "no sissy stuff," "sturdy oak" and "give 'em hell" dimensions. Anti-femininity includes the "no sissy stuff" dimension. More importantly, Brannon conclude that "the strength of this normative orientation is weak in a contemporary collegiate sample" (Thomson & Pleck, 1987:35). In line with David and Brannon's work, Levant and his colleagues (Levant *et al.*, 1995; Levant & Pollack, 1996, Richmond & Levant, 2003; Levant & Richmond, 2007) selected seven factors of traditional male gender roles. In their model, through traditional socialization, men are shaped to avoid all things feminine / restrict their emotional life / act tough and aggressive / be self-reliant / emphasize achieving status above all else / be non-relational and objectifying in their attitudes toward sexuality / fear and hate homosexuals.

1.4.2.2. Changing norms of male gender role

In his books, *The American man* (1980) and *The myth of masculinities* (1981), Pleck underlined that the phenomenon of male gender role was being in shift. By the comparison of traditional and modern versions of male gender role, he suggested a way to resolve the persistent inconsistencies in male images. In his view, in the traditional male role, male role is depicted in many primitive societies' ethnographies and such working-class and ethnic community studies; Individual physical strength and aggression ultimately validates the male role; Men are generally expected not to be emotionally sensitive to others, nor emotionally expressive, nor self-revealing - particularly of feelings of vulnerability or weakness; men are expected to show anger and certain other impulsive emotional expressions, particularly toward other males; Men prefer the company of men to the company of women and experience other men as the primary validators of their masculinity, but not necessarily in emotionally intimate relationships; In marital and other relationships, women are deemed necessary for sex and for child-bearing, but not necessarily in emotionally intimate or romantic relationships. Women are expected to acknowledge and defer to male authority. Women are viewed in terms of the Madonna-whore complex on the basis of a sexual double standard.

By contrast, in the modern male role, the male role is depicted in such studies of middle-class communities and groups; The male role is validated by economic achievement and organizational or bureaucratic power. Interpersonal skills and intelligence are esteemed insofar as they lead to these goals; Emotional sensitivity and self-expression in romantic relationships with women are strongly valued. The maintenance of emotional control is a crucial requirement for this role, but anger and other traditional male impulsive emotional behaviours are thus discouraged; Males prefer the company of women. Women, rather than other men, are expected as the primary validators of masculinity; Males' relationships with women are expected to be intimate and romantic. Women soothe men's wounds and replenish their emotional reserves, rather than defer to their authority in the family with the less marked sexual double standard, although it still persists; Masculinity is proved less by many sexual conquests than by truly satisfying one woman's sexual needs; Males' emotional relationships with other males have become weaker and less important emotionally. Males disclose more to females than to male friends. Male-male relationships appear to derive primarily from workplace contacts and be expressed primarily through drinking and watching sports on television.

Even though this distinction gives a clear picture of two contradictory standards, this does not mean that all males complied with the traditional male gender role in the past, but now comply with the modern role. This also does not indicate that all working-class males complied with the traditional male role in the past and have the ideals of the contemporary middle-class male, whereas all middle-class males had modern ideals and still comply with the modern role. The co-existence of the two different values is analysed in Harris's study (1995). His study contains very comprehensive indicators of contemporary American masculinity in the men's own words, emanating from parents, teachers, peers, the media, and organizations, such as the church and the Scouts.

Based on a sample of 560 subjects in the United States, Harris (1995:12-13) presents 24 male gender messages (norms) that influenced them in their lives: Adventurer, Be like your father, Be the best you can, Breadwinner, Control, Faithful husband, Good Samaritan, Hurdles, Money, Nature lover, Nurturer, Playboy, President, Rebel, Scholar, Self-reliant, Sportsman, Stoic, Superman, Technician, The law, Tough guy, Warrior and Work ethic. He portrays this list as representative of dominant male gender norms in modern technological societies and divides this list into two different categories as follows: The traditional male gender role norms - adventurer, be the best you can, breadwinner, control, work ethic, hurdles, sportsman, money, stoic, playboy, superman, president, tough guy, self-reliant, and warrior; and the modern male gender role norms- be like your father, faithful husband, good Samaritan, nature lover, nurturer, rebel, scholar, technician, and the law. In this list, the 15 norms are classified as the classical messages, or traditional standards of male behaviour, whereas the other nine norms are called "modern expectations," when men transcend classical standards.

Although some of the modern male gender roles listed above appear throughout Western culture, they are not viewed as dominant norms (1995:14) because these features could not be categorized into what Connell (1987, 1992) called “hegemonic masculinity.”

The implication of the two different models of male gender role norms listed above indicates that male gender role expectations are changing. Harris explains that, as the 20th century drew to a close, the ideology that supported the traditional models of male gender role faced challenges. In response to the realities of a changing world, males are creating new gender roles even though the old norms are still lingering. Pleck (1980) and Harris (1995) argue that a once-predominant traditional male role is now less dominant (especially "being stoic" and "unemotionality") and has given way to the emerging new role, although the two contradictory values exist simultaneously. More exactly, this change results from societal changes discussed earlier that require men to play multiple roles to adapt to new situations. Thus, this does not signify that the new norms have replaced the old male norms. Rather, male roles had to change to adopt new multiple roles characterized by emotional intimacy, expressiveness, nurturing and caring, while the core masculine themes remain unchanged. The following researchers, who investigated how male gender role norms have changed, repeatedly confirm this. In a study of people ranging from 16 to 88 years old, Burn and Laver (1994) found that the norms that receive the strongest endorsement by both males and females were those regarding success at work, making lots of money, and looking masculine. The norms receiving the weakest endorsements were those that suggested that men should not express their feelings and those advocating a traditional division of labour in the home. Men more strongly endorsed the views that males should be the dominant family decision-makers, take care of their personal problems without help, be physically strong and be able to fight, and not to have to cook and clean the house or give up leisure time to care for their children. However, males and females did not differ in their endorsements of statements suggesting that men should make lots of money, focus on success at work, look masculine, and choose traditionally to avoid discussions of personal feelings.

Levant and his colleagues (1996) developed the male role norms inventory (MRNI) to identify whether a shift in men’s beliefs about "what a man is supposed to be" correspond with, or contradict, long-standing norms. They chose seven norms: avoidance of femininity; restricted emotionality; non-relational attitudes toward sex; pursuit of achievement and status; self-reliance; strength and aggression; and homophobia. Their sample included 117 predominantly white, predominantly middle- and upper-middle-class men, aged 18 to 68, who were studying or working in the fields of biology, educational research, engineering, and community health. The men in their study still felt that it was important to encourage certain traditionally masculine traits in their sons. For example, they agreed, "Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls and those boys should not throw baseballs like girls." But they rejected the notion that jobs like that of a fire fighter and an electrician should be

reserved for men. They disagreed with the idea that fathers should teach their sons to mask fear, and that others should not be able to tell how a man is feeling by looking at his face. They strongly rejected the notion that a man should never reveal anxieties to others, instead: if a man is in pain, it is better for him to let people know than to keep it to himself. Men began to realize that achievement is not all that matters and they are also becoming more willing and able to share power and status with women. But they still agreed that men measure their masculine worth by their ability to compete and excel, that as a man, his status rests on the ability to stand and act alone, and that men still believe strength, courage and aggression to be the most valuable of the many masculine values.

In his book, *Real Boys* (1999), Pollack argues that for young boys, the old Boy Code is still operating in force. He writes,

When I began my research into boys, I had assumed that since America was revising its ideas about girls and women, it must have also been re-evaluating its traditional ideas about boys, men and masculinity. But over the years my research findings have shown that as far as boys today are concerned, the old Boy Code-the outdated and constricting assumptions, models, and rules about boys that our society has used since the nineteenth century-is still operating in force. I have been surprised to find that even in the most progressive schools and the most politically correct communities in every part of the country and in families of all types, the Boy Code continues to affect the behaviour of all of us- the boys themselves, their parents, their teachers, and society as a whole. None of us is immune-it is so ingrained (1999:6).

These persisting male stereotypical norms can be found in James Mahalik's study (Mahalik *et al.*, 2003; 2005). He recently published *Conformity to male norms index* to help clinicians make connections between how masculinity may be connected to the issues that men present when having counselling and therapy. This assesses adherence to 11 different masculine norms or scripts found in the dominant culture in the United States: winning / emotional control / risk taking / violence / dominance / playboy / self-reliance / primacy of work / power over women / disdain for homosexuals / pursuit of status. These formulations emphasize various distinctions but, nonetheless, focus on common dimensions, including achievement, emotional control, anti-femininity, and homophobia.

This male code reappears in the book, *The Secret Lives of Men* (Blazina, 2008). Chris Blazina, selected ten commandments of being a male which include: 1) There is only one way to be a man; 2) Fear the feminine; 3) Males must funnel all their feelings into sex or aggression; 4) Affection is always associated with sex; 5) A boy needs a male role model or his sense of being a man is flawed; 6) You big ape. Boy society is based on power, strength and paranoia; 7) If your father is rejecting, you must learn to please him; 8) If you don't please your mother, you must marry someone like her; and 10) A man must follow the Commandments even if it causes him to be emotionally stunted or leads him off track (Blazina 2008: Chapter 1).

The current discussion of the elements that are deemed to encompass male gender role indicates diversity. Not everyone agrees with the specific elements and their proportions. But all descriptions about male gender role ranging from the 1950s to 2008 seem to revolve around Brannon's four main themes: No sissy stuff, the Big wheel, the Sturdy oak, and Give 'em hell! These four essential elements of the norms of male gender role include every other ingredient. Especially viewed from a historical perspective,¹⁷ there have been several ideals for males to live up to, but in these four themes of male identity, the central male images have always been depicted as hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987, 1992, 2000).¹⁸

Overall, men's attitudes towards "avoidance of femininity" and "restricted emotionality" have been slightly changed. But, pursuit of achievement and status, self-reliance, strength and aggression are still considered as valuable masculine values. This finding is consistent with the Oskamp (1991) Gallop Poll (1993), Times' report (2004), and Brannon (2005). Thus, Bereska (2003:157-174) points out that, despite the notion that masculinity has undergone drastic changes in the past two decades, evidence indicates little change in hegemonic masculinity and strong representation of the four themes of male gender role. Boys and men are still supposed to be stoic, aggressive, dependable, and not feminine. This same phenomenon can be found in Korea, but in a different way.

1.4.2.3 Changing norms of male gender role in the Korean context

Even though masculinity in the traditional Korean middle class centred on compassion, honour and loyalty, based on Confucianism, your own and your clan's success and fame were also highly praised male values that brought glory to clans and parents, as well as brought food home. However, with the limited entry to bureaucratic circles, the majority of males remained irresponsible and forced their wives to work for their families. Only a minority were privileged with their inheritance to enjoy their status as the upper class. However, in modern Korean society, Western capitalist male values, such as success, competition, resolution, determination, autonomy, achievement and rationality have been accepted as dominant masculine characteristics along with the role of a responsible breadwinner or a good provider (Cho, 1999:289-290; Hyung Cho, 1995:20-21; Hyosoon Kim & Sunhee Heo, 1995:97-98; Meeting for women, 1994:34-44).

In post-modern Korean society, Hyosoon Kim and Sunhee Heo (1995:97-108) identified male gender roles (norms) as being family providers (breadwinners), competing, successful, valiant, strong, and

¹⁷ Joe L Dubbert, *A man's place*, (1979); Peter G. Filene, *Him/her/self*, (1986); Antony, E Rotundo, *Learning about manhood: Gender ideals and the middle-class family in the 19th century in America*. In Mangan, JA and Walvin, J (eds), *Manliness and morality: Middle-Class masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*. (1987); *American manhood: Transformations in masculinity from the revolution to the modern era* (1993); Elizabeth, Pleck & Joseph Pleck, *The American man*, (1980); Michael Kimmel: *Manhood in America*, (2005); James Doyle, *The male experience* (1983).

¹⁸ Connell contends that for each society one version of masculinity is sanctioned as the one to which men should adhere, which he termed "hegemonic masculinity," which attempts to subordinate femininity, as well as less accepted versions of masculinity.

sexually virile. Daeil Lee's study (1999), comprising in-depth interviews with 15 middle-aged men and Jongkyuk Kim's in-depth interviews (1999) with 16 college students, report how Koreans view their masculinity or male gender role. They asked their interviewees three interrelated question about gender roles in Korea:

- 1) gender roles (norms) taught by adults (including parents),
- 2) gender roles (norms) taught by friends (including colleagues or seniors), and
- 3) traditional gender roles.

They identified the following: being valiant, active, courageous, strong, honest, authoritative, winners, achievers, responsible breadwinners, tolerant, leaders, loyal, successful, in control of emotions, broad-minded, generous and all-round players. Based on their findings, Suae Park and Enkyung Cho (2002) formulated six Korean sex roles: responsible breadwinner, loyalty between men, achievement, self-reliance, temperance, and activity. Among these six roles (norms), they report that the responsible breadwinner has been a most consistently emphasized gender role (norm) for Korean men. Interestingly, unlike in Western society, unemotionality is not characterized as a norm of masculinity, and fidelity or loyalty between men is emphasized, not as a trait to be avoided, but as a male ideal both in middle-aged men and college men.

In a broader way, nine female feminist scholars (1993) examined Korean gender role norms with 751 males ranging from 25 to 60 years of age, based on Edward H Thompson and Joseph H Pleck's male role norm scales, and Yoon Gene's male gender role stress scale. Their findings (in their book, *The seven Korean male complexes*, 1994) showed that Korean gender role norms can be summed up as five themes of masculinity: the saint-like man, no sissy stuff, the big wheel, the sturdy oak, and give 'em hell! A saint-like man indicates "being virtuous and generous, being broad-minded and gentle in appearance, but sturdy in spirit." Another Korean male gender norm was found "to be a heroic man," which includes all four simultaneous themes of Brannon's definition of masculinity: 1) "to satisfy your partner" (93.2% agreed); 2) "to excel in intellectual capacity" reflected in an academic career and compared to women's inferior intellectual capacity; 3) "to be responsible for the family"; and 4) "to be an all-round player," which includes a good provider, a good athlete, a competent man in his work and a nurturing man at home. 95.2% agreed to be "top in work, at home, in sports and in everything."

In 2000, Youngseok Han *et al.* examined 361 male and 190 female students on gender egalitarianism conceptualized on the above seven Korean male complexes and extracted seven factors. The result showed:

- 1) For "competence" (all-round player) male endorsed 5.46 (out of 7, the higher, the more endorsed), female 5.26;

- 2) for “outer strength,” male 4.20, female 3.80;
- 3) for “responsibility as breadwinner,” all 4.71 (eldest son’s responsibility: male 4.32, female 3.71);
- 4) for “comparison with female” (intellectual excellence better than female), male 4.09, female 4.70;
- 5) for “inner strength,” male 4.65, female 4.62;
- 6) for “dependency on wife,” male 3.59, female 3.90; and
- 7) for “exclusion of female,” male 3.13, female 2.93 endorsed respectively.

In the areas of competence, inner strength, responsibility as breadwinner and a sense of comparison with female (males’ intellectual excellence), both sexes indicate over 4.00 points. This implies that, although males now accept femininity much more comfortably and less females view outer strength as an ideal of masculinity, both sexes still view that essential male ideals must be competence, responsibility, strength, and intellectual excellence. This is quite consistent with Levant’s findings in America that have shown that males have changed into being more comfortable with femininity, but not in the areas of power issues. Jooyeon Lee’s study in 2004, which examined contemporary Korean masculinity by in-depth interviews with 22 Korean men and women ranging from 30 to 45 years old, also supports this. Her study reveals that interview participants understood contemporary masculinity as:

- 1) superior physical and social strength,
- 2) being a heroic man (magnanimity),
- 3) reliability,
- 4) responsibility as a family leader,
- 5) social competence and ambition, and
- 6) tenderness and warmth.

These findings indicate that Korean masculinity is also moving towards androgyny, but traditional male values are still dominant, which serves to stimulate male gender role strain. Men are now caught in between changing to modern roles and salient traditional gender values, which leads to male gender role strain.

IN CONCLUSION: FINDINGS

Thus far, the researcher has discussed how gender roles have changed due to the impact of globalization, cultural shift and the family policy. These factors have forced male role to be transformed toward multiple roles: caring for children, supporting wives, and doing domestic work. However, although male gender role norms are changing, they are just limited to the area of emotional expressiveness. Success, status, progress, strength, aggression and toughness are still most dominant male norms for both women and men.

As a result, on the one hand, the persistency of the narrow, dominant form of the traditional male gender role (or “hegemonic masculine norms” in Connell’s terms) causes many problems, identified as male gender role strain, for individual men who adhere to it. On the other hand, as reflected in Pleck’s (1980) and Harris’s (1995) descriptions of the different models of male gender role, many of the features contained in these two models are at odds with each other. Consequently, these inconsistencies create tensions that may lead to what some researchers have described as “gender role stress” or “gender role strain” (Sawyer & Pleck, 1974; Komarovsky, 1976; Pleck, 1976, 1981, 1995), which comes from the problem that men have - trying to live up to standards implied within these norms.

This brings us to questions, “what are the consequences of male gender role strain for males? “Is there any possibility of male gender role strain being connected to the notion of power as a core source? “Within a Christian context, what is the importance of the discourse of male gender role strain? These issues lead to the next chapter that, in detail, deals with what Pleck called "male gender role strain."

CHAPTER 2

MALE GENDER ROLE STRAIN

INTRODUCTION

As Sharpe noted (1995:1,2), in the 1970s with the women's movement, the idea arose that traditional, socialized gender roles may result in some negative consequences for people. As the men's movement advanced and research program developed, more people came to recognize that rigid adherence to traditional male gender roles might also be restrictive for men. Especially, Pleck (1981; 1995) suggested the gender role strain (GRS) paradigm¹⁹ and defines this strain as a negative psychological and social consequence resulting from violating gender roles (1981:145,146). He identifies three strains, that is, the strains of discrepancy, trauma and dysfunction. He argued that men experience male gender role strain as they fail to fulfil male-role expectations. Since the 1970s, on the basis of the work of Pleck, the increasing number of writers (David & Brannon, 1976; Farrell, 1974; Fasteau, 1974; Goldberg, 1976; O'Neil, 1995; Eisler & Skid, 1995; Ferguson, Eyre & Ashbaker, 2000; Brannon, 2005:360; Jaworski, 2003; Courtenay, 2001; 2005; Blazina, 2007; Robertson, 2005; Insenhart, 2005) have been concerned about men's physical and emotional problems with themselves, other men, women, and their work resulting from male roles. Their researches show that male gender role strain, resulting from the disjuncture between expectations and their reality, has the following impact on males: their low self-esteem, guilt, resentment, loneliness, anxiety, shame, violent behaviour, alcoholism, drug addiction, and international policy.

Male gender role strain can not only have effect on men's mental and psychological health, but also impact on men's spirituality negatively. Thus, the researcher attempted to explore any possible effect of male gender role strain on males' spirituality as well as on the different practices of faith and how, from a Christian perspective, churches respond to the notion of offices in the church in both the Western and the Korean context

Despite its great value, male gender role strain paradigm needs to be extended to include the variety of influences in developing male gender role strain, that is, the issue of power. In male gender role strain paradigm, even though O'Neil (1995) did pay attention to the connection between the issue of power (competition, control and achievement) and male gender role strain, he did not regard the issue of power as the primary source of male gender role strain. O'Neil perceived "anti-femininity" as the

¹⁹ Pleck (1981:145,146) defines gender role strain as a negative psychological and social consequences resulting from violating gender roles (norms and stereotypes). O'Neil (1990:24,25) provides a definition of "gender role strain" in relation to "gender role conflict." While gender role conflict is "a psychological state in which gender roles have negative consequences on the individual or others through the restriction, devaluation, or violation of oneself or others, gender role strain is physical or psychological tension experienced as an outcome of gender role conflict.

root cause of male gender role strain in connection with male socialization. However, as Kaufman (1994) did, the power perspective as a primary source to trigger male gender role strain, might offer a better solution to solve male problems. Thus, in an attempt to offer a way to explain the cause of male gender role strain, the researcher will try to associate male gender role strain with the issue of power.

In this way, chapter 2 will first discuss Pleck's male gender role strain paradigm. Secondly, the consequences of male gender role strain in the areas of male psychological health, interpersonal problem, national policy and Christian spirituality in both the Western context and the Korean context. Lastly, in evaluating Pleck's paradigm, the issue of power, as a core trigger to gender role strain in male socialization, will be dealt with in detail.

2.1. MALE SEX ROLE IDENTITY THEORY (MSRI)

The male sex role identity theory was the dominant psychological theory about masculinity from the 1940s to the early 1970s (Pleck, 1981). Rooted in psycho-analysis, the theory's fundamental idea is that the acquisition of the gender role identity in males is thwarted by a relative absence of male models, feminized environments in schools, and women's changing roles, so that males are at a considerable risk of not acquiring a secure gender role identity. Insecure identity is operationalized as scoring "feminine" on bipolar masculinity-femininity scales or other measures of sex typing that treat masculinity and femininity as opposite ends of a single dimension. When it is applied to gender role strain, the theory holds that insecure male identities are subject to problems in males' inner self-relationship as well as inter-relationships (1981).

2.1.1 Historical background of the male sex role identity theory (MSRI)

Especially Pleck observes that the male sex role identity theory served a society and individuals as the then dominant paradigm to interpret societal problems and also to resolve them. Pleck (1987:22) notes that from the 1930s to the recent past, the study of sex roles was preoccupied with the question, "What makes men less masculine than they should be, and what can we do about it?" In America, in the 19th and the 20th centuries, changes in the women's role seemed to threaten their mental and physical well-being. These changes in the women's role, as well as the changing society's feminization of boys and society, were also considered as a threat to the males' identity (Filene, 1986; Pleck, 1980; Dubbert, 1979; Hantover, 1980; Kimmel, 2005). The idea of the male sex role identity theory was best suited to cure the tenor of the era. Although Mead (1935) challenged Terman and Miles's view (MF test and scale), their interpretation prevailed from 1936 to 1945, because this was the middle of the Great Depression. In Pleck's (1987:27) view, if holding a job could no longer be counted on to define masculinity, a masculinity-femininity test could do so.

Pleck (1987:29) also noted how the male sex role identity theory adopted the psychodynamic concept of identification to the study of masculinity-femininity during 1945 to 1970. The basic notion is that the developmental origin of masculinity-femininity is the individual's psychological identification with the mother or father. The acquisition of masculinity-femininity is a process of sex role identification. But because, since World War II, mothers have been such central figures in children's lives of both sexes, this means that boys initially identify with a female and therefore develop a feminine identity. Thus, overcoming their initial feminine identification is hypothesized to be the central problem in males' psychological development. In this interpretation, the potential problem for males was only the lack of enough masculinity. But this stimulated another theoretical development of great importance: the concept of hyper-masculinity (exaggerated, extreme masculine behaviour) as a defence against the male's unconscious feminine identification. In the 1950s, male violence and male juvenile delinquency was interpreted to be due to the male's need to disengage himself from the inner feminine identification caused by the Western pattern of close mother-child relations (Parsons & Bales, 1955). In this respect, the male sex role identity theory proved a convenient and convincing explanation for delinquency and other social problems. In other words, acquiring masculinity-femininity is only one solution to the social problems.

In her book, *The feminine mystique*, the early famous feminist, Betty Friedan (1963:265), even makes use of the male sex role identity to emphasize the negative consequences of excluding women from employment, arguing that the overprotective full-time housewife could be responsible for homosexuality. Nancy Chodorow (1978) also borrowed the psychodynamic perspective, but transformed both the Oedipus and Electra complexes about the mother-son relationship to explain men's fear and hatred of women (although less common than before) as a result of the male child's identification with the mother, based on the male sex role identity theory.

Pleck (1987:38) concluded, "because of these developments in both research and social attitude, the theory of male sex role identity is no longer a dominant paradigm in psychology." Quoting Thomas Kuhn's *The structure of scientific revolutions* (1962), Pleck (1981:10) claims that "the identity paradigm has indeed dominated research on sex roles for four decades, and its anomalous results have caused it to evolve through three major stages (the simple conception-the multileveled conception-the androgynous conception). And in fact a new and radically different paradigm is taking shape."

2.1.2 Basic assumptions of the male sex role identity (MSRI) paradigm

In a careful analysis of what Pleck calls "the male sex role identity" (MSRI) paradigm, he outlines assumptions about masculinity that psychologists have been making for years. According to Pleck (1981), the basic assumptions of the MSRI are as follows:

1. Sex role identity is operationally defined by measures of psychological sex typing, conceptualized in terms of psychological masculinity and / or femininity dimensions.
2. The sex role identity derives from identification-modelling and, to a lesser extent, reinforcement and cognitive learning of sex-typed traits, especially among males.
3. The development of an appropriate sex role identity is a risky, failure-prone process, especially for males.
4. Homosexuality reflects a disturbance of the sex role identity.
5. An appropriate sex role identity is necessary for good psychological adjustment because of an inner psychological need for it.
6. Hyper-masculine males (exaggerated masculinity, often with negative social consequences) indicate insecurity in their sex role identities.
7. Problems of sex role identity account for men's negative attitudes and behaviour toward women.
8. Problems of sex role identity account for boys' problems in school performance and adjustment.
9. Black males are particularly vulnerable to sex role identity problems.
10. Male adolescent initiation rites are a response to problems regarding sex role identity.
11. Historical changes in the character of work and organization of the family have made it more difficult for men to develop and maintain their sex role identities.

Propositions 1 and 2 concern the structure and developmental origins of sex role identity. Propositions 3 to 6 focus on the results of failure in sex role identity development. Propositions 7 to 11 interpret various problems that males face in terms of sex role identity issues. Taken together, these 11 propositions constitute a comprehensive and consistent analysis of the sex role, indeed, a world view (Pleck, 1981:5).

2.1.3. Psychodynamic views of gender identity as a root theory of MSRI

According to Freud's theory, the fundamental source of male gender role strain originates with males' struggle to identify with their fathers, through which boys resolve the Oedipus complex and develop a masculine identity, during which they focus on the Oedipal stage. Later in the post-Freudian theories, however, the focal point of the formation of a masculine identity moved from the Oedipal stage to the

pre-Oedipal stage. Chodorow (1978), a defender of post-Freudian theories, maintains that the fundamental male strain originates with males' struggle to identify with, but also reject, their mothers (women) at the same time, as a result of the lack of male models, mainly because of the fathers' absence in these males' early childhood. Interestingly, however, for both theories, the resulting problems for males include effeminacy and homosexuality (not enough masculinity), as well as hyper-masculinity (too much masculinity).

2.1.3.1. Freud's Oedipus complex / the castration complex

The sex role identity theory found some resonance with research having been undertaken by psychoanalysis. Freud's work was the first sustained attempt to build a scientific account of masculinity (Connell, 1995:8). However, his work is notoriously elusive and difficult to pigeonhole because his theories shifted and changed over the course of his life. Consequently, any direct critique of the Freudian theory depends on one's perspective and interpretation, and also on the particular theories being discussed (Whitehead, 2002:23). Some argue that the Freudian theory strikes an uneasy balance between the biological and the social. On the one hand, there is his emphasis on biological sex as a fundamental determinant of normal gender behaviour. Yet, Freud's understanding of normal sexuality is not grounded in objective scientific research, but is clearly an outcome of his own cultural and gendered assumptions, reflecting dominant Western thought of the early 20th century. While Connell (1995:9) focuses on Freud's social concern by pointing out that adult sexuality and gender were not fixed by nature, but were constructed through Freud's long and conflict-ridden process, Horney (1939:282), as an early supporter argues that Freud assumed that the instinctual drives are biologically determined human nature or arise out of biologically given pregenital stages, the Oedipus complex. Freud views a culture, not as the result of a complex social process, but primarily as the product of biological drives that are repressed or sublimed. The more complete the suppression of these drives, the higher the cultural development. It is especially noted that Freud spelled out the "anatomy-is-destiny" approach quite comprehensively and is most closely identified with it. According to Basow (1992:90), Freud posited that a child's gender development is based on unconscious reactions to anatomical differences.

Concerning masculinity, Freud's central idea is that children go through psychosexual stages starting at birth, and it questions the idea that sexual instinct is absent in childhood and only awakens in the period of puberty (Basow, 1992:90-91; Freud, 1953:173). Freud considered death or aggressiveness and life or sexual instinctive forces to be biologically determined. The role of biology was also important in personality development, which Freud described in terms of psychosexual stages. These stages start at birth and continue through adulthood in a sequence named according to the regions of the body: the oral stage, the anal stage, the phallic stage, the latency stage and the genital stage.

Among these stages, the phallic or Oedipal stage is the key stage in which masculine and feminine traits are established. According to Freud, the focus on genital activity results in a sexual attraction to the parent of the other sex and an increasing desire to have sex with this parent. These dynamics occur at an unconscious level, outside of children's awareness, and set the stage for the Oedipus complex. Freud uses the Greek tragedy, *Oedipus Rex*, as an analogy for the interaction that occurs within families during the phallic stage. Freud hypothesizes that all boys feel jealousy, hatred, and aggression toward their fathers and sexual longing for their mothers. In boys, these family interactions result in competition with their fathers for their mothers' affection and growing hostility of the fathers toward their sons.

Boys in the phallic stage concentrate on their genitals and their penises. By noticing the anatomical differences between girls and boys, they realize that their penises must be removable as a punishment, like in girls (Basow, 1992:90-91; Freud, 1933/1963). With this realization, boys come to fear that their fathers will remove their penises because of their hostility toward their fathers and affection for their mothers. Thus, boys experience the castration complex, the belief that castration will be their punishment. Boys believe that girls have suffered this punishment and are thus mutilated, inferior creatures. These feelings of anxiety, hostility, and sexual longing are all-intense and produce great turmoil in boys. All possibilities seem terrible: to lose their penises, to be recipients of their fathers' hatred, or to be denied sex with their mothers. To resolve these feelings, boys must end the competition with their fathers and deny their sexual wishes for their mothers. Both goals can be met through identifying with their fathers. By this identification and becoming masculine, boys develop a sexual identity that includes sexual attraction to women. Therefore, identification with their fathers is the mechanism through which boys resolve the Oedipus complex and develop a masculine identity.²⁰

Freud's theory has been criticized on a variety of grounds. For Segal (1997), while Freud's theory equates normal human psychology with male development, women and femininity become a deviation from this norm. Millet (1970) criticizes Freud's regard of sexuality as male, he bases his theory on a patriarchal society, and he assumes that everyone recognizes a penis as inherently superior. Horney also argues that, if young girls do envy boys, they are more likely envying males' higher status and greater power rather than the male anatomical appendage (Basow, 1992). While he did not write directly about the cause of male gender role strain, he gives us a hint by presenting normal male

²⁰ Freud (1933/1963) hypothesized a slightly different resolution to the Oedipus complex in girls. During the phallic stage, girls also notice the anatomical differences between the sexes. Aware that they do not have penises, girls become envious of boys and experience penis envy. Freud hypothesized that penis envy is the female version of the castration complex and that girls experience feelings of inferiority concerning their genitals. Furthermore, girls hold their mothers responsible for their lack of penises and develop feelings of hostility toward them. This penis envy on the part of females has enormous consequences for their personality development. Freud concluded that first, females have weaker superegos than males, because their Electra complex is resolved by envy, not fear. Second, he concluded that females feel inferior to males and consequently develop a personality characterized by masochism, passivity, and narcissism. Third, he believed that females give up their clitoral focus in masturbation via vaginal stimulation (Freud, 1933/1963; Horney, 1937, 1939).

development and subjectivity as a complex process of denial, contradiction and suppression of feelings and inner emotions. According to Freud's theory, the fundamental source of male gender role strain originates with males' struggle to identify with their fathers, through which boys resolve the Oedipus complex and develop a masculine identity, focusing on the Oedipal stage in the development of masculine identity. However, later in the post-Freudian theories, the focal point of the formation of masculine identity moved to the pre-Oedipal stage from the Oedipal stage.

On the basis of Freud's theory that the Oedipal stage is the key stage in which masculine and feminine traits are established, the male sex role identity theory holds that appropriate sex role identity is necessary for good psychological adjustment, because of an inner psychological need for it (Pleck, 1981:21).

In Freud's theory, a consequence of the male strain is directly linked to anti-femininity. Horney (1939:110) notes that Freud believes that, in man's psychology, what corresponds to penis-envy is his struggle against the passive or feminine attitude toward other men. He calls this fear "the repudiation of femininity" and makes it responsible for various problems. Weakness, homosexuality and those awkward things that lie hidden in the repressed unconscious must be denied or repressed (Segal, 1997:72).

2.1.3.2. Chodorow's emphasis on mothering

In the 1920s, psychoanalysis began to focus on pre-Oedipal issues. "Pre-Oedipal" is the psycho-analytic code word denoting the mother. Within variant formulations, the overall theme was: the Oedipal conflict is the key to the less serious clinical neurotic disorders, but the more severe forms of psychopathology result from far earlier and more fundamental problems in the pre-Oedipal period (Pleck, 1987:30). When these pre-Oedipal issues have been applied to masculinity, the problem of a pre-Oedipal relationship is that the mother is being rejected or otherwise regarded as inadequate as an attachment figure, or at the other extreme, the mother facilitates the child's attachment but then refuses to permit the child to individuate. As a result, the boy's initial identification with his mother, not being able to separate from her, brought on by the father's absence and the mother's dominating, was perceived to be a source of trouble for male identity, which stimulated the concept of hyper-masculinity (exaggerated, extreme masculine behaviour) as a defence against the male's unconscious feminine identification (Pleck, 1987:31). This hypothesis of the unconscious feminine identity became extremely popular and began to extend in many directions. Fathers' involvement in child-rearing (boys) was required as a cure for boys' feminization at home and in school (to support the masculine attitude and traits).

Chodorow fully developed this idea of a pre-Oedipal relationship between mothers and children. According to Brannon (2005:113) and Basow (1992:119), Chodorow (1978) breaks with Freud on "the anatomy is destiny" part of his theory, by suggesting the cultural influence on the pre-Oedipal stage in the formation of gender identity. However, she remains faithful to Freud's theory in that psychodynamic principles are the prime shapers of an individual's gender identity and that being brought up primarily by a mother or other female figure causes boys and girls to develop different cognitive orientations, personalities and also problems (masculinity-femininity bipolarity).

Chodorow (1978) believes that mothers have very different conscious and unconscious expectations of both their male and female children and, consequently, build relationships with sons that differ from those with daughters. Boys may not yet realise that they are male, but their mothers know and this knowledge structures responses to sons in complex ways. This early relationship between mother and infant makes a permanent imprint on personality development - an imprint that differs for boys and girls. Chodorow writes that boys come to define themselves as more separate and distinct, with a greater sense of rigid ego boundaries and differentiation. The basic feminine sense of self is connected to the world; the basic masculine sense of self is separate (1978:174,169). The dependency on, attachment to, and identification with, the mother result in representing what is not masculine; a boy must reject dependence and deny attachment and identification. Masculine gender role training becomes much more rigid than feminine. A boy represses those qualities he regards as feminine inside himself, and rejects and devalues women and whatever he considers to be feminine in the social world (1978:181). For this reason, boys have a more difficult time in developing separate identities and they acquire their more autonomous gender identity by rejecting their mothers' femininity, they have become detached, by separating or individuating themselves from their mother. Thus, males learn to repress relationships and define themselves through separation from others. But the mother's power is still strong during the pre-Oedipal stage. Thus, in order to separate from her, boys are motivated to reverse that power by subordinating females, both personally and culturally. Because fathers are less present than mothers in children's lives, boys come to define masculinity as not being feminine or not being like a mother, and identify with cultural images of masculinity to learn about their gender role. For men, breaking down their isolation and fears of one another is important, but to find the core of the problem requires men to play a role in domestic life through equal and shared parenting. Then boys would experience men as equally capable of nurturing, so that they do not associate nurturing with only one gender. Shared parenting would reduce men's needs to guard their masculinity and their control of social and cultural spheres that treat and define women as secondary and powerless (1978:218).

Obviously, Chodorow's psychodynamic theory presents an alternative to Freud's theory. Although she retains the emphasis on early childhood and the importance of gender identity, she concentrates

on the importance of early relationships in the family structure and on the child's early social experiences. Her basic idea is that the fundamental male strain originates with males' struggle to reject, and identify with, mothers (women) at the same time and that the male strain accelerates with the lack of male models, mainly because of the fathers' absence in boys' early childhood. This provides a base for proposition three of the male sex role identity theory, saying that the development of an appropriate sex role identity is a risky, failure-prone process, especially for males (Pleck, 1981:20). The phenomenon of male gender role strain is reflected in the male's anti-femininity and hyper-masculinity in Chodorow's analysis. She also suggests how a change can be made in the formation of gender identity: men's involvement in raising children could have a positive affect on boys' and girls' attitudes toward the division of labour and, consequently, it could change boys' devaluation of women and anti-femininity emotion. However, from the previous psychoanalytic theories that emphasized the presence of fathers to reinforce the masculine attitude and traits and to avoid boys' feminization and homosexuality, this idea provides the very opposite reason why fathers stay with children at home (Pleck, 1989:131).

From the feminist perspective, Segal (1997:76) criticizes the object relations psychoanalytic approach, such as Chodorow's position about the power relation. Segal argues that it is obvious that Chodorow incorporates into Freud's theory the importance of the first two years of the relationship between infants and mothers. She never questions the bipolarity of masculinity-femininity and never challenges that masculinity itself could be a problem, even though she proceeds from Freud's theory about the normative masculinity. The cure of the male strain is also connected to gender aware-mothering and fathers' involvement in child-rearing in the same vein as Freud's theory.

In short, the male sex role identity model is based on Freud's theory that emphasizes the Oedipal stage in which masculine and feminine traits are established. Thus, each sex must acquire appropriate sex traits and attitudes to affirm their sex identity. But, the male strain generates from the process of identification with fathers driven by the castration complex. Chodorow extends this idea to include the pre-Oedipal stage in which a mother-boy's relationship is designated as the most important factor to cause male strain. The absence of male role models and strong mothers due to the transformed sex roles, as a direct result of the societal change, reinforces males' problem of separation. The result is reflected in homosexuality (low masculinity) and hyper-masculinity (high masculinity) as phenomena of male gender role strain.

Thus far, MSRI Model has been critically discussed. In what follows male gender role strain paradigm proposed by Pleck will be explored.

2.2. MALE GENDER ROLE STRAIN PARADIGM

Although psychologists have been enamoured of the propositions and tenets of the male sex role identity paradigm for several decades, research findings have forced many to seriously question its validity. In the past decade, several social scientists started to look at the male sex role in a new way. Most notable among them is Joseph Pleck, who proposes a new paradigm that presents the male sex role in general, and male gender role strain specifically, in a new light. Before exploring Pleck's paradigm, it will be most helpful to examine earlier attempts to find a new male sex role and male gender role strain, stressing cultural or social contexts to pressure males to conform to their harmful roles, rather than to their innate biological or psychological needs.

2.2.1 Early attempts to find a new male gender role / new theory for male strain

2.2.1.1. Literature on cultural anthropology and sociology

Margaret Mead - Variables and the cultural constructions of gender

Cross-cultural research suggests that gender and sexuality are far more fluid, far more variable, than biological models predicated (Kimmel, 2000:38). If biological sex alone produces observed sex differences, how do masculinity and femininity develop in different cultures? In her path-breaking study, *Sex and temperament in three primitive societies* (1935), Mead began an anthropological tradition of exploring and often celebrating the dramatically rich and varied cultural constructions of gender. Mead's work sheds light on how cultures vary in their belief about the nature of females and males.

Margaret Mead's book is based on a study of three primitive tribes in New Guinea. She reports that both the male and female Arapesh display a personality that, out of our historically limited preoccupations, Western people would call "maternal" in its parental aspects, and "feminine" in its sexual aspects. Mead found men, as well as women, trained to be co-operative, non-aggressive, and responsive to the needs and demands of others. According to Mead, there is no notion that sex is a powerful driving force either for men or for women. In marked contrast to these attitudes, among the Mundugumor, both men and women develop as ruthless, aggressive, positively sexed individuals, with the minimum maternal cherishing aspects of personality. Both men and women approximate to a personality type that Western people would find only in an undisciplined and very violent male. Neither the Arapesh nor the Mundugumor profit by a contrast between the sexes; the Arapesh ideal is the mild, responsive man married to the mild, responsive woman; the Mundugumor ideal is the violent aggressive man married to the violent aggressive woman. In the third tribe, the Tchambuli, she found a

genuine reversal of the sex attitudes of our own culture, with the woman the dominant, impersonal, managing partner, and the man less responsible and emotionally dependent.

Mead's conclusion is that, "if those temperament attitudes that were traditionally regarded as feminine - such as passivity, responsiveness, and a willingness to cherish children - can so easily be set up as a masculine pattern in one tribe, and in another be outlawed for the majority of women as well as men, then there is no longer any basis for regarding such aspects of behaviour as sex-linked." (1935:38). In the Tchambuli, her belief became even stronger when the actual reversal of the position of dominance of the two sexes was considered, in spite of the existence of formal patrilineal institutions (Mead, 1935:38). Finally, she stated, "We are forced to conclude that human nature is almost unbelievably malleable, responding accurately and contrastingly to contrasting cultural conditions" (1935:39). Moreover, by noting that American society still demand a measure of success of all children, which is actually less and less possible for them to attain, she argues that, if American men are chronically restless and anxious, it is because of the contradictory cultural messages that form the backbone of male socialization (1942:68.69).

David Gilmore: Cultural-social constructions of gender

In Gilmore's (1990) review across scores of cultures studied by anthropologists, ranging from pre-industrial Western societies to Micronesia and Africa, he concludes that while biological maleness may be a predestined phenomenon, manhood is a culturally constructed concept, and no fragile achievement at all (1990:4-5). The manhood ideal is not purely psychogenetic in origin, but is also a culturally imposed ideal to which men must conform, whether or not they find it psychologically congenial (1990:4-5). Gilmore (1990:201-219) presents cases that prove that the manly ideal is not universal as a cultural category. In two societies, the Semai of Malaysia and the people of Tahiti in French Polynesia, he finds virtually androgynous cultures in which cultural variables may outweigh nature in the making of manhood. Gilmore (1990:209-217) describes these two peoples as follows:

The Semai believe that to resist advances from another person, sexual or otherwise, is equivalent to an aggression against that person. They call such aggressiveness *punan*, meaning roughly "taboo." *Punan* is a Semai word for any act, no matter how mild, that denies or frustrates another person This means prohibitions against hurting another person's feelings ... They never hit each other or fight, and even noisy arguments are forbidden because noise frightens people They have no sporting competitions or contests that might involve one person losing and feeling bad Semai people put little stress on personal property, individualism or material ambition They do not distinguish between a male public and a female private realm The Semai have little use of gender distinctions in their speech, and they have no gender scheme.

Tahitian women had a remarkably high status and were permitted to do almost everything that the men did. There were women chiefs with effective political power; some women dominated and even beat their husbands; any women could participate in men's sports, sometimes even wrestling against male opponents Men are no more aggressive than women; women do not seem softer or

more maternal than the men. As well as having similar personalities, men and women also have roles so similar as to seem almost indistinguishable. Both perform most of the same tasks, and there are no jobs or skills reserved for either sex by cultural dictate This blurring of sex roles is echoed in the Tahitian language, which does not express gender grammatically. Pronouns do not indicate the sex of the subject or the gender of the object A man who works hard and tries to make money is criticized by other villagers because he works too hard and plans too much to be an ordinary Tahitian Men are expected not only to be passive and yielding but also to ignore slights Prohibitions against aggression go far to exclude thoughts of revenge even when cheated (Gilmore, 1990:202-209).

As Levant (*New psychology of men*, 1995:244) notes, Gilmore's core argument is a reversion of the gender role identity paradigm. However, the contrasting cases of the Semai and the Tahitians that Gilmore presents can also support a social constructionist view of gender roles. When it is applied to male gender role strain, those two authors' contributions can be traced to their findings that every culture could have different gender role norms, which can be rejected in a different culture. This means that the gender role strain could be closely connected to the social norms in a given society. Thus, if we recognize the social impact on the male strain, the process of compromise and relearning can thwart this strain.

Helen Mayer Hacker: Male role strain from the cultural-social perspective

In her article, *The new burdens of masculinity* (1957), which was the first theoretical analysis of masculine role strain, Hacker explores the masculine strains imposed by the burdens of masculinity from a cultural, socially oriented perspective. In her view (1957:228), contemporary masculine problems may be viewed as arising from four sources, such as the economic situation, role expectations, unemotionality and any sign of weakness (effeminacy). She describes two kinds of male role strains: inadequacy in fulfilling role expectations and the contradictory or inconsistent features of male roles.

Hacker (1957:228-230) presents objective indications of the masculine role strain as follows:

First, most obvious is the widespread expression of resentment toward women in conversation, plays, novels, and films.

Second, the index increases social visibility of impotence as arising from contradictory expectations:

- 1) Males are asked to bring patience, understanding, and gentleness into interpersonal relations - previously reserved for women. Yet with regard to women, they must still be "sturdy oaks."
- 2) This contradiction is also present in men's relationships with men. They must impress others with their warmth and sincerity (rather than, as formerly, with their courage, honesty and

industry), they must be trouble-shooters on all fronts. Yet, they are not thereby relieved of the necessity of achieving economic success or other signal accomplishment, nor are they permitted such catharses as weeping, fits of hysterics, and obvious displays of emotion.

- 3) In the domestic areas, in the status of a husband, a man must assume the primary responsibility for support of the home. The self-respecting male has no choice but to work. Yet his responsibility does not end there. He should also function instrumentally, and also needs to develop expressive functions to maintain the home.
- 4) The personality traits that are rewarded in childhood are not approved of in the peer group, nor are the values of the latter always conducive to success in the adult world of college and business.
- 5) Integration of the conflicting roles of dependence and submission inside home with self-assertiveness outside the home is difficult because of the feelings of guilt aroused for either violating the initial submissive adjustment, or for not making the effort to achieve.

Third, the ability to perform the sexual act has been a criterion for man's evaluation of himself from time immemorial. Virility used to be conceived as a unilateral expression of male sexuality, but today is regarded in terms of the ability to evoke the female's full sexual response.

Fourth, as a flight from masculinity, male homosexuality may in part be a reflection of role conflicts. In Hacker's understanding, homosexuals are men who are overwhelmed by the increasing demands to fulfil the specifications of masculinity and who flee from competition, because they fear the increased pressure on what they consider their very limited resources. To do the best they can, is to settle for a compromise on sensual satisfaction without further commitment.

According to Hacker (1957:233), the future solution need not be the reversal of the caste line in a matriarchal society, but rather the collaborative effort of men and women in evolving new masculine and feminine identities that will integrate the sexes in the emotional division of labour, so that the roles that men and women play will not be rationalized or be seen as external constraints but be eagerly embraced as their own.

Ralph H Turner: The Male role strain from a sociological point of view

From a sociological point of view, in his book, *Family interaction* (1970), Turner believes that role strains result from the external social milieu, rather than stem from the unconscious level hypothesized by the psycho-analysis theory. According to him, the inability to prove himself with these masculine behaviours and traits result in masculine role strain (1970:292). Turner proposes several

obstacles to complicate males' efforts to prove masculine self-respect as the source of masculine role strain (1970:292ff):

1. A lack of an adequate role model, because of an absent father.
2. The inadequacy of masculine roles because socially integrated achievement is unavailable to many men and is not attainable for most men.
3. Discontinuity of masculine roles. There is a discontinuity between boyhood and adulthood both in the opportunity for establishing masculinity and in the means available.
4. The discrepancy of masculine roles. Women want men to have all the masculine qualities that men want for themselves, but also want them to have most of the desirable feminine features, such as gentleness, sentimentality, and soft-heartedness.
5. The failure of reciprocation.
6. The failure of attaining a sense of worth.
7. Myths of sex specialized competence further confounds masculine validation.

In response to male gender role strain, most men develop certain characteristic mechanisms as a consequence of this strain (Turner, 1970:300). First, cultivation of the independent, nonconforming, aggressive features of the male style into a way of life as shown by delinquency and deviancy, arbitrary rulings and the studied use of coercion. Second, a moderated form of this mechanism is the practice of male self-assurance and decision. It would be a confession of weakness to admit to lack a definitely formed opinion on a matter relevant to male concerns or to change one's opinion in the face of convincing arguments by another. Third, degrading feminine activity and the cultivation of incompetence in feminine spheres. It is an anomaly found in many areas that, when people cannot prove themselves by what they *can* do, they fall back on the assertion of what they *cannot* do.

Turner (1970:301-302) observes many consequences of male gender role strain for marital and family relations. First, as a mutual benefit, marriage is inconsistent with male roles, as marriage is perceived as a form of surrender; second, inflexibility of sex specialization; third, resistance of intimacy; and fourth, the potential clash of identities.

2.2.1.2. Literature on men's liberation

The so-called conservative men's movement and anti-feminist movement circles developed many ideas on this issue. However they approached the issue with the assumption that male gender role

must be survived to sustain our society and that gender role strain must be endured rather than removed, based on the gender division of work.²¹ In contrast, however, a number of pro-feminist male scholars began to deal with male gender role strain in a more appropriate way.

Pleck and Sawyer - Male gender role stereotypes that limit males' ability to be human

In Pleck and Sawyer's anthology, *Men and masculinity* (1974), most contributors describe the pressure on men to excel as athletes, breadwinners, and scholars, and to rely on themselves rather than on others (Gould, 96; Candell, 14-17; Kats, 155-157). In a very short article, *On male liberation* (1974), Sawyer explains what male liberation means. He appeals that male liberation calls for men to free themselves of sex-role stereotypes that limit their ability to be human. He identifies the index of sex-role stereotypes for men as dominant, achieving, and successful. But a fuller concept of humanity recognizes that all humans are potentially both strong and weak, both active and passive, and that these and other human characteristics are not the province of one sex. Sawyer's eagerness to attain a fuller humanity is also reflected in the Berkeley Men's Center manifesto²² of February, 1973. It declares:

We, as men, want to take back our full humanity. We no longer want to strain and compete to live up to an impossible oppressive masculine image - strong, silent, cool, handsome, unemotional, successful, master of women, leader of men, wealthy, brilliant, athletic, and heavy. We no longer want to feel the need to perform sexually, socially, or in any way to live up to an imposed male role We want to love ourselves We want to express our feelings completely and not bottle them up or repress them in order to be controlled or respected. We believe it requires strength to let go and be weak We want to relate to both women and men in more human ways-with warmth, sensitivity, emotion, and honesty. We want to share our feelings with one another to break down the walls and grow closer We want to affirm our strengths as men and at the same time encourage the creation of new space for men in areas such as childcare, cooking, sewing, and other feminine aspects of life. We believe that this half-humanization will only change when our competitive, male-dominated, individualistic society becomes cooperative based on sharing of resources and skills (Pleck & Sawyer, 1974:173,174).

Sidney M. Jourard: Low self-disclosure as a core lethal aspect of the male role

The concerns of authors who speak about the masculine role strains showed the sources of role strains, and attempt mainly to clarify the nature of role strains, rather than to indicate what the consequences of male gender role strains mean for males' health problems. Unlike the authors above, Jourard is concerned more about the issues of men's health resulting from the male role. In an article, *Some lethal aspects of the male role* (1971), Jourard begins his article with men's higher level of mortality

²¹ See Gilder's *Men and marriage* (1986), Clatterbaugh's *Men's movement* (1990), and Messner's *Politics of masculinities* (1997).

²² The Berkeley Men's Center is a collective of men struggling to free themselves from sex-role stereotypes and to define themselves in positive, neo-chauvinistic ways. It has been active since 1970 and includes men of all sexual orientations. It distributes material on realizing men's consciousness groups in the Bay Area. Projects include anti-sexist actions, television and radio programmes, bake sales, and men's work-play shops every few months, with child-care (1974:173).

than women. If biology provides no convincing evidence to prove that the female organism is intrinsically more durable than that of males, then the transaction between men and women would account for the sex-differential in mortality. The male role, as personally and socially defined, requires man to appear tough, objective, striving, achieving, unsentimental, and emotionally not expressive. If he weeps or displays weakness, others are likely to regard him as unmanly, and he will probably regard himself as inferior to other men. According to this male role and the male self-structure, a man is not allowed to express the entire breadth and depth of their inner experience to himself or to others. Jourard (1971:35) argues that males' potential thoughts, feelings, wishes and fantasies know no bounds, save those set by their biological structure and personal history. His basic assumption is that self-disclosure is an empirical index of openness, of real self-being, which are factors in health and wellness. Thus, low self-disclosure seems to point to one of the potentially lethal aspects of the male role (1971:36).

Jourard (1971:38) notes that research in patterns of self-disclosure has shown that men typically reveal less personal information about themselves to others than to women. Add to this males' lack of self-insight; empathy is not competent at self-loving. Accordingly, manly men violate their own unique needs, their own growth and health. Lastly, Jourard suggests stepping back and briefly examining the problem of roles from a broader perspective, which is seeking ways of redefining the male role.

Herb Goldberg: The contradictory and inconsistent aspect of male gender role

Goldberg, who is assumed to be a representative of the men's right movement, provides valuable material about male gender role strain in his book, *The hazards of being male* (1976). His concerns focus on men's strain being out of touch with their emotions and body (1976:15). Goldberg observes that the masculine gender ideal is contradictory and inconsistent. The male in our culture finds himself in countless no-win bonds. Men are constantly being affected by gross inconsistencies between what they have been taught as boys, and what is expected of them as adults; between inner needs and social pressures; and between contradictory expectations in the many roles they have to play. Goldberg identifies 19 no-win bonds. For example, a boy is raised with a strong feminine imprint, but if he expresses his feminine component, he is ridiculed as a sissy. However, if he disowns his feminine traits, he must live as an incomplete person. A boy is told to be active because this is manly, but if he is active, he is told that he is restless and poorly disciplined. Men are told to be gentle, while gentle men are told they are wimps. Men are told to be vulnerable, but the vulnerable are told they are too needy. Men are told to be less performance-oriented, but less successful men are rejected for lack of ambition. The list of contradictions is seemingly endless (1976:96-106).

These contradictory demands fragment men psychologically, detach them emotionally, and extremely repress them. The traditional detached, controlled, guarded, and disengaged, is a protective mechanism that allows men to respond simply to external cues or inputs, like a programmed computer, rather than having to wrestle with constant conflict and ambiguity (Goldberg, 1976:96).

Many destructive consequences, as a result of emotional detachment, stem from conforming to the following contradictory pressures:

- 1) Drinking binges, wild driving, a blatantly destructive affair, or a violent outburst, among others.
- 2) Depression, withdrawal, anxiety, pseudo-euphoria.
- 3) Backache, fatigue, headaches, bowel problems, and ulcers.
- 4) Loneliness, alienation, numbness, and a deepening sense of futility about relationships (Goldberg, 1976:69,70).

Goldberg (1976:179-188) argues that, contrary to popular myth, the difference of life expectancy between males and females is caused by male gender role and its costs. He also notes that, in almost every category - longevity, disease, suicide, crime, accidents, childhood emotional disorders, alcoholism, and drug addiction - men fare worse than women. The destruction of the male body is also linked to the masculine role, such as intellectualization, macho rigidity, and guilt toward women when males try to seek their own pursuits (1976:107). Ultimately, masculinity in its traditional form becomes lethal, governed as it is by unachievable contradictory social ideals and motivated by emotional frustrations.

In short, much of all the above authors' appeal for both men and women is about the recognition that both sexes are harmed by gender stereotypes, and the assertion that the role of provider afflicts men both emotionally and physically. It also recognizes that masculine gender roles, ideals, and stereotypes are not internally consistent and that they often demand the impossible of men. Thus, men need to be freed from the double bonds of masculinity. They are often attracted to the idea that masculinity and femininity are complementary sets of traits found in everyone: masculine men are simply people who have been blocked by stereotypes and ideals from developing their feminine side; and feminine women are simply people who have been blocked by stereotypes and ideals from developing their masculine side. A person who develops both sets of traits is androgynous; for them, androgyny should replace masculinity.

2.2.2. Pleck's male gender role strain paradigm

As mentioned earlier, Pleck's book, *The myth of masculinity* (1981), provides the culmination of men's liberation literature, challenging male gender role identity theory that began with the inner conflict, such as anxieties, that men feel based on the assumption that there are innate psychological traits to be followed faithfully. Contrary to the male gender role identity theory, Pleck begins by dissecting male gender role itself. Trying to fulfil the demands of the role is the real source of stress in men's lives. Pleck posits a model of male gender role strain, which places tension, contradiction, and anxiety in the centre of men's efforts to demonstrate manhood.

Pleck (1981:9, 1995:11) proposes ten propositions that form the basis of the gender role strain paradigm that have formed the theoretical basis for over 20 years of subsequent research into masculinity:

- a) Sex role stereotypes and norms define sex roles operationally.
- b) Sex roles are contradictory and inconsistent.
- c) A high proportion of individuals violate sex roles.
- d) Violating sex roles leads to social condemnation.
- e) Violating sex roles leads to negative psychological consequences.
- f) Actual or imagined violation of sex roles leads individuals to over-conform to them.
- g) Violating sex roles has more severe consequences for males than females.
- h) Certain characteristics prescribed by sex roles are psychologically dysfunctional.
- i) Each sex experiences sex role strain in its paid work and family roles.
- j) Historical change causes sex role strain.

There are two definite shifts or changes in the basic assumptions that underly male gender role in Pleck's 10 propositions of the gender role strain paradigm compared with his 11 propositions contained in the male sex role identity paradigm.

Firstly, while the male sex role identity paradigm insists that psychological masculinity is an innate feature of personality that can be measured by certain psychological tests, in the gender role strain masculine sex-typed behaviour and what people commonly refer to as psychological masculinity, are rather sex-typed behaviours learned by a male in order to adapt to situational demands and social

pressures. Masculinity is a result of social demands and pressures shaped by the process of socialization.

Secondly, while the male sex role identity model states that the end result of a poorly developed or inadequate masculine sex role identity accounts for many other psychological problems that the male experiences, the gender role strain paradigm states that males experience personal role strain as a result of not living up to society's male sex role because of the built-in inconsistencies and contradictions among various elements of the male sex role. Furthermore, the gender role strain paradigm points out that, in their attempt to live up to unrealistic sex role expectations, many males actually develop unhealthy or dysfunctional behaviour in unhealthy and antisocial ways. They also feel inadequate in their masculinity because they are not able to accomplish all their goals and objectives in these roles.

In short, as Doyle (1983:141) notes, Pleck's analysis would have males who ask questions about their masculinity, look at society's standards and expectations for males, and question their reasonableness. The problem rests, not inside males and their masculine gender role identities, but rather in society and its definitions of what it means to be a man today.

Pleck (1995) reformulates the gender role strain theory and suggests that many of the social constructionists' concerns about his theory, in response to Kimmel's critique, were fundamentally compatible with his original theory. In this update of his original conception of the gender role strain paradigm, Pleck (1995:12-18) explains that, implicit in these propositions, are three broader ideas about how cultural standards for masculinity have potentially negative effects on individual males, as follows:

The first idea is that a significant proportion of males exhibit long-term failure to fulfill male role expectations. The resulting disjuncture between these expectations and these males' characteristics leads to low self-esteem and other negative psychological consequences. This dynamic is "gender role discrepancy" or "incongruity" (discrepancy-strain). Second, even if male role expectations are successfully fulfilled, the socialization process leading to this fulfillment is traumatic, with long-term negative side effects. This is the "gender role trauma" argument (trauma-strain). And the third theoretical notion is that the successful fulfillment of male role expectations can have negative consequences because many of the characteristics viewed as desirable or acceptable in men (e.g., low level of family participation) have inherent negative side effects, either for males themselves or for others. This is the "gender role dysfunction" argument (dysfunction-strain). These three ideas correspond to three theoretical subtypes of male gender role strain: discrepancy-strain, trauma-strain, and dysfunction-strain.

Pleck's male gender role strain paradigm has been broadly accepted in the mental health field, in the media and popular culture,²³ and is being pursued in research, as well by social constructionist

²³ The core insights underlying the concept of male gender role strain have been broadly accepted. A particular important example is John Bradshaw's public education work in the adult children of alcoholics and recovery movements, connecting dysfunctional male behaviour patterns to mistaken cultural beliefs about what men should do and feel (Pleck, 1995:25,26).

theorists. Based on the male gender role strain paradigm, O'Neil and Eisler hold that gender roles negatively affect men in two main ways: a) Gender role conflict and b) Gender role stress.

2.2.2.1. Gender role conflict

The most commonly used instrument to measure dysfunction strain is male gender role conflict scale (GRCS) (O'Neil, *et al.*, 1986), which O'Neil developed, based on Pleck's (1981) idea explained in his work, *The myth of masculinity*. "Gender role conflict is a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative impacts or consequences on the subject, or others. Gender role conflict occurs when rigid, sexist, or restricted gender roles result in restriction, devaluations, or violations of others or the self" (O'Neil, 1990:24,25).

O'Neil hypothesized that the men's gender role conflict was related to men's gender role socialization, the masculine mystique and value system, men's fears of femininity, and both personal and institutional sexism. He originally identified six patterns of gender role conflict as follows (O'Neil, 1997): Restrictive emotionality; Socialized control, power, and competition; Homophobia; Restrictive sexual and affectionate behaviour; Obsession with achievement and success; and Health care problems.

Later, these six patterns of gender role conflict were reduced to four patterns, i.e., success, restrictive emotionality, restrictive affectionate behaviour between men and conflicts between work and family relations. From 1994 until 2008, there have been over 232 empirical studies using the GRCS (O'Neil, 2008). The literature shows that men's gender roles are positively associated with numerous constructs of psychological struggle including: depression, anxiety, anger, negative attitudes towards seeking psychological help, and low self-esteem (Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1993 b; Good *et al.*, 1996; Hayes & Mahalik, 2000; Levack, 2006; Burns *et al.*, 2006; Kimmel *et al.*, 2005; Addis *et al.*, 2003; Mansfield, 2003; Manel X *et al.*, 2003; Wade, 2009; Lynsey *et al.*, 2008). Gender role conflict factors were associated with lower self-esteem (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Tzeng *et al.*, 2009), lower capacity for intimacy (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995), higher anxiety and depression (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995), abuse of alcohol (Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Locke *et al.*, 2005), as well as higher levels of general psychological symptomatology (Good *et al.*, 1995). O'Neil and Good (1997) have studied the patterns of gender role conflict and alexithymia of college students. Good *et al.* (1996) found a relationship between men's psychological stress (depression, paranoia, psychoticism, compulsivity) and gender role conflict. Burns *et al.* (2008) found that men's gender role conflict significantly correlated with adjustment following treatment for prostate cancer.

2.2.2.2. Gender role stress

Another instrument to measure discrepancy strain that Pleck proposes is the gender role stress scale. Eisler and Skidmore hypothesize that many men, who are strongly committed to the traditional male role, experience male gender role stress (MGRST) when faced with situations that they perceive as posing a threat to their masculine identity (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Eisler, Skidmore & Ward, 1988; Good & Mintz, 1990; Lash, Copenhaver & Eisler, 1998; Lash, Eisler & Schulman, 1990). In a factor-analytic study, Eisler and Skidmore (1987) identify a range of situations in which many men experience gender role stress. These authors characterize the most prominent gender role stress-producing situations for men as those in which they perceive themselves as (1) physically inadequate, (2) emotionally expressive, (3) subordinate to women, (4) intellectually inferior, or (5) inadequate performers.

Studies have found scores on the MGRST to be related to alcohol problems (McCreary, Newcomb & Savada, 1999) and increased blood pressure (Lash, Eisler, & Schulman, 1990). Several researchers have asserted that MGRST may predispose men to increased levels of anger, hostility, and rage (O'Neil, 1981; Eisler, Skidmore & Ward, 1988; Copenhaver et al., 2004; Lynch, 2007; Aldarondo et al., 2005; Mahalik et al., 2005). Studies using the MGRST scale have identified reliable relationships between the MGRST status and men's self-reported anger and physiological reactivity to masculine relevant threats (Schmidt, 2003; Eisler, Skidmore & Ward, 1988; Lash, Eisler & Schulman, 1990; Mussap, 2008; Fischer, 2007).

In brief, the gender role strain (conflict and stress) theory emphasizes that men have emotional problems because traditional masculinity tends to suppress emotion and deny vulnerability, therefore men suffer from masculine stereotypes.

2.2.3. Phenomena of male gender role strain in both the Western society and the Korean society

The male sex role identity model asserts that not being masculine enough is the source of problems in the male psychic (homosexuality) and that males' exaggerated behaviour (hyper-masculinity) originates in defence against their unconscious feminine identification, reinforced by the absence of a father. In contrast, in the male gender role strain paradigm, harmful consequences of rigidly adherence to male gender roles (ideologies of masculinity) have been studied in terms of conflict between work and family, hyper-masculinity,²⁴ men's psychological health, interpersonal problems and even international policy. The impact of male gender role strain cannot be remained in those realms. Male gender role strain possibly influences the shaping of men's practices of faith in the private domain, as well as in churches.

²⁴ As mentioned earlier, the causes of hypermasculinity in the male gender role strain paradigm differs from the male sex role identity model. Reactions against the unconscious feminine side were the focus in the latter, and over-learning of the externally prescribed role as emphasized in the former.

2.2.3.1. Conflict between work and family

Men's multiple roles that now have already become the norm have caused men to face three-fold battles in their lives. Men have become involved in battles against a hostile work environment, finding a balance between work and family, men's mentality, and women's new pursuit of independence and equality.

Working environment

Work and family issues are a major source of inner conflict for many men. As Fry noted (2001), "men do not want to miss out on watching their children grow up, nor do they want to see their families being financially stressed." While some have the courage to downshift their careers and become a more significant part of their children's lives, others cannot cut back and lower their standard of living (Fry, 2001). Men, like women, now report that their workplace circumstances make it difficult to meet family obligations (Coltrane, 2007). Berry and Rao's study (1997) has implications for both the family and the workplace. They reported the following results. First, fathers are involved with their children in ways that affect their workplace roles and may be stressful and, second, that greater involvement in these events is related to greater stress. In a series of articles in the *Washington Post* (1998, 22 March, A1), Richard Morin and Megan Rosenfeld reported on a national survey on women and men's status and sentiments concerning work, families, relationships, and the problems of juggling them all. This survey revealed that most women and men believed that the increased gender equity has enriched both sexes. "But both also believed that the strains of this relatively new world have made building successful marriages, raising children and leading satisfying lives ever more difficult. Now, men and women share a sense of conflict and confusion about how to make it all work under today's pressures."

Times (Orecklin, *Times*, 23 Aug, 2004) also reports that men, most interestingly those in their early 20s to early 40s, are adjusting to their evolving roles, and

They seem to be doing so across racial and class lines. But, in straining to manage their responsibilities at work and home, many men say they do not feel an adequate sense of control in either realm. Now, as with women of a generation ago, men are experiencing the notion of a second shift, and they must contend with a shaky economy, buy-outs, lay-offs and mergers, not to mention rapidly evolving technological advances, making them concerned about keeping up with changing job skills.

Times continues to report that although 72% say they would sacrifice advancements at work to spend more time at home, and 66% say they would risk a superior perceiving them to be poorly by asking for a month's paternity leave, men do not necessarily curtail their working hours. Nearly 68% of men work more than 40 hours a week and 62% work on weekends. And men with children are putting in

more hours than those without: 60% of them work 41 to 59 hours per week, whereas only 49% of men without kids rack up that many hours. Recent UK government research reveals that one in five employees now works over 60 hours a week, including 14% of fathers, with men generally twice as likely as women to work such long hours (Whitehead, 2002:126).

With longer office hours, more job insecurity and greater pressure, the traditional breadwinner finds he cannot spend so much time at home with the children (Hamshire, *The Daily Mail*, April 10, 1996). The *Daily Mail* states that this conflict has resulted in many husbands suffering from a condition known as “role strain.” This conflict brings feelings of guilt and a belief that he is letting his family down. The problem is so widespread that almost three-quarters of the men in New York (12% in 1977) report a significant conflict between work and family. The *Daily Mail* continues to say that fathers do four times as much paid overtime as childless men. This is likely to be in response to crises in the family due to a mother’s withdrawal from the labour market. They also miss work and are late for work more frequently. If they are sole breadwinners, they spend less time with their children at weekends, because they are too tired, or bring work home.

As Coltrane noted (2007), in the increasing work and family conflict, more working hours have accompanied the fact that workplaces have negative attitudes and fewer programmes are designed to lessen work and family conflicts, although male and female remunerations and family work patterns have become more similar. With the exception of Nordic countries, America and Britain have been slow to adopt family policies, such as paid paternity leave enforced in Nordic countries. Coltrane (2007) argues that, although the U.S. family policy, such as the Family and Medical Leave Act, has increased available options, it has not substantially relieved the burden on working parents because the options are unpaid and available only to those working in large firms. Furthermore, even when these workplace initiatives are open to men, they often are only used by women, as men are reluctant to take parental leave or to acknowledge that they need benefits to care for their children. This male reluctance generates mainly from their negative experiences in the workplace. The new research from the bank reveals that, despite changes in the Work and Families Act that recognizes Britons’ maternity and paternity rights, a significant number of employers struggle to accept the trend for working dads to embrace childcare responsibilities other than paternity leave. More than a third of dads say their bosses are unsupportive of their child-care responsibilities. This is because of what Whitehead (2002:154) calls “the performative work culture,” in which masculine values pervade organizational cultures, locating women and notions of femininity as the “other,” thus marginal. Fransell & Frost (cited in Whitehead, 2002:126) stresses many of the belief system and values that still persist in the modern capitalist world of work, as follows:

Man is still required to be aggressive, independent, unemotional, or hide his emotions, is objective, not easily influenced, dominant, is not excitable in a minor crisis; is active, competitive, logical, worldly, skilled in business, knows the ways of the world; is someone whose feelings are not easily hurt; is adventurous, makes decisions easily, never cries, acts as a leader; is self-confident; is not uncomfortable about being aggressive; is ambitious; able to separate feelings from ideas; is not dependent; not conceited about his appearance; thinks men are superior to women, and talks freely about sex with men.

Whitehead says that there is overwhelming evidence that such attributes remain highly regarded in business organizations, global corporations, the armed forces, most public sector sites and professional sport. In the workplace, stay-at-home dads encounter a range of barriers, including being excluded from important business decisions, complaints that they work too few hours, or are being overlooked for promotion (www.homedad.org.uk). It is quite harsh when former stay-at-home dads wish to re-enter the workplace. Kemba J Dunham (www.careerjournal.com/myc/workfamily/20030902-dunham.html) says that some of those stay-at-home dads venture into the job market and then often find a stigma attached to their decision. While most employers are accustomed to dealing with mothers who return to the work force after a period at home, few experience fathers attempting to do so. A stay-at-home dad was even asked if he was gay or just weird, since a stay-at-home dad is not something that a man would want to be, or admit. The interview just wandered off track, and ended quickly. A psychologist said many employers feel that if you are a nurturing male who stayed home to raise kids, you probably could not handle work. The public sphere, such as the government and corporate environment, is still very slow to change gender roles, thus contributes to work and family conflict.

In Korea, Job Korea's (the *Daily Economy*, 2007.4.5) survey reveals that 71% of 1759 respondents in Korea work more than 50 hours a week, and 23.8% of them work 55 to 60 hours a week. Many employees work (paid) overtime and work on weekends. One salaried man said, "According to the Labour Standard Law, we can work for 44 hours a week. Indeed, my company does not force us to do overtime, but it forces us in order to get "excellent results, achievements and competition." "To show impressive results, to survive amid terrible competitive work conditions and to bring home the bacon, I have to work 70 hours a week" (Kim, 2007:92). A team leader in a sales department said, "I would like to relax during weekends, but my work will not allow me to do so. I am under great pressure and stress" (the *Weekly Hankuk*, 2002.10.13). Major companies in Korea support their employees by paying for their children's tuition fees at university. But, it is nearly impossible for ordinary employees to get these benefits, because the majority of Korean men get married at around 30 years of age and they are laid off at around 45 to 50 years, when their children reach the age of 19 (Kim, 2007:146).

A study in the *Monthly Shin Donga* (January, 1999) by Hyesin Chung, a psychiatrist, examined the after-downsizing desertification (ADD) syndrome of 417 workers in five companies located in Seoul,

Korea. Chung argues that the ADD syndrome has something in common with post-traumatic stress disorder in psychiatry as revealed in Auschwitz and the Vietnam War. These people suffer from psychic confusion in the first stage of the ADD syndrome, psychic repression in the second stage, and psychic numbness in the last stage. According to Chung, 11.3% of the subjects were in the first stage in which they experienced severe anxiety, fear of lay-offs, anger and a sense of betrayal towards the companies, and a sense of guilt towards their laid-off colleagues; 66.5% were in the second stage in which they worked desperately to avoid their inner pain. Lastly, 22% (20 to 50 year-olds) were in the third stage in which they had become onlookers who did not want to be involved in anything. They interested neither in their promotion nor their lay-offs; they were just surviving day by day, because they believed that their colleagues' lay-offs were caused because they were just unlucky, as much as they, themselves, stayed on because of sheer luck. Whether within or outside the workplace, males experience serious role strain.

Women's resistance

The 120 in-depth interviews that Kathleen Gerson (2007) conducted between 1998 and 2003 with young adults from diverse backgrounds reveal women's pursuit of economic and emotional self-reliance. Both women and men largely share similar aspirations. Most wish to forge a lifelong partnership that combines committed work with devoted parenting. Most men fall back onto a neo-traditional arrangement that allows them to put their own work prospects first and rely on their partners for most care-giving if they cannot have an equal balance between work and parenting. However, if these ideals (integrating work and family life in an egalitarian way) are tempered by rigid, time-demanding jobs that hamper child-care or family-leave options, in other words, if a supportive, egalitarian partnership is not possible, most women prefer individual autonomy to being dependent on a husband in a traditional marriage. In Gerson's interviews, one young female adult said, "I must have a job and some kind of stability before considering marriage. Too many of my mother's friends believed in letting the man provide everything – now, they are stuck in a very unhappy relationship, but cannot leave because they cannot provide for themselves or their children. So, it is either welfare or putting up in somebody else's trap."

When it comes to married working women the story goes in a slightly different direction. The *Daily Mail* (Doughty, April 3, 2007) reveals that, while men are happy to share the responsibility and housework with their wives or partners, the women dream of a man who earns enough money so they can stay at home. The survey found that half or all fathers of young children felt pressure from their wives or partners to earn enough so that they can be full-time mothers. Four out of ten men are urged to earn more so that their wives can work part-time rather than have a full-time job. And only one man in eight has a wife or live-in girlfriend who wants to work full-time regardless of how much he earns.

Another *Daily Mail* (Hale, November 30, 2006) states that, of female high filers, one in six actually resents their loved one for not earning more and one in ten dislikes the financial responsibility, while they might like the material rewards. The newspaper cited the study (at Virginia University, USA) showing that, in America, couples with traditional marriages were happier. Their report reveals that women who worked were more dissatisfied with their husbands than those who stayed at home, and the happiest were those whose husbands brought in at least two-thirds of the household income, regardless of how much they helped with domestic chores. The *Daily Mail* (Ellis, January 17, 2005) provides several stories about professional women. A young women journalist who earns more than her husband confesses:

On Saturday, my husband bought my birthday present. After an exhausting morning walking up and down Oxford Street, we picked a beautiful pink Brora cashmere cardigan. Well, when I say we, as usual, I chose it, and I paid for it I looked round and saw a man buying underwear for his girlfriend, and I couldn't help feeling just a little bit envious. Why am I sitting here worrying about whether a deadline has been met rather than staying at home with my baby? It is not that I don't like my job or don't take it seriously, but my unhappiness came from the feeling of being trapped into working because I had no choice. Once back home, I feel like an outsider because I haven't had an input into my baby's daily life. I don't know how many times she has laughed or which words she has been trying to say Although my husband does his best, he doesn't have the same instinctive urge to be with our daughter as I do. His style of parenting is to create a rigid routine that he won't waver from, while I have a more natural rhythm with my child. I also find myself feeling angry that all the financial responsibility is falling on my shoulders. My husband doesn't understand what it is to feel stressed when a bill comes in, and it annoys me when he tells me not to worry.

Some women say, "I love my job, but it is stressful knowing my whole family relies on me to put food on the table But, part of me does like the fact I am in control and that I wear the trousers in our house." Others say, "I love what I do - I have always been career-minded and ambitious - but now I am starting to wish that my husband was the one who was bringing home the big salary."

The *Daily Mail* (Appleyard, February 2, 2006) writes a story of a 44-year old female author whose husband stays at home to run his own media company after giving up his job as a Sky TV reporter. She says:

This morning I realized just how irritating it can be to earn a lot more money than my husband when he said, casually, that he was going to play golf. "What! Play golf?!" All morning I seethed with resentment as I sat at my computer, working on my new novel and writing articles. I can pay lip service to the fact that it shouldn't matter who earns the most, but I think that most women, like me, still think real men should provide for their families. Ingrained in us is the feeling that the natural pattern is for the man to earn more. Perhaps we hark back to our fathers, who were invariably the breadwinners and took care of the family. I firmly believe women still want to be looked after - even if we have successful careers. I would eat a carpet with boredom if I did not work - but very few want the pressure of being the sole or even the major breadwinner. In the first few months when my husband was establishing the company, I quite understood that he could not pay himself anything. Eight months down the line, my teeth are gritted so hard I can barely speak. My husband wants to be the boss and stride about the house telling us all what to

do, but if he is not earning the money, then what right does he have to the “head-of-the-household” role? Shouldn’t I be the boss? I know lots of women who earn more than their men - and it has had a destructive effect on all their relationships. It is very hard to respect someone who is well below you in the earning stakes Working women are more likely to come home to a house that looks as if a bomb has hit it, overexcited children without a pyjama in sight and a husband who says: “Thank goodness you are home. I am exhausted and I am off to the pub.” The downside of the traditional roles was that women were regarded as pretty little things without a sensible thought in their heads. Now that we earn money, we do have respect and equality. I just feel I have too much equality!

This woman’s experience has something to do with men’s transformed attitude towards breadwinning. Of the 2000 men surveyed by men’s magazine *FHM*, 71% said they did not want the role of a family breadwinner. Instead, they preferred “a 50/50 role with their partner, sharing work, childcare and housework” (Doughy, *The Daily Mail*, April 3, 2007). Now, female breadwinners struggle with pressures falling on them as a primary breadwinners on the one hand, and domestic chores that they must accomplish after work, due to the men’s reluctance to do domestic work, and clumsiness to do child-caring, on the other hand.

In 1984, Ehrenreich wrote that, only a few years ago, feminists on the whole were disposed to welcome any change directed away from traditional manhood. Until now, we have been content to ask men to become more like women - less aggressive and more emotionally connected with themselves and others. But, it is no longer enough to ask men to become more like women; instead, we should ask that they become more like what both men and women should be. My “new man” would be capable of appreciation, sensitivity, intimacy but he would also be capable of commitment (1989:42). What she meant was the commitment to marriage and being responsible men in a family 20 years ago.

But now, women are required to be committed and responsible in their marriages. Steven (2004) writes,

In the largest federally funded study ever undertaken on the subject, Arizona State University psychologist Sanford Braver demonstrated that few married fathers voluntarily leave their children. Braver found that overwhelmingly it is mothers, not fathers, who are walking away from marriages. Moreover, most of these women do so not with legal grounds such as abuse or adultery but for reasons such as “not feeling loved or appreciated.” ...Other studies have reached similar conclusions. Margaret Brinig and Douglas Mien found that women file for divorce in some 70 percent of cases. “Not only do they file more often, but ... they are more likely to instigate separation.” Most significantly, the principal incentive is not grounds such as desertion, adultery, or violence, but control of the children. “We have found that who gets the children is by far the most important component in deciding who files for divorce.” One might interpret this statistic to mean that what we call divorce has become in effect a kind of legalized parental kidnapping (2004:2).

A well-known feminist’s suggestion to resolve the work and family conflict is most appropriate for this new situation emerging from the women’s labour force participation. Betty Friedan, who originally proclaimed women’s work outside the home in *The feminine mystique* (1963) and the need for a

second stage to restructure home and work based on equality has seen that the real lives of women and men, living on new terms of equality, have changed in marvellous, messy, diverse ways. But Friedan (1999) asks, "Why are women becoming desperate workaholics trying to fit themselves into that male model of work, while still taking most of the responsibility for the home and family?" Concerned with new movements that focus on "voluntary simplicity," Friedan (1999) suggests that cutting back on expenses would be preferable, so that one parent (she seems to mean the woman) could stay at home full-time with the children.

In Korea, An article in the *Weekly HanKuk* (2002.10.13) discusses the crisis of middle-aged males and says that males now become emotionally isolated from wives, who assert their self-realization, and children, who do not want their fathers' involvement in their business. Once these men were heads of their houses, but now they only have the duty of taking care of them without being respected and appreciated, as if they are slaves serving their masters, taking great pains to satisfy them.

According to the Korean Man Hotline report, re 24,000 cases, during 1995 to 2005 (*The Korean National Assembly Newspaper*, 2006.6), male problems can be summed up as follows.

- 1) Men complain of the decline of paternal authority at home, despite their sacrifices for the sake of their families.
- 2) Unemployed men complain of their wives disparaging them.
- 3) Wives batter the men.
- 4) Men's sense of loneliness and alienation from their wives and children in spite of their hard work for them.
- 5) Men worry about their wives' love affairs.
- 6) Wives throw men out of the house due to their financial powerlessness,
- 7) Men fear sexual impotence.

Man Hotline (the *Munhwa Daily News*, 2004, 5.8) reported that there were 1142 cases of men being battered by wives in 2004, of which 30% complained of their wives' physical violence of which 70% were severe, emotional and mental violence. In most cases, this violence was caused by wives' rage about their husbands' failure to take care of them financially. According to Man Hotline, along with men's insensitivity to their wives' and children's emotional needs, men's inability to pay the bills leads to women filing suits for divorce. The *Kukmin Daily Newspaper* (2005.1.27) reported that, in 2004 alone, 27,066 married women, over the age of 20, have absconded from home leaving their husbands and vulnerable children. The article says that among 4728 children-families registered in Korea Welfare Foundation, 1784 children-families have been caused by mothers leaving or missing

mothers (393 children-families were made by fathers). In the past, the primary reason for women leaving was because of men's violence, love affairs, or conflict between mothers-in law and themselves, but today, financial problems are the primary cause, followed by extra-marital affairs. Women leave homes because they cannot tolerate financially incompetent husbands, or they cannot pay the bills charged by using credit cards excessively, or cannot endure societal pressure on their affairs, although their husbands do not object. In rare cases, women start their own business to feed the family, instead of the unemployed husbands, but fail to pay off their debts – this induces women to leave to avoid trouble for their families (the *Monthly ShinDonga*, 2004.6). Or, when women meet new nice men through the Internet (the so-called “sponsor cafe” that connects women to men with men paying), they betray their families.

A story available on an Internet counselling corner (<http://manhotline.or.kr/gnu/bbs/tb.php/library>) provided by Man Hotline reads, "I had no problem with my wife when she left. We have been married 15 years so far. We respected each other and worked very hard Now, I'm greatly stressed." Another story by Man Hotline relates, "We have been married 15 years, and I found out about my wife's affairs four month ago. She confessed that she had had two affairs. After that my wife left home. Now, I have lost contact with her." The following story was in the *Chosun Daily News* (2007.3.19): "I was divorced recently. One day, my wife asked for a divorce. It was very shocking because I believed that my wife was honest, and sweet toward my children and myself. She confessed that she had met a nice guy through the Internet's chatting site and had been involved in affairs since that time. It happened like a movie story. After the divorce, I have been seeing a psychiatrist." The article writes that, according to a psychiatrist in a university hospital, now an increasing number of men are being treated with mental trauma resulting from their wives' affairs since these affairs bring great disgrace on husbands within the Confucian culture.

How must we interpret this moral crisis? Chung Song, a representative of Father Hotline (the *KyungHyang Daily Newspaper*, 2004.4.9) said, "Today there is no 'traditional mother image' nor 'maternal affection' among young women. Some of them become very selfish. They are not willing to sacrifice for the sake of their husbands and children." But, he also pointed out men's attitude towards women's power. When women are employed and gain control over their families, it causes a blow to their sense of manhood, which results in their violent behaviour towards their families, because they feel that their masculinity is stripped when wives earn more. However, women today do not accept this as they did in the past. The *Donga Daily Newspaper* (2005.9.2) writes a story about a man whose wife's annual salary is higher than his own. Out of his sense of inferiority and fearing a loss of authority at home, he finds that he unconsciously criticizes almost everything that his wife does. Finally, his wife considered legal separation from him. According to the Centre of Korean Family Law (the *Donga Daily Newspaper*, 2005.9.2), the cases of women considering separation from their husbands

due to their own higher income have increased, from 93 cases in 2004, to 153 cases in 2005. This exceeds the cases of women considering separation because of their husbands' financial inability (166 cases in 2004). Perhaps, after having researched the current prevalence of divorce by visiting all counselling centres in Korea, these cases support Kim's (Enmi Kim, the *Monthly Chosun*, August, 2002:3) thesis that concludes that the divorce cases filed by women have increased and men can expect to be divorced unless they discard their patriarchal mind-set.

Baihee Kwak, head of counselling at the Centre of Korean Family Law, interprets men's complaints of their wives as the men's wrong attitude by taking women's sacrifice and patience for granted. She argues that today's conflict in marriage and family are caused by men's premature intention to control and interfere with their wives' jobs. Now, women are just taking back their own selves and rights, thus men must not be angry about that. (*News Maker*, 2004.6.4). This indicates another male strain.

Men's conflict between work and family and its impact on their mentality

For a long time, men were judged as men by the level of living they provided. They were judged by their ability to provide, and care for, their women (Gould, 1974:97). If a married woman had to enter the labour force at all, that was bad enough. If she made a good salary, she was co-opting the man's passport to masculinity and he was effectively castrated; a wife's earning capacity diminished a man's position as head of the household (1974:99). Failure in the role of a good provider, which his wife's employment proved, could produce deep frustration. This was because, in his own estimation, he failed to fulfil the central duty of his life, the very touchstone of his manhood (Bernard, 1989:228). But even now, when dual-earner families have become normal, males still depend on their breadwinning role to confirm their manliness. Numerous studies have documented that work is closely tied to male identity and men still gain a sense of fulfilment from their work, rather than from housework and child-care. Still, a majority of men often think that it is common for mothers to give up, or postpone, their careers for the sake of their families if there is a barrier to applying a dual-earner model. Many men still feel emasculated as a result of their partners being the breadwinners - their traditional role has been taken away from them, so they feel useless.).

The 2000 men (with an average age of 30 and most ranking themselves in the managerial or executive job bracket), who took part in the men's magazine, the *FHM's* survey, answered that they remained highly ambitious at work, with 78% keen to improve their career and job status. Only one in ten wanted to opt out of the rat race, despite their desire to share more domestic life with their wives or partners (Doughy, April 3, 2007). A man in Coltrane's study expresses, "All things being equal, care-taking should be shared. It may sound sexist but, if somebody is going to be the breadwinner, it is going to be me. First of all, I make a better salary, and I feel the need to work, and I just think a child really needs the mother more than the father at a young age" (Gerson, 2007:15).

Now, a third of women earn more than their husbands who are increasingly either working part-time from home or becoming fully-fledged “stay-at-home dads.” But, these new circumstances surely affect men’s psychology. Appleyard (*The Daily Mail*, February 2, 2006) presents a story of a couple: A man, whose wife is an author, gave up his job as a Sky TV reporter to run his own media company. He confessed how he felt since his wife had taken his place as a breadwinner.

As the cheque from her novels and journalism flowed in Whenever I dared to enter her office after dinner, she would snarl: “Go away. I am far too busy.” Slowly, I found myself drowning in a sea of guilt that I was not earning enough. Despite protestations from the feminist lobby that women have every right to earn more money than men, it is still a fact that an unbalanced income ratio can have a dramatic and disastrous effect on a relationship. I wonder if it would be the same in reverse? Had I suddenly made enough money for her to retire and become a lady who lunches, would it have maintained the equilibrium in our household? Sadly, the answer, probably, is yes. The difference between the sexes is that I would boast of my great financial success and she would coo to her friends about how clever I was There is little kudos in being a great house-husband. Regardless of our progression towards equality, social prejudice will not allow men to be gentlemen of leisure. Career women like, my wife, seems to envy their friends who spend their day as gym bunnies, counting the minutes until their hero walks through the door. If I was a fully-fledged “kept man,” I would be laughed at by my friends and be given aprons for Christmas. I’m sad to admit the situation drives me to distraction. So, do I give in and admit I am never going to be as financially successful as my wife, or do I fight back? I have never been a quitter- so I will fight It is a blow to my pride that I cannot match her earning power and there are few bigger incentives in life than feeling she is taking responsibility for our income. This time next year I am going to buy her a pink Ferrari with a bag full of La Peria underwear on the passenger seat - not on the driving seat, mind you, because that is where I belong!

When it comes to “stay-at-home dads,” it is much more harsh. For some men, their own success, and their wives’ career orientation and success may allow an easy reversal of the traditional roles, with women as breadwinners and men as caregivers. However, many of these husbands have taken this role as result of losing their jobs, making their wives involuntary breadwinners and creating tensions in their marriages. Thus, these men go through the exact same tough time like the unemployed. According to Sidel, clinical observations of unemployed people who go to social agencies for counselling indicate that they suffer with feelings of loss, anger, and guilt - a sense of losing a part of themselves. Observers have likened these feelings to those of bereavement. Studies find that people who anticipate or experience unemployment, suffer loss of self-esteem, loss of personal identity, worry and uncertainty about the future, loss of a sense of purpose, and depression (Sidel, 1989:534, 535). A variety of emotions that the unemployed struggle with is evident in the stay-at-home dads today.

In the book, *Full-time father: How to succeed as stay at home dad*, Richard Hallowes (2004) asks, “So your partner earns more than you do? You have been made redundant?” Drawing on his survey of other home dads as well as on his own experience, he examines all the key issues. He names especi-

ally a variety of emotions that stay-at-home dads must be familiar with as a result of staying at home. These include:

- 1) Low self-esteem as a result of no longer working and potentially feeling that you are not making a worthwhile contribution or coping adequately with your role.
- 2) Guilt that your partner must go out to work all day, when she may have been equally happy to stay at home and look after the children.
- 3) Resentment that you are the one who had to give up work, while your partner happily continues her career as if you never had children.
- 4) Envy at your partner's ability to leave the house every day and do real things together with adults.
- 5) Uncertainty about whether you have really done the right thing, whether you can cope as a stay-at-home dad, and how it will affect the children.
- 6) Disappointment that your old employers seem to have been able to cope perfectly well without you since you left and, in fact, your replacement at work is busy undoing every good idea you ever had and blaming you for every failure in the company.
- 7) Concern about your future and whether time out of the workplace as a stay-at-home dad will ruin your career forever.

He writes that all the above emotions are accompanied by an intense self-loathing for having any of these feelings in the first place. This has shown that for those men, who are fully-fledged at-home dads, the new role can engender feelings of illegitimacy as a man, self-doubt and social isolation.

In Korea, many men complain about loneliness as a result of the decline of paternal authority caused by their failures in the role of good providers on the one hand, and by an extra sense of responsibility on the other hand.

Loneliness resulting from the decline of paternal authority

Because the IMF crisis has brought a rapid change of perception to Korean males, their sense of loneliness is a far greater issue than any others. Men were previously entitled to be the centre of the house, supported by their breadwinning role and also that of enforcing discipline, or being the moral educators, but suddenly, after the IMF crisis, they are being judged only by their role as provider. If they fail in this role they are regarded as failures, rejected and discarded like garbage. Therefore, men are

now not even tolerated when they do not measure up to meet their family members' emotional needs, despite their long years of sacrifice to support their families. In their hearts, this produces a sense of loneliness that repeatedly appears in men's stories and novels (*Father*, 가시고기, *What Korean men want*, 2005; *Mr. Kim's diary of a company*, 2005; *Men are now lonesome*, 2005). In his book, *Men are now lonesome*, a well-known author, BumShin Park (2005:25-37), tells the story of a man's alienation from himself and his family. This man, who had dreamed of being a creative worker, gave up his dream of being faithful to his male role as a good provider. He had a job in marketing where he proved his ability in such a way that he was promoted to a department general manager. Whenever he arrived home tired and hoping to relax, their children (one at university and two high school students) left their living room immediately where they, with his wife, had been watching television peacefully before he arrived. Now, he suddenly felt lonely in this empty living room and wondered why they get on with his wife, but not with him. Why did he feel isolated although he tried to be close to them? So, his loneliness made him find fault with trifling matters around him.

The author tells this, his friend's true story. When a man, who was considered to be very successful retired (he was an influential high-ranking official), things changed and he had problems with his wife about all matters. The most terrible shocking fact was that even his married children came to visit his mother only when he had left home. He began his own business, but failed. He decided to move to the country, but his wife refused to join him. Finally, he committed suicide in his mid-60s (BumShin Park, 2005:73-77). The author reveals that his only wish after retirement was to get on with his family. The man often said, "If I am not a man today, why don't they (his family) try to correct me with compassion?" The author says that this man could not overcome his bluntness; he was unable to be caring and nurturing, and ended up dying of loneliness after working hard for his family (his son's name was then listed as a general director in a major company in Korea).

The novel, *Father* (1996), describes how a father's love is never noticed. Older fathers, especially, are not skilled in showing their love and concern for their families.

Their attitudes are exactly what Gilmore (1990:223) observed in the Oriental societies. "In fulfilling their obligations, men stand to lose - a hovering threat that separates them from women and boys. They stand to lose their reputations or their lives; yet their prescribed tasks must be done if the group is to survive and prosper. Because boys must steel themselves to enter into such struggles, they must be prepared by various sorts of tempering and toughening. To be men, most of all, they must accept the fact that they are expendable."

Today men recognize that hidden love is not love at all and that an inappropriate way of showing love is not acceptable. The problem of "stay-alone fathers," whose families have left to study overseas, is emerging as a new societal problem in Korea. Not to mention doctors, lawyers, professors, and

directors of major companies, many Korean men became “staying alone fathers” who dreamt that their children would not be like them. They put much effort into supporting their families overseas, but sometimes they feel that they have become strangers to them. They feel that their families just want financial support, not themselves.

A journalist, Youngkyung You (2005:52,53) tells the story of a male doctor has been living alone for six years. He describes his life, "I go to Canada once a year. When I asked my wife to come back now because my children were grown up, she said, wait a little longer. My children go to university there and will get a job there. Until they get work, I have to make every effort to earn money to the point of death. However, sometimes I ask, ‘What is the meaning of my life? Why do I live like this? What do I sacrifice for? How much longer can I endure?’ All these questions irritate me."

Another male doctor dreamed of a fantastic life after retirement and, when their children came to visit him from America, he declared his plan to retire saying, "I have not spent enough time with you so far and I have been indifferent to you. So, I’m going to retire and be with you in America." He expected great excitement, but his children were upset to hear this. They said that his presence would be really uncomfortable to them. They welcomed their father’s money, not the father himself. He felt that they had used him (You, 2005:65-66).

Although today’s male role has changed into a co-provider, men are still measured by their role of being good providers, which supplies a valid reason for rejecting them when they fail to meet this obligation. A man in his mid-50s visited the centre of Man Hotline (*News Maker*, 2004.6.4) and complained,

I have been working hard for my family without caring for my health. But losing financial power after my early retirement, I have been isolated from my family. After having given half of my retirement pay to my wife to start a new shop, I have not been allowed to enter the shop. Finally, my wife packed up and has left with my children. I would really like to end my life. I do not understand why I am being treated like this, despite the fact that I have sacrificed my whole life for my family.

Korean males’ emotional struggle is often intensified by an extra sense of responsibility for their families.

A sense of responsibility for the family

Another emotional struggle that Korean men face is a sense of responsibility to support their families, which is closely connected to their sense of loneliness. A psychiatrist conducted a survey (*The Monthly Jungang*, 2001, 11) with 500 salaried men asking, "What is the heaviest burden that binds you as a man in your life?" The majority answered, "The responsibility to support my family as the head of the house." The majority of men are proud of their efforts to support their families without spending any money for their pleasure and neglecting their health (*The Donga Daily Newspaper*, 2005.8.29). As Mr. Kim’s (2007:19) diary expresses, there is no man who sleeps peacefully without

worrying about tomorrow. BumShin Park (2005:72-73) writes that men never forget their role to provide food, for which they endure humiliation and insult; men endure “cold-blooded attacks,” so they must be familiar with the laws of the jungle. Men have no time to pursue their dreams; they have no right to cry; they have no time to relax, and are on the point of collapse. A man who has a wife and children is taken hostage. Mr. Kim’s (2007:25, 43,90) diary describes a salaried man’s life:

I happened to meet my colleague in my company’s lounge and complained about the problems in my company. He suddenly took a resignation letter out of his pocket, saying that he always carries it in order to commit suicide first before his company kills him. But, when a department manager called him, he ran miserably like a soldier being called by a general. When I first entered the company, I was determined not to stand being humiliated by superiors. Yet, I have been trained to endure any humiliation quietly. I have now been trained to make it go in one ear and out of the other. I was determined that, if my superior throws my papers, I would overturn a table. Yet, I, more than anyone, have become a man who picks them up as soon as possible. A company is just like a battlefield, where I fight to keep my family safe. To protect my family, I have willingly become a stuntman. When I am asked to jump, I jump; when I am asked to die, I die. Yet, nobody knows who I am.

In 1994, a man shared his sense of responsibility after he had become a family provider. "On my first day right after marriage, I felt a sense of heavy responsibility. When I became the father of a son, I realised once more that I now had one more family member to depend on me. This responsibility made me avoid any unnecessary adventure in my work for my family" (Kim &Heo,1995:99).

In 2000, a diary titled, "A separation practice for three days," written by a middle-aged salaried man, was widely discussed. He had been suspected of having cancer, but eventually a benign lump was removed. After regular health check-ups, a doctor invited the man for a close examination. In his diary on 12 July the following appears:

The doctor said, “The lymph gland is so bad; it must have developed a lot, even though you do not feel its symptoms yet. If it is malignant cancer, you must give up your career and be in hospital as soon as possible.” My children, in grades 7 and 5, are too young. Can they overcome the loss of their father? But, I have not been a good father to them. What about my wife? She will have to bear this entire burden alone. The sorrow of the people who are left behind will be greater. When she hears her friends speak of husbands, she will be hurt. What about my parents? They depend on me. How can they bear my absence? I lay down and shed many tears. Why? Is this self-compassion, or fear of death? That is it - sympathy with the people who are left behind. It is compassion with their wounds because of me. This is the collapse of a normal family. I am so sorry, my children and my wife. Why have you met me out of all others to face this kind of trauma? (A middle-aged salaried man, 2000:7.12)

Here, we have read about men’s sense of responsibility for their families, even to the point of death and their sense of guilt for not fulfilling, simultaneously, their role as providers. But this very sense of responsibility and guilt often leads men to suicide when they predict their inability to contribute economically to their families’ (including wife, children and parents) support without any type of unemployment allocation (but, allocation exists for education, housing and for the aged) as provided in Western countries.

According to the Korean National Statistical Office, the rate of suicide is rapidly increasing in men in the 40s and 50s, when their financial burden is the heaviest. The number of suicides of those in the 40s has increased from 1039 in 2001 to 1308 in 2003, and in the 50s from 842 to 1241. As Park (2005:42) says, men seem to choose to commit suicide, as they feel it is impossible for them to fulfil their manliness any longer when they realise that they have become a burden to their families.

When we compare the Korean males' role strain with that in the West, the former does not differ essentially, but strain results from men's over-responsibility for their families, which, notably, is possibly associated with the lack of a social welfare system. If they are unable to provide food for the family, nobody can help them to survive, as the Korean welfare system does not offer any unemployment allocation, etc. This reality seems to create a burden for men as providers in Korea.

In short, a harsh working environment, increasing women's power, and multiple roles that now have become the norm, but still is a burden to men, are all incompatible with men's gender role norms that they have defended. This creates a "discrepancy strain"²⁵ (Komarovsky, 1976; Turner, 1970; Pleck, 1995) on the one hand. They are unable to fulfil the role of a sole good provider while, at the same time, being a caring, nurturing, participant father. So, men struggle to survive, not to be laid off and not to be left behind empty handed in a harsh working environment characterized by longer office hours, more job insecurity and greater pressure. On the other hand, men now experience what many sociologists (Turner, 1970; Hacker, 1957) and social psychologists (Komarovsky, 1976; Pleck, 1995) call "dysfunctional strain"²⁶ stemming from contradictory male roles. When men strive to keep up with the new economy, they find they cannot spend so much time at home. When they try to spend enough time at home, they find they cannot bring the bacon home. This causes feelings of guilt in male hearts.

2.2.3.2. Men's psychological health (Anxiety and shame)²⁷

Men's reluctance to be exposed, noted by Jouard (1971:38), leads to men's health problems. Accordingly, manly men violate their own unique needs, their own growth and health. Shame arises when a person appraises the self as having violated group norms or having failed to live up to the standards of the social group. Shame is typically considered to be stimulated by deviance from the larger social group and to be disturbing to the self (Efthim, Kenny, & Mahalik, 2001). For males, men's negative feelings, such as anxiety and shame, are created when they deviate from masculine

²⁵ "Discrepancy strain" refers to the idea that a significant proportion of males exhibit long-term failure to fulfil male role expectations. The resulting disjuncture between these expectations and these male characteristics leads to low self-esteem and other negative psychological consequences (Pleck, 1995:15).

²⁶ "Dysfunctional strain" refers to the notion that successful fulfilment of male role expectations can have negative consequences because many of the characteristics viewed as desirable or acceptable in men (e.g., low level of family participation) have inherent negative side effects, either for males themselves or for others (Pleck, 1995:18).

²⁷ About another psychological struggle including depression, anxiety, anger, negative attitudes to psychological help-seeking and low self-esteem, see pp. 9-10 in the Introduction.

ideals in the process of male socialization, (Krugman, 1995; Harris, 1995; O'Neil, 1981,1990; Pleck, 1981). As a way to prevent experiencing these negative feelings (anxiety and shame) associated with being, or appearing, feminine, some men may over-conform to traditional masculine gender roles (develop gender role strain and conflict). Thereby, these men may try to maintain their self-esteem.

Krugman (1995:104) observes the different shame-related processes in both male and female development, and the social emotional consequences that these differences generate. He views shame as being intrinsically involved in guiding and reinforcing the acquisition of gender-related traits and behaviours. As a result of socialization, boys' potential for shame is related to any and all aspects of gender expectations but, most particularly, it is related to issues concerning independence from the mother and being aggressively adequate as a male among other males. According to Schenk (2005), shame is men's primary negative affect. "Indeed it is shame that induces the striving to excel, competitiveness, the need to control, the whole macho trip" (2005). In this understanding of shame, shame arises when the self feels inadequate in relation to a valued goal or ideal. Males' identity concerns revolve around violation of traditional masculine gender roles such as being agentic, physically strong, stoic, athletic, competent, and individualistic. These roles emphasize control and power over the environment, and a male's failure in these realms would likely result in considerable displays of shame (Ferguson, Eyre & Ashbaker, 2000). More thoroughly, Krugman (1995) argues that role strain generates shame when males feel that they fail to live up to the cultural and peer group standards that they have internalized. Each of these expectations stimulates various shame responses. For example, the shame attached to feeling too dependent on others may signal a man to look cool, to withdraw, to hide (but to develop low-self esteem and depression), or to compensate with work, alcohol, or other self-regulating solutions. Sometimes this feeling of shame over their inadequacy and fear prevents males from asking for help or paying a visit to the doctor.

Based on Krugman's thesis, Judith Ellen Rand (2003) found that shame-based reactions also operate as intrinsic to domestic and community violence. Thomson (2004) also found that shame-proneness mediated the relations between masculine role conflict and psychological adjustment problems.

2.2.3.3. Hyper-masculinity

Blazina writes, "Men may experience conflict because they feel pressure by society, family, and themselves to assume behaviors, thoughts, and feelings that may not be congruent with who they are. The double bind is that even if they successfully subscribe to the cultural ideal of certain masculine behaviors, it may have an adverse impact on their psychological well-being" (Blazina, 2007:101). According to Meth (1990:16), "a man experiences any particular facet of the self that he considers feminine with great conflict and anxiety, because he believes it threatens his manhood." This

encourages hyper-masculinity found in violent death, alcoholism, drug abuse, violence and crime that are notably male behaviours. “Men constitute 99 percent of all persons arrested for rape; 88 percent of those arrested for murder; 92 percent of those arrested for robbery; 83 percent arrested for all family violence. Men are overwhelmingly more violent than women. Nearly 90 percent of all murder victims are murdered by other men” (Kimmel & Aronson, 2000:361).

Violent death is the leading cause of death for adolescents and young adults in the United States. Men are about three times more likely than women to die from violent deaths. This discrepancy holds for all ages, from birth until old age (Brannon, 2005:360; Jaworski, 2003). In 2005, adolescent boys (15-19 years of age) were four times as likely to die from suicide as were adolescent girls, in part reflecting their choice of more lethal methods, such as firearms (Health, United States, 2008). Men tend to behave in ways that increase risks, such as heavy alcohol use, low seat-belt use, occupational risks, and illegal activities. Alcohol use increases the chances of accidents, suicide, and homicide (Courtenay, 2001; 2005). By slowing responses and altering judgment, alcohol contributes to traffic accidents - about half of all traffic fatalities are related to alcohol. Alcohol use is also related to deaths from falls, fires, and drowning, as well as from boating, aeroplane and industrial accidents. Intoxication also increases the chances of becoming a pedestrian victim of a motor accident. Men are also more likely to hold dangerous jobs than women. Approximately 94% of fatalities at work involve men. Men are more likely to commit suicide, but women are more likely to attempt suicide. The lethality of the methods chosen produces higher suicide rates among men, despite women’s more frequent suicide attempts (Courtenay, 2001;2005).

According to the United States Health Department, 2008, the gap in life expectancy between males and females was 5.3 years in 2006 (it was 7 years in 1990). Although numerous explanations have been given for this, including biological inferiority and greater environmental risks, the most compelling case has been made for psychosocial factors. Waldron (1998) estimates that the difference in life expectancy between women and men is accounted for more strongly by sex-role related behaviours than biological or genetic factors. The traditional male role not only prevents men from seeking medical help in the early stages of illness and disease but also from paying attention to early warning signs of illness (Singleton, 2008; Courtenay, 2005; Brooks, 2005).

Type A characteristics have been associated with increased risk of cardiovascular mortality (Gallacher, 2003; Anderso, 2004). Burke (2002: 42) also finds that a Type A individual’s risk of developing coronary heart disease and suffering fatal heart attacks is approximately twice that of Type Bs. Certain identifying elements of the Type A pattern include exaggerated expressions of striving for achievement, a strong sense of time urgency and competitiveness, and an aggressive demeanour. Burke’s result is also consistent with Nathan et al’s findings, which related hostility and anxiety as

characteristics of Type A to cardiovascular diseases (2004). It is interesting to note that the facets of Type A behaviour are almost synonymous with the traditional masculine ideology, a part of which includes aggressiveness, competitiveness, and striving for achievement (Burke, 2002).

Alcohol drinking behaviours are important sites for understanding how masculinities are socially constructed and negotiated (Robertson, 2005; Insenhart, 2005). In American culture, “being a man” is linked with alcohol use (Sullivan, 2002). West (2001) noted that drinking males create a masculine “in-group” that defines what masculinity means to the group based on the meanings of dominant masculinities of the subgroup and of the society. Although exact figures vary, all studies indicate that men are far more likely than women to abuse alcohol. Peralta & Cruz (2006) found that for college males, when resources required to fulfil the demands of masculinity (such as white, being heterosexual, virile, tough, strong, confident, respected, and holding positions of power) are limited, alcohol-related violence as compensatory behaviour may be utilized. Rebecca Caldwell (2005) claims that male and female drink for different reasons according to each gender’s drinking culture. “Men drink to feel more macho and women drink to feel more equal to men.”

Drug addiction, in the form of using illicit drugs, is commonly viewed as one of the most pressing contemporary social problems. According to data from the 2007 National Household Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) – 1) 114 million Americans aged 12 or older (46% of the population) reported illicit drug use at least once in their lifetime. 2) 14% reported use of a drug within the past year. 3) 8% reported use of a drug within the past month. Data from the 2007 survey showed that marijuana and cocaine use is the most prevalent among persons aged 18 to 25 (2007 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: National Findings, September 2008). Like alcohol abuse, illicit drug addiction is largely a male problem. Although addiction does not bypass women, it seems to be a disease that is closely associated with men. According to Department of Justice figures, over 85% of drug offenders are male (2008).

According to Statistics concerning domestic violence, between 1993 and 2004, intimate partner violence on average made up 22% of non-fatal intimate partner victimizations against women. The same year, intimate partners committed 3% of all violent crimes against men (Bureau of Justice Statistics, Intimate Partner Violence in the U.S. 1993-2004, 2006). Nearly three out of four (74%) of Americans personally know someone who is or has been a victim of domestic violence. 30% of Americans say they know a woman who has been physically abused by her husband or boyfriend in the past year (Allstate Foundation National Poll on Domestic Violence, 2006). On average, more than three women and one man are murdered by their intimate partners in this country every day. In 2000, 1,247 women were killed by an intimate partner. The same year, 440 men were killed by an intimate partner. Intimate partner homicides accounted for 30% of the murders of women and 5% percent of

the murders of men (Bureau of Justice Statistics Crime Data Brief, Intimate Partner Violence, 1993-2001, February 2003. Bureau of Justice Statistics, Intimate Partner Violence in the U.S. 1993-2004, 2006).

Given that violence has been prescribed by traditional masculine norms in the form of war and recreational violence, such as of professional sports, male violence against women should not be surprising. Jennings & Murphy argued that male battering is born out of the disappointments of traditional male socialization and gender role training (2000:21). Regarding domestic violence, Gloria Steinem speaks of “the need to take a good look at the ways in which gender roles play a part in the abuse” (2007). She argues that men are taught to be violent by a society, a “cult of masculinity,” which tells them that “in order to be properly masculine and thus really have any worth or identity, they need to be in some degree of control. That may easily lead to violence, especially if they have seen it in their homes and felt that it is normal, and if they are in situation where they feel challenged or weakened in some way and therefore not masculine” (May 25, 2007).

Regarding gun violence, Garbarino et al (2002) reported that an estimated 43% of American household contain some type of gun. They claimed that due to the impact of mass media, countless children and youth are exposed to gun violence each year at home, at school, in their communities. As a result, gun violence can leave lasting emotional scars on these children. According to them, much of the confusion and mixed emotions many adolescent boys feel is related to society’s views of being a male and how boys are supposed to act and resolve their problems.

Koss (1993) found that 102,555 rapes took place in 1990. (She argues that rape incidence is 6 to 15 times higher than reported). But as of 2008, rapes increased by 89,000 in America (United States Crime Rates 1960-2008). In a study of 196 of primarily white, Catholic, suburban college men, 46% of the sample reported that they were somewhat likely to force sex if they did not get caught or punished, although only 2.5% of the young men viewed themselves as very likely to rape (Kaplan *et al.*, 1993, cited by Brooks & Silverstein, 1995:284). Murren et al (2002) reported that to the extent that men agree with an extreme form of masculinity that represents support for a patriarchal ideology, they are more likely to be sexually aggressive toward women. Men commit many more criminal acts than women, and their arrest and incarceration rates are much higher. Sara & Ofra’s study (2005) is consistent with the findings of Murren et al’s research (2005) and Locke & Mahalik’s study (2005). They (Sara & Ofra, 2005) conclude that traditional gender role norms for men and women are positively associated with tolerance of rape, and it is also correlated with acceptance of rape myths. Adherence to traditional male ideology has been related to the general acceptance of rape myths as well as to the likelihood of men to commit rape if they are guaranteed that they will not be caught.

Persons who adhere to traditional gender roles show sexual arousal patterns equivalent to those in identified populations of rapists” (2005)

According to the statistics for America (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2002), men are about 3.5 times more likely than women to be arrested for various types of offences, such as murder, robbery, vandalism, fraud, drunkenness, and so forth. The offences that women committed were less serious than those by men, and the rate of offences remained lower (Small, 2000). Men are not only more likely to commit acts of violence, but they are also more likely than women to be the victims of crime. These examples of hyper-masculinity result from male socialization, which is believed to shape boys to be powerful and dominant, as prescribed in the "give ‘em hell" injunction of the male code (David & Brannon, 1976).

2.2.3.4. International policy

Marc Feigen Fasteau paid special attention to American foreign policy during the Vietnam War. As a member of Senator Mike Mansfield’s staff, he examined the underlying premises and rationale of America’s involvement in the Vietnam War. He found that there was no empirical or solid theoretical support for the domino theory that supported the fact that “unless America can achieve an independent non-Communist South Vietnam, almost all of Southeast Asia will probably fall under Communist domination.” Instead, in response to a question from President Johnson, the CIA answered: "With the possible exception of Cambodia it is likely that no nation in the area would succumb to Communism as a result of the fall of Laos and South Vietnam" (CIA Memorandum, June 9, 1967, cited by Fasteau, 1974:160). Fasteau (1974:161-163) revealed:

Major decisions are not made on such a transparently thin basis (domino theory) unless another, unstated rationale and set of values are at work. No other reasons are spelled out in the Pentagon Papers, but the feeling that the United States must at all costs avoid “the humiliation of defeat” is the unarticulated major premise of nearly every document. For example, John McNaughton, Assistant Secretary of Defense, McNamara’s right-hand man and head of International Security Affairs at the Pentagon, described United States aims in South Vietnam, March 1965, as 70% - to avoid a humiliating United States defeat (to our reputation as a guarantor); 20% - to keep South Vietnam (and the adjacent territory) from Chinese hands; 10% - to permit the people of South Vietnam to enjoy a better, freer way of life President Johnson said on many occasions that he would not be the first American President to lose a war the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations have been emotionally committed to winning, or at least not losing, in Vietnam, regardless of actual consequences Avoiding the “humiliation of defeat” per se, is not automatically an important national objective. But for our Presidents and policy-makers, being tough, or at least looking tough, has been a primary goal in and of itself.

Fasteau (1974:158,159) concluded that the Vietnam War was connected, not to the domino theory, but to the masculine role strain to be perceived as being tough.

In their book, *The future of men* (2006), Marian Saltzman, Ira Mathathia and Ann O'Reilly tell several untold stories about male role strain operating behind politics. According to them, it has been widely acknowledged that male gender role served as a major role to stimulate a war between India and Pakistan in 1971. The then president of Pakistan admitted that he would not have fiercely responded to the dispute between India and Pakistan in 1971 if the head of India had not been a female. "I will never tolerate it if she, Indira Ghandi, is going to threaten me" (Saltzman *et al.*, 2006:79). They also uncovered that, immediately before the Gulf war, when Sadam Hussein took several Western women and children hostage, Western states all criticized that a real Arab warrior would not hide himself in a woman's skirt, humiliating his masculinity. A few days later, he released all the women and children (Saltzman *et al.*, 2006:93). As Fasteau says, a man wants to avoid "humiliation" at all costs and this male strain plays a major role even in international policy. This male strain also seems to impact on the practices of faith in the church as well as on men's spirituality.

2.2.3.5. Male gender role strain and its impact on spirituality

Here, the researcher will try to explore the extent to which male gender role strain impacts on the different practices of faith in the church, how churches respond to the notion of offices in the church as well as on the notion of Christian spirituality. The four major areas of masculinities, such as anti-femininity, success, self-reliance and aggression have been addressed by carefully examining how these four male norms could prevent males from growing in spirituality in both the Western and the Korean context.

The male norm of anti-femininity

Few would doubt that the first element among male gender roles is the negative, "anti-femininity" that teaches, "Boys, whatever you do, don't be or do anything like a girl" (Doyle, 1983:149). As authors (Doyle, 1983; Goldberg, 1976; David & Brannon, 1976; Blazian, 2007; 2008; Pollak, 1999; Mahalik, 2003, 2005) observe that men are taught to avoid the feminine element. The messages a man received were powerful and clear: only sissies play with girls. "Playing house, cooking, sewing, dressing a doll, or skipping with a rope would expose him to all kinds of taunts, and only the strongest could survive and continue doing so openly" (Goldberg, 1976:65). As a result, male concerns the scripts against being warm, open, tender, emotional and vulnerable.

However, this form of anti-femininity is not a new idea born in the contemporary world. An explicit form of anti-femininity was also observed in the early fathers. Nelson (1988) notes that one of the early fathers, Tertullian, perceived women as the devil's gateway and the first deserter of Divine Law. Even Augustine believed that only the male was created in the image of God, and the woman participates in the divine image only when joined to a husband. Also, for Luther, "a woman is not the full

master of herself. Only one woman in thousands has been endowed with the God-given aptitude to live in chastity and virginity” (Nelson, 1988:70).

Nelson (1988:22) believes that this sense of anti-femininity in the early theologians resulted in sexual dualism as a result of male gender role strain. By endorsing the male ideology, men now identify themselves essentially with spirit and mind, thus they are higher in the hierarchy. In contrast, females are identified with body and matter, and lower. Thus, a powerful pyramid of control was erected. God, as "pure spirit," must control all of creation. Within creation, men must control women and adults must control children. Poling (1991) agrees with Nelson when he says that this worldview of dualistic divisions and hierarchical controls deeply affected the hierarchical structure in the church and home. Although the Gospel proclaims that males and females are all equal in Jesus Christ, dualistic and hierarchical power relations still persist in the church and home, often creating abuse of power toward women and children. When this is combined with the image of God, who exercises almighty power toward those who have sinned, males in the church become easy perpetrators of violence toward the weak.

Nelson and Poling insist that sexism and abuse of power towards women and children have been created in the church and home as a result of over-conforming to masculinity's ideology (anti-femininity). From the male gender role strain paradigm perspective, sexism and abuse of power are none other than a side-effect of dysfunctional strain, as Pleck defines in this chapter.

Another implicit form of male anti-femininity might be found in God-images. It is not surprising that males' anti-femininity might be projected into only masculine God-images, while feminine characteristics, such as warmth, tenderness and vulnerability, are considered to be lower. Nelson (1988:45) points out the weakness of traditional male-constructed theism, in which God is perceived only as unrelated, transcendent, wholly other and sovereign in his absolute power. In so doing, male theologians, uncritical of patriarchal sexism, enjoyed and defended ecclesiastical male power monopolies. Nelson (1988:45) argues that when God is imaged as being only masculine, we consequently carry inside us an image of Him as distant, cold, controlling, and unavailable. This could hamper many men's fuller understanding of God who cares for us.

In Korean churches, anti-femininity, one of the manifestations of male gender role strain in Korea, is expressed in forms of the Confucian view of gender roles that treats women as inferiors to men. Bokyung Park (2004:97) asserted that a conservative Christian's view of men and women that justifies male dominance/female subordination is interwoven with the Confucian view of gender roles that still prevail in Korea. Regrettably, Korean churches have been unaware that they support and maintain the traditional Korean value system that tyrannizes women rather than frees them

(Munchang Lee, 2004:74). Lee reveals that many Korean wives struggle to deal with depression that is caused by their husbands, who don't even realise that they are the primary cause under the patriarchal male-dominated society. He asserts emphatically that the Korean church has played a role in preserving this system in such a way that the majority of women in Korean society see male dominance and female subordination in the Korean. Hyungkook Kim (2004:85) points out that Korean churches have a strong male image that corresponds with the patriarchal father image, and excludes the affectionate mother image. Over 70% of church members are women. Yet, female representatives in church leadership have never been allowed.

A survey reveals that the women's three tasks in Korean churches are cleaning, serving the table, and visiting church members with a pastor, although they prefer to perform more important tasks, such as participation in social activity, and in leadership decisions (Injong Hong, 2004:115). According to Hong, if women display any kind of assertive or disobedient attitude towards the church leadership (only men), they are regarded as trouble-makers. More importantly, this patriarchal attitude of pastors and church leadership encourages "sexual segregation and hierarchical relationships," as well as "violence and sexual and physical abuse" in churches and families. According to Kwangsoon Lee (1995:135,136), anti-femininity in Korean churches is reflected in church administration. The numerical growth of females puts pressure on the male leadership to create a subtle system to include female participation in church ministry, without giving them authority: e.g., being temporary deacons for a year and permanent deacons for older females without being anointed, to separate them from male permanent anointed deacons. This means that women have no authority in a church. This phenomenon is also found in church activities that do not consider women's needs. As Hong (2004) argues, the Korean church must change from a sexually segregated form of church ministry (compromised with Confucian, patriarchal teachings), to the inclusion of women in all church activities.

The norm of success, power and status

Besides proving that one is not at all feminine, power, success and status are the bedrock elements of the male sex role. No man escapes from the injunction to succeed. As Chittister (1998:62) observes, males are raised to seek power, also over women, because power is considered as a mark of their own value. The masculine gender role model emphasizes power, whether in the boardroom, bedroom, or on the playing field (Rohlinger, 2002). As Weber (2006) notes, "it is not only Lincoln's stature as a war-time president during an epochal moment in American history that makes him important, it is his very embodiment of American principals of masculinity--his rise to fame and power, his transformation of mind and body that took him from the plain log cabin where he was born to the most prestigious (white) house in the land" (2006:4).

David and Brannon (1976:90) connects masculinity to its symbols when he says that success has most frequently been measured in terms of a man's work - and occupational success must be translated into visible and socially acceptable symbols, money, possessions, and power. Consumption patterns, such as cars, houses, clothing, and leisure activities, are all used to inform the world about the level of status that one has achieved. Especially money appears to be equal to success. It is also equal to masculinity, and his money too often measure a man, what he earns, not his worth as a human being . As JET stated, "men equate money, power and self-esteem. They are all intertwined together for them. It's a blow to their ego when they don't earn as much as their mate, because they feel like they are not being a man. It's ingrained in their DNA to be the breadwinner" (2000). Athletic prowess and sexual performance are two other major areas where men can gain status if they have not been able to earn the more obvious rewards. For those who succeed in the more traditional manner, these status symbols may seem trivial, but in the absence of any others, they take on overwhelming importance (Pleck et al, 1974). As a result, anxiety, restlessness and loneliness are the by-products of men's commitment to male success norm (Kimmel, 2005:23).

This obsession with success is explicated by using the term "narcissism"²⁸ in self-psychology. Thirty years ago, Christopher Lasch (1978:38) writes that narcissism is a social phenomenon and he describes the narcissist as a type of personality that observers of the contemporary cultural scene easily recognize: "facile at managing the impression he gives to others, ravenous for admiration but contemptuous of those he manipulates into providing it; unappealingly hungry for emotional experiences with which to fill an inner void; terrified of aging and death." In line with Lasch, Becker (1975:13) observes the narcissistic phenomena in Western culture and writes: "People try to come out of social encounters a little bigger than they went in, by playing intricate games of one-upmanship There are rules for status ... for coming out of social groups with increased self-inflation." Becker (1975:11,12) argues that human being are struggling not to be diminished in his organismic importance: "To lose, to be second rate, to fail to keep up with the best and highest sends a message to the nerve center of the organism's anxiety: I am overshadowed, inadequate, hence I do not qualify for continued durability, for life, for eternity; hence I will die." In their book, "*The narcissism epidemic*" (2009), Jean Twenge and W. Keith Campbell claim that "the United States is currently suffering from an epidemic of narcissism...The narcissism epidemic has spread to the culture as a whole, affecting both narcissistic and less self-centred people" (2009:2).

Based on the scientific data on the topic of narcissism (data from 37,000 college students), they observe that a "me- generation" has been created, elevated with a disproportionate sense of self-worth.

²⁸ "Narcissistic personality disorder is an extensive pattern of distorted regard for self and others. Although it is normal and healthy to take a positive attitude toward oneself, narcissistic persons exhibit an inflated view of self as special and superior. Rather than strong self-confidence, however, narcissism reflects aggrandizing self-preoccupation... Self-centered and inattentive to the feelings of others, the narcissist can turn a friendly exchange into an irritating display of self preoccupation" (Beck et al, 2004:241).

“Not only are there more narcissists than ever, but non-narcissistic people are seduced by the increasing emphasis on material wealth, physical appearance, celebrity worship, and attention seeking” (2009:1)

This obsession with self-glorification reflected in the phenomenon of narcissism might be equated with one of male gender role strain resulting from trying to live up to male ideals. However, such an obsession cannot result in spiritual maturity and spiritual well-being, but instead, shame and fear of failure, and loneliness in the heart of males, which leads to self-rejection and using faith for instrumental and utilitarian purposes. This preoccupation with power and success also underlies churches’ practices.

- Shame, loneliness and self-rejection that lead to spiritual exhaustion

The experience of shame is so painful that individuals learn to defend themselves against it to avoid experiencing it. The psychological defences resulting from these feelings of shame can lead one to self-rejection and withdrawal from reality, contrary to what one has in Christ (joy and gratitude). Cashwell et al. (2007) claim that if a person holds beliefs that emphasize her or his negative attributes, the harsh self-judgment and self-hatred of the inner critic's voice resulting from feelings of shame, it is neither soulful, nor spiritual. This feeling prevents us from going forward towards God. In line with Cashwell et al. (2007), Heffern (2008) regards shame as a block, stopping us from approaching God.

Nouwen (1997) describes loneliness as being the primary source of the feelings of shame and narcissism - this sense of pain being loneliness in a world where even the most intimate relationships have become part of competition and rivalry. "To avoid this pain, males are running away to seek validation (to prove their own value) with unsatisfied cravings and desires" (1997:5). However, seeking validation outside often leads to hostility and addiction to material and people. Nouwen (1997:4) says: "When we feel lonely we have such a need to be liked and loved that we are hypersensitive to the many signals in our environment and easily become hostile towards anyone whom we perceive as rejecting us because we became an enslavement to the opinions of others." Nouwen’s description of loneliness is another expression of narcissism and hidden feelings of shame as negative effects of male gender role strain.

When applied to males, it becomes clear that the impossibility of living up to manhood’s ideals in any given society causes males to be trapped in feelings of shame. When these feelings develop into toxic shame or chronic shame (Bradshaw, 1988; Pattison, 2000), it leads to spiritual exhaustion and spiritual death. Nouwen (1992) shows how toxic self-rejection is associated with seeking power, and consequently with spiritual well-being. He writes that “when we believe in the voices that call us

worthless and unlovable, then success, popularity and power are easily perceived as attractive solutions. Self-rejection is the greatest enemy of spiritual life because it contradicts the sacred voice that calls us “the beloved.” Being the beloved expresses the core truth of our existence” (1992:28). For Nouwen, self-rejection leads to listening to other louder voices saying: “Prove that you are worth something; do something relevant, spectacular or powerful, and then you will earn the love you so desire.” This is the compulsiveness that keeps us going and busy, but finally leads to spiritual exhaustion and burn-out (1992:29,30).

- Use of religion for utilitarian purpose

On the other hand, the strain to succeed, to get ahead, leaves men with such a fear of failure and anxiety in their hearts that faith is easily used to avoid fear and search for security against feelings of threat (Louw, 1998:90). As Allport and Ross (1967) point out, males with this strain to succeed possibly use their religion for instrumental and utilitarian purposes as extrinsically motivated people do. Allport and Ross (1967:434) state, "Persons with this orientation may find religion useful in a variety of ways - to provide security and solace, sociability and distraction, status and self-justification." In theological terms, the extrinsic type turns to God, but without turning away from the self. This narcissism in male hearts could also distort God-images in an attempt to create a god who serves to meet their own needs. Narcissistic males create a god who is “Father Christmas” (Louw, 1998), who enhances their self-aggrandizement to the extreme to satisfy their hunger for admiration and approval by helping them to gain success and achievement. This god-image motivates them to utilize religion only for extrinsic oriented purposes, in Allport’s term. But they will soon realize that their god is not Father Christmas who gives whatever they ask. With despair and disappointment, they now imagine him as a god who is distant, unavailable and absent, thereby impeding their growth in spiritual maturity and spiritual well-being. Especially, when they experience feelings of shame, due to their failure in living up to male ideals, they create a god who is unavailable, distant and absent, because God failed to protect them from having any form or feeling of shame. As a result, low self-esteem is projected into God-images and generates the negative God-images that lead to a sense of lesser spiritual well-being.

- Preoccupation with power and success in the church

Another distorted form of the male success and power norm can be found even in the most pious groups: priests, monks, pastors and Christian full-time ministers. Many stories relate how Christian ministers possibly become victims of power hunger in the guise of holy goals. Building a big church, leading a large congregation, obtaining a degree and even prayer might serve the hidden struggles of power. This type of religious narcissism has often emerged in the spiritual domain itself. Arbour &

Blackburn (2006) identified spiritual narcissism as a psychological roadblock to spiritual development and genuine humility. In this case, spiritual practice is utilized to promote self-importance rather than to deepen humility. As Halligan (1997:317) rightly points out, "spiritual pride is an inevitable hurdle that must be transcended in every spiritual journey." Halligan (1997:318) continues to argue, "Our ambition may often kick in so strongly that the slightest movement forward will be accompanied by the feeling 'Ain't I great!' with our well-conditioned aspirations for progress and success."

Many male television evangelists in America promise that prayer generates success, money, health, wisdom, and obedience from other family members. This tendency is not unrelated to the American capitalist culture. The U.S. Senate chaplain, Richard Halverson, said, "In the beginning the church was a fellowship of men and women centering on the living Christ. Then the church moved to Greece where it became a philosophy. Then it moved to Rome where it became an institution. Next, it moved to Europe where it became a culture. And finally, it moved to America where it became an enterprise" (quoted in Larson, 1984:50). Shelley and Shelley (1992:110) point out that evangelical Christians in a capitalist society are often themselves capitalists. According to their analysis:

In the 1970s, the adventurous entrepreneurial spirit of Christian capitalism began drawing American religion closer to self-fulfilling individualism and further from Puritanism's self-denial ethic. The evangelist's message became enlistment rather than repentance. The focus was on joining rather than forsaking. Faith in God meant building Christian networks, corporations and multi-ministried mega-churches. By the 1980s the Lord's business had become a growth industry. Evangelists became entrepreneurs, and entrepreneurs became evangelists.

Shelley and Shelley (1992:111) quote Carol Flake who said that the business of bearing witness in the technological age seemed to operate according to Robert Schuller's principle of possibility-thinking. Ministers in these large churches typically resemble corporate executives. They continue to argue that business thinking has become the standard for sound thinking, even in the churches. The church has become a business enterprise and the chief test of ministerial success now is the ability to build up a church. Executive, managerial abilities are now more in demand than those that used to be considered the highest in a clergyman. The gospel of wealth is a product of this societal atmosphere (1992: 112,119).

Regarding the church's attitude towards prosperity, Franklin (2007) observes that "Christians have grappled with their relationship to material goods and opportunities in this world since the first century. But in our era something new and different has emerged. Today, prominent, influential, and attractive preachers and representatives of the church now are advocates for prosperity" (January 01, 2007). He differentiates the gospel of prosperity from the prosperity gospel. The "gospel of prosperity" refers to the cultural ideology that suggests that the accumulation of material possessions, wealth, and prosperity are morally neutral goods that are necessary for human happiness. In the gospel

of prosperity, "Greed is good." The "prosperity gospel" regards Christian faith as an investment that yields material abundance. Wealth is outward proof of an inner grace and righteousness. Salvation is both spiritual and material. However, he continues to say that although the "prosperity gospel" may not be as vulgar an expression of greed as the "gospel of prosperity," both are corrosive and threatening to American churches, which are constantly tempted to focus on their own institutional well-being at the expense of serving the vulnerable. The prosperity gospel may be even more insidious and dangerous because it subverts particular elements of the Jesus story and of classical biblical Christianity in order to instil a new attitude toward capitalism and riches.

Now, ministries, churches and voluntary societies have adopted the methods and styles of American success. To win the world, churches must relate to the world. But success in America now means numbers, growth and power, not the biblical ideals of sacrifice, service and giving. Popular American sociologist and theologian Tony Campolo, recently lamented (Presbyterian Record, 2002): "I find it strange that the last place I can really quote Jesus these days is in American churches."

As Shelley and Shelley (1992) noted, the churches in America, where masculine values dominate, have become *victims* of their culture instead of *influencing and transforming* that culture. In this success-, money- and capitalism-oriented society, it is not surprising that Americans now treat all commitments, not as moral responsibilities, but as mere instruments of personal happiness. Christianity, or their faith, must be ready to serve their success, characterized by better life, more money, and their happiness. The masculine success norm has shaped American culture as well as American believers' functional spirituality.

This reality points out the danger in the American evangelicals' wish-fulfilling thinking. However, when a man's life is filled with this type of specific concrete wish, as Louw (2005) points out, God is often seen as the one who needs to safeguard human beings against crises and the pain of suffering. God becomes relevant only when seemingly insoluble problems in life emerge. People believe in God in order to be saved and to go to heaven. "If this is the case, soulfulness becomes only a means to an end (instrumental)" (Louw, 2005:134). And when we are trapped in wish-fulfilling thinking, we are in constant danger of disappointment, bitterness, anger, or indifference since, more often than not, our wishes don't come true, and we then feel that somewhere and somehow we have been betrayed.

In the Korean context, as a male gender role strain, the success-oriented mind-set has a simultaneous effect on Korean churches as well as Christians in Korea. This influence could not be discerned until the 1980s, when the Korean church was faced with a numerical decline. It was not until Korean churches had experienced a stagnation phenomenon in numerical growth that many started to diagnose the reasons for this phenomenon from different perspectives.

Byungkwan Chung (1994:45) writes that one of the most fundamental problems was that the Korean church was not prepared for, and failed to cope effectively with, transmission of the Gospel in the time of transition. However, he also points out that the Korean church wholeheartedly pursued tactics or skills development. He presents several factors to explain the decline in the numerical growth of Korean church members in 1994: the influence of liberal theology; theological confusion; the impact of Korean Shamanism; the emphasis on numerical growth only; failure to cope with socio-cultural changes; competition between pastors and churches; and the lack of participation in public affairs. He is extremely concerned about the impact of Shamanism on the Korean society and emphasizes that Korean churches must avoid Shamanism to promote mature Christian faith. But, he fails to discern the success-oriented mind-set as a hidden motivation that drives many pastors to pursue church growth by diverting their focus to Shamanism, which has been blamed for syncretism in the Korean churches.

Son (1995:258) and Lee (1995) recognize this success-oriented mind-set by saying that Korean churches have been oriented towards materialistic success and quantitative growth. For Changdae Kwak (2001:46) this propensity towards a success-oriented mind-set in Korean churches has resulted from the impact of American ecclesiological models without proper critical reflection. Guder (1998:116) argues that the American Protestant Churches identified Christian culture with Western civilization and modernization, and considered the American dream as their common vision. The churches directed the national and current culture, making “a functional Christendom” culture dominant. Such a Christian culture prevented them from criticizing the world’s dominant culture. They tended to maintain an uncritical view of culture and, by engaging in the culture without reflecting on it, it eventually controlled them. Following Guder, Kwak (2001:59) tried to associate the “functional Christendom” in America with a functional Christendom mentality in Korean churches, which the Fuller Church Growth Model later influenced directly. However, when we take the early Korean churches (1900s) into consideration, this association is problematic.

Hyungkuy Kim (1998) argues that there was a unique Korean spirituality unlike that of any other country, including the American type of spirituality, especially during the early period of the Korean churches (1890-1960). According to Kim (2003:116), there is plenty of evidence to prove that early Korean churches had overcome Shamanism and the functional spirituality that Kwak assumed. Sunghee Lee (2003) also claims that the central message of the early Korean churches was the kingdom of God, not seeking material blessing or material success. As a starting point of the success-oriented mind-set in Korean churches, he pinpoints Junghee Park’s regime, when economic growth was greatly emphasized as the only goal or way out of national poverty. As functional Christendom started in America with her socio-cultural milieu in the early American history, so the success-oriented mind-set in Korean churches arose from modernization and development in Korea. As the state stressed economic growth above all, churches also emphasized growth, economic wealth and riches,

following the current trend. Then, men had to prove their manliness, not only as successful men in the competitive work environment, but also as good providers at home. “A self-made man, and successful, responsible male breadwinner” indicate male ideals (Meeting for Women, 1994:40).

Chamsam Yang (2003:72) also views industrialization as the cause of creating the competitive environment in which Korean churches have been fighting to survive. Under this influence of capitalism, industrialization, and modernization, Korean churches now resemble companies. Pastors seem to dream of being chief executive officers, church leadership seems to play a role as executives, and lay-people too do not want small churches, but want big churches to do God’s business more effectively, although 92% of Korean churches have not more than 300 members. All strive to succeed, dreaming and praying to be within the 8%! (Lee, 2003:112). Why have Korean churches been struggling so eagerly in pursuit of material success and numerical growth? Male strain striving to be a success enforced by society is perhaps an essential factor to explain why Korean pastors and Christians speak so highly of success. The male norm to be successful can easily be internalized into male hearts. Thus, many Korean pastors strive to be faithful to the expectations of their families. Just as many Korean lay-people use their faith for purposes of material success, so pastors also comply with these male ideals.

One of the results of this success-oriented mind-set in Korean churches is the phenomenon of burnout in pastors’ lives. This term repeatedly appears in Korean Christian magazines for pastors (*Ministry & Theology*: Dec, 2000, Dec. 2001, Aug. 2004, Dec. 2004). General consensus exists among writers, who have presented solutions that all pastors and lay-people must give up their hidden desire to succeed in terms of worldly standards. They must relax with their own God-given capabilities and gifts, and they must keep the fact in mind that God, not man, must measure their success.

Another result of a functional Christendom in Korea is functional prayer. Korean churches have been reported as being committed to pray long and passionately worldwide in various ways, such as prayer at dawn, prayer on the mountain, fasting, continuous prayer without interruption at certain times, and all-night prayer. But, the purpose of prayer has often been perceived as to fulfil one’s wishes, for example, for a promotion, for success, to solve personal problems, to heal diseases and even for church growth (Munchang Lee, 2001). *Ministry and Theology*, in conjunction with Gallop, conducted a survey of 692 theological seminary students. This survey reports that Korean seminary students pray on average 67 minutes per day (Samyul Park, 2005:128-136). Another survey reports that Korean female adults pray on average 45 minutes a day. However, ironically, a survey of 400 nationwide non-Christians’ view of their image of Korean churches found that 16.2% answered positively, and 30.2% negatively in a response to the statement, "What do you think of Korean churches?" In response to the statement, "What do you think of pastors?" only 38.5% answered “respectable,” and 55.1% said, “They are authoritative” (Samyul Park, global research in conjunction with *Ministry & Theology*,

2005:102-109). What was the Korean Church blamed for in spite of their prayers? Byungchul Hwang (2002:123) says it is because Korean Christians spend much time praying for material success, healing illness, wealth and numerical growth, but are not committed to examine their inner lives in pursuit of their spiritual maturity.

When matriculation draws near, many churches provide 100 days of prayer meetings for parents, many of whom pray for the whole of the examination day following the schedule of the matrics (grade 12 Korean students have a one-day examination from 08.00 to 15.00). Sangjin Park (2003:46) argues that we thus admit that matriculation is very important to both parents and students, but the problem lies with Christian parents' attitude to the entrance examination for a university. Their worldly values make them enter their children into prestige universities in order to guarantee their children's future. In this case, prayer, in fact, easily serves to fulfil their wish, and fails to control their desire for the best. Here, the "success-oriented mind-set," driven by the male gender role teaching that men must be successful, and winning is everything, can also be discerned.

This is exacerbated by functional God-images, such as God as: a magician, Father Christmas and a mechanic, in Louw's (2000) model. Sunghwan Kim (2005:67) associates Shamanism and materialism with God-images in Korea, pointing to Shamanism and materialism as two essential factors that create a functional God. He argues that God can easily be degraded into a functional God who serves to fulfil the worldly wishes of believers who are profoundly captured by both. God cannot but be regarded as a functional, omnipotent God, who guarantees the fulfilment of material wishes in this Korean mind-set influenced by Shamanism and materialism. A typical example of this is Pastor Yonggi Cho who emphasizes health, prosperity, and salvation based on prosperity theology and positive thinking.

The norm of self-reliance

Males in our culture are raised to be independent and autonomous. Those qualities are the sine qua non of what makes a male into a man. (Scher, 2005:310). "Men are told it is important not to look for help from anyone other than oneself and are socialized to do things alone and not rely on others. They are taught that it is important to take care of one's own problems and that a man does not let others tell him what to do" (Mahalik, 2005:222). Masculinity Ideology teaches that men should be independent and men should not cry (Smiler, 2006). Manliness is to be able to say, "I can do it by myself. I don't need anybody's help." "God helps those who help themselves," is a singularly male attitude. Having to ask for help makes a man feel uncomfortable, anxious and vulnerable (McCarthy & Holliday, 2004).

However, when this self-reliant male norm goes further in an extreme way, it might be found in the Faustian way of avoidance of human limitation and weakness - trying to be in control. Peterson (2000:152) tells a famous story about Dr John Faustus who became impatient with the limitations placed upon him in his study of law, medicine and theology. No matter how much he learned in these

fields, he found he was always in the service of something greater than himself - of justice, of healing, and of God. He chafed in the service and wanted to get out. He wanted to be in control, to break out of the limits of the finite. So, he became adept in magic, by which he was able to defy the laws of physics, the restrictions of morality and relations with God, and use his knowledge for his own pleasures and purposes. Although, in order to achieve this, he had to make a pact with the devil who permitted him to act for the next 24 years in a godlike way - living without limits, being in control instead of being in relationships, exercising power instead of practising love. But, at the end of the 24 years came damnation. Peterson (2000:152) interprets it, as this story has been told and retold by poets, playwrights and novelists for generations to warn people against attempting the foolhardy adventure of trying to be a god on our own. Peterson (2000:154) continues that “trying to be a god” generates greater difficulty in surrendering ourselves to God because those two concepts (“being a human and trying to be a god”) are exact opposites.

Another result of the male self-reliance norm might lead males to avoid religious activities, making it difficult to experience a sense of God’s presence. As Walter and Davie (1998:651) argue, because Christianity values submission and compassion, females continue to be attracted to it, but males are repelled. Males prefer to act, dominate, compete and accomplish something, rather than submit even after they have entered into faith. But this might generate male superficial spirituality rather than a concrete experience of God. Jack Balswick (1997) explains the male tendency toward action-oriented activities in mission fields. Male missionaries tend to develop programmes and frameworks for ministry, such as the Bible Teaching Institution, Training Centre and Offices, distancing themselves from local peoples, whereas females tend to participate in local community activities and local churches in general. In the Roman Catholic Church, nuns make a vow to be brides of Christ and their concern is focused more on a spiritual union with God. Females pursue more relationships with God and others. In contrast, friars are preoccupied with task-oriented activities such as copying the Bible and long hours of prayer, distancing them from people, although a union with God is also their spiritual goal. Even during a group’s Bible study, males tend to ask about beliefs and doctrines and feel awkward to share their own lives with others, while females find it easy to share their feelings and to pray together (1997:149). Balswick concludes that this tendency could account for the reason why males appear to be less mature than females in spiritual growth in general. Cullberstson (1992:120) writes that the insistence that to *do* something is categorically more manly than to *be* something, or simply to be is a common male temptation. However, the male preference to do rather than be may block the path to prayer, because prayer means yielding, letting be, letting go, being open, vulnerable and trusting.

The norm of toughness and aggression

As authors (Goldberg, 1976; Doyle, 1983:181; David & Brannon, 1976; Levant, 2005:162; Richard, 1998:174; Mahalik, 2005:221; Marini, 2005:90; Kimmel, 2005) writing about men's issues indicate, aggression is the one area of expression that the male approves of and expects. Men are told that they should always be ready to be violent. Boys are socialized to rough house, fight, and play sports such as football and wrestling. Later in life, men are encouraged to go into the military service, during which time they are taught how to kill in defense of their country. Men are taught that they should respond with violence to perceived humiliations to avoid looking stupid or being seen as weak. If a little boy gets beaten up in the playground, his mother or father is likely to tell him to go back and give as good as he got. "If you don't fight back you're a sissy." (Mahalik, 2005:221). Kimmel observes that "today, the capacity for violence is a marker of authentic masculinity (as in *Fight Club*), a test of manhood... Men learn from an early age to fight back and that there are few expressions more legitimate than retaliatory violence. Violence is immoral if you use it first, but it is redemptive if you use it second. Moral men don't get mad but get even; men don't start fights, but they are eager to finish them" (Kimmel, 2005:242). Most males do not regard themselves as violent or aggressive. Yet, we find that many parents of young boys encourage their sons not to back down from a fight, especially if a bully starts it. A boy should always be ready to defend himself against others in a masculine way. Many parents and peers alike view the boy as a sissy if he runs away when someone picks a fight. Men's violence toward one another can be seen in three major areas: criminal assault, sports, and war. Richard claims that there is the pervasive, systematic violence which nonetheless surrounds part of the lives of so many men and boys. Men and boys say that they are supposed to be tough, aggressive, in control, and that they are not to express any feelings except anger, not to cry, and never to ask for help. This male norm leads men and boys to criminal behaviours (Richard, 1998:174). This is also reflected in a war situation. "To prepare for war a new recruit is exposed to a value system in which violence is central, the world is divided into allies and enemies, and enemies are depersonalized as justifiable targets of violent impulses" (Brooks, 2005:105).

As boys grow older, many enter team sports at school. In football, the aggressive lessons continue when a coach spurs his helmeted charges on with peppery advice like, "Get out there and make the other team bleed," or "Don't be afraid to hurt the other guy; it's all part of the game!" (Doyle, 1983:184). Male aggression toward women is frequent, with rape perhaps being the ultimate act of violence directed against females. Children, too, are victims of violence, and increasing incidents of child abuse are being brought to official attention (David & Brannon, 1976:199). Competition is the basic process by which men in Western culture, particularly in America, try to achieve the goal of status and success. Virtually all men are either subtly or blatantly competitive (Scher, 2005:309). This rests on the assumption that he who is the winner has the most status. Even if a man is relatively non-competitive with regard to others, he will frequently compete against himself (can he do it

faster/better than he did it last time?). While this may have the positive effect of increasing the level of achievement, in many cases it can be turned against oneself, when one's own record was not broken (David & Brannon, 1976:91).

The influence of the "toughness and aggression norm" is observed in American muscular Christianity in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Although the seeds of the muscular Christian movement had been sown earlier on British soil, by the third quarter of the 19th century, the movement had penetrated into American society (Ludd & Mathisen, 1999:23). Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley (Putney, 2001:1) believed that the Anglican Church of their day was becoming overly tolerant of physical weakness and effeminacy. To reverse this trend, they worked to infuse the Anglican Church with enough health and manliness to make it a suitable agent for British imperialism.

In 1867, one writer defined that "muscular Christianity expresses the idea of that robustness and vigor which ought to characterize those who are strong in the Lord and the power of His might. It is suggestive of force and that high-strung, nervous energy that by constant exercise had developed its possessor into the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus. We need such a Christianity now" (Ludd & Mathisen, 1999:24). More simply, "muscular Christianity" can be defined as a Christian commitment to health and manliness (Putney, 2001:11). They even insisted that men were not truly Christians unless they were healthy and manly, which was criticized fiercely in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The character of Jesus was reformulated. He was not a weakling; his apprenticeship in carpentry alone must necessarily have caused maximal muscle development. By the best standards of manhood, Jesus was manly, so very manly in fact that he ought to be called "the supremely manly man"(Putney, 2001:92). Muscular Christians argued that men wanted a Christ whom they could respect, one who was no gentle visionary, but rather a person whose dominating trait was force. Obviously, this manly Christ displayed consideration for women, especially his mother, but for softness and sentimentality, the characteristics of the feminine man, there was no room in his rugged, nomadic, homeless life (2001:93). Just as militarists viewed war as an essential cure for over-population, so muscular Christianity supporters (ministers) wrapped themselves in the flag and championed war as a cure for effeminacy in men. But after the Spanish-American War and World War I, muscular Christians were attacked by a number of critics in the post-war period. These critics blamed muscular Christianity for fanning the flames of World War I and they worked to bring down muscular Christian idols, such as Daniel Chester French's statue, a bronzed embodiment of "manly character, athletic prowess, intellectual force, and find spiritual fellowship that was established at Princeton in 1913 (2001:195). Putney (2001:163) concludes that the progressive era's mainline clergymen were simply unable to separate themselves from their culture.

According to Carmody (1992), in the 19th and early 20th centuries, muscular Christianity remained very much alive in evangelical churches in America, specifically in the Promise Keepers' movement. Modern evangelicals were not only using the muscular Christianity's athletic metaphors; they were also using muscular Christianity's masculine rhetoric against the feminist movement. Notably, muscular Christianity's athletic metaphors can be found in American evangelical theology in respect of competition in sport. One way evangelicals have sought to sanctify competitive sport has been to view it through the finely ground lenses of instrumentalism: to ignore the ethical (interpersonal) issues of competition and look for more pragmatic reasons for competing (1992:121). Carmody writes that, in a society that attaches inordinate significance to competitive success, winning in athletics offers a visible platform from which athletes can publicly declare their witness. In other words, athletic success provides them with an opportunity to explain to their fans the private spiritual significance of their athletic performances. Ludd and Mathisen (1999:215) compare two movements carefully: in sharp contrast to a core element of the 19th century muscular Christianity that "sport builds character" or "sport builds manliness," the essential core of the modern muscular Christianity demonstrated that "sport enhances the gospel" or "sport helps save souls." In American evangelicals' interpretation, competition and winning are consistent with the teachings of Jesus and the writings of the apostle Paul. In the words of Brett Butler of the New York Mets, "If Christ were a ballplayer, he'd be the best there was. He'd take out the guy at second base, then he'd say, "I love you," pick him up, slap him on the butt and come back to the dugout. God doesn't say you can't get mad or frustrated. Jesus flipped tables in the temple" (1999:217). But ironically, in so doing, idolatry, various species of mammon, hunger for fame, the killer instinct and overheated aggression are easily not noticed or ignored (Hoffman, 1992). And onetime muscular Christian heroes simply disappear from view, with no effort to portray them realistically as Christians who stumbled (Ludd & Mathisen, 1999:218). Muscular Christianity remains alive even in politics. Kimmel comments about Bush's manhood, "Bush's avowed religiosity harked back to the Muscular Christianity of the previous century. Gone was the forgiveness of Christian compassion; in its stead was the angry and vindictive God whose wrath was boundless against His enemies (Kimmel, 2005:248).

The study of Messner (1992), who interviewed athletes, reveals a selectively truncated image of muscular Christian models from big-time sport. Messner reports that the structure of the sports world means that the chances of getting anywhere near the top are extremely slim, and even if an athlete is talented and lucky enough to get there, his stay will be very brief. As a result, for many, the disjuncture between the dominant ideology of success and the socially structured reality that most do not succeed, brings about feelings of failure, lowered self-images, and problems with interpersonal relationships (1992:46). Messner finds that the dictum, "You are only as good as your last game," constantly keeps one insecure and worried about one's next performance. One of his interviewees con-

fessed that if you are not on the upside, you are nothing - nobody cares - you are nothing. However, some finally rejected the "winning-is-everything" ethic and focused on feeling good about themselves for knowing that they had worked hard and did their best (1992:47). Yet, American evangelicals still support a theology that insists upon the winning-is-everything ethic. Thereby they create a distorted theology that our God becomes a God of only winners and that, as Migliore (1983:35-37) expresses, God is understood as a captive power, a power under our control; winning is everything; and faith becomes a form of wish-fulfilment - thinking to win. This shows how the masculine norm can shape our faith practices in the church.

Thus far, from the perspective of the male gender role strain paradigm, the male sex role identity model has been evaluated and harmful consequences of rigidly adherence to male gender roles (ideologies of masculinity) have been explored in terms of conflict between work and family, hyper-masculinity,²⁹ men's psychological health, interpersonal problems, international policy and even spirituality. In what follows, the researcher will attempt to make an assessment of Pleck's male gender role strain model.

2.3. A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE MALE GENDER ROLE STRAIN PARADIGM

So far, Pleck's male gender role strain paradigm has been a highly esteemed theory among both psychological and sociological fields. Firstly, the male gender role strain paradigm does not specify any particular form of masculinity as being a problem. It observes that overly rigid adherence to masculine norms can be problematic (Smiler, 2004; Mahalik, 1999). The problem does not lie in either the structure or possession of masculinity, but rather the lack of behavioural flexibility, an issue Bem (1974,1981) previously highlighted (Smiler, 2004). Pleck's paradigm does not reject male gender roles at large and does not provide unfair criticism (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995:280), like the backlash phenomenon from the reactionary men's movement (Faludi, 1999). This is what Levant (1995:232) claims when he argues that "the reconstruction of masculinity must identify the aspects of the traditional male code that are still quite valuable". He celebrates them, and targets for change those aspects that are obsolete and dysfunctional. Pleck's idea is more practical. He provides most valuable tools to deal with the males' discrepancy and dysfunctional strains that they experience when struggling to adapt to the new situation.

As such, Pleck's male gender role strain paradigm is considered as the best description of negative consequences of male gender role or masculinity ideologies (Doyle, 1983; Franklin, 1984; Kimmel, 1987a, 1987b, 1989; Levant & Pollack, 1995; Burke, 2002; McCarthy et al, 2004, Brannon, 2005;

²⁹ As mentioned earlier, the causes of hypermasculinity in the male gender role strain paradigm differs from the male sex role identity model. Reactions against the unconscious feminine side were the focus in the latter, and over-learning of the externally prescribed role as emphasized in the former.

Whorley & Addis, 2006; O'Neil, 2008; Mahalik, 2005,2007, Blazina, 2007; Levant and Richmond, 2007).

Nevertheless, Pleck's model needs to be expanded to provide a more comprehensive explanatory framework to explain the origin of masculinity and the causes of male overconformity.

2.3.1. The origin of masculinity

Controversy has long existed between the groups: "biology is destiny" and "environment is everything," or a debate over nature versus nurture. The basic assumption of Pleck's male gender role strain paradigm is that masculinity has no biologically determined origin or no psychological innate traits, but that masculinity is a culturally imposed construction. In this sense, his model points at the other polar: "nurturing." It is no wonder that Pleck's view of the origin of gender is sociological when we recognize that his main argument is challenging the then dominant model, "male sex role identity" that views gender from the psycho-analytical perspective. But, as Doyle (1983:49) notes, humans are biological creatures. He argues that the biological perspective, as one component of gender, must not be ignored, although traditional gender roles are not purely the inevitable outcomes of some biological imperative. There are sex differences in certain psychological processes (1983:113). From a functional perspective, the anthropologist, Gilmore (1990:4) writes, "The manhood ideal is not purely psychogenetic in origin but is also a culturally imposed ideal to which men must conform whether or not they find it psychologically congenial." Kimmel (2000:2) also writes that most sensible people recognize that both nature and nurture are necessary for gender development. From an interdisciplinary perspective, Kimmel (2000:3) argues that biological models of sex differences occupy the nature side of the age-old debate about whether nature or nurture determines our personalities. But the meanings of masculinity and femininity vary within any one culture over time, and also vary in other cultures. Even the meanings of gender vary among different groups of women and men within any particular culture at any particular time. In short, masculinity is biologically, psychologically and culturally determined, rather than just a cultural construction. Pleck's paradigm, thus, needs to be extended to encompass the variety of influences in developing male gender roles or masculinities.

2.3.2. The causes of males over-conforming to masculinity ideology

Brooks and Silverstein (1995:308) claim that "the male gender role strain paradigm does not explain the psychological processes (like shame) activated in some men that cause them to over-conform to the normative masculinity ideology." Indeed, Pleck concentrates on a cultural construction of masculinity challenging the male sex role identity model focused on psychologically based masculinity. In his model, contradictory, inconsistent and dysfunctional gender roles are over emphasized for causing male gender role strain. Thus, he seems to have failed to pay enough attention

to psychological processes. However, Pleck (1981:144-146) does not appear to ignore the psychological causes completely. His proposition 4 (Violating sex roles leads to social condemnation), proposition 5 (Violating sex roles leads to negative psychological consequences) and proposition 6 (Actual or imagined violation of sex roles leads individuals to over-conform to them) all indicate to explain the cause of some males' over-conformity to masculinity norms. Pleck identifies social disapproval, as well as self-devaluation, as the cause of men's over-conformity, which is consistent with Levant's (1995, 2007) male socialization and shame perspective (Gilmore, 1990; Krugman, 1995; Ferguson, Eyre & Ashbaker, 2000; Schenk, 2005), but he is not concerned about connecting male gender role strain to the feelings of male shame. Perhaps this is because his primary concern is to point to social factors serving male gender role, rather than the psychological issues. Consequently, apart from cultural elements accounting for male strain, psychological processes have not been developed enough to draw full attention. However, as Ferguson, Eyre & Ashbaker (2000) argue, it seems important to identify psychological processes activated in some men to over-conform to normative masculinity ideology such as "shame."

In his book, *Manhood in the making*, Gilmore (1990:11,12) shows that manhood involves tests or proofs of action, or confrontations with dangerous foes, win-or-lose contests on the public stage in the most cultures. But, the tests for manhood are never considered complete; it is impossible for a man to feel that he has found a permanent place in the male community. Men can lose his manhood and experience shame and disgrace at any time by failing the next test. As a result of violating sex role norms men experience enormous shame, which is a fate worse than death in many societies. "This problem of never permanently attaining manhood leaves men with considerable reluctance to violate the male code, lest they be disgraced and overwhelmed with feelings of shame" (Levant, 1995:244). Krugman (1995:92) observes, "Shame plays a prominent but unspoken role in men's lives. Nearly all men have a deep personal knowledge of shame but go to great lengths to avoid letting it show or be known. Indeed, male culture is shame-phobic." Four themes of masculinities that Debora and Brannon propose, such as "No sissy Stuff," "The Big Wheel," "The Sturdy Oak" and "Give 'Em Hell" include a fear of vulnerability, success, wealth, fame, status, the need to be looked up to, a manly air of toughness, and daring. They are encouraged to mask their vulnerability and suppress their fear and anxiety. To achieve compliance with this gender-linked mission, shame must be avoided at all costs, and emotional vulnerabilities that might lead to shame are to be avoided (Krugman, 1995:110). Kaufman (1989:46) observes that three central cultural scripts in the Western society that continue to activate shame and thereby mould the self, are to compete for success, to be independent and self-sufficient, to be popular and conform. But, since accomplishing these scripts is virtually impossible, many men remain extremely reactive to shame experiences. As Kimmel notes, men's real fear is not

of women, but of being shamed or humiliated in front of other men, or being dominated by stronger men (Kimmel, 2001:261).

Krugman (1995:100) argues that, in the face of shame, males are more likely to rely on developmentally immature mechanisms of defence, such as denial, projection, splitting, and acting out rather than being able to tolerate and modulate states of shame. It is because males perceive that shame, or even the possibility of it, challenges the security of the male sense of self. Males believe that vulnerable feelings of need are minimized and denied, normatively hidden behind a cool pose or some other hyper-masculine stance. These feelings of shame in male hearts could account for the hazardous results of their socialization that has been documented in literature about male gender role conflict, stress and strain. In this sense, shame serves as a powerful cultural mechanism for ensuring compliance with the male code. This shame perspective provides an excellent ground for grasping the reasons why some males over-conform to norms of masculinity.

However, there must still be something more to show the full picture of reasons why males over-conform to norms of masculinity, that is, the power perspective. To date, authors who discuss men's movements have documented the idea that the negative consequences of the male role are closely connected to males' restrictive emotionality.³⁰ Evidence shows that males' un-emotionality has changed a lot (Levant, 1995; Burn, 1996; Messner & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Cooper and Lewis, 1999; Callahan, Hasler & Tolson, 2005; Whitehead, 2002; Brannon, 2005:458). Brannon observes this change as follows.

The typical feminine style of intimacy has become the standard for both men and women. Although men often feel uncomfortable in sharing emotions with others, especially with other men, a growing number of men are seeking this style of relationship. Pressure for men to become more emotionally intimate has occurred in friendships, marriages, and other committed love relationships (2005:458).

Yet, there are still phenomena of male problems, including male health, violence, rape, suicide, drug use, and drinking problems. Statistics reveal that these rates are increasing.

Moreover, as Messner (Messner *et al.*, 1994:204) points out, a situational appropriate public display of sensitivity, such as crying, rather than accepting weakness, might instead be interpreted as a legitimizing sign of the new men's power (or a tactic without renunciation of male power and privilege). Connell (2000:5-8) pointed out that social scientific theory and research on men and masculinity, as well as the men's movement, too often collude with this belief by defining masculinity

³⁰ Pop psychologists, such as Robert Bly, Sam Keen, and Steve Biddulph suggest that men's emotional lives (suppressing emotion and denying vulnerability) is the key point of men's problems. But Connell (2000) pointed out that they idealize a preindustrial past, when men knew how to be men and women knew how to be mothers. Hence the weird result was more gender segregation. He concludes that we need new and more democratic patterns in gender relations, not re-runs of discredited patriarchies.

almost entirely in terms of gender display, while ignoring men's structural positions of power and privilege over women and the subordination of certain groups of men to other men (Messner *et al.*, 1994:204; Brod, 1987a; 1987b; Connell, 2000). A possible solution for this comes from the social constructionist perspective that focuses on the male power game among men, and between men and women, in dealing with the gender relation. This power relational perspective could necessarily be extended in Pleck's model (Kimmel, 1987a; Brooks & Silverstein, 1995).

Regarding Pleck's lack of discussing the relationships of power, Kimmel (1989:8) criticizes the fact that "The sex role model ignored the ways in which definitions of masculinity and femininity were based on, and reproduced, relationships of power. Power dynamics is an essential element in both the definition and the enactments of gender." Interestingly, Pleck (1989a) developed an excellent idea about power relations between men and women in his article, "Men's power with women, other men, and society: A men's movement analysis." But he did not apply this idea to the cause of male gender role strain, not because he ignored the power issue, but because he might have wanted to avoid the weakness of the feminist theory that tends to focus solely on power at the expense of all other dynamics. This leads to the next subject: the relationship between male gender role strain and the issue of power.

2.3.3. Male gender role strain and the issue of power

One of the first radical-libertarian feminists, Millett (Tong, 1998:49-50) argues,

Sex is primarily political because the male-female relationship is the paradigm for all power relationships. The patriarchal ideology exaggerates biological differences between men and women, making certain that men always have the dominant or masculine roles and women always have the subordinate or feminine ones. This ideology is so powerful that men are usually able to secure the apparent consent of the very women they oppress. They do this through institutions, such as the academy, the church, and the family, each of which justifies and reinforces women's subordination to men, resulting in most women internalizing a sense of inferiority to men. If women refuse to accept the patriarchal ideology, men use coercion and intimidation to accomplish what conditioning has failed to achieve.

However, in his summary of the feminists' view of power, Kimmel (2001:282) notes that feminist women have theorized that masculinity is about the drive for domination, for power and for conquest. Feminism demonstrates that manhood is equated with power over women, and over other men.³¹

³¹ Lips speaks of two different types of power that feminists have at times: bad power (power over others) and good power (the capacity to achieve one's goals) or a limiting power to compel and a liberating power to act. According to Lips (1991:11,14), feminists also note that power operates between women and men at personal, collective and institutional levels, all of which are interconnected under the umbrella of a system of gender power relations. Among the three, institutionalized power relations help to maintain a general system of power, such as gender power relations, because they help to make the system invisible. Kaufmann (1994) argues that the common feature of the dominant forms of contemporary masculinity is that manhood is equated with having some sort of power. Even though there are two different ways (power as the potential to use and develop our human capacities; power as power over something or someone) to conceptualize and describe power, the equalization of power with domination and control is a definition that has emerged over time in societies.

“The institutional expression of that power is seen everywhere - in state and national legislatures, on the boards of directors of every major corporation or law firm, and in every school and hospital administration” (2001). However, Kimmel opposes feminism’s view of power because it assumes symmetry between the public and private life that does not conform to men’s experiences. He argues that feminists observe that women, as a group, do not hold power and thus do not feel powerful in our society, while men, as a group, are in power. Thus, feminism has tended to assume that, as individuals, men must feel powerful. However, Kimmel (2001:283) concludes that men’s feelings are not the feelings of the powerful, but of the powerless.

Seidler (1997:50) argues that somehow we need to be able to acknowledge the power that men have in society without thereby feeding the myth that all men feel powerful in their individual lives. At one level, the power men have over women and the power with which they can compete against other men define men’s social identity. But, at another level, Pleck (1989a:27) argues that most men have very little power over their own lives partly because they are dependent on women’s power to express their own emotions and to validate their masculinity. Following this line of argument, Capraro’s (2000:310) analyses prove that the traditional male identity results in the contradictory nature of masculinity: “men are both powerful and powerless. In objective social analysis, men as a group have power over women, but in their subjective experience of the world, men as individuals do not feel powerful. In fact, they feel powerless.” In agreement, Kimmel, Seidler and Capraro point out that although men as a group have power over women, most men feel powerless. But they are silent on what causes this powerlessness in the hearts of men. However, Kaufman has identified the possible connection between males’ pain and their power (their fear of losing their centredness).

In his article, “Men’s contradictory experiences of power” (1994), Kaufman (1994:146) proposes that the connection between men’s power and their powerlessness is experienced as pain. Kaufman notes that there is a strange combination of power and powerlessness, privilege and pain, in man’s life. “Men enjoy social power and many privileges by virtue of being male. But, the way men have set up that world of power causes immense pain, isolation, and alienation, not only for women, but also for themselves.” This is what Kaufman (1994:142) calls “men’s contradictory experience of power.” Such fear and pain have emotional, intellectual dimensions, although none of these dimensions is necessarily conscious (1994:149).

Kaufman argues,

Men’s collective power rests not simply on trans-generational and abstract institutions and structures of power, as feminists usually insist, but it also lies in the ways men internalize, individualize, and embody and reproduce these institutions, structures, and conceptualizations of their power. Individual men internalize all this into their developing personalities because they learn to experience their power as the capacity to exercise control. Men learn to accept and

exercise power in this way because it gives them privileges and advantages that women or children do not usually enjoy. However, power can also be the source of enormous pain, because the images of power are childhood pictures of omnipotence; thus they are impossible to obtain because no man is completely able to live up to these ideals and images (1994:148).

Kaufman (1994:154) Continue to write:

The rise of feminism has shifted the balance between men's power and men's pain. In societies and eras in which men's social power went largely unchallenged, men's power so outweighed men's pain that the existence of this pain could remain buried, even nonexistent. When you rule the roost, call the shots, and are closer to God, there is not a lot of room left for pain But with the rise of modern feminism, the fulcrum between men's power and men's pain has been undergoing a rapid shift. This is particularly true in cultures where the definition of men's power had already moved away from tight control over the home and tight monopolies in the realm of work. As men's power is challenged, those things that came as a compensation, a reward, or a lifelong distraction from any potential pain are progressively reduced or at least, called into question.

Kaufman believes that men derive less benefit from their power and thus become more aware of their pain. In other words, even though men as a group have power over women, most men feel powerless by an awareness that they are unable to live up to those ideals, which generate great pain and fear in their hearts, and experience discrepancy-strain that researchers, notably Pleck (1995), propose. Kaufman's thesis implies that the male feelings of powerlessness and weakness, or feelings of losing power and strength, may be equated with men's feelings of losing centrality, or feelings of losing the centre of attention. This may serve as a central trigger for male pain - thus male gender role strain. As a result, a hint of failure (loss of power and strength) to live up to those ideals is considered as failure in life itself, which leads to the irony that the more men feel the fear and pain, the more they exercise the power (Kaufman, 1994:149; McClelland *et al.*, 1972:119; Capraro, 2000:310; Isenhardt, 2005; Robertson, 2005). When men feel powerless, they may often compensate for their lack of power or seek an alternative to obtaining social power by drinking alcohol or perpetrating violence. From this, it might be hypothesized that men's fear of loss of power, or an imagined loss of centredness, entitled to them in a patriarchal society, may be hidden as a primary source of male gender role strain (conflict and stress) underlying Pleck, O'Neil and Eisler's models.

Pleck identifies three ideologies for masculinity that play central roles in male gender role strain, i.e. status, toughness and anti-femininity. In the male gender role conflict theory, O'Neil provides four patterns of male role conflict: success; restrictive emotionality; restrictive affectionate behaviour between men; and conflicts between work and family relations. Eisler presents stressful situations in which men perceive themselves as physically inadequate, emotionally expressive, subordinate to women, intellectually inferior, or performing inadequately. All these elements consisting of male gender role strain in these models might centre on a fear of losing power. This connection will be explored in detail in what follows.

2.3.3.1. Men's feelings of anti-femininity and power

Horrocks (1994:33) observes that males' anxiety about masculinity, ranging from macho to the effeminate, is common in every culture and flows from the message: "I am not a woman." In order to prove his manliness, the male must distance himself from femininity. Similarly, Kimmel notes that historically developmentally, masculinity has been defined as the flight from women, the repudiation of femininity (2001:273). The issue of power can be easily found in this feeling of anti-femininity in males.

There are many theories that explain the source of males' misogyny. According to Clare (2000:195), in psychoanalytic theory, Freud was the first to examine the source of this male hostility to women, attributing to it a fear of castration. Such castration anxiety serves permanently to determine the boy's relations to women; horror of the mutilated creature or triumphant contempt for her. But Horney challenges Freud's male-oriented and phallo-centric analysis of the relationship between the sexes. Horney (in Clare, 2000:199) describes men's anti-femininity as their possible envy and fear of women's biological creativity and identity. According to Dorothy Dinnerstein (in Clare, 2000:199), "Once the male child discovers that his desire to possess his mother genitally and orally is doomed to fail, his view of her as a Madonna or princess switches to a witch or whore, and he relinquishes and devalues her and all womanhood. In this sense, male sadism becomes the driving impulse behind all men's anti-femininity. Clare (2000:201) provides another source of male fear of, and hostility towards, women that relates to the female ability to turn male sexual desire on and off. Males know they need women and depend on them, but they are disgusted with this need because, they regard their dependency on the female as shameful with its connotations of a return to infancy and helplessness. This feeling leads to anti-femininity.

Pleck (1989 a) provides several theories of the psychological sources of men's needs for power over women, or their need to dominate women. First, the *mother-domination theory*, which implies that men feel a lifelong psychological need to free themselves from, or prevent, women's domination, because the male child perceives his mother and his predominantly female elementary school teachers as domineering and controlling. Second, the *mother-identification theory* holds that men develop a feminine psychological identification because of their early attachment to their mothers and that men fear this internal feminine part of themselves, and seek to control, by controlling those who actually are feminine, i.e., women. Third, the *mother-socialization theory* that holds that the major route by which boys learn masculinity is through their mothers' rewarding masculine behaviour, and especially through their mothers' punitive feminine behaviour, since the boys' fathers are relatively absent as sex-role models. Thus, males associate women with punishment and pressure to be masculine (Pleck, 1989a:22,23). Pleck (1989a:24) adds his own idea that women have two types of power (expressive

and masculinity-validating powers) and that, when women refuse to exercise their expressive power and masculinity-validating power over men, many of them feel lost and bereft, and frantically attempt to force women back into their accustomed role.

In a small sampling of notable quotations, Doyle (1983:150) observes the depths of some men's misogynous or sexist belief: "I thank thee, O Lord, that thou have not created me a woman - Daily Orthodox Jewish Prayer for a male. When a woman thinks ... she thinks evil - Seneca. Regard the society of women as a necessary unpleasantness of social life, and avoid it as much as possible - Leo Tolstoy." Doyle (1983:152) notes, "The religious traditions of the Judeo-Christian perspective initiated a strict patriarchal cosmology and world view and instituted the belief that women were the source of all male difficulties."

Unlike the well-developed theories of a psychological source for males' anti-femininity, another reason why males hate to be called a "sissy" could derive from men's perception of women as an inferior class, while males perceive themselves as an upper class (David & Brannon, 1976:13). Boys and grown men have always taken for granted that what they were doing was more important than what girls and women were doing. Men occupy the centre of the stage, and women's attention is focused on them (Clare, 2000:207). Adler (1925:21) writes that a child regards masculinity as strength, greatness, riches, knowledge, victory, coarseness, cruelty, violence and activity, and considers the opposites as being feminine because of the deep-rooted feeling of masculine and feminine traits. The child's normal craving for nestling, the exaggerated submissiveness of the neurotically-disposed individual, the feeling of weakness, the feeling of inferiority protected by hyper-sensitiveness, the realization of actual futility, the sense of being permanently pushed aside and being at a disadvantage, all these combine into a feeling of femininity (1925:22). Hartley's (1974:11,12) interviews with boys seem to describe best why men are taught to avoid everything feminine. Boys say:

Concerning girls, boys tell us: they have to stay close to the house ... they are often afraid ... they cry when they are scared or hurt; they are afraid to go to rough places ... their activities consist of "fopperies" like playing with dolls, fussing over babies, and sitting and talking about dresses Concerning adult women, we are told: they are indecisive; they are afraid of many things; they make a fuss over things; they get tired a lot; they very often need someone to help them; they stay home most of the time; they are not as strong as men; they don't like adventure; they are squeamish about seeing blood; they don't know what to do in an emergency; they cannot do dangerous things; they are more easily damaged than men; and they die more easily than men. Moreover, they are lofty about dirty jobs; they feel themselves above manual work; they are scared of getting wet or getting an electric shock; they cannot do things men do because they have a way of doing things the wrong way; they are not very intelligent; they can only scream in an emergency where a man would take charge; they feel sad more often than men. Although they make children feel good, they also make boys carry heavy loads; haul heavy shopping carts uphill; keep them from going out when they want to go, or demand that they stay out when they want to come in. They take the pep out of things and are fussy about children's grades. They very easily become jealous and envy their husbands.

Concerning women's traditional household activities, we get the following reflections: ... women do things like cooking, washing and sewing because that's all they can do; if women were to try to do men's jobs, the whole thing would fall apart with the women doing it; women haven't enough strength in the head or in the body to do most jobs; in going to adventurous places women are pests-just a lot of bother; they die easily and they are always worried about their petticoats; I don't know how women would get along without men doing the work.

In short, boys view women as weak, easily hurt, lacking strength in mind and body, able to perform only the tasks that demand the least strength and are of least importance. In a word, a woman is viewed as weak and incompetent. Taken all together, it is possible to argue that men's fear of femininity is synonymous with their fear of weakness or a fear of incompetence, which results in the central source of various problems for males to overcome at all costs.

2.3.3.2. Men's inexpressiveness and power

Influences of socialization begin in the earliest months of life and continue throughout the child and adolescent development. Parents, teachers, peers, and even children's games teach boys and girls to adopt different styles of relating to the world and to each other (Sherrod, 1987:227). By means of countless small processes of socialization, the average male becomes competitive and distant with other people, and these traits are exaggerated in relationships between men. Based on this perspective, male inexpressiveness has been considered as a culturally forced norm in the process of male socialization. However, Sattel (1989) questions why male inexpressiveness exists or how it originated and is maintained, other than to say that our culture demands it. For an answer, Sattel (1989:382) postulates that male inexpressiveness is instrumental in maintaining positions of power and privilege for men. He provides an example that the general, who sends troops into battle, must show that his decision is calculated and certain; and to effectively implement that decision to maintain his position of power in making future decisions, the general must put on a face of impassive conviction. This is quite true about Bush's recent address - with his decisive and militant attitude, he appealed to congressmen to support his plan to send more troops into Iraq. Emotional toughness is evident, not only in the White House, but also in Wall Street. Business executives are tested consistently on their ability to be cool and unaffected emotionally. Sattel argues that a little boy is socialized to become inexpressive not simply because our culture expects this of them, but because our culture keeps boys away from emotional involvement in order to make them become decision-makers and effective power-wielder. In other words, boys are taught to be inexpressive to protect and maintain their position of power. In support of this, Kaufman (1994) argues that males suppress a range of emotions because they might restrict their ability and desire to control other males, or to dominate human beings around them. This avoidance of emotions is one of many things men do for this type of power: "We've got to perform and stay cool. We've got to conquer, be on top of things, and call the shots. Meanwhile, we have to beat back our feelings, hide our emotions and suppress our needs" (1994:148). According to David

and Brannon (1976:51), men can gain power by hiding their feelings and emotions. This is why males keep trying to be in control of their emotions (except anger) although they know of the potential harmful consequences of inexpressiveness to their health. In line with the above authors, Jansz (2000) interprets men's inexpressiveness as follows,

Men hardly disclose their personal feelings and tend to conceal the expression of emotions. This can be understood as a strategy to boost conventional masculine identity: the expression of tender feelings and intro-punitive emotions is generally seen as an indication of vulnerability and weakness. Further, refraining from self-disclosure extends the psychological distance between audience and self, which impedes predicting and controlling the individual's behaviour (2000:173).

For Jansz (2000:174), the enactment of cool pose and anger can be interpreted as a way of exercising power and gaining control in a situation. Alexander & Wood also point out that men's hiding of emotions is designed to achieve and maintain the upper hand if they can, and protect themselves from another's attempt to put them down and push them around (2000:204). Thus, the fear of powerlessness and the fear of being seen as weak could result in men hiding their feelings and emotions and keep trying to be in control.

2.3.3.3. Men's friendship with other men and power

According to Sherrod (1987:230), friendship was particularly important in the writings of two historical periods. During the Classical Age of Greek society, and the European Renaissance, male friendships were viewed as the highest form of love. Male friendship is considered to be valuable in contemporary non-Western cultures. Sherrod lists a few of the social rituals attesting to men's attachment to one another, for example hunting parties, drinking bouts in all-male saloons, athletic clubs, fraternities, service clubs, and the proverbial boys' night out in American history. But today, the picture of male friendship is quite different. Doyle (1983:158) argues that the phenomenon of men spending more time in women's company than with men is a relatively recent social expectation.

What happened in Western society to alter so drastically the meaning of same-sex friendships?

Sherrod (1987:232) notes changes. The first changes that have affected men's friendships are changes in the nature of men's work. In the new industrial world, men now compete directly with other men for work, wages, and worth. Instead of sharing their common fates with friends, they compete for wages. In the new competitive climate, intimate friendships are now being replaced with the more superficial ties of the modern working men.

Even though men have many buddies with whom they enjoy drinks and talk politics, sports, work and sex, men no longer have other men with whom they can share their fears and anxieties, as well as their pleasures and joys. As Doyle (1983:160) observes, "Quite often the fact that a man has no real male

friends becomes painfully clear only when he needs someone to lean on." Lillian Rubin (1989:361) holds: "It is not that men do not want or need closeness with other men. Men want intimacy defined as feeling that I am accepted just the way I am, putting aside the masks I wear without fear." Fasteau (1974) writes that when men get together, they watch a game, play cards, play sports and eat together, but when they talk, they talk of important problems, such as war or politics, but never of anything really personal. Garfinkel (1989:413) describes a typical man-to-man relationship as follows: "Behind the bear hugs of camaraderie, men seem to be holding each other at arm's length. They keep a safe distance - a buffer zone - between themselves and other men. This safe space is quite literally a no man's land, an emotional twilight zone few men appear to be willing to navigate."

Why do men need to maintain a safe level of emotional distance from each other, even though they all want intimacy? Garfinkel (1989:413) continues, "Who can blame us for assuming an avoidance stance after an initiation into man-to-man relationships such as we have had? After all, what has come of trusting fathers, mentors, and brothers? Betrayal. Disappointment. Distrust. Unrequited love." In an attempt to be faithful to the masculine ideology, the issue of power, such as achievement, one-upmanship, competition, overt in games and covert in measuring our career progress, runs through males' relationship with other males (Fasteau, 1974). Certainly, an overemphasis on competition among males is one factor that places a damper on intimate self-disclosure among men. Why would a man give away information that would make him vulnerable among his competitors in games, education, or the workplace? This is what Fasteau (1974) describes as his friendship. "Talking personally and spontaneously involves revealing doubts, plans which may fail, ideas which haven't been thought through, happiness over things the other person may think trivial - in short, making ourselves vulnerable. That was too risky."

As the stories illustrate above, the reason why men's relationships with other men have been so limited lies in the masculine need for getting ahead and competition. Pleck and Sawyer (1974:74) write:

It is in the eyes of other men that we are judged to be a success or a failure. Most of us are in real or imagined competition with other men for the rewards society offers. For most of us, it is important to know what other men think of us. In almost everything we do, male culture encourages us to compare ourselves with other men, and to see them as a standard showing what we should be able to do. No wonder we are so often uneasy with other men. The hierarchical or authority relationships among men, which reflect this process of comparison, make intimacy even more awkward and uncomfortable.

Kimmel (2001;2005) writes about men's lifelong quest to prove one's manhood. To admit weakness, to admit frailty or fragility, is to be seen as not a real man. Manhood is demonstrated for other men's approval. "Think of how men boast to one another of their accomplishments-from their latest sexual conquest to the size of the fish they caught- and how we constantly parade the markers of manhood-

wealth, power, status, sexy women-in front of other men, desperate for their approval” (2001:275). If a man needs men’s approval, how can he have an intimate relationship with a man.

In short, men tend not to make themselves vulnerable to each other, for to do so may be interpreted as a sign of powerlessness and weakness, and an opportunity for the other man to secure advantage. As a result of this fear of betrayal or this fear of being beaten in front of other men, men’s relationships with other men often amount to just another effort at establishing who really is best, stronger, smarter, or ultimately, more powerful.

2.3.3.4. Men’s sexuality and power

Tiefer (1987:165) argues that “sexual virility - the ability to fulfil the conjugal duty, the ability to procreate, sexual power, and potency - is everywhere a requirement of the male role, and thus, impotence is everywhere a matter of concern.” Tiefer (1987:166) continues to argue that sexual competence is part of masculinity whether in our discussion of the traditional man, the modern man, or even the new man. While women can obtain self-worth by other means, impotence for males can become a source of profound humiliation and despair, both in terms of immediate self-esteem and the destruction of one’s masculine reputation. As such, male sexuality focuses on the orgasm as a criterion of performance and achievement. But it is this constant preoccupation with performance that makes men so anxious about sex and so concerned about whether they are missing out compared to other men.

The Viagra revolution indicates the importance of a performance ethic in men’s hearts. Clare (2000:122) reveals that the arrival of Sildenafil (Viagra) coincided with reports suggesting that erectile dysfunction affects up to 30 million men in the United States, between 3% and 9% of the male Swedish population, and 10% of adult men in the UK - that is, 2.5 million men aged over 18 years of age. Clare (2000:124) holds that, prior to the arrival of this drug, most men afflicted by erectile dysfunction did what men do with personal problems - they kept quiet about it because they are ashamed to reveal their weakness and loss of control.

One of men’s strong needs to control power over others manifests in the urge to master and possess the other in terms of sexuality. About this association, White argues that, while there is nothing absolute, unchanging or inevitable about men and their sexuality, there is this disturbing connection between male sexual behaviour and many men’s need to exercise power and control over others (Whitehead, 2002:167). Clare (2000:201) suggests that many men’s preoccupation with being in control is at the heart of male sexuality. As such, men’s drive for power and control as a central tenet of masculinity is itself manifest in men’s sexuality as well. Failing to maintain an erection sufficient for satisfactory sexual performance will be opposite of what is expected of a male. It is another sign of weakness that males grow up to deny at all costs.

Men's unwillingness to accept any sign of weakness is apparent in male anti-femininity, male inexpressiveness, male relationships with men, even male sexuality (let alone success), the competitive norm, and male-female relationships that the issue of power dominates. In an effort not to be left behind in competitions and not to be regarded as weak, men desperately try to seek strength, power and winning with toughness and inexpressiveness driven both by the societal system and the internalization of this system's value. However, as Good and Brooks note,

Men who don't live up to the rigorous standards of the manhood code are clearly experiencing anguish. But it isn't just these men who are hurting. The paradox of modern masculinity is that regardless of a man's accomplishment or successes, he is, in one maddening way, continually driven toward greater accomplishments-it is never enough. He may be fixated on overtaking the men above him on the various hierarchical ladders of achievement and also horrified at the prospect of being overtaken by other men hell-bent on moving up the same ladder (2005:3).

If it takes a long time for society to change its societal milieu in which weakness and vulnerability are not tolerated, the only way out of harmful consequences of male norms is when men can relax in situations of losing and being left behind. Whitehead's (2002:84) remark rings quite true to this.

While many heterosexual men may say they would wish for an equal relationship with women, far fewer appear willing to live the actual consequences of this on a day-to-day basis, for it requires them to adopt a non-centralist position in the relationship; that is, a position where they exist not as central, but as jointly peripheral. The essentialistic retreats by men can be said to represent traditional men's failure to accept and accommodate such a necessarily peripheral position, one that comes in tandem with women's increasing assertion and exercise of power.

In a similar line of argument, Goode (1989:51) argues, "This change in men's position is a loss of centrality, a decline in the extent to which they are the center of attention. The center of attention shifts to women more now than in the past. This shift troubles men far more, and creates more of their struggling than the women's demand for equal opportunity." As Goode (1989) reminds us, men occupied the centre of the stage, and women's attention was focused on them. They were in the position to be helped, not to give help. Thus, men now have become nervous about losing control and they find it almost impossible to step out of their privileged central place, in both their relationships with women, and with men. But, relaxing in situations of losing and being left behind is the only escape from the male role strain.

Thus far, the researcher has discussed the hypothesis that, in a patriarchal society, men's fear of loss of power may have been operating as a primary source of male gender role strain. This was quite affirmative of the feminist critique of power. But appropriately dealing with male strain in the new liberal economy would require more than just recommending, "Relinquish your privileges and relax," even though this is believed to be fundamental. We need to be more empathetic about men's pain.

2.3.3.5. Being empathetic to men

Levant (1995:232) proposes two possible solutions to the male-crisis. First, we must regard this male experience seriously and adopt an empathetic approach to their pain. Second, to help these men come to terms with what must be changed and restore some of their lost pride, the still-valuable aspects of masculinity need to be credited. He identifies these aspects as follows (1995:232):

A man's willingness to set aside his own needs for the sake of his family; his ability to withstand hardship and pain to protect others; his tendency to take care of people and solve their problems as if they were his own; his way of expressing love by doing things for others; his loyalty, dedication, and commitment; his stick-to-it-ive-ness and will to hang in until a situation is corrected; and his abilities to face danger, and assert himself.

Among these valuable aspects of masculinity Levant observes a man's healthy sense of responsibility as a provider, and his way of expressing love by doing things for others need to be highlighted, as Gilmore (1990) beautifully describes in his study. He notes that in most societies manhood demands that men do three things: impregnate women, protect dependants and provide materially for both, and that the harsher the environment and the scarcer the resources, the more manhood is stressed as inspiration and goal (1990:224). As a result, boys must be hardened and inducted into masculinity, based on self-reliance, discipline and self-direction (1990:5). Gilmore (1990:229-230) describes men's nurturing character that he observed in most cultures that he surveyed as follows:

Manhood therefore is also a nurturing concept, if we define that term as giving, sub venting, or other-directed. It is true that this male giving is different from, and less demonstrative and more obscure than, the female. It is less direct, less immediate, more involved with externals; the "other" involved may be society in general rather than specific persons. The form of nourishment also differs. Women nurture others directly. They do this with their bodies, with their milk and their love. This is very sacrificial and generous. But surprisingly, "real" men nurture, too, although they would perhaps not be pleased to hear it put this way. Their support is indirect and thus less easy to conceptualize. Men nurture their society by shedding their blood, their sweat, and their semen, by bringing home food for both child and mother, by producing children, and by dying if necessary in faraway places to provide a safe haven for their people.

Indeed, we need to be alert to avoid seeking power and control over others. Yet, we also need to distinguish a healthy sense of responsibility as a provider, as shown in Gilmore's study from a pathological quest for power, and a healthy sacrificial effort to protect a child and mother from any possible dangers of morbid overprotection. Accordingly, we need to pay enough attention to pain caused by a father's healthy responsibility, as much as we must be concerned about male strain caused by men's hunger for power.

In short, if it is acceptable that men's fear of powerlessness and weakness (or fear of losing centredness and power) serves as a primary source to create male gender role strain in men's hearts, and if relaxing with feelings of powerlessness and the sense of loss is a possible way out, how can males relax in situations of losing, being left behind, and being defeated? How can males relax with feelings

of powerlessness and weakness, without disregarding the healthy responsibility as a father at the same time? These questions call for a relevant theological answer to males' fear of powerlessness, vulnerability, and weakness.

IN CONCLUSION: FINDINGS

Since the 1970s, many writers have pointed out male socialization as a primary cause of their personal problems. Notably, Pleck's gender role strain paradigm indicates that male strain stems from contradictory, inconsistent, and dysfunctional male roles that society and culture impart through male socialization. By this, his model challenged the then dominant model, the male sex role identity paradigm that insisted that male strain originates with insecure male identity itself, based on children's psychosexual development. O'Neil's gender role conflict scale and Eisler and Skidmore's gender role stress scale identified consequences of male gender role strain as primary causes of men's physical and emotional problems with themselves, other men, women, their work and society. To date, Pleck's theory has been considered the most important theoretical framework in the area of male gender roles and their consequences. But one thing that he lacked might be the relationship between the issue of power and male gender role strain. To connect the issue of power and male gender role strain, Kaufman's thesis: "Men's contradictory experiences of powerfulness and powerlessness" has been discussed in this chapter. As such, it was argued that a fear of males' powerlessness, vulnerability and weakness could serve as a primary source of male gender role strain hidden behind the causes of Pleck's male gender role strain, O'Neil's male gender role conflict and Eisler *et al.s'* gender role stress model.

Within a Christian context, the researcher has attempted to examine the correlation between male gender role strain and the practices of faith in the church and how churches respond to the notion of offices in the church. As phenomena of male gender role strain, the researcher has identified sexual dualism, the distortion of God-images and obsession with success, resulting in shame, fear of failure, and loneliness, which lead to self-rejection and using faith for instrumental and utilitarian purposes. Also, the research pointed out that the avoidance of human limitation and weakness, trying to be in control, might have produced a theology that insists upon the "winning-is-everything" ethic, thereby creating a distorted theology that our God becomes only a God of winners. In this way, male gender role strain resulting from the four major ideologies such as anti-femininity, success, self-reliance and aggression, could hamper males' spirituality.

Thus far, the researcher's argumentation is based on the hypotheses that the essential source of male gender role strain might be more closely connected to the issue of power than emotional expressiveness and that male gender role strain might impact on the different practices of faith in the

churches and how churches respond to the notion of offices in the churches as well as on males' spirituality. Now this study calls for an empirical research in order to support the researcher's hypotheses. "What does an empirical study say about the interrelationship between male gender role strain and the issue of power?" "Which is the impact of male gender role strain on males' spirituality, as indicated by empirical study?" Next chapter will deal with the interrelationship between male gender role strain, the issue of power, and its impact on God-images in the Korean context in Cape Town, South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

AN EMPIRICAL STUDY:

THE IMPACT OF A LOSS OF POWER AND MALE GENDER ROLE STRAIN ON GOD-IMAGES

INTRODUCTION

Empirical studies on male gender role strain have shown the relationship between males' gender role conflict, stress and various psychological, physical and interpersonal problems. These research results revealed several psychological reactions in males, due to male gender role strain. Specifically, regarding the relationship between the issue of power and males' problems, the following studies found that the success, power and competition (SPC) factor of the male gender role conflict scale was associated with men's psychopathology. It has been reported that SPC is significantly related to "alexithymia" (O'Neil & Good, 1997) and "paranoia" (Good *et al.*, 1996). Blazina and Watkins (1996) found that SPC is significantly related to a decrease in psychological well-being, including more anger, the increased use of alcohol and negative attitudes towards seeking help. Mahalik *et al.* (1997) found a strong correlation between SPC and immature defences. SPC is significantly related to college men's depression (Good & Mintz, 1990). SPC is also associated with hostility, depression, anxiety and social intimacy among college men (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Hayes & Mahalik, 2000).

In the Korean context, Enkyung Seo (2001) reports the correlation between the masculine gender role conflict and mental health, including subjective well-being and psychopathology. The result shows that SPC factors are positively related to anxiety and compulsion. Shinae Kim (2004) also reports that gender role factor scales correlate negatively to self-reported self-esteem, while they correlate positively to self-reported interpersonal problems. This study reports that SPC is positively associated with self-esteem and interpersonal problems. Suae Park and Enkyung Cho (2002) report the interrelation between Korean male gender roles and several adjustment variables, such as self-esteem, depression, expression of their emotions and satisfaction in life. Their study also indicates that SPC is significantly associated with depression.

In this way, the relationship between the issue of power and male gender role strain has been explored in America and Korea. However, no research has examined specifically the issue of power as the root of male gender role strain (conflict and stress) as Kaufman's hypothesis indicates in chapter 2 even in America and Korea. Furthermore, no research has explored the relationship between the issue of power, male gender role strain and Christian spirituality in Korean males both in Korea and in South

Africa. Thus, the purpose of this empirical study is to examine the relationship between the issue of power (competition, control and achievement), male gender role strain and its impact on the spiritual well being or maturity (focusing on God-images)³² of Korean Christian males in Cape Town³³. In order to deal with this relationship, this chapter will address cross-cultural situations and male identity within the Korean culture in Cape Town. The objective of this chapter is to probe into the area of the Christian spirituality of Korean males, their understanding of power and the interplay between God-images and their self-understanding within a Korean cultural context.

3.1. BRIEF DESCRIPTION ABOUT THE KOREAN MALES IN CAPE TOWN

According to the Korean Embassy in RSA (www.zaf.mofat.go.kr), since South Africa has established diplomatic relations with South Korea in 1992, an active interchange has been encouraged between the two countries. Nelson Mandela visited Korea in 1995 and Thabo Mbeki in 1998. Many emigrants and temporary residents have been coming to stay in South Africa since 1986 when the first Korean emigrant was reported. In 2007, 3,700 Koreans are staying in South Africa (1,500 in Johannesburg; 1,600 in Pretoria; 1,300 in Cape Town; 80 in Durban; 220 elsewhere), and that there are six Korean schools and 12 Korean churches in South Africa. When compared to 3,425 Koreans in 2005 (Statistics in overseas Koreans, 2005), an increase of about 10% over the past three years has been noted. According to a personal talk of the Korean Ambassador one month ago, now the Korean population in South Africa has now reached around 4,500 as of November 2008.

It will be helpful for the study to identify how Korean males in South Africa experience similarities and differences in a different culture in general.

An article by David Sue (2005:359) about Asian American males states that these males tend to

³² Regarding the relationship between spiritual maturity or well-being and God-images, variables in God concepts are found to contribute to spiritual well-being (Benson & Spilka, 1973; Schaefer & Gorsuch, 1991; Wong-McDonald & Gorsuch, 2000). Benson and Spilka (1973) find that concepts of a loving God correlate positively with frequent devotions, religious discussion and church attendance. This shows that a loving, accepting God is cognitively compatible with high self-esteem. Schaefer and Gorsuch (1991) investigated the relationship between anxiety, as an indicator of emotional instability (as opposed to spiritual well-being), and the various God-concept factors. They found that someone believing in a loving, compassionate God has less anxiety than one with a punitive, severe concept of God. They conclude that, perhaps, anxiety occurs when people do not believe in a loving God to whom they can turn with their problems (1991:458). Similarly, Hammersla *et al.* (1986) report that religiously committed participants endorse a positive God-image, whereas the least committed participants endorse a negative God-concept. It is also found that a traditional benevolent conceptualization of God correlates with greater spiritual well-being (Wong-McDonald & Gorsuch, 2000). Conversely, males' negative God-images could influence their spirituality, self-esteem, and, finally, a lesser sense of spiritual well-being. Louw argues that inappropriate God-images can generate infantile behavior. This may even cause doubt, anxiety and aggression, while appropriate God-images can stimulate maturity and strengthen the experience of gratitude, hope, love and joy (1998:341). According to Louw (1998:341-345), the following six God-images are identified as inappropriate images of God: a) God as powerful giant; b) God as bully; c) God as Father Christmas; d) God as mechanic/engineer; e) God as computer; and f) God as magician. In contrast, he presents five appropriate images of God: a) God as Father; b) God as Soul Friend; c) God as Saviour; d) God as Comforter; and e) God as Judge. On the basis of this argument, the researcher tries to focus on God-images to explore the impact of male gender role strain on their spirituality.

³³ A motivation why the researcher has chosen a group of the Korean males in Cape Town as a sample is mentioned in the introduction (p.16).

acculturate at a slower rate than do Asian American females and therefore are more likely to be influenced by traditional cultural values. Sue and Sue (1971) propose a conceptual acculturation and assimilation model that can be used as a guide to assess where particular Asian males may be in terms of self-identity, self-worth, and clinical expectations. They label these three patterns as the traditional, the transitional, and Asian-American ways to adjust to the often conflicting demands of the two different cultural traditions. According to their grouping, Korean males in South Africa belong to the first category, the traditional.

Along with this, it is also worth to note that although they live in SA, they maintain their traditional life styles as Koreans in a Korean sub-culture within South African culture. For example, Koreans (especially adults) living in SA, remain Koreans in that they associate only with Koreans, they watch Korean dramas, news and movies due to their problems learning English. Thanks to the Internet and satellite services, they have access to the actual Korean situation real time without delay in the Korean language. Of the male adult interviewees, 90% have businesses related to Koreans alone, such as tour guides for Korean tourists, guest houses for Koreans, pastors for Korean congregations, English teachers for Koreans, guardians who take care of Korean students (primary to high school students) and businesses in Korea. Their social meetings here revolve around church meetings three or four times a week just with Koreans.

Nevertheless, due to the different cultural settings, several different issues appear to influence Korean males in South Africa (SA) significantly compared to those in the Korean society: 1) A more egalitarian attitude towards wives and children is encouraged in SA. 2) Life, focused on the family is emphasized much more in SA. 3) A more relaxed life style is encouraged in SA (not so fast). 4) No activities in the evening are encouraged in SA (more time with family). 5) The language problem, child rearing and a lack of job opportunity create new stresses.

Regarding male gender role strain, this different life style creates new stresses. Firstly, it is a fact that most Korean middle-aged males in Cape Town struggle to express themselves in English. When Korean males share their experiences in private and public meetings, one of most common topics is their embarrassment due to their poor English. In some cases, they only know few English sentences and are unable to express their own feelings, thinking, etc. And in many cases, they are dependent on their wives and children (Korean women are better at learning English). And since the language problem of these males leads to their fellowship with only other Korean males, they can attain useful information only from their wives and children, which makes them feel that they are like small children, thus causing their low self-esteem. Secondly, compared to women in South Africa, Korean women in Korea, generally, are not encouraged to drive cars in general, which has led many Korean women in South Africa to depend on their husband to fetch their children and even to take them

shopping, due to the lack of public transport, and this creates a kind of stress in these males. Thirdly, most Korean middle-aged males in Cape Town are unfamiliar with egalitarian attitude towards their wives and children. Nevertheless, here they are encouraged and even challenged to hold this viewpoint. Fourthly, due to their language problems, their job opportunities suitable for Koreans are quite scarce and limited. Sometimes, this compels them move from place to place. Here, all these new problems create new and different types of male gender role strain. The following empirical study will show how the Korean males in Cape Town experience male gender role strain, how it differs from that which they experience in Korea, the relation between male gender role strain and the issue of power, its impact on their spirituality.

3.2. THE GOAL OF THIS EMPIRICAL STUDY

This empirical study's purposes are:

1. To explore how the different cultural setting impacts on them.
2. To examine how the issue of power influences the participants' male gender role strain by using an in-depth interview.
3. To investigate, by using an in-depth interview, how male gender role strain, as related to the issue of power, affects the participants' God-images.

3.3. METHOD

In an attempt to achieve the goals of this study, an in-depth interview will be used.

3.3.1. In-depth interviews

Along with the questionnaire, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews³⁴ with 15 Korean males (10 middle-aged adults who attend our adult group meeting on Sundays and 5 male Korean college/university students who attend the First Korean Church) in Cape Town. The goal of these in-depth interviews was to examine how they experienced personal strains, how the issue of power could be a central source of male gender role strain and how it could impact on their spirituality.

3.3.2. The procedure of in-depth interviews

³⁴ Firstly, while the researcher was searching for the researches on male gender role strain in Korea, he found that most of researches on this topic had been based on the self-reporting method according to written questionnaires. There were no relevant researches shedding light on the relationship between the issue of power, male gender role strain, and its impact on spirituality (God-images). Secondly, while the researcher was leading a Korean male adult group in Korean First Church in Cape Town, he always felt that the issue of power was not questioned in their communications but it was rather justified and even glorified. Indeed, it was the need to find a solution for that, which drove him to interview them.

During male adult group meetings and youth group meetings in the First Korean Church, which the researcher leads every Sunday afternoon, he asked each interviewee to choose a specific time and place for a survey and in-depth interview according to his own preference and convenience. These interviews were conducted twice from May to October, 2008.

My first interviews were conducted with a semi-structured, open-ended questionnaire questioning the participants' understandings of male gender role strain. I took notes of everything that was said and rewrote it immediately at home (they were reluctant to be tape-recorded). The second interviews were conducted with a structured questionnaire asking about the relationship between male gender role strain, the issue of power and its impact on their spiritual life (then all interviews were tape-recorded).

For this section, the material from the interviews was then used to assess the interrelation between male gender role strain, the issue of power and its impact on their spirituality.

3.3.3. Demographic characteristics of interviewees

Table 3.2 gives the demographic characteristics of the 15 participants in in-depth interviews. The age of the male participants ranged from 40 to 55 for married males, while it ranged from 20 to 24 for students. The middle-aged male participants reported a much higher educational level. All participants, except one, have completed a university level education.

Table 3-1. Demographic summary of interviewees

Case number (15 in total)	Age	Education	Job	Household	Years living in South Africa
Adults					
A	55	University	Farmer	Wife and two children	5 years
B	54	University	Tour guide	Wife and two children	6 years
C	53	University	Guardian	Wife and two children	2 years
D	52	University	Tour guide	Wife and two children	3 years
E	51	High school	Shop owner	Wife and two children	1 year
F	51	University	Guardian	Wife and three children	5 years
G	50	University	Guardian	Wife and two children	5 years
H	47	University	Shop owner	Wife and two children	4 years

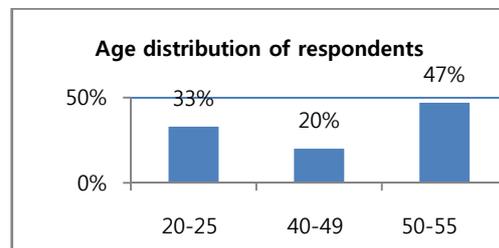
I	42	University	English teacher	Wife and no children	10 years
J	47	University	Guardian	Wife and two children	6 years
University students					
K	23	University student			1 year
L	22	University student			4½ years
M	21	University student			1½ years
N	23	University student			5½ years
O	24	University student			3 years

The percentage of the 50 to 55 age group is the highest among all the age groups; 20 to 24 is second, then 40 to 49 follows.

Table 3-3. Age distribution of the participants

Figure 1. Age group

Age	Number of participants	Percentage
20-25	5	33.0
40-49	3	20.0
50-55	7	47.0
Total	15	100.0



Of the participants: 4 out of 15 have been living in South Africa for less than 2 years; 7 have been living in South Africa between over 2 years and under 5 years; and 4 have been living in South Africa for more than 5 years.

3.4. THE RESULTS OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

The interviews consisted of three sets of questions. The first question concerned male gender role strain. The interviewees were questioned about the kinds of issues and concerns that they were experiencing at the moment, in order to determine how much male gender role strain they were experiencing. The second question was about how they perceived the relationship between the issue of power (comparison, competition, control, desire to achieve status, success, recognition and approval) and their strains. The third question concerned the impact of their male role strain on their spiritual life.

It is risky to generalize, especially from such a small sample. Yet, there were some important similarities and tendencies in the answers, which give a valuable insight into the relationship between the issue of power, male gender role strain and the impact on their spirituality.

1. What is your issue and concern at the moment?

1) The interviewees' almost unanimous agreement on the primary role strain concerned "their responsibility as the sole breadwinner" among married males, while it was "to be a success" among university students. All of the ten middle-aged interviewees named this as their primary strain. Mr D said:

Before I retired, I did not accept the notion that a man was measured by his financial capacity, whether he was successful or not. But now I think it is really true. I am really worried about my ability to support my children's studies. I am not sure what will happen. I am trying to be optimistic about my future, but sometimes my future looks bleak. I often feel loneliness so badly because I am a father who must bring home food. This has been quite a big burden on me, but I cannot be freed from it.

Mr C identified the loss of job security as one of the primary male strains in Korea and in Cape Town.

I have seen my friend's miserable situation. He had been left behind with no promotions, and was down-graded to a less important position in a rural area. Normally, people in this case choose to quit; but he could not, because he has three children to support. He said, "There is no option for me but to stick to this job. I have already lost my sense of self-respect. If only I could support my family." My situation seems to be better than his, but there is still a deep-rooted anxiety and fear of not measuring up to this role.

Mr F spoke of a very similar situation to that of the man quoted above. "When I quitted my first job and began my second job, it was really hard for me to endure. I could not afford to pay for my child's school fees. I then thought how I could be called a man." He continued, "I am not pessimistic about my future, but actually my big worry is how I can support my children, my old mother and my wife in future."

The most striking experience of male responsibility is found in Mr J's story.

I have always struggled to measure up to male ideals, such as the family provider and protector. So far, I have always tried to do this, but it might have not been successful. I think I have been a failure. Actually, I am very afraid of failing in future as well. This anxiety and fear of the future makes me miserable and depressed. Sometimes I would rather like to die. But I know that I must not die. For then, who would look after my family? In a sense, the reason I am here is to take care of my family. Sometimes I say to myself. "Who knows my loneliness and despair? Does even God know my misery? Who can share my pain? Nobody!"

The five students all unanimously said that they have to excel in order to reach their own goals. Mr L put it like this: "As I am a really a success-oriented person, when things do not turned out to be successful, I become frustrated and depressed for several days." Mr M said, "My goal is to make

money, because money alone can bring respect and comfort to me. I learned this from my experience with my father who has succeeded in his business. But, so often I worry whether I will be able to be like my father."

Mr O expressed his pain generating from his incapability of not living up to his parents' expectation. "I know I am a privileged person to study overseas and my parents spend a lot of money on me, but I am not doing very well here. I am afraid of failing to meet my parents' expectations. I know I am supposed to do well, but it is not easy." For Mr N, his desire for success and achievement has been driving him to worry about failure to the point of insomnia, even though he does his best in what he has to do. "I worry about many things for several hours. What if I fail this exam? What if I cannot have a nice job? What if I cannot succeed? I fight these worries for several hours.

Interestingly, their desire for success is closely associated with their attitude towards their parents. They all said, "I have to succeed even for the sake of my parents. I'd like to be successful in return for my parents' sacrifices for me. I really want to help my parents to live in riches." This feeling of responsibility towards parents has been considered to be a virtue, which each child, especially each male, must have had since the Chosun Dynasty. According to the precept of Confucianism, the central duty of a male is to bring glory to his family and to be filial towards his parents.

This sense of responsibility to be successful often doubles the Korean males' strain. On the one hand, males are struggling to go ahead for their own sakes. But, even though they do not want to pursue success and status, they cannot stop doing so, because that might be interpreted as a betrayal of their family and parents, on the other hand. This causes dysfunctional strain in males.

2) The second male strain among middle-aged males was about the decline of fathers and husbands' paternal authority. Recently, in Korea, the most significant change in men's lives is the decline of their authority at home, along with their weak financial power. Mr E expressed how men in Korea have been changed and how he experienced these emotions here in Cape Town:

In my mutual assistance club in Korea, 90% of the members complain about their wives' attitudes towards them; wives challenge their authority. They revealed that many of them have their own rooms, separated from their wives. Their wives mostly ask for this. In many cases, their children take their wives' sides, not their sides. Sometimes, their children do not even say "hello" to them. They feel lonely. Males are now regarded as machines just to earn money, but they are not appreciated for it. Rather, it is taken for granted. Now, it is very difficult for a man to live as a man. When I came here to stay with my family, my first question was "Am I a man?" Every time my children have problems with my wife, I try to solve the problems in my own way. But my wife persuades me not to do that, saying that if I intervened in a problem, it would be worse. Here, she does everything. Sometimes I feel like I am her child. Now I cannot afford to support my family as in the past. This causes my sense of guilt for not being a good provider. In the past, I was in the centre of attention. Everything in my household revolved

around me, but now it is different. I am the one in the periphery. In the past, I was a decision-maker, but now I am a follower. Is this life at all?

Mr B, a former managing director in a major Korean company shared his feelings.

I feel depressed here. My wife seems to think that I am incapable of making money after retirement. But how can I be the same as I was before retirement? My children are all grown up and they seem to be uncomfortable with me. This makes me unable to rest at home, so I'd like to hang around outside. But I can't find anywhere to go.

As was revealed in this interview, men's awareness of the decline of paternal authority is also reflected in their attitude towards their children. Traditionally, the father was supposed to make a decision in an important matter without any challenges from his household, especially from his daughters. Mr H told about his daughter challenging against him in the process of decision-making for her major in high school.

I thought that my daughter would respect my decision, because normally the father has been considered as being more experienced and being more far-sighted. But I was wrong. I was shocked when my daughter completely rejected my decision, saying, "This is my life, I will do what I want to do." Now, I accept her decision and her perspectives. Now, I have come to admit that she could be right as much as I was right.

Mr C, who joined his family after five years, shared his feelings about his daughter. He described her not only as being calm, kind and sweet, but also as assertive. In the past, she was obedient to him, but now she tends to discriminate between right and wrong, even on small matters. He said that he was now more careful in his speech and behaviour to avoid her challenging him. Now, there is no place for authoritative fathers to stay with their families. Mr G also spoke of his problem with his daughter. After a small incident, his daughter closed her mind and has rejected any communication with him. "In the past, children had to show respect to their fathers, whatever happened to them. But now it has changed. A father must read his children's minds first." This strain that males experience with their wives and children appears to be related to their belief that his family must respect a man and that it is difficult for a man to accept a woman instructing a man to do things.

3) The third male strain is about raising children. Especially when their children do not turn out the way their parents had expected, and when they do not succeed in school, social relationships, and jobs, fathers suffer from much stress. Without doubt, in Korea, this strain will be counted as number three, as discussed earlier. Here too, for a small group of men, their kids' performances at school were their great concern. Mr E said:

I am really worried about my kids, as they produce poor results at school. They have no desire to study hard and are easily distracted by trifling things around them. As you know, there is no hope when they do poorly at school, especially here in South Africa.

Fathers' worries are not limited to their school children, but extend to their grown-up children who have already completed their studies here. At present, one of the social problems in Korea is the increased unemployment rate for young adults who have finished their university studies. This phenomenon can easily be seen here too. Mr B's two children have completed their university studies here, but do not have work, as well as other Korean young adults here. Most of the Korean young adults, who completed their university studies here, return to Korea to find a job, but it is not easy. For this reason, Mr B is struggling to start a new business with which he and his son will be able to secure their future here. But this is more difficult.

Overall, male gender role strain³⁵ that my interviewees face appears to belong to "discrepancy strain" and "dysfunctional strain" as Pleck (1995:12-18) defines:

A significant proportion of males exhibit long-term failure to fulfill male role expectations. The resulting disjuncture between these expectations and these males' characteristics leads to low self-esteem and other negative psychological consequences. This dynamic is "gender role discrepancy" or "incongruity" (discrepancy-strain). Second, even if male role expectations are successfully fulfilled, the socialization process leading to this fulfillment is traumatic, with long-term negative side effects. This is the "gender role trauma" argument (trauma-strain). And the third theoretical notion is that the successful fulfillment of male role expectations can have negative consequences, because many of the characteristics viewed as desirable or acceptable in men (e.g., low level of family participation) have inherent negative side effects, either for males themselves or for others. This is the "gender role dysfunction" argument (dysfunction-strain). These three ideas correspond to three theoretical subtypes of male gender role strain: discrepancy-strain, trauma-strain, and dysfunction-strain.

Among middle-aged males, those (Messrs B, D, E and J) who feel a sense of strong responsibility, but experience failure to fulfil their role as sole good providers, appear to suffer from a low self-esteem, anxiety and even depression. For college males, those (Messrs M and O) who have not been academically successful seem to have the same negative emotional symptoms. All these pains of my interviewees appear to be equated with "discrepancy strain." Earlier in this section, this type of strain is expressed clearly in their stories about their sense of responsibility, as well as their worries.

³⁵ As Brooks and Silverstein (1995), Gilmore (1990), Levant (1995), and Krugman (1995) argue in chapter 2, males tend to adhere rigidly to male ideals to avoid the feelings of shame, which could result in male gender role strain. Thus, the male culture is considered as shame-phobic (Krugman, 1995:92). According to Gilmore, this is a phenomenon experienced in almost every society. However, within shame cultures, such as Asian cultures and especially in Korea, it might be more acute and intense. Byungoh Kim (1996:43-47) explains the nature of shame among Korean people in relation to *chemyon* (face). According to him, *chemyon* represents the male position and role in the family and society. It is also associated with the unconscious mind to conform to certain ideals that parents convey to a child. While growing up, a child internalizes parental ideals and cultural imperatives, making them his/her own ego-ideals. Therefore, these ego-ideals represent the internalization of Confucian cultural values (responsibilities and obligations). Thus, as a social mask, *chemyon* represents the embodiment of the idealized Confucian values and behaviours that Korean people have internalized as a check-list against which to compare themselves. In this regard, it is also referred to as "the social role or as the gender role" (1996:45). When the ego fails to attain any goals and ideals that the ego-ideal suggests (when a man violates male gender role), his *chemyon* is lost or injured and thus causes the individual to feel shame (1996:46). In this regard, shame might play a vital role in generating male gender role strain among Korean males. However, the present study emphasizes that shame is not the only factor to explain male gender role strain. The issue of power can also be a fundamental factor to account for male gender role strain.

Here, the focus will be more on the "dysfunctional strain" that males experience to conform to their masculine ideals. Mr A is a farmer who says, "I work from 4:30 in the morning until 9:00 in the evening, often until 11:00 in the evening." For him, the male's primary goal is to achieve success through hard work. Mr A works even on Saturdays and Sundays. He believes that the Bible endorses hard work, and cites Genesis 31:40, saying: "This was also my situation: 'The heat consumed me in the daytime and the cold at night, and sleep fled from my eyes.' I kept persuading my children to work hard as Jacob did in Genesis." However, Mr A's excessive hard work has resulted in both ruining his health, and his alienation from his children. His wife told me that his children tend to avoid him when he is at home. They feel uncomfortable in their father's presence.

Very sadly, their fathers' dysfunctional strain seems to victimize two of the university students. Mr C said, "Once, I was totally driven by the desire for success, but now I have become relaxed about life." However, his father is trying to turn *his own* dream for success into *his son's* life goal. In his (the father's) form of guidance, he seems to be pushing his son further and further than his son can bear unconsciously. His son (a university student) told me, "Actually I want to be a mathematician, but my father suspects that I want to run away from my goal because of the fear of not reaching that goal. He says that I must never change my course until I have proven my ability to be a statistician. I will prove myself. I will show that I am not running away."

Mr K shared his experience how he had endured his metrication years in Korea.

My father had always spoken of Seoul National University (the best in Korea). He said that I had to enter this university at all costs and that he would support me with whatever I needed. But, I failed and entered a university ranked lower. I was satisfied with the university and loved my major. However, knowing my father's disappointment, I decided to enter a cram school for one year in preparation for the next exam. There was no freedom, no rest, just studying. Actually, it was harder and tougher than my military service. I had to endure those difficult times to meet my father's expectations. I did not want to have a good reputation, but merely wanted a happy life according to my ability. Anyway, I failed again. Instead, I entered the university ranked third in Korea with an unwanted major.

In this way, almost every male in my sample appeared to experience what Pleck defines as "discrepancy strain" and "dysfunctional strain" in their lives. In the next question, the researcher attempted to examine the interrelationship between the issue of power and male strain.

2. What do you think is the source of your male gender role strain? What do you think about the following statement? Do you think that there could be an interrelationship between male gender role strain and the issue of power (competition, comparison, getting ahead, control, recognition, and achievement, etc)? If so, can you tell me about your experience?

1) From their personal perspectives, all the participants agreed in unison that there seemed to be a strong relationship between male gender role strain and the issue of power.

Mr N, a former baseball player in his high school, said:

I really believe so. This really is the case when I recall my first experience of failure and anxiety in my high school. I was a young promising pitcher in our baseball team that won the national baseball games several times. But, I was injured and so sat on the bench to only watch the games. It didn't matter whether my team won or lost. What mattered most was myself. "What do I have to do now? Will I be able to succeed in baseball? If not, what must I do now?" Finally, I gave up baseball and turned to being a golfer. But, I still have the same anxiety. "What if I fail again?" I feel a great compulsion to succeed and this seems to trigger my anxiety.

Very similarly, Mr K revealed that his source of strain was "getting ahead" and "competition." He said:

I think the issue of power is highly related to male gender role strain. When we consider the Korean education system, it really does this. Since I was young, I was very competitive. My goal was to win whatever I did. When I played soccer, I aimed to shoot more goals than others. When I studied, I struggled to excel over everyone around me. Especially when I was in a cram school, everything was really about competition. There were no friends. Everybody was my enemy. Nobody supported me and I felt lonely. This was so hard to endure. For the first time in my life, I asked this question: "Must I be competitive by all means?" Just for a few months, I tried to make friends and shared many things with them, making efforts not to be competitive. Even though my school marks dropped during these periods, in my memory, those were the happiest times of my life.

Among university students, their stories repeatedly disclosed longing for success or recognition. Mr M said, "I become stressful when I long to beat, to succeed, to get ahead and be somebody, but it seems too distant. When I am on the outside looking for the centre, when people around me do not recognize me, I feel miserable. Sometimes, I also get this feeling when my parents compare me with my brother."

For adult males in my sample, the issue of power also appeared to be a primary source for explaining their pains. Mr I said:

I admit that my attachment to power is always the key issue for me. I do not tolerate myself being beaten at any sports. If I am beaten, I practise several hours a day until I beat the winner. I know this causes a lot of strain to me, but I cannot help it; it happens automatically. But, I also know that I must deal with it. Actually, I do not have quality time with my wife mainly because of my preoccupation with winning. I spend much time on work. I am a kind of workaholic. But I confess, when it comes to a peace of mind, it is too far for me to reach it.

This is also the case in the story of Mr E, who said:

Frankly, everything is centred on power for me. I'd like to be the king of my house. I'd like to brag about my ability as a father who supports them. I also want to be respected by my family and people around me. When I see a man of character, I think I want to follow him. But what I

really want is respect because of noble behaviour. But the reality is the opposite of my dreams. This causes great pain in me. I always tend to compare myself with the males around me, which brings about deep frustration and shame.

Mr G appeared to perceive his strain as a kind of a performance anxiety resulting from the belief that performance is everything. He said:

I think that there might be a strong interrelationship between the two. In my case, my emotions fluctuate according to the degree of recognition by others. When I am appraised, and recognized as a person at home and in the church, I feel happy. But when I feel that I am left behind and unrecognized, this becomes a source of anger. My strain seems to be associated with self-glory and this is also linked to a sense of responsibility as a father, and child-rearing. When I am doing well as the sole provider, I think, "See! I am great, yes, this is who I am." But when something goes wrong, I say to myself, "I am useless and an idiot." My focus on myself seems to be the source of my stress. To calm myself, I always have to feel that I am doing very well.

Slightly different from the above, Mr B's stress seemed to originate in longing for a sense of superiority and comparison. Mr B said:

I believe that every male, including myself, has a strong desire to feel his own superiority over others in the workplace. But there is a situation when I feel miserable. Sometimes I feel like a child who wants to cry on his mother's breast. But I never expose my weakness to my wife and others. If I did so, I would be regarded as incompetent and as lacking self-control. For this reason, I keep this sense of failure or inferiority in my heart; I cannot show any signs of suffering. However, I am secretly troubled with this feeling, but I try not to damage my pride. Since arriving in South Africa, I have met several businessmen who are considered to be successful. In fact, when I see them, I feel a kind of pain, which I cannot disclose. I feel a sense of inferiority as a man and as the head of my house.

For Mr J, a sense of comparison appeared to be a trigger for his strain.

Indeed, I do not pursue success so much because I know my status. Both my family and I know it. The problem is my comparing myself with others. I always measure myself compared to my brother and my friends. When I think that I outshine them, I feel great, but, when I feel that they are ahead of me, I become frustrated and disappointed. As far as I am concerned, my comparison of myself to others seems to be the source of my strain. For others, it would be a kind of a competition that every male is forced into in any given society. I believe that comparison or competition to validate one's worth plays a key role in creating male strain.

In the cases of interviewees B, E, and G, the male sense of responsibility for their families seems to be closely related to their wish to boast about their competency as a provider. The relationship between the issues of power and male gender role strain is conversely revealed in the following cases.

2) Some of the participants have defined their present life styles as meaningful due to their turning from the issue of power in comparison with their earlier lifestyles.

Several males appeared to experience less male gender role strain, for which they provided the reasons. Mr C. said:

For me, until the age of 47 or 48, I was driven by this yearning for success. However, after 50, I found that everything in life did not depend on my ability, but that God controlled my failures and frustrations. With this realization, I became much more calm, relaxed and peaceful physically and mentally even though I could not achieve what I wanted. In brief, I came to surrender my strong wish to succeed into God's hand.

In a similar vein, Mr D said:

I think you have a point. When I was in Korea, what mattered most was results and promotion. I focused on proving that I was a competent man. I worked day and night. When I finished my work, I studied even more at night to get certificates in order to elevate my personal value. However, it ended up by ruining my health, which made me retire earlier. Since coming here, however, everything has changed. I started a second life that was quite different from the first. Now I earn less, but I experience less stress and more and more feel a sense of peace. Put differently, when I emptied myself, peace came to my mind.

Mr F's story is most relevant here to explain the relationship between the issue of power and male gender role strain. Mr F shared:

I was an aide of a financial Cabinet Minister and was thinking of going into politics. I have friends who were elected as members of parliament in Korea. In politics, the issue of power is quite obviously related to politicians' strain, stress and pain. Money is the second issue for them. This pursuing of power in politics is like an addiction. Even though they are defeated badly in an election, they try again and again until they see the end of their resources. As a result, they normally fall into debt and lose their health. A friend of mine died in the aftermath of an election. For many, their last days became miserable. Seeking power is very costly. I also had a strong desire for power. In the past, achievement, success, power and wealth were my only goals. But what I experienced was frustration, betrayal, anger, compulsion to win and compete, with hunger for more power, but had no friends and no rest. After I became a Christian, however, I came to change my life's goals from those things to a meaningful life in Christ. I now have become much more relaxed. I think that recognizing my weakness and feebleness seems to have been the first step in proceeding closer to God, and this recognition seems to have brought real peace to my mind. In contrast, when I felt that I was strong, I was satisfied; I wanted nothing more - this seems to have brought the idea that I deserved to be first and at the centre. Consequently, this seems to have resulted in psychological turmoil within me, because there is nobody who has enough!

The implication of the interviews above indicates that when the issue of power is tackled, whether voluntarily or not, the male pain can be relieved. The next question concerns the relationship between the issue of power and males' spiritual life.

3. How do you think the issue of power could influence your faith?

1) The first result of its impact on males' faith is that they view God as indifferent and unfair.

The issue of power as a source of their role strain is likely to lead some males to have a remote and indifferent God-image when they fail to experience good things. Mr C, whose father was a pastor, disclosed his feelings to God when he failed in his business. "Previously, I believed in the faithfulness of God who always provides and protects his people. Unconsciously, I believed that God would help

me to succeed in my life. When I became bankrupt and I had nothing to feed my babies and my family, I began to complain about God's love. I stopped attending worship services and stayed at home for several months."

Mr O, who was injured and thus gave up his dream of being a professional baseball player, shared a similar experience. "The first feeling at that moment was anger towards God. Why did you punish me? What did I do wrong? For a long time, I was fighting with God. I needed a God who would make my dream come true."

This feeling towards God was also present in Mr J's life-story. He revealed his deep disappointment in this God, which was due to his frustration that lasted for a long time.

I have a complaint deep in my mind - more accurately, anger towards God. He gives one person many talents, good fortune, success, and well-being; He gives another the opposites. I have always thought that I have "the opposites" and that I was in the wrong places and met the wrong people.

Mr E told his life-story briefly - how he has suffered from his disability - as follows:

I became disabled in my right foot when I was six years old. Since then, my life has been terrible and miserable, with children making fun of me and losing my self-respect. I met my good wife and married her when I was 37, but it was very difficult to get permission to marry her. After our marriage, what worried me most was how my children would feel when they became old enough to realize that their father is disabled. I still feel sorry for my children about this. I often think that life is unfair and God is unfair.

Their deep pain (discrepancy strain), resulting from the issue of power, seemed to lead these interviewees to distortion of their God-images. Some (like Messrs J and E) perceived God as the One who shows mercy and blessings to others, but who shows unfairness to themselves as a result of their experience of frustration (the negative side of seeking success).

2) The second impact of the issue of power on males' faith appears to relate to their conflict between work and spiritual issues (quality time with God, attending worship services, participating in religious activities, pondering on meaning and purpose in life, and service to others).

As one of the consequences of male gender role strain was identified as the conflict between work and family in chapter 2, their strain seems to lead to the conflict between work and their time with God. In the cases of Messrs B, D and F, their lives in Korea were characterized by their obsession with success and promotion, which would not allow them to be concerned about spiritual issues.

Mr L said, "Success and happiness are my meanings in life. When I achieve something, my ego swells and enlarges and it brings an amazing feeling of pleasure. I think that many people want to succeed because of this pleasure." He seems to invest everything in himself alone to enjoy life and to increase

his personal value. His quality time with God was just two hours a week when he attended worship service on Sundays.

For Mr I, his longing for excellence in everything often resulted in a lack of time with God, let alone with his wife. He wished to meditate over some portions of the Scriptures, to pray on it, and to serve people who need help, but he found no time. Mr N disclosed that he was so busy with his project that he had no time for spiritual matters. Mr O also revealed that he practised 10 hours a day and when he came home tired, he had no time and energy left for spiritual issues.

Some of the interviewees' preoccupation with success appeared to influence their practice of faith on a daily basis. They have no time or energy left for spiritual issues.

3) The third impact of the issue of power on males' faith appears to relate to God as a Father Christmas.

They all wished that their God would be a Father Christmas who guarantees their security and prosperity in this world that is full of uncertainty and anxiety. Mr C expressed his belief in a Father Christmas as follows:

Actually, I am worried about my children's future and I am not sure which is the best way for them. Also, I am not capable of supporting them financially at the moment, but I believe that God will provide and guide them. This faith in God, as the Good Shepherd, sustains me as the father of two children.

Mr A, who is a success-oriented overworked man, illustrates this relationship vividly in a very extreme way. He even thinks of God as bullying his potential enemies for his (Mr A's) sake.

God helped me when I started my business. Even here, before I started my business, God had already paved a way for me, removing others who were conducting the same business. If there are dangers, God guides me to avoid them, providing new options. Every time I pray to God, He answers immediately. Because of this assurance of "God with me," I fear nothing, even though I am old and a foreigner here.

Mr G firmly believes that everything will be fine as long as he prays.

After coming here directly after my retirement, everything has changed. Guardians who take care of students are thoroughly dependent on their parents in Korea. Nothing was secured and guaranteed and this has driven me to cry out for God's help. After several years of training by God, now I have become relaxed about what to eat, what to drink and what to wear - I know that God will provide these. Now, what makes me happy is that God answers me so often, and so rapidly. I now realize that if I do God's business, then He will do my business. As a father, I worry about tomorrow, but this worry does not drive me to fear for tomorrow because I rest assure that God will provide, as long as I pray.

This God-image as a Father Christmas has repeatedly appeared in my interviews. Mr B said, "Things must go well. I wish God will help with this." Mr H said, "So far, so good, God was always good to me. I believe that He will continue to show his mercy to me." Mr I said, "Everything is perfect. As long as I believe in God's faithful love for me, I don't need to worry." Mr J said, "I wish to succeed and wish God will help me to accomplish it." Mr D said, "I hope God will help me to do well in my job." Mr F said, "As long as I obey God's word, everything will be perfect." The same phenomenon was observed among the university students. A 21-year old student was so firmly convinced of God's protection that he believed that God would protect him from any harm and failure. Another four students (aged 22, 23 [2] and 24 years) also spoke of their assurance that God will protect them and that He will help them when in trouble even though they do not often pray, and even though they do believe that they are responsible for their own actions.

From these interviewees, the researcher found that their faith serves to meet their desire to succeed functionally (whatever it might be, whether the responsibility of a breadwinner, raising children or doing well at school). Their God-image is none other than a Father Christmas who guarantees their success and material well-being. The researcher asked them what they pray for, in order to investigate whether their faith and prayer serve functionally to bring their material blessing. The result was that 14 out of 15 answered that they spent the majority of their time in prayer to ask for their needs. Their male strain, resulting from seeking success, seems to contribute to their use of their faith for utilitarian purposes.

In the interviews, God as a Father Christmas seems to be related to the men's misunderstanding of the notion of God's faithfulness. They seemed to perceive God's faithfulness as something that must be incarnated in their material well-being and success. However, this understanding of God's faithfulness could create unrealistic concepts of God and, therefore, immaturity in faith could finally result.

In short, this chapter's empirical study (a survey and in-depth interviews with 15 Korean males) shows that, especially for married men, male gender role strain (discrepancy and dysfunctional strain) becomes much more intense with their sense of responsibility as breadwinners and sense of loss of authority in recent times. It also shows that there appears to be a strong relationship between their male strain and the issue of power, which finally appears to impact on their functional use of faith, on the one hand, and on their anxiety, poor self esteem, or doubts about God's love, on the other hand. This indicates that their feelings of a loss of power, and discrepancy and dysfunctional strain impact negatively on their God-images which could help them elevate their self-esteem (a Father Christmas) or could prevent them from experiencing God's unconditional love (a distant God).

IN CONCLUSION: FINDINGS

Thus far, by means of literature and empirical studies, the researcher has attempted to examine the nature of male gender role strain, its relation to the issue of power and its impact on spiritual life.

1. The findings reveal that the majority of males (12 out of 15) in the researcher's sample do seem to experience male gender role strain. Firstly, as with Korean males in Korea, they also feel a strong sense of responsibility for their family. But unlike males in Korea, even though they struggle to find job opportunities, they find it very difficult to actually get jobs mainly because of their language problem, which causes much concerns and anxiety for them. Secondly, like males in Korea, they also feel the loss of authority over their wives and children. Here, they wash dishes, clean the house, and take care of children much more than they did in Korea, and are discouraged to raise their voices at home. This makes them feel emasculated and womanized. Like males in Korea, they feel lonely but, unlike males in Korea, they have nowhere to go when they are stressed. Thirdly, regarding child-rearing, like males in Korea, they are worried about their children's future employment, as their school achievements are not satisfactory here due to the language problem. Also, job opportunities for their grown-up children who have completed their studies here are also very limited and rare, which creates another strain for their fathers.

2. The findings show that their role strains are closely related to the issue of power (12 out of 15). And this fear of loss of power or loss of their centeredness as related to their dysfunctional strain seemed to lead them to look for a God who guarantees material well-being, prosperity, and success. Or their feelings of a loss of power as related to their discrepancy strain seemed to generate low self-esteem in their heart, which is associated with a God who is not fair and distant and callous. Thereby spiritual well-being or spiritual maturity is hampered. Consequently, as one student says, gaining self-worth by means of success, competition and achievement seems to comprise their meaning in life.

From this, the following important questions arise: Can the ethics of achievement really guide males into a more mature stance regarding our human quest for meaning and our connectedness to the ultimate? Should self-worth not be linked to a source that is not dependent on our doing functions (performance), but rather on our being functions (the eschatological dimension of life)? Should males not call for a spirituality that helps them to accept their vulnerability and weakness, and renounce their quest for power, control, achievement and success?

These questions lead to a discussion of a spirituality of vulnerability in which the notion of a vulnerable God can play a vital role. It will be hypothesized that the notion of God's vulnerability can provide a proper understanding of God's faithfulness that guarantees "His being with us forever" even to the point of death, but does not necessarily guarantee our material well-being. This God-image

could also offer a foundation to reframe the notion of power. The next chapter will discuss a theology of vulnerability in detail.

CHAPTER 4

TOWARDS A SPIRITUALITY OF VULNERABILITY³⁶

INTRODUCTION

Thus far, the researcher has discussed how male roles have been transformed into multiple roles: caring for children, supporting wives and doing domestic work. But although male gender roles are changing, success, status, progress, strength, aggression and toughness are still most valuable male roles for both women and men. From this tension and conflict between societal changes and persisting male gender role norms, male gender role strain arises, as Pleck defines. As Pleck, O'Neil and Eisler suggested, the consequences of male gender role strain have been found in the areas of males' psychological health and interrelationship and even in politics. However, the phenomenon of male gender role strain does not remain in those areas. This is evident also in the practices of faith in the churches and how churches respond to the notion of offices in the churches, as well as men's spirituality in the forms of four ideologies and distorted God-images.

The researcher has also discussed the fact that the essential source of male gender role strain might be more closely connected to the issue of power rather than male's feelings and their emotional expressiveness by showing an interrelation between the notion of power and men's inexpressiveness, men's feelings of anti-femininity, men's difficulty in friendship between men and their sexuality.

Findings of the study, thus far, have indicated that male gender role strain might revolve around males' understanding of power (power meaning ruling over, thus being "the centre of the world") and that, in males' spirituality, the primary result of male gender role strain could be distorted God-images. Thus, the implication of these findings is that in order to tackle male gender role strain appropriately, we need to address the following questions: Who is God? How must we understand and interpret the power of God? Can a theological understanding of God's vulnerability contribute towards liberating males from the ideology of power and their psychological struggles, and lead them to spiritual growth?

Thus, the objective of this chapter is to probe into how a spirituality of vulnerability (which is closely related to faithful, vulnerable and transforming God-images) could offer a foundation to reframe the notion of power. For this purpose, the researcher will attempt to explore a theology of the cross³⁷ and the resurrection, with special attention to Luther, Moltmann, and Louw. These models can help males

³⁶ McGrath (1992:61) defines the word "vulnerability" as "compassion," "sympathy," "empathy," "passion," "pain," "suffering," "weakness" and "helplessness." He defines the word, "compassion" as having a meaning of suffering alongside someone to share his pain and anguish. But, as indicated in the introduction, the researcher will use the word, "vulnerability" to include not only God's faithfulness, but also his vulnerability, as McGrath defined, also according to Louw's (1998, 2000) theology of the cross and resurrection.

³⁷ Hall (1986:104) rightly points out that the theology of the cross can transform the metaphor of power in the light of God's image revealed in Christ.

to reframe the notion of power and allow them to turn their concerns away from success, competition and control towards vulnerability, intimacy, compassion and calling. Secondly, this chapter also attempts to explore how a reinterpretation of the power of God could help males find meaning in serving God and fellow human beings rather than aspiring to male ideologies. Thirdly, the researcher will investigate how the reframing of males' understanding of power, through the notion of "soulfulness," could make an impact on male gender role strain.

4.1. THREE INTERPRETATIONS OF A THEOLOGY OF THE CROSS

The goal of this section is to explore how three interpretations of a theology of the cross (Luther, Moltmann, and Louw)³⁸ could provide a useful insight to reframe the understanding of the issue of males' power and lead to an appropriate pastoral approach to therapy for males who experience male gender role strain.

4.1.1. Luther: The existential impact of a marvelous exchange

According to the historical background and outline of the theology of the cross that Ngien (1995:ch.2) and McGrath (1985:ch.5) provide, Luther tried to oppose the medieval nominalism (scholar theology) and medieval mysticism in which human reasons and works were emphasized as means for salvation.

³⁸ The three models have implications for existential issues and the issue of power for males, although they have similarities and differences. They share the following in common. Firstly, Luther, Moltmann and Louw's understanding of God, revealed in the cross, could provide a chance to reframe God-images (not a distant and all powerful God, but a suffering God who revealed His power in weakness). This image of God, who suffers with us, could impart consolation to males who experience low self-esteem, guilty and despair as a result of male strain. This image of God, who revealed His power in weakness, could enable males to deal with their desire for power in order to be the centre of attention. Secondly, they all stress our new identity in Christ. Their understanding of the cross, that is, the gospel (not by human effort or works, but by grace alone) could shed light on dealing with males' desperate search for achievement and performance in order to gain self-esteem. The above authors differ from each other as follows. Luther was concerned more about personal and spiritual issues (existential issues, such as, doubts of salvation or absence of God) and he was not critical of society's structural problems. However, as noted in the previous chapters, male gender role strain should also be engaged in culture and society. In this regard, Moltmann's ontological approach, which recognizes the connection between identity crisis and God-images within the society, deserves to be noted. Moltmann perceived a strong connection between the God of success and power, and identity crisis in our society. For Moltmann, males' desire for success, strength and winning is inevitably connected to a powerful God-image, but the suffering God and the loving, vulnerable man lies at the core of Christianity. Moltmann broadened Luther's understanding of God's suffering and our new identity with the cross, and tried to apply them to the issue of injustice in society. This understanding of God by Moltmann could shed light on handling males' confusion of identity in our success-oriented culture. According to Moltmann's model, because males now are caught up with the new righteousness through the cross, they are encouraged to desire the opposites of success, power, and achievement, as our society teaches one to pursue - such as compassion, sacrifice and service. Although Moltmann was concerned about human suffering linked to injustice and abuse of power, his model must be applied to a broader and deeper level of existential issues that males often face. Louw's model addresses this from a pastoral perspective, and includes Luther's existential approach and Moltmann's ontological interpretation of the suffering of God. Louw's concept of God's power interpreted as vulnerability and faithfulness offers a theological paradigm for males to deal with these existential issues (despair, anxiety, guilty, anger, helplessness and hopelessness). His model, based on God's vulnerability and faithfulness, could help males to reframe the notion of power, and provide them with spiritual strength to deal with their anxiety about performance, fear of failure, low self-esteem, and obsession with achievement and competition. It also could impart meaning to life and encourage males to strive for spiritual maturity by discovering their new reality in Christ, and delivers spiritual strength resulting from the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit. In this way, it will be argued that the three models in combination can contribute to a process of deconstructing existing paradigms regarding "male power" and to establish a paradigm shift, i.e. from power as force and performance, to power as vulnerability and a courage to be.

Both his own existential struggle³⁹ and his realization of “the righteousness of God,” revealed in the crucified God, led Luther to develop the dialectical methodology. The concepts of the hidden God and his strange work and proper work were ideas that departed from medieval theology and mysticism.

Luther's theology of the cross was first presented in the Heidelberg Disputation of 1518 (LW 31,40,52-53). Primarily, the Heidelberg Disputation is about salvation through faith in the crucified Christ in opposition to salvation through natural knowledge of God and human contemplation (good works). What Luther tried to present with the theology of the cross⁴⁰ was not only the certainty of salvation, but also the relationship between God's suffering and that of a Christian (Loewenich, 1976:18,20; McGrath, 1985:173; Louw, 2000:75). It is also about reframing the notion of power (McGrath, 1985:160,165; Loewenich, 1976:18; Moltmann, 1993:72; Hall, 1986:105), as well as about meaning in life.

Luther's theology of the cross can be summarized in three concepts: the revealing and concealing God, God's alien work and proper work, and life under the cross.

4.1.1.1. God is revealed in the cross by means of his absence (God's power is revealed in weakness)

Thesis 19 says, “A person does not deserve to be called a theologian who looks upon the invisible things of God as though they were clearly perceptible in those things that have actually happened.” Thesis 20 reads, “A person deserves to be called a theologian, however, who comprehends the visible and manifest things of God through suffering and the cross.” In these theses, Luther explains how we can attain a true knowledge of God through suffering and the cross. Quoting the verses of 1 Corinthians 1:21, John 14:6,8,9, and John 10:9, Luther writes that the Apostle says that God revealed himself through the folly of the cross because the world did not know Him through wisdom. And Jesus also said to Philip, “Anyone who has seen me has seen the father.” “For this reason, true theology and recognition of God are in the crucified Christ” (LW 31.53). God is revealed only in human nature, weakness and foolishness. God is recognized not in his glory and majesty, but in the humility and disgrace of the cross (LW 31.52-53). In this way, Luther argues that our knowledge of God is possible through the folly of the cross, indirectly and paradoxically. This is what Loewenich and McGrath

³⁹ Luther experienced a severe emotional fluctuation concerning the assurance of salvation. When Luther refers to an existential issue, this indicates his doubt about salvation, hopelessness, helplessness or God's absence.

⁴⁰ Loewenich (1976:22) identifies five essential aspects of the theology of the cross: it is a theology of revelation; God's revelation is an indirect, concealed revelation; God's revelation is recognized in suffering; the knowledge of God, who is hidden, is a matter of faith; and the manner in which God is known is reflected in the practical thought of suffering. Similarly, McGrath (1985:149-150) summarizes the theology of the cross in five leading features: it is a theology of revelation; this revelation must be regarded as indirect and concealed; this revelation is to be recognized in sufferings and the cross; this knowledge of God is a matter of faith; and God is known particularly through suffering. The five aspects of the theology of the cross that Loewenich and McGrath identify can be reduced to two characteristics: God's revelation and his method (using the concept of the “hidden God”) to bring people to Him through faith via suffering.

understand about Luther's view of revelation. Loewenich (1976:18) says, "What is involved here is the question about the knowledge of God." McGrath (1985:149) also writes, "The sole authentic locus of man's knowledge of God is the cross of Christ, in which God is to be found revealed."

Luther relates the revelation of God to the notion of the hidden God. In explaining Thesis 20, Luther quotes Isaiah 45:15: "Truly, thou art a God who hidest thyself" when he says that the revelation of God is in the humility and shame of the cross (LW 31,53). "God wished again to be recognized in suffering... so that those who did not honor God as manifested in his works should honor him as he is hidden in his suffering" (LW 31,52)

McGrath and Loewenich note the fact that Luther's view of God's revelation is closely related to the concept of the hidden God. "The hidden God is none other than the revealed God. God is hidden for the sake of revelation." "In order to reveal himself he has hidden himself beneath suffering and the cross," (Loewenich, 1976:21,22). "This understanding of the 'hiddenness' of divine revelation means that *Deus absconditus* and *Deus revelatus* are identical" (McGrath, 1985:165).

Regarding the importance of the concept of the hiddenness of God, Kitamori (1958:107) agrees with the view that "the concept of the hidden God is the fundamental principle in Luther's theology and that all the rest of his thoughts stem from it." He views the notion of the hidden God as important because it provides the theological basis to say that the wrath of God is the means of revealing his love. This leads to the concept of God's alien work and proper work.

4.1.1.2. God's alien work and proper work

In this discussion of the dialectic between God's alien work and proper work, the concept of *Anfechtung*⁴¹ repeatedly appears.

According to McGrath (1985:151), the significance of suffering - whether understood as the passion of Christ, or human *Anfechtung* - lies in the fact that it represents the alien work through which God works out his proper work (the subjective anxiety and doubt as a result of the objective assault of spiritual forces upon the believer [1985:170]).

In his explanation of Thesis 16, Luther explicates the dialectic between the proper work and alien work. "Thus an action which is alien to God's nature results in a deed belonging to his very nature." God makes a person a sinner (alien work) so that he may make him righteous (proper work) (LW

⁴¹ *Anfechtung*: Luther borrowed this term from the German mystic, Tauler. Ngien uses the term to include "temptation, assail, combat, bodily struggle" (1995:31), while Loewenich translates it as "trial" (1976:135), and McGrath as "assault" (1985:32) to indicate the alien work of God. For McGrath, the term designates a state of hopelessness and helplessness that have a strong affinity with the concept of *Angst*. McGrath (1985:170) distinguishes the objective assault from the subjective assault even though they are not separable: The objective assault is that of spiritual forces upon the believer, and the subjective assault is anxiety and doubt that arise within one as a consequence of these assaults.

31,51). For Luther (LW 51,18-19), the Gospel is nothing but the proclamation of God's work, which is nothing but to create righteousness, peace, mercy, truth, patience, kindness, joy and health. But, He cannot come to this proper work unless He undertakes a work that is alien and contrary to him. Quoting Isaiah 28:21: "An alien work is his that he may work his own work," Luther (LW 51,19) declares that "God's alien work, therefore, is the suffering of Christ and sufferings in Christ, the crucifixion of the old man and the mortification of Adam. God's proper work, however, is the resurrection of Christ, justification in the Spirit, and the vivification of the new man."

This dialectic between God's alien work and proper work is repeatedly mentioned in lectures on Genesis and Isaiah. In his exegesis on the temptation of Abraham, Luther (LW 4,94) writes, "God, who formerly seemed to be his best friend, now appears to have become an enemy and a tyrant." However, Luther (LW 4,95) continues: "Even though He seems to be angry, nevertheless does not hate us or is casting us aside but ... does a strange work ... in order to kill the mind of the flesh, which is opposed to God." Nearly all people are tempted by despair, but He Himself wants to make use of this occasion to crush the head of the serpent in us. In the lectures on Isaiah, Luther (LW 16,31) explains the ways of God: "He destroys the works of the devil, sin, death, sadness, fear, trembling, and all evils, then also our daily lapses; and He works the opposite in us: hope, righteousness, patience, joy, peace, etc."

Through the alien work of God, the sinner finds himself driven to despair, he loses his confidence in himself as a result of finding himself under God's wrath. Yet, through this experience of God's alien work, the godly "may finally turn to God, devoid of all the obstacles to justification... The believer, recognizing the merciful intention which underlies *Anfechtung*, rejoices in such assaults, seeing in them the means by which God indirectly effects and ensures his salvation" (McGrath, 1985:170-171). "Then new joy and life arises from the sad temptation and death itself" (LW 6,130). For this reason, Luther is able to refer to *Anfechtung* as a 'delicious despair'" (McGrath, 1985:171).

Marvellous exchange

As a solution of *Anfechtung*, McGrath (1985:171) is concerned about "the correlation between the present suffering of the Christian and the cross that is safeguarded by the *angeforchtene Christus*." "How is this crisis of *Anfechtung* resolved? For Luther, the solution lies in the crucified Christ, who suffered precisely the same *Anfechtung* on our behalf. Christ became sin on our behalf, in order that his righteousness might become our righteousness" (1985:173).

For this connection between the suffering of Christians and the cross of Christ, McGrath (1985:173-175) emphasizes the importance of faith: "Through faith, the believer enters into a spiritual marriage with Christ, as a result of which this marvelous exchange of attributes takes place." McGrath expli-

cates what faith means to Luther. Faith is not just assent to an abstract set of doctrines. Rather, it is a wedding ring. Faith unites the believer both to the person and the benefits of Christ. McGrath (1995:229) quotes Luther, stating this principle clearly in *The liberty of a Christian in 1520*:

Faith does not merely mean that the soul realizes that the divine world is full of all grace; it also unites the soul with Christ, as a bride is united with her bridegroom. From such a marriage ... it follows that Christ and the soul become one body, so that they hold all things in common, whether for better or worse. This means that what Christ possesses belongs to the believing soul; and what the soul possesses belongs to Christ. Thus, Christ possesses all good things and holiness; these now belong to the soul. The soul possesses many vices and sin; these now belong to Christ. Here, we have a happy exchange... So He makes the sin of the believing soul his own through its wedding ring, which is faith and acts as if He had done it himself, so that sin could be swallowed up in Him... Now is this not a happy business? Christ, the rich, noble, and holy bridegroom, takes in marriage this poor, contemptible and sinful little prostitute, takes away all her evil, and bestows all his goodness upon her! It is no longer possible for sin to overwhelm her, for she is now found in Christ and is swallowed up by Him, so that she possesses a rich righteousness in her bridegroom (cited by McGrath, 1995:231).

As a result of this marvellous exchange, the power of the cross can be appropriated and the true meaning of the cross can be translated into Christ's real presence and activity within the believer (McGrath, 1985:175).

As discussed thus far, the significance of suffering in Luther's theology of the cross, especially in the discussion of God's works (alien work and proper work), is well summarized in the words of McGrath (1985:175) as follows:

Faith recognizes in the apparent debacle of the cross the means by which God is effecting the salvation of mankind... Where the unbeliever sees nothing but the helplessness and hopelessness of an abandoned man dying upon a cross, the theologian of the cross recognizes the presence and activity of the crucified and hidden God, who is not merely present in human suffering, but actively works through it.

4.1.1.3. Life under the cross

According to Loewenich (1976:112ff), Luther's theology of the cross inevitably leads a person to life under the cross. Forde (1997:viii), a Lutheran theologian, points out the danger of the present discussion of Luther's theology of the cross: "It tends to become sentimentalized in an age that is so concerned about victimization. Jesus is spoken of as the one who identifies with us in our suffering... But Luther's theology of the cross speaks of much about suffering." He argues that a theologian of the cross views all things through the crucified Christ on the cross, which means that God can be found only in the cross and suffering (1997:Preface). He rightly points out that speaking of the cross must entail living morally according to the cross. According to Loewenich (1976:117-123), Luther's theology of the cross says that the meaning of the cross discloses itself in the experience of suffering

because the cross of Christ and the cross of the Christian belong together. Loewenich understands that Luther's theology of the cross says that the Christian life is discipleship in suffering and summarizes the meaning of the theology of the cross in our lives:

- 1) Christians must become like their Master in all things. The Christian life must follow Jesus in lowliness, forsakenness, impotence, weakness and despair.
- 2) Suffering is God's will. Suffering proves to be the surest way to God, or rather, in suffering, God meets us; the suffering of the saints will come to an end only on the last day. But in contrast to the suffering of the ungodly, its purpose is not punishment and destruction, but grace and cleansing.
- 3) According to the theology of the cross, the Christian's life is nothing but a being crucified with Christ. This takes place in two ways: inwardly through mortification, and outwardly through the enmity of the world. Through suffering with Christ we are conformed to Him. We renounce all pride, all glory and honour before the world and before ourselves.

Luther asserts that, even though true happiness will be experienced when the kingdom of glory comes in its final completion, this life under the cross can bring true happiness. Therefore believers are encouraged to comfort themselves with future hope (Loewenich, 1976:125).

4.1.1.4. The significance of Luther's theology of the cross for male gender role strain

In the previous chapters, males' pursuit of strength, power and being the centre of attention was identified as a core source of male gender role strain. This results in their anxiety about performance, fear of failure and low self-esteem, which drives them to seek for inappropriate God-images. Luther's theology of the cross provides a valuable insight for dealing with male gender role strain by suggesting the image of God (suffering love of God) being reframed, a reinterpretation of the notion of God's power, and by stressing the gospel (grace of God alone, not human works).

1) McGrath and Loewenich (1985:160) find the new interpretation of God's power in Luther's theology of the cross. In McGrath's analysis, Luther's theology of the cross is directly linked to other crucial divine attributes: God's wisdom, his power, his strength, and his glory. They need not be, and they must not be, sought elsewhere, but from the cross of Christ. Loewenich (1976:30) regards the "affirming omnipresence and omnipotence of God" in Luther as characteristics of the theology of glory. On the contrary, he views "the crucified God" as the hidden God. Most clearly, Luther (LW 10,250) asks, "What is the strength of God by which He saves us?" He answers, "it is weakness, suffering, cross, persecution, etc. These are the weapons of God, these are the strengths and powers by which He saves and judges us and distinguishes us from those who think otherwise." Luther (LW

22,340) claims: “Where man’s strength ends, God’s strength was hidden underneath the weakness.” “Christ was powerless on the cross, and yet there He performed His mightiest work and conquered sin, death, world, hell, devil, and all evil... Therefore, in Joel 3:10: ‘Let the weak say, ‘I am strong’ - yet in faith, and without feeling it until it is accomplished.”

In this way, God’s power in Luther’s theology of the cross is perceived as being revealed in weakness and as voluntarily humbling Himself. But by this, God conquers negative things in order to save His people. McGrath (1985:181) finds one of the significances of Luther’s theology of the cross in its judgement on the church:

The *theologia crucis* passes judgement upon the church where she has become proud and triumphant, or secure and smug, and recalls her to the foot of the cross, there to remind her of the mysterious and hidden way in which God is at work in his world... Where the church recognizes her hopelessness and helplessness, she finds the key to her continued existence as the church of God in the world. In her very weakness lies her greatest strength.

This judgement holds true for males, who tend to love to be looked up to, to be praised and for people to be proud of them. But Luther points to the truth that God humbled Himself to the point of the suffering on the cross. Thus, he teaches males to try to find their place in the lowly and that they should not be afraid of their weakness (hopelessness and helplessness), because their greatest strength resides in their weakness. Furthermore, Luther teaches males to be weak, concerning their obsession with performance, success and achievement.

2) McGrath notes the existential consequence of the theology of the cross in respect of the notion of the marvellous exchange. According to McGrath (1985:169), this was the most severe test for Luther himself who appeared to find spiritual solace in the *angefochtene Christus* when his death neared the aftermath of Leipzig. As Luther’s analogy of a marriage indicates, we now possess all good things and holiness that Christ possesses: grace, life, joy, forgiveness are ours; sin, death, and damnation are his; now we possess a rich righteousness in Christ.

Luther (LW 31,53-54) says, “Because men do not know the cross and hate it, they necessarily love the opposite, namely, wisdom, glory, power and so on. Therefore they become increasingly blinded and hardened by such love, for desire cannot be satisfied by the acquisition of those things which it desires.” Conversely, the words of Luther can be translated as follows: If males really recognize the true meaning of the cross, they can relax with what they are now in Christ. They can stop seeking power, success, control, comparison and achievement in order to prove their own self-worth, because they know that they are now eternally valued sons of God.

3) Tillich (1952:161-162) is concerned about Luther’s courage to face the reality of life. Luther had experienced attacks of *Anfechtung* as the frightful threat of complete meaninglessness. In these

extreme moments, everything broke down and nothing was left to have the courage to be. Tillich (1952:162) highlights Luther's courage that came from his (Luther's) encounter with God, which means encountering transcendent security and transcendent eternity. For Luther, in these moments, "The last word was the first commandment, the statement that God is God. It reminded him of the unconditional element in human experience of which one can be aware even in the abyss of meaninglessness. And this saved him."

Luther's theology of the cross teaches that males need to face their painful realities with power generated from the encounter with God. It also teaches that males must not run away from the realities of life.

Despite all the merits of Luther's theology of the cross for males, it nevertheless also has a limitation. Luther was more concerned about personal doubts of salvation or God's absence. He tried to find an answer for his hopelessness and helplessness in terms of the assurance of salvation. Thus, his focal point of view was not on human pains caused by society, as Moltmann noted. Also, even though Luther mentions the power of the Holy Spirit, he is not very concerned about the victory generated from the power of the resurrection and transformation to sustain people in suffering. As Barth⁴² points out, if Luther had incorporated the theology of the resurrection into his theology of the cross, it would have helped people to adopt the transforming power resulting from Christ's resurrection to their sufferings.

As discussed in previous chapters, men experience strain as a result of conforming to the standards of the world in the success-oriented society, which result in their negative emotional responses and inappropriate God-images. To deal with this, a theological understanding is needed of the relationship between male strain, males' identity crisis and God-images, and the system of society. In this regard, Moltmann's ontological approach can promote a clear understanding of the relationship between males' identity crisis and God-images (an omnipotent God) within the success-oriented society, and can also guide one to reframe the existing paradigms dominated by male values in society.

4.1.2. Moltmann: Ontological transformation – a new being (identity) through compassion

⁴² Karl Barth (1956) points out that Luther's theology of the cross speaks of a one-sided cross without a theology of resurrection. Barth asserts that the meaning of a theology of the cross can be profound when it is combined with a theology of the resurrection. If the cross and the resurrection are separated, they have no meaning. "A *theologia gloriae*, the magnifying of what Jesus Christ has received for us in His resurrection, of what He is for us as the risen One, can have no meaning unless it includes within itself a *theologia crucis*, the magnifying of what He has done for us in His death, of what He is for us as the Crucified. But an abstract *theologia crucis* cannot have any meaning either. We cannot properly magnify the passion and death of Jesus Christ unless this magnifying includes within itself the *theologia gloriae* - the magnifying of the One who in His resurrection is the recipient of our right and life, the One who has risen again from the dead for us" (Church Dogmatics IV. 1. 1956:557).

On the basis of his practical concern about God fuelled by his experiences,⁴³ Moltmann perceives that Christianity's present crisis is originally the crisis of the concept of God, and is convinced that only a revolutionary change of the concept of God results in revolutionary faith. To alter this, according to Moltmann, our concept of God must be shifted from the God of success to a vulnerable God, and from an apathetic God to a suffering God. Put differently, a suffering God alone is able to speak of human misery and misfortunes. By this concept of a suffering God, Moltmann's (1977:85-97) theology of the cross addresses the correlation between God's identification with human suffering, meaning in life, and the issue of power (the idols of power).

This study will now discuss the three concepts of Moltmann's theology of the cross: the vulnerable God, the suffering God (pathetic God), and the theology of hope.

4.1.2.1. The vulnerable God

Moltmann (1974:7) notes modern society's question: "Who is Jesus Christ, is He really for us today?" Seeking an answer, he responds with a further question: "In this identity-crisis of Christianity, which God governs Christian existence - the one who was crucified or the idols of religion, class, race, and society?" Moltmann (1974:7-8). argues:

The built-in values of our life, our system and our optimistic society condemn us to activity, success, profit, and progress. Our experience of failure and frustration are not tolerated in this society. This stems from our concept of God who is the God of success, power and the God who wins battles and leads his own to victory. In this, those who suffer are perceived as sick; those who weep and mourn show no stamina; the other man is simply his competitor in the struggle for existence. "Survival of the fittest" becomes his eschatology. Just as he wants to control the world, so also he holds himself under self-control. This one-sided God concept, however, makes men inhuman and represses the other weaker and more sensitive side of life.

However, Moltmann (1974:8) regards the God of success as completely contradictory to the core of Christianity: the suffering God and the loving, vulnerable man. He writes that at the core of Christianity, we find the humiliating God who became a man and who died in the God-forsakenness of the cross, taking upon Himself the suffering of inhumanity (1974:7).

Moltmann draws this insight from Luther's *theologia crucis*. In the reading of Thesis 21, Moltmann (1993:213) regards theologians of glory as believers who seek success only, hating the cross. They equate the power of God with being glorious and uplifting. In contrast, "A theologian of the cross

⁴³ Moltmann (1994:30-31) recalls his concern about God when his hometown Hamburg was bombed. "Where is God? Is he far away from us, an absentee God in his own heaven? Or is he a sufferer among the sufferers?" This concern was expressed in his experience in death camps. Moltmann (1991:172) asks: "How can we still speak confidently of God after Auschwitz?" "Shattered and broken, the survivors of my generation were then returning from camps and hospitals to the lecture room. A theology which did not speak of God in the sight of the one who was abandoned and crucified would have had nothing to say to us" (1993:1).

does not name them as they would wish out of fear of nothingness, but as they are accepted by the boundless suffering love of God" (1993:213). Moltmann rejects religious desire for praise and might, self-affirmation and being in love with success (1993:213). In an exposition of Philippians 2, known as kenotic passages, Moltmann (1993:205) reads that the incarnation of the Logos was completed on the cross in terms of Luther's *theologia crucis*:

God became the kind of man we do not want to be: an outcast, accursed, crucified... (God's incarnation) is his utter humiliation... When the crucified Jesus is called "the image of the invisible God," the meaning is that this is God, and God is like this. God is not greater than he is in this humiliation. God is not more glorious than he is in this self-surrender. God is not more powerful than he is in this helplessness. God is not more divine than he is in this humility.

In this way, Moltmann perceives God on the cross as the vulnerable God who reveals himself in helplessness and humility.

4.1.2.2. The suffering God

It is argued that the idea of divine pathos plays a central role in Moltmann's theology. It has affected not only his view of God, but also his view of Jesus Christ, the Trinity, and eschatology (Jaeger, 1997:167). In formulating his idea of the crucified God, Moltmann follows significant ideas from a Jewish rabbi, Abraham Heschel, as well as from Ernst Bloch in *The theology of hope*. Heschel's idea of God's pathos, and that God is involved in Israel and the world can be found in Moltmann's theology. Heschel (1962:224) rejects the philosophers' God who is unknown and indifferent to man; who thinks, but does not speak; who is conscious of Himself, but oblivious of the world. As with Heschel, Moltmann (1993:267-268) rejects the Greek philosophers' distant God in favour of a compassionate God: "Since Plato, and Aristotle, the metaphysical and ethical perfection of God has been described as *apatheia*. According to Plato, God is good and therefore cannot be the cause of anything evil, of punishment and sorrow."

Instead of an apathetic God, Heschel (1962:224-231) speaks of God's pathos in the prophets. According to Heschel, the biblical God is He who reveals himself in a personal and intimate relation to his people in a covenantal relationship; who is also moved and affected by what happens in the world; and does not stand outside the range of human suffering and sorrow. God's pathos is the basis of the covenant. In following Heschel, Moltmann (1974:12) speaks of God's pathos as going outside of Himself and entering into a relationship with a people of his choosing: "God is concerned about his people in his covenantal relationship, being affected by the experience, actions, and suffering of Israel." His pathos differs from the whims of the mythical gods. Because of his pathos, He can suffer and be injured by human actions (Heschel, 1962:225-226; Moltmann, 1974:12). Even God's wrath is nothing

but an expression of enduring interest in man - the expression of his wounded love and pain for man (Heschel, 1962:281-298; Moltmann, 1974:12).

Again, Moltmann (1993:272) agrees with Heschel's (1962:307-323) bipolar theology: the pathos of God and the *sympatheia* of man: "The sympathy of man responds to the pathos of God." According to Heschel (1962:307), when the divine is sensed as pathos, the response is one of sympathy. Following Max Scheler's classification of two types of sympathy (sympathy *with* God and sympathy *for* God), Heschel (1962:312-323) believes that the awareness of God's pathos towards his chosen people would lead them to feel not only sympathy for Him, but also leads them to feel sympathy with Him for others. Moltmann (1974:12) mentions the second kind of sympathy for others with God: "In a covenant with the God of pathos, man steps outside of himself, takes part in the life of others, and can rejoice and suffer with them. He is interested and concerned." But Moltmann (1974:14) criticizes Heschel's bipolar theology and instead suggests "a trinitarian theology" in which the crucified Christ mediates between God and the Spirit in man.

Moltmann (1993:272-274) also embraces the rabbinic theology of God's self-humiliation as the rabbis of the first century developed. A rabbi, Melvin Jay Glatt (1979:72-75), shows how the concept of God as "the mourner - Israel's companion in tragedy" has been developed in his study of a special genre of *aggadah*. Within this aggadic typology, God is portrayed as lamenting, crying, shedding bitter tears, moaning, mourning, and feeling pangs of guilt because of his harsh decrees against Israel. God is even depicted as needing and soliciting comfort. According to Glatt, the genre of *aggadah* sought to offer increased comfort to the Jewish people for many of their history's pains and tragedies. It also represented one of two modalities of Midrashic thought about Jewish collective suffering. Unlike the first modality, in which their transgression has been emphasized to be responsible for such misfortunes, this modality conveyed that "God not only related to His people's tragedies with empathy, but accepted on Himself a goodly amount of blame for this suffering... if He asked His people to repent for their share of failure in the God-Israel covenantal relationship, He also felt guilt for having been uncompromising on His part" (1979:77-78). Glatt (1979:79) concludes that the God, as in the mourner theme, provided a disrupted people of Israel with one of the most psychologically helpful mechanisms.

In line with this rabbinic interpretation of God, Moltmann seeks to see today's human suffering through God's suffering with us. This concept of humiliating God is further developed later in his book, *Trinity and the kingdom of God* (1981). To him, it seems that while, through his *Shekinah*, God participates in man's destiny, making the sufferings of his people his own in the Old Testament, God identifies Himself with his children to the point of death on the cross (1981:119). This means that God's ultimate and complete pathos is found in the passion and death of Jesus, the Son.

For Moltman (1974:15), it is good, but not sufficient, to say that God is the fellow sufferer who understands, as Whitehead suggests. God not only participates in our suffering, but also makes our suffering his own, and takes our death into his life. Moltmann (1977:95) insists on the “ontological suffering of God the Father” through the doctrine of the Trinity. The Son dies in abandonment, suffering the death of sin, curse, wrath and hell. But the Father suffers the death of the Son in the unending pain of love. In his pain, He participates in the Son's death. "In the passion of the Son, the Father himself suffers the pains of abandonment. In the death of the Son, death comes upon God himself, and the Father suffers the death of his Son in his love for forsaken man (1993:192). Moltmann (1981:119; 1974:15) writes: "God does not merely enter into the finite situation of human being: the situation of their sin and God-forsakenness. Also he embraces it, and makes it into a part of his own life." In relation to the Spirit, he says, "It is an event between the sacrificing Father and the abandoned Son in a power of sacrifice that deserves to be named the Spirit" (1974:16). In this way, he speaks of God's universal suffering by taking up all human suffering into Him (Fiddes, 1988:6): "There is no suffering which in this history of God is not God's suffering; no death which has not been God's death in the history on Golgotha" (Moltmann, 1993:246).

By this, Moltmann (1974:113, 1993:274) addresses the fact that God is not only present in suffering externally, but also the suffering is in God Himself.

4.1.2.3. The theology of hope

Since Moltmann says that the cross without hope can result in resignation, a discussion about Moltmann's theology of the cross without hope would be incomplete. Drawing from E Kasemann, Moltmann (1967:161-162) argues, “The trials of the body and the opposition of the world must be understood as the reality in which the Church along with the whole creation groans for its redemption from the powers of annihilation in the second coming of Christ.” Even though Christ is raised and beyond the reach of death, his followers are not yet beyond the reach of death (1967:161). The experience of the life of the resurrection is only possible through our hope for the promised future, because resurrection and eternal life are the future that is promised (1967:213). But Moltmann is convinced that our resurrection with the second coming of Jesus is guaranteed by the resurrection of Jesus in which God proved his faithfulness. Drawn from Joseph Pieper's thesis that suggests two forms of hopelessness: presumption and despair, Moltmann (1967:23-26) seeks to define “hope” as being realistic against these two. This world is not the heaven of self-realization, as described in idealism. This world is not the hell of self-estrangement, as explained in romanticist, and existentialist writing. This is an age of *diaspora*, of sowing in hope, of self-surrender and sacrifice in an expectation of the promised future, righteousness and peace (1967:338). The power of the Spirit is none other than the power to arouse hope and expectation in the present reality. The power of the Spirit gives believers freedom to be open

for the genuine future, the eternal, and to let them be determined by the future in love and hope (1967:212).

Contrary to Moltmann's eschatology, Grenz and Olson (1992:185) ask, "How can the future impinge on and influence the present? ... And how real are the agonies, sufferings and victories of the present, if the future kingdom of Glory is assured by God?" Moltman (1977:191) answers that the coming kingdom is present in history as liberating rules, such as faith, obedience, new fellowship and liberating action: "The Spirit of God creates faith where there is nothing else to believe in; he creates love where there is nothing lovable; he creates hope where there is nothing to hope for.... He also wakes sleeping, suppressed or otherwise imprisoned potentialities and activates them for the divine rule."

For Moltmann (1967:161), the Christian hope, aroused by the Spirit, leads the believer into the tensions and antitheses of obedience and suffering in the world. Moltmann (1967:162) gives a new interpretation of Paul's imperative and the indicative: "It ought not to be rendered merely by saying: Become what you are! But emphatically also by saying: Become what you will be!" He consistently asserts that hope makes us resist our present reality. Our unquenchable hope keeps man unreconciled to its present condition; it keeps him in *statu viatoris*. It makes Church a constant disturbance in human society, and the source of continual new impulses towards the realization of righteousness, freedom and humanity here until the great day of the fulfilment of all God's promises (1967:22). Bauckham (1988:40) notes two phases of hope in Moltmann's (1967:119,222) theology of hope. In the first instance, hope liberates the Christian from all accommodation to the status quo and sets him critically against it; secondly, it gives rise to attempts to change the world in the direction of its promised transformation, imaginatively grasping and realizing the objective possibilities in the present, which conform most closely to the coming Kingdom (Bauckham, 1988:40; Moltmann, 1967:34-35,288-90). In this way, the true task of Christianity is equated with resisting the stagnation of modern society and keeps it on the move towards a better future (Bauckham, 1988:42). The church in the power of Spirit restates this task as our anticipation, resistance, self-giving and representation. "Through their profession of faith, their existence and their influence, people, religions, and societies are opened up for the truth of what is to come and their powers are activated for life" (1977:196). In short, in the mean time between "already" and "not yet," we are invited not only to endure, but also to love in the midst of pain and suffering, holding fast to his promise and to the fact that He suffers with us. This gives the believer meaning in life and purpose in suffering.

4.1.2.4. The significance of Moltmann's theology of the cross for male gender role strain

As discussed in the previous chapters, male gender role strain results from males' search for power, strength and success which is idolized and glorified in the success-oriented society. This results in

despair, anxiety, low self-esteem in the heart of males. To deal with this issue of power for males, Moltmann's theology of the cross seemed to be relevant. Moltmann (1977) highlights three important implications of the theology of the cross for the church: liberation from the compulsion of sin; liberation from the idols of power; and liberation from God-forsakenness.

1) For Moltmann (1977:88-89), the believers now live from the experience of the new righteousness through the blood of Christ; he says:

Anyone who lives in the righteousness of Christ through the experience of the forgiveness of sins is "dead" to the legal systems of life in this world. Anyone who lives from and for the righteousness of Christ will, like Jesus, be "reckoned with transgressors"; for he no longer believes and follows the protective gods of those legal systems of life... When Paul maintains that the world is crucified to him and that he is crucified to the world (Gal. 6:14)... He can no longer adapt himself to the pattern of this world, but will change and renew his aspiration, seeking after the living will of God towards a new creation.

This implies that males, who are caught up with this new righteousness, must accept the fact that they are already dead to the values and standards that the world tries to inculcate into them. The world teaches that males are supposed to seek conceit, self-confidence, glory, reputation and praise. Luther (LW 44,43) says, "The world regards this terrible vice as the highest virtue." However, Moltmann's theology of the cross teaches that, because we are crucified to the world and the world to us, we need to desire the opposites of competition, success and power - such as compassion, love and service.

2) According to Moltmann (1977:90-92), the idolatry of power and the fetishism of money and material things continue to exist as long as the heart of man is a manufacturer of idols. But the remembrance of the crucified Jesus liberates the believer to see the world's most treasured value, that is, power as an idol. Viewed according to Moltmann (1977:91), even though the divine glory and power were only revealed on the face of the crucified Jesus, and divine glory and power no longer belonged to worldly crowns or fame or any other material things, people still pursue these kinds of values. This reveals that they worship idols. Christ on the cross can break down the idolatry of power and fetishism of material things by means of revealing the secret that they are worshipping idols.

Moltmann (1981:110) also speaks of a God who self-humiliates Himself in Christ's passion and death. For him, creation in chaos, and out of nothing, as an act of power, is also considered as God's self-humiliation, as the creation is a work of his humility (1981:118). God is also a self-withdrawing God because He creates by withdrawing Himself. However, most obviously, this self-humiliation of God was completed and perfected in the passion and death of Jesus the Son. Yet, this self-humiliating and vulnerable God does not compel a response by force, but waits patiently because He wants to experience humans' free response. In addition, in his books, *The theology of hope* (1967) and *The church in the power of Spirit* (1977), Moltmann notes the Holy Spirit's resurrecting and transforming power re-

sulting from Christ's resurrection. As such, for Moltmann, God's power is characterized by self-humiliating, self-emptying, self-withdrawing love, but empowering power in his concern for his people.

Males are taught to seek power, status, and control in order to validate their self-worth in any given society. Thus, gaining glory, power, assertiveness and dominion over others are always considered as desirable and necessary to boost their manhood. But Moltmann's theology of the cross shows not only how males worship idols, such as success, glory and possessions. It also teaches that males must conform to the image of God who self-humiliates and self-empties his power for the benefit of his people. In turn, this compels males to be humble and serving rather than masterful and proud in relation to others. As Moltmann says, if males begin to live from this image of God, their quest for competition, success, and achievement can be changed to serve God and their neighbours, and not serve their own glory.

3) "God is concerned about his people in his covenantal relationship, being affected by the experience, actions, and suffering of Israel" (1974:12). God not only participates in our suffering, but also makes our suffering his own, and takes our death into his life. The knowledge of God's suffering love (*pathos*) with His people can impart consolation to males so as to endure their destiny in the midst of pain.

In addition, Moltmann's theology of hope, as related to the theology of the cross, contains valuable insights for human quest for meaning. The resurrection of Jesus, proved by God's faithfulness, has guaranteed our resurrection and the renewal of all things. Thus, we need not despair. Even though we are not in heaven, neither are we in hell. We live between "already" and "not-yet." In this period, we need to surrender and sacrifice ourselves in expectation of the promised future, with the help of the power of the Holy Spirit who creates faith, love, and hope in the believer. By this, we find meaning in life and have resurrecting power to live meaningful and purposeful lives in an age of *diaspora*.

Despite the value of the three implications of Moltmann's theology of the cross and resurrection for the church, his theological and ontological approach must go further in order to deal with males' negative emotional consequences. This leads to Louw's model.

Thus far, the issue of power for males (their seeking for status, achievement, winning, strength, power) was identified as a core source of male gender role strain, which results in their anxiety about performance, fear of failure and low self-esteem, and even inappropriate God-images. The researcher argued that the importance of Luther's theology of the cross lies in that its suggestion to reframe God-image (suffering love of God), to reinterpret the notion of God's power (revealed in weakness) and its emphasis on the gospel (grace of God alone, not human works). But it was pointed out that Luther's concern was limited to personal feelings of hopelessness and helplessness, because of "God's absence" (not connected to the relationship between the issue of power and God-image in society), and that

Luther did not emphasize the transforming power of the Holy spirit to sustain suffering (God's faithfulness revealed in Christ's resurrection).

Moltmann was more concerned about the human predicament related to injustice and the abuse of power, and provided great consolation to those who were struggling under political oppression. He applied the notion of God's suffering love into the realm of politics. By shedding light on the relationship between the idolatry of power and God-image, his approach can help to reframe the existing paradigms dominated by masculine values. However, Moltmann's model must be applied to broader existential issues of life in order to deal with the negative emotional consequences that males experience as a result of male strain. Those males, who experience male gender role strain, also need healing and therapy to touch their deep existential issues, such as anger, frustration, helpless, despair, anxiety, guilt and shame. This leads to Louw's hermeneutical model in which Moltmann's theological and ontological approach is linked to the existential issues of life from a pastoral perspective.

Louw's understanding of human predicaments at an existential level includes personal, spiritual problems that Luther addressed and human suffering resulting from political oppression that Moltmann addressed, but goes further and deeper to address helplessness, hopelessness, despair, anxiety, guilty and anger from a pastoral perspective. These issues are at the heart of male gender role strain. In Louw's model, God's vulnerability and faithfulness can play a vital role to bring about healing and therapy for males.

Louw's notion of the faithfulness of God is based on God's fulfilled promises in the resurrection of Christ. God promised that He will never desert us and will always be with us even after death, and He kept his promise through Christ's resurrection and the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit. On the basis of His faithfulness, we receive His free gift of grace and we have a new identity - we are eternally valued persons before God. Moreover, the Holy Spirit now indwells us, and the transforming power of the Holy Spirit works within us. The knowledge of this faithfulness of God could not only generate consolation and hope for males even in the midst of pain and suffering but could also provide strength to have "courage to be" and to live meaningfully and purposefully for spiritual maturity.

In Louw's model, the notion of God's vulnerability can bring about healing for males by relating the fact that God suffers for us, suffers with us and suffers because of us in Fretheim's term (1984). Moreover, this vulnerability of God can play a crucial role in reframing the notion of power for males. Louw interprets God's power as "grace", "mercy", "servanthood" and "sacrifice," and perceives the power of God as "a power which is closely connected to God's covenantal encounter and graceful identification with our human misery." This vulnerability of God could help males to give up the spirit of achievement, competition, power, dominion and control. Instead, it can lead males to live for

vocation, compassion and sacrifice. In this regard, Louw's model can be used to tackle males' existential life issues, as well as the issue of power, as a source of male gender role strain, to make up for Luther's and Moltmann's models.

4.1.3. Louw: Pastoral hermeneutics and the healing of life (*Cura Vitae*)

Louw's theology of the cross and resurrection (2000) conveys the notion of God's power as faithfulness and the importance of meaning over achievement, competition, and power, based on God's vulnerability and faithfulness. Louw (2008) tries to offer pastoral therapy for the self as well as for life by making use of systems thinking. A reframing of God's power in terms of his theology of the cross (vulnerability) and theology of resurrection (empowerment) can help males to expand their understanding of male identity from an individual issue into a systemic issue. His theology of the cross and resurrection can heal not merely the males' self-understanding but also their understanding of life. And it also addresses how God is related to existential life issues. With this in mind, the researcher will explore the relationship between a God-image and human suffering, and the pastoral implications of God's compassion and his faithfulness.

4.1.3.1. Reinterpretation of God's omnipotence as faithfulness

Unlike other theodicy debates revolving around the origin of evil, Louw's (2000:18) concern about suffering begins with the assumption that suffering is a reality in which a hermeneutical understanding is of great importance from a pastoral-care perspective: "In a pastoral approach, our focal point is not an ontology of suffering and evil, rather a hermeneutics of suffering and evil which challenges a theistic understanding of the power of God." During times of grief, loss, crisis or a severe illness, our human dignity and even God's faithfulness are at stake. Who am I? Who is God? (2000:9) - these two questions are interconnected to believers' image of God.

For Louw, a God-image plays a crucial role in finding meaning in suffering. A God-image operates in both directions: the God-image is affected by suffering, and the God-image could serve to alleviate suffering or lead to the crisis of suffering (disintegration). Louw (2000:4-5) believes that images of God that are fearful, indifferent, and powerful are unable to give answers to these questions. Those God-images rather obstruct believers from applying their faith into painful events and lead to a pathology of faith (2000:19). Only a God who is identified with human misery and is faithful to the point of death (Moltmann) could instead instil hope and meaning in the midst of suffering, thereby enabling believers to grow in faith. In *Meaning in suffering* (Louw, 2000), God's vulnerability and his faithfulness as appropriate God-images are discussed in five pastoral questions (why, how, where, when, and for what purpose) as a framework for Louw's argument. For this, he makes use of a theology of the cross and resurrection undergirded by God's faithfulness to alter inappropriate God-images.

Louw (2000:25-44) is well informed of theodicy issues and the tension between God's sovereignty (power) and his solidarity (pathos) in the circle of theology and pastoral theology (2000:15-16). To avoid an extreme overemphasis of God's identification with human suffering or overemphasis of God's sovereignty, he tries to link "God's compassion" and "God's power as faithfulness" to human suffering. Through this, God's power is reinterpreted as weak and faithful rather than omnipotent. Louw (2000:40) asserts:

The main problem in a theodicy arises from the fact that the tension existing between whether or not God wills suffering, presupposes a rational division between God's omnipotence and his love. Such a division does not reckon with the fact that love and omnipotence are not two different entities or attributes, but that both are manifestations of God's faithfulness towards humankind.

The nature of God's power is fully developed in his reinterpretation of God's omnipotence. Louw (2000:67-69) pays special attention to the fact that God's omnipotence in theology has often been interpreted in Hellenistic *pantokrator* - the version of the Hebrew phrase 'el *Saddaj*. In this case, God's power is equated with strength and violent power and He becomes the Roman Caesar (*despotes*). In his analysis of the etymology of 'el *Saddaj*, Louw shows that this term must be decided within the context of various texts. Thus, the concept of the *pantokrator* can be questioned.

Instead, Louw (2000:64) suggests reinterpreting God's power as a metaphor portraying his unique faithfulness and steadfastness in relation to his covenant people. Louw (cited in 2000:62) quotes Inbody, who tries to reinterpret God's power as follows: "God's power is God's identification with the suffering of the world, and includes God's vulnerability, God's powerlessness and God's compassion. God's power is the power of resurrection and transformation which brings new life out of the suffering and evil of the world." In Inbody's insights, Louw (2000:63) finds a new concept of God's power: God's power is not coercion, but persuasion; God's power is transforming power; God's power is rebuilding, creating and healing power, rather than imposing and controlling. However, Louw (2000:63) points out the weakness of Inbody's argument: "God's identification, compassion and transformation do not stem from mere relationality, but reside in his faithfulness."

Quoting Fretheim and Berkof, Louw (2000:65) argues that the term "almighty" can be understood to denote "overwhelming faithfulness in the sense of gracious sovereignty and unique righteousness and justice." The power of God means: "a power which conquers death, overcomes God's enemies and triumphs over the destructive powers of evil and darkness, hatred and injustice." In relation to God's suffering, his power also includes vulnerable faithfulness and overwhelming pathos (2000:66). Louw perceives God's power as grace, mercy, servanthood, and sacrifice. As Pinnock describes, God overcomes all his enemies by loving them, not by annihilating them (Louw, 2000:70).

In this way, for Louw (2000:69), the power of God means that his vulnerable faithfulness and steadfastness are related to his covenant people. In other words, God's power describes his identification with the suffering of his people, and empowering or transforming power for his people based on his vulnerable faithfulness and overwhelming love.

4.1.3.2. God's identification with our human existential predicament

Louw's interpretation of God's compassion includes covenantal compassion portrayed by Fretheim (1984) (because of us; with us; for us), the cross (salvation through the cross) together with the Mediator's priestly work. Firstly, Louw (2000:91) mentions God's compassion hidden in his anger over sin - not merciless punishment, but wounded love in passing. Secondly, God's compassion is revealed in the cross but, in this case God's suffering must be understood in a mystical dimension. Thirdly, Christ's priestly compassion absorbs believers' suffering into his suffering because of the corporate nature of Christ's atoning work. Believers suffer in an intimate communion and relationship with Christ (2000:179). In this way, Christ's compassion can be perceived in our suffering.

From this understanding of God's compassion, Louw (2000:91) criticizes Moltmann's dialectic method: "A Hegelian dialectic of God against God's death as a constitutive component within God's inner Trinitarian Being could become very speculative." More importantly, "God's solidarity with suffering and his identification with suffering could lead to the conclusion that access to Him is no longer via guilt, conversion and faith, but, rather, it has already been achieved through suffering" (2000:92). Quoting Jonker (1977:194; cited in Louw, 2000:98), Louw says, "The danger of the theopaschite approach is that it can easily portray the reconciliation as an abstract event which is in God Himself, and thus beyond time." In contrast, "While acknowledging the eternal background, Scripture nevertheless insists that reconciliation is a historical deed performed by Christ in time" (1977:198; cited in Louw, 2000:98). To escape this danger, God's suffering must not exclude Christ's reconciliation and mediatory work. Louw (2000:93) concludes that God suffers in two ways:

Firstly, He suffers in terms of his involvement with his people and his humiliation on behalf of their misery, affliction and sin. His judgment over sin indicates his woundedness (mercy). He suffers because of his faithfulness. Secondly, He suffers in order to forgive, to reconcile. God's suffering thus refers to grace and his mediatory intervention on our behalf.

How then does God's suffering and human suffering interact? Luther utilized the metaphor of marriage to describe the relationship between human suffering and God's suffering. Moltmann (1974:17) writes: "Whoever cries to God in this suffering, however, joins fundamentally in the death-cry of Jesus... In a very personal sense, He is rather the human God who cries with him and in him and who intercedes for him where he in his misery grows silent." In his book, *The church in the power of the Holy Spirit*, Moltmann (1977) underlines the work of the Holy Spirit to enable believers to

resist the present reality in the meantime between “already” and “not yet,” and mentions the interaction of the Spirit between God the Father and God the Son (1981:142). Like Moltmann, Louw (2000:99) regards this interaction through the Spirit as of great importance in pastoral care. God's pathos and human suffering interact in numerous ways. In the midst of suffering, the Holy Spirit enables one's human spirit to appropriate the offer of salvation and to express it in faith, hope and love. “The many forms of God's Spirit in suffering - covenant, cross, resurrection, ascension, victory, sacrament, prayer, dialogue, conversation - can all be used to comfort and liberate those in suffering.” But God's identification with suffering (his compassion) is primarily revealed by three main factors: the reality of salvation, the covenant, and the Mediator's high-priestly work (2000:101). In pastoral care, these must be implemented to provide the Holy Spirit's hope and consolation.

Luther and Moltmann are concerned about the new state of the believer and the fact that the theology of the cross entails Christian ethics to contradict human pride and power, and the power-oriented church and society. They are also concerned about its effect at our existential level. However, even though Luther was concerned about an existential issue, his concern was mainly about helplessness and hopelessness, or about the absence of God. Moltmann was primarily interested in human predicaments related to injustice and abuse of power. However, Louw tried to link their theological perspectives to basic existential life issues from a pastoral theological perspective. In this way, Louw's introduction of the concept of life broadens the understandings of Luther's and Moltmann's existential understandings to a more holistic and systemic understanding. His understanding of “soul” as a systemic and relational issue, i.e. a qualitative concept indicating a human being's stance and attitude within the presence of a living God, is an expansion of the traditional approach. This is a paradigm shift from a theology of schematisation to a theology of affirmation.

Louw is greatly concerned about the impact of Christian spirituality on the existential dimension of life (not merely about helplessness and hopelessness). He identified five existential dimensions of life as follows (2008:63-64):

- 1) The existential threat of anxiety, i.e. the fear of being rejected and isolated within the dynamics of human relationships. Our basic existential need is intimacy: the need to be accepted unconditionally for who you are without the fear of rejection. Spiritual healing in this regard means to discover amazing grace
- 2) The existential threat of guilt. Guilt and feelings of guilt from our past have the potential to destroy identity and self-esteem in the present and future orientation. Our basic existential need here is freedom and deliverance. Spiritual healing in this regard means forgiveness and reconciliation.
- 3) The existential threat of despair. To be exposed to meaninglessness and voidness can rob one of hope. Our basic existential need is anticipation in hope. Spiritual healing in this regard means trust in the faithfulness of God.

4) The existential threat of helplessness and vulnerability. People often become emotionally sick because they remain helpless victims within the different networks and structures of life. Our basic existential need is for a functional and available support system. Spiritual healing in this regard means the discovery of *koinonia* of fellowship i.e. the church as the body of Christ.

5) The existential threat of disillusionment, frustration, anger and unfilled needs. Anger is an expression of frustration due to unfulfilled needs. Needs are shaped by many contextual issues such as poverty, unemployment, poor housing and living conditions, violence and crime. Our basic existential need is life fulfillment, a fulfillment of life expectations. Spiritual healing in this regard is related to the guarantee of the faithfulness of God to our being human. This faithfulness of God is expressed in a very poignant way in the victory of God over death. In Christian spiritual care, life fulfillment is indicated by two spiritual categories: gratitude and joy.

In this way, he provides a comprehensive and existential understanding of healing and indicates what is meant by *cura vitae* in spiritual healing

However, Louw (2000:100) regards the vulnerability of the cross as not being final, as people who are exposed to despair, anxiety and guilt need more than vulnerability. They are in need of security, steadfastness and reliability despite the uncertainty of painful events. This led Louw to discuss God's faithfulness based on the theology of the resurrection.

4.1.3.3. God's faithfulness and the meaning in life: towards a theology of affirmation

God's faithfulness

In Moltmann's (1967) theology of hope, the eschatological kingdom contradicts present reality despite the promise of a new creation. But, the eschatological reality comes in the present reality with a radical new meaning. Hope for the promised future reality and hope for the resurrection changes our attitude towards inner suffering. The promise of an eschatological reality does not eliminate suffering, but gives hope for God's final victory over all evil and suffering. In the meantime, between "already" and "not yet," all Christians are required to resist the present reality (1967).

Like Moltmann, Louw's theology of the resurrection is based on this idea of hope. Louw (2000:113) writes that the eschatological promise does not explain suffering. It does not yet annihilate suffering. However, it provides hope for God's final triumph over all evil and suffering because God has already proved his faithfulness in Jesus' resurrection. Louw (2000:149) notes the effects of the theology of the cross at a subjective / existential level. But the work of the cross (eliminating guilt) finds its final expression in the resurrection as an act of God and an action of Christ. The resurrection triumphs over the despair of death and replaces it with victorious faith.

Like Moltmann, Louw (2000:148) interprets God's victory as pointing back to the perfectum of the cross and forward to the *promissio* of the *parousia*. God's final victory will break through in its final

form with the *parousia*. But God's victory has already begun in terms of the transformative reality of a new aeon. The present sense of the resurrection triumphs over the despair of death and replaces it with victorious faith through the Holy Spirit's resurrection power.

For Louw (2000:180-181), the ability to embrace suffering is only possible in and through the Holy Spirit. By the Spirit's empowerment, the believer can accept suffering as a challenge and a task. This power, which enables us to deal with everything through Christ Jesus, is nothing other than the dynamic resurrection power that the Spirit brings about. This powerful working of the Spirit is made possible because the Holy Spirit enables believers to share in the eschatological reality of salvation. The Holy Spirit's activity not only leads a person to resistance; it also leads him/her to surrender and acceptance, which means to trust in God's trustworthiness.

According to Louw (2000:173), the sense of security, generated from this eschatological reality, provides a foundation on which the believer finds meaning in life. In an attempt to find meaning in life and suffering, Louw (1998:86ff, 2000:174-175, 2005:17ff) makes use of hermeneutical thinking, or systems thinking, or a dialogical or relational model, on the basis of God's faithfulness.

Systems thinking (hermeneutical thinking)

Louw (2005:23-25) provides some of the undergirding assumptions in a systems approach:

- (1) Systems thinking implies a paradigm shift away from analytical thinking to holistic thinking. Analytical thinking is interested in the character of the parts, while systems thinking pays attention to the way that the parts are linked to one another within the dynamics of interaction and mutuality.
- (2) Systems thinking operates with a totally different paradigm. It implies a shift away from substantial metaphysical thinking to hermeneutical thinking... Systems thinking focuses on the meaning of things within a network. In terms of networking, systems thinking is an attempt to understand and to interpret the dynamics of interrelatedness/interconnectedness rather than to explain the essence of substance with the aid of the cause-and-effect principle and the split between object and subject. Therefore, one can say that systems thinking is hermeneutical thinking within the dynamics of networking and interconnectedness... It assesses the human person as a whole. A human being is therefore more than the sum total of all its parts.
- (3) Systems thinking focuses more on responses and patterns of reaction; hence, the importance of attitude and aptitude.

- (4) Systems thinking concentrates more on growth than on problem identification. The problem is not the problem but a problematic response and an inappropriate attitude towards the problem. Problems function as opportunities for growth, not necessarily for resolution. Crises can therefore contribute to the quality of identity and maturity.

By making use of this systems thinking, Louw shows how we can discover meaning in life and suffering.

1) In applying the statement of systems thinking, a human being therefore is more than the sum total of all its parts within a Christian perspective. Louw (2005:24) interprets this “more than” as identity determined by grace. “The quality of a human being resides in this ‘more than’: one is more than sin, evil, shortcomings and failures. One is also more than all one’s achievements, skills and competence. Identity is determined by faithfulness of God. What determines character is not an outcome of inputs, but God’s unconditional love.” Through Christ’s mediatory work, God is always present with us. He shows forgiveness, compassion and loving kindness wherever we go and whatever happens to us. This new identity in Christ now creates the doxological paradox of the already-not yet and enables a person in suffering to view the challenge of suffering as a meaningful opportunity. Within this paradox, a person continues to discover meaning and expresses it in praise and worship of the Lord. “Therefore, one can conclude that meaning and significance is not something or an ‘achievement.’ It is rather a relationship and a process within the parameters of faithfulness and hope” (2000:174).

2) In Louw’s (2005:5) explanation of systems thinking, the term “being-functions” is of great significance. Compared with our knowing, doing, and listening functions, Louw (2008:20-21) defines being functions as the existence of a human being within the dynamics of relational systems and cultural settings that influence position and *habitus* (attitude and aptitude). Drawing on Smith and Piedad-Pfaefflin, Louw defines *habitus* as a culturally encoded way of being in the world that enables humans to co-operate and cope with the unforeseen and ever-changing situations of life in a systems approach. “*Habitus* represents our position within historical and cultural settings and serves as an indication of the quality of our position in place and space” (2008:21). This being functions, from a Christian spiritual perspective, “implies a growth process of anticipation and transformation from the ethics of performance and achievement to the sacrificial ethics of unconditional love. It also implies a shift in ego identity, from ego obsession (the depleted self) to ego transcendence (the transcendent self)” (Louw, 2008:12). It deals essentially with questions about attitude and the quest for meaning in life. In this way, Louw attempts to expand the traditional idea of *cura animarum* into *cura vitae* in the systems approach.

3) The concept of being functions in Louw's model is closely related to a theology of space and place as well as a theology of affirmation. For Louw (2008:27), because people are extremely sensitive to reactions, responses, and attitudes within space (atmosphere) and place (location, culture and context), creating space of grace and *koinonia* in the fellowship of believers is of significance in order to help people discover meaning in life and suffering. Louw (2008:28) finds a theology of space in the event of the incarnation. It constitutes the space of eschatology that God is present within a human body in and through Christ. In Louw's understanding, in a pastoral sense, space determines the quality of place, therefore of our experience of meaning and dignity. In order to be healed, we need to change the space (atmosphere) so that we can live in a very specific place (2008:27). A theology of place is understood to be a continuation of the incarnational space and to refer to the event of the inhabitation: the indwelling presence of God through the *pneuma* in our human bodies (spiritual corporeality).

For Louw (2008:28), however, "Both a theology of space and a theology of place are in essence theologies of affirmation, i.e. the constitution of human identity in terms of the ontology of salvation (the corporate reality of our new being in Christ and our transformed status as children of God)."

Louw's (2008:31-32) theology of affirmation can be described as follows:

- (1) It describes an ontic state of being, which means that one is affirmed in one's very being qualities by eschatology;
- (2) It describes signification and ascribes human dignity and subject particularity emanating from the ontological "Yes" in Christ to our being human;
- (3) It implies the spiritual fortigenesis and fortology (*fortis*=strong, a strength perspective), which refer to that kind of spiritual strength and courage that emanates from our new being in Christ, and the *charisma* (fruit) of the Spirit (the indwelling presence of God);
- (4) It presupposes a space of *koinonia* in the fellowship of believers (*ekklesia*).

In relation to a communal aspect of a theology of affirmation, Louw (2008:32-33) discusses the positioning and creation of atmosphere and suggests two things for the healing of attitude and position:

(1) The first is an empathetic valuation, constructive and positive as well as realistic feedback in terms of the identity of the human person. The person should be exposed to the experience of being affirmed and the atmospheric healing of space. In describing this, he makes use of the bipolarities of disengagement and embracement. Disengagement creates space for critical self-reflection and self-confrontation. Embracement allows space for creating an atmosphere of intimacy: unconditional love and regard. Embracement is an act of human affirmation.

(2) The second is change and transformation that is directed towards meaning/significance and growth. A graphic portrayal of the bipolarities entails: being with and goal-directed action

(meaning-giving actions; significant performance). The atmosphere of “being with” creates space for lingering and a sense of being at home (guarantee). The atmosphere of goal-directed action creates the space for change and hope: something can be done or changed.

4) The term “being-functions” seems to be connected with the term “soulfulness” that designates the quality of soul or the aesthetics of the human soul (2005:7). “Soul” indicates a mode of being (attitude, aptitude, *habitus*, and position). It should be interpreted within processes of meaning-giving and meaning-receiving (2005:17). Now, soulfulness is associated with spirituality. “Spirituality designates the art of soulfulness. It signifies meaning in life as a life-long learning process. Spirituality indicates within soulfulness the dynamics of transcendence as a continuous movement and process of growth” (Louw, 2005:133). Louw (2005:134-135) describes this movement as follows:

- a. From loneliness to solitude
- b. The discovery of the other: from hostility and enmity (resistance) to hospitality and intimacy (unconditional love)
- c. Worshipping God: from the illusion of immortality (the irrational self-centred idea that one will always be there and is indispensable) to the vulnerability of grace (Godliness)
- d. The fostering of meaning: from anxiety (performance anxiety and the anxiety for loss) to hope
- e. The changing of position / attitude: from anger to peace
- f. The reframing of work: from achievement (stress) to vocation, devotion and service
- g. The shifting of priority: from competition to compassion (sacrifice).

Soulfulness is also linked to virtues in spirituality, such as charity, prudence, compassion, patience, trustworthiness, humility, fidelity, fortitude, courage, temperance, embodiment and physical fitness directedness and morality (Louw 2005:136-137).

Thus, discovering meaning in life in a relationship with God and others is also essentially connected to developing virtues and characteristics of spirituality as “living a human life in union with God” (Louw 2005:132).

5) Compared to Frankl’s logotherapy that emphasizes the importance of imparting meaning in life and suffering (What meaning can I give to suffering?), Louw (2000:175) asserts that imparting meaning is not enough to discover meaning in life and suffering, because imparting meaning first needs receiving meaning from outside. “In order to discover meaning, a person must have an empowering source from

which one receives meaning.” For Louw, an “empowering source” is none other than the empowerment of the Holy Spirit.

By this power, Louw (2000:155) asserts that history recovers its meaning and that the Christian life and daily experiences restore the sacramental meaning. Christian life has a meaning as an embodiment of God's grace and presence through restored relationships by the indwelling of the Spirit. Thus, a theology of inhabitation becomes crucial in Louw's model.

Louw (2008:188) seeks for the transformation of power by an understanding of the inhabitation of Christ through his Spirit (Inhabitation theology). Since Christ has overcome the evil powers of darkness, all forms of power should be challenged by a pneumatology, which exhibits the fruit of the Spirit in our lives. In Christ humans are endowed with the fruits of the Spirit and are thus “charismatic human beings” (2008:277). According to Louw, by the power which God exerted in Christ when he raised him from the dead, and by the charisma which God has endowed with us in Christ, believers now can overcome the evil powers and transform and heal our lives. By this healing power, believers can change the lifestyle, attitude and aptitude (2008:188). In the midst of human suffering and struggle, believers can resurrect to life, not being immersed into despair by the Holy Spirit's empowering. Now, Christians can show “the courage to be” or “the courage to endure suffering” by the power and the charisma of the Spirit (2000:180). In this regard, inhabitation theology represents *cura vitae*

In short, for Louw (2000:155,161), Christian victory is possible from this theology of the cross and the resurrection based on God's faithfulness. It is through:

- 1) Faith and the salvation of the cross (the new reality within the reality of pain and destruction; the experience of forgiveness and reconciliation);
- 2) Hope and the veracity of the resurrection (vision as the motivating force behind anticipation and expectation);
- 3) Love and sacramental meaning of daily life in the resurrection power and life empowered by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (witness; the courage to be; faithfulness).

4.1.3.4. The significance of Louw's theology of the cross for male gender role strain

As noted in the previous chapters, the phenomena of male gender role strain was identified as anxiety about performance, fear of failure, loneliness, low self-esteem and distorted God-images. It was also argued that male gender role strain revolves around males' fear of losing power or desire for success, power, and achievement. It was also hypothesized that a spirituality of vulnerability, which is

closely related to God's vulnerability and faithfulness, can deal with the problem of power for males. The significance of Louw's model for male strain lies in the fact that he attends to human predicaments at a deeper and broader existential level from a perspective of a theology of affirmation based on God's vulnerability and faithfulness. His model also addresses how to reframe the notion of God's power as faithfulness, suffering grace and transforming power. In addition, through his model, males' understanding of power can be reframed within the basic spiritual movements.

1) The value of Louw's theology of affirmation (a theology of the cross and resurrection) based on the vulnerability and faithfulness of God lies in the fact that it could provide males with a sense of significance and identity which is not dependent on performance. When males really understand or experience our new being in Christ (our ontic state of being in Christ), when males are really affirmed in their very being qualities in terms of the events of the cross and the resurrection, they can be freed from pursuing outside validation, because the ontological "Yes" to our being human in Christ can quench our burning desires to be more significant in the eyes of the world.

Louw's theology of affirmation (a theology of the cross and resurrection) could also provide a male with a sense of security. Male problems, such as powerlessness, hopelessness, meaninglessness, anxiety and insecurity can be the result of an existential vacuum, in Frankl's terms. Against this phenomenon, the faithful God who promises, "I will never desert you," could provide males with a sense of security and significance, no matter what they are in the eyes of the world. For Louw (2000:173), God not only identifies with our suffering but also understands "our most basic existential needs: our anxiety for death; our helplessness and hopelessness due to doubt and despair; our guilt and need for liberation." God is not merely a Father who takes care of his children and gives his life for his children, but also becomes one's best human friend and the most secret feelings could be shared with each other at all times. As an intimate friend, God knows our deep fear of rejection, anxiety about nothingness, loneliness, emptiness, etc., and He never departs from us; He dwells in us; He comforts us; He groans for us through the Holy Spirit. This knowledge enables males to be freed from the painful notion that there is nobody outside to support them and that all will turn away in the face of their failure. Thus, they could overcome the threat of "the survival of the fittest and natural selection." Instead, they could declare: God is with us; God will never desert us. As a result of realizing that "God is with us," men could now enjoy and delight in God Himself. God becomes an intimate Friend, not a Father Christmas, nor a fearful Father.

2) God's vulnerable love or suffering, or being with us is not enough in order to address the problem of male gender role strain. Males need empowerment as well. In this regard, Louw's theology of affirmation combined with inhabitation theology can play a pivotal role. Louw's theology of affirmation could provide males who are struggling to overcome any kinds of painful life events with

“the courage to be.” As Louw (2008:32) writes, spiritual strength and courage emanates from our new being in Christ. This courage and strength is not a human quality but a quality comes from God and Christ as a result of the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit. Males who experience helplessness and hopelessness need this kind of spiritual strength in order to live life with courage and a vivid hope. For them, his theology of affirmation and inhabitation theology could offer a power and courage to accept who they are and to exist as ones who show the presence of a loving God in the midst of pain.

3) In Louw’s (2000:173) model, God’s faithfulness encourages males to enjoy a loving relationship with fellow human beings. For Louw, God’s faithfulness not merely provides sympathy for others. Rather, it compels us to go beyond compassion and sympathy, and appeals to values and norms that impart a reason to live, that is, the command: “love your neighbours.” Louw seems to accept Kierkegaard’s words: “To love one’s fellow-humans is the only thing worth living for; without this love you are not really living; and to love one’s fellow-humans is also the only blessed consolation” (Hannay, 1982:243). Death is equated with the destruction of relationships, while the vividness of life and the soulfulness of the spirit reside in relationships (Louw, 2005:2). However, for Louw, this Christian ethic of love is possible because of the indwelling presence of the Spirit in human life (the presence of Christ through the charisma of the Spirit) (2008:277).

In this way, Louw’s theology of the cross and resurrection or a theology of affirmation and inhabitation teaches males that life is not a stupid rat race; the secret of life is service and gratitude, not achievement and reward; life is a gift of God; life is not about fulfilling our desires but about accomplishing a calling for God and fellow human beings (1995:119). As Louw indicates, if we live in relationships with fellow human beings, how could we pursue success, achievement and power - trampling over them? If we really respect fellow human beings, how could we destroy people in order to achieve something? If we really cherish our family, how could we allow ourselves to be addicted to something, whether it be work, success or substance addiction? If a wife were asked in the face of death, “What was your best memory of your husband?” what would the answer be? The answer could be relational, that is, loving, kind, etc. - not something that he achieved.

4) Louw’s communal aspect of a theology of affirmation could provide a space of grace and *koinonia* in the fellowship of believers (*ekklesia*), which could create an atmosphere for males to relax about their failures to conform to male ideals (power, success, achievement and control), by focusing on their new ontology in Christ. Thereby, meaningful goal-directed action and change can be encouraged.

5) The value of Louw’s analysis regarding the notion of power lies in the fact that he addresses the power of God in a relational way. Louw (2000:69-71) portrays God as the vulnerable God who exercises his power by empowerment and persuasion, rather than coercion and threat. God’s grace, mercy,

servanthood and sacrifice are highlighted in his interpretation of his power. He triumphs over his enemies by being loving and tender, not by destroying them. God's power is perceived as a transforming, rebuilding, creating and healing power rather than imposing and controlling (2000:63). God's power conquers death, overcomes his enemies and triumphs over the destructive powers of evil and darkness, hatred and injustice. In Louw's understanding, sovereignty is viewed as God's empowerment rather than his control. It also means the sharing of power, as God gives power to other agents by his grace and unconditional love. Following Pinnock, sovereignty is also described as God's infinite resourcefulness rather than his domination (Louw 2000:70). Louw's understanding of God's power could teach males how to relate to others. If God Himself serves, and persuades us in His infinite mercy, rather than coerces and terrifies us with his power, if He uses his power to transform, rebuild, and heal us, rather than impose and control us, if He uses his power to triumph over the destructive powers, how much more must we, as his creatures and children, conform to this notion of power?

In this way, Louw's theology of the cross and resurrection based on God's covenantal faithfulness could give males meaning, hope and transforming power. They might be freed from seeking external things, such as achievement, success and glory, and they could live meaningfully and purposefully for spiritual maturity in the midst of predicaments. His theology of affirmation and inhabitation could also provide males who experience helplessness with strength and courage to be in their feelings of loss of power and failures to conform to male ideals. It provides valuable insights not only for the issue of power, but also gives an alternative to males' quest for power: self-transcendence towards the Ultimate and our neighbours in order to find meaning in life. Louw's model indicates that through discovering meaning in relationships with God and fellow human beings, males' distorted relationships with God, fellow human beings and themselves could be altered. They could be freed from their restlessness to achieve; they could now see previous competitors as fellow human beings; they could enjoy and delight in God Himself, not a Father Christmas who guarantees prosperity.

The researcher thus far attempted to explore the correlation between the issue of power, the question of meaning and the God-image. The basic assumption was that if males found meaning in life within relationships with God and fellow human beings, they could relax about the issue of power. Another assumption was that God's vulnerability and transforming power could help males to find meaning in life and could give them "the courage to be" in the midst of suffering. Through investigating three interpretations of the theology of the cross (Luther, Moltmann and Louw), it became clear that they all portray a vulnerable God and provide a redefinition of God's power as vulnerability. They all perceive that believers' new reality in Christ could bring about meaning in life. In Moltmann and Louw's views, hope and resurrecting power, generated from the eschatological reality, were of great significance for discovering meaning in life and suffering. Due to the faithfulness of God proved by Christ's

resurrection, the present life has great meaning by showing God's love for the world. Among Luther, Moltmann and Louw, Louw is especially concerned about existential issues that everyone faces today from a pastoral perspective. He brings the theoretical problem of theodicy back to real life situations (marriage, family, crises, spirituality, society, illness, etc). Thus, it can be concluded that males' tension between powerfulness and powerlessness, that thwarts their quest for meaning and maturity in faith, could be re-directed by the theology of the cross. If males learn this from the theology of the cross and the resurrection, they may discover "another way of being" in the world, as Hall (1986:104) so aptly asserts.

Regarding the human quest for meaning, Frankl (1962) suggests the importance of love for discovering meaning in life. However, Louw (1998:331-332) argues that, in order to find meaning in life, a relationship with God (who gives meaning to us) must be included, because the question, "Who is God?" shapes our identity and our lives (Cavanagh, 1992:75). In this regard, a reinterpretation of God's power could influence males' understanding of the notion of power. Having this in mind, the researcher will explore how an interpretation of God's power as suffering love and transforming power could help males to overcome their problems with the issue of power in the next section.

4.2. TOWARDS A REINTERPRETATION OF GOD'S POWER

Discovery of meaning in life is closely related to God's identity - who God is - because this question about Him shapes our identity and the quality of our lives. If we perceive God as the One who distances Himself from creation and exercises his power over every creature, as in the Hellenistic image of the *pantokrator*, our attitude towards God, ourselves, and fellow human beings can be remote and cold according to our image of Him. However, this image of God could contribute to encourage males towards craving for power. A God whom males need is the God who shows not only His vulnerability in such a way that He can die for His people, but also the God who, at the same time, dwells in, and empowers, us to cope with reality. A vulnerable image of God could enable males to see vulnerability in his power. Accordingly, they might be able to relax with their weakness and vulnerability without craving for strength and power. And through an empowering image of God, males might be able to come to terms with their existential problems. In this regard, the researcher will attempt to explore the possibility of describing the image of God as vulnerable, as well as empowering in this section.

4.2.1. Theological discourse regarding God's power

Serious challenges have arisen against the assertion that God is omnipotent. The most troubling of these challenges presents itself in the form of the theodicy problem (Case-Winters, 1990:7). If God is omnipotent, why is there evil in the world? If God is so loving, why does He allow suffering? For

many people, the very fact of suffering calls into question God's goodness and, simultaneously, his almightiness. The assumption is that if the deity could, then the deity would simply eliminate suffering. Why then does God not do so, if He is truly loving? The limiting factor is just this power assumption. When infinite power is posited as the primary and characteristic attribute of deity, then no one will be satisfied with an answer that is less than the abolition of suffering, as such (Hall, 1993:97). For this reason, many thinkers, ancient and modern, have insisted that the concept of God's omnipotence stands in need of reassessment in the face of the problem of evil (Case-Winters, Ana 1990:7).

All the Greek and Latin Church fathers declare God to be omnipotent and all creeds bearing on the nature of God, Catholic or Protestant, affirm Him to be the omnipotent creator and preserver of the universe (Henry, 1982:310). In the earliest Christian creeds, God's omnipotence decisively shaped all other divine perfections (1982:307). But Bloesch (1995:104) writes that this philosophical legacy that depicted God as overflowing or absolute power unduly influenced church theology. From the Apostles' Creed, many attempted to define God Almighty, or God's power, in terms of his power to create and produce. Omnipotence became conceived in terms of self-extension, not self-emptying or self-limitation.

According to Berkhof (1979:143), only the "Almighty" God has been emphasized to meet our quest for security in parts of the Apostles' Creed in the history of the church at the expense of the vulnerable God. Migliore (1983:62) observes the negative consequences of the Hellenistic influence on Christianity, focusing on the influence of scholastic theology (including Roman Catholic and Protestant) in which severely one-sided and distorted concepts of God were produced by abstract speculation about God's attributes. According to scholastic theology, our knowledge of God is possible indirectly by the ways of negation (e.g., God is not impotent), eminence (e.g., God is not only powerful, but all-powerful) and analogy (God as the father). In this way, scholastics theology views omnipotence merely as all-powerfulness that equates with the fact that God is able to do anything, rather than the power of God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who establishes the true meaning of almighty or omnipotence (1983:63). Migliore states:

Special attention was paid to the history of Christian art at the time of Constantine. In the earliest Christian art, the incarnate Lord is represented as a shepherd who cares for his sheep. The image of God as a shepherd is an image of gentle strength and tender care for the weak. However, in later Christian art, the shepherd image is replaced by the image of the heavenly monarch surrounded by all the symbols of imperial wealth and autocratic power. Then God was the heavenly Caesar, wearing a crown of gold and surrounded by many court servants (Migliore, 1983:67).

Migliore (1983:67) argues that, from Constantine, the church and its theology were increasingly made use of to serve the interests of the wealthy and the mighty. As a result, "the power of God has been understood as the heavenly counterpart of the power exercised by masters, kings, and Caesars on

earth." In line with Migliore, Berkhof (1979:143) asserts that this fatally one-sided emphasis on God's power, equated with the power of Caesars, should be replaced by encountering God's powerlessness and defencelessness.

4.2.2. God's power as vulnerable love

Hall (1986:98) claims that, frequently, we realize in the depths of our souls that power does not change anything, but usually only complicates existing problems, and he asks, "Who, through power tactics, can eliminate the self-destructing habits of a son or daughter who has fallen prey to hard drugs? What nation, through power alone, can ensure world peace?" Here enters God's power as vulnerable love. Bonhoeffer's phrase in his letter from a Nazi prison links God's power to his vulnerability.

God lets himself be pushed out of the world onto the cross. He is weak and powerless in the world, and that is precisely the way, the only way, in which He is with us and helps us. Matthew 8.17 makes it quite clear that Christ helps us, not by virtue of his omnipotence, but by virtue of his weakness and suffering. Here is the decisive difference between Christianity and all religions. In his distress, man's religiosity makes him look to God's power in the world: He is the *deus ex machina*. The Bible directs man to God's powerlessness and suffering; only the suffering God can help. To that extent, we may say that the development towards the world's coming of age outlined above, which had a false conception of God, opens up a way of seeing the God of the Bible who wins power and space in the world by his weakness (Bonhoeffer, 1997:360-61).

Moltmann (1993:223) states, "A God who is only *omnipotentis* in himself is an incomplete being, for he cannot experience helplessness and powerlessness. Omnipotence can indeed be longed for and worshipped by helpless men, but omnipotence is never loved; it is only feared."

Tillich (1948:141-148) finds God's power in weakness and vulnerability revealed in the cross. In the exposition of Mark 8:27-33, he pays special attention to the identity of Jesus. "Whom do you say that I am?" "Thou art the Christ," and "the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again." Jesus inquired of them, "Whom do you say that I am?" Peter said, "Thou art the Christ." He forbade them to tell anyone about Him. The Messianic character of Jesus was different from what this meant to the people. They expected either a great political leader or a heavenly king of glory in the title of the Christ. But, "He did not believe that a political action, the liberation of Israel and the crushing of the Empire, could create a new reality on earth" (1948:144). His mystery can only be revealed by the events of the suffering, death, and resurrection. "The real Christ was not the Christ in power and glory.... Yet when the Divine is rejected; it takes the rejection upon itself. It accepts our crucifixion, our pushing away, the defense of ourselves against it. It accepts our refusal to accept, and thus conquers us. That is the centre of the mystery of the Christ" (1948:146-147). Tillich (1948:147-148) shows how God's power is revealed in weakness, thereby He really conquers us. He writes:

Let us try to imagine a Christ who would not die, and who would come in glory to impose upon us His power, His wisdom, His morality, and His piety. He would be able to break our resistance by His strength, by His wonderful government, by His infallible wisdom, and by His irresistible perfection. But He would not be able to win our hearts.... God made Himself small for us in Christ. In so doing ... He showed us His heart, so that our hearts could be won.... Even the greatest in power and wisdom could not more fully reveal the Heart of God and the heart of man than the Crucified has done already.

In the cross, Tillich observes God's becoming small for us in order to win our hearts. Reinhold Niebuhr (1986:22) conveys a similar idea and also perceives God's power as vulnerable love in the cross. "The crux of the cross is its revelation of the fact that the final power of God over man is derived from the self-imposed weakness of his love. This self-imposed weakness does not derogate from the majesty of God. His mercy is the final dimension of His majesty." Niebuhr provides an explanation why the powerlessness in the cross is necessary in history. For him, every shepherd king of history is more king and less shepherd. For this reason, the revelation of the divine goodness in history must be powerless. However, he sees the weakness of love in Christ's weakness as God's weakness. "It is the self-imposed weakness of love" (1986:28). He expresses how the love of God revealed in weakness can win the hearts of His children.

God's justice and the wrath can prevent any human rebellion from developing defiance to the point of ultimate triumph. But such power does not reach the heart of the rebel (Niebuhr, 1986:28). Justice is good and punishment is necessary. Yet justice alone does not move men to repentance. The inner core of their rebellion is not touched until they behold the executor of judgement suffering with, and for, the victim of punishment (1986:29). The power that maintains the order of the world is good and not evil, but its virtue does not reach into the secret of the human heart. Thus, the final majesty of God is the majesty of His mercy (1986:30).

God's searching for his children in his sorrow and power of love is beautifully expressed in the following poem. Studdert-Kennedy (cited by Niebuhr, 1986:31) writes:

God, the God I love and worship, reigns in sorrow on the Tree,
Broken, bleeding, but unconquered, very God of God to me.
All that showy pomp of splendor, all that sheen of angel wings,
Was not borrowed from the baubles that surround our earthly kings...
For Thy glory is the glory of Love's loss,
And Thou hast no other splendor but the splendor of the Cross.
For in Christ I see the martyrs and the beauty of their pain,
And in Him I hear the promise that my dead shall rise again.
High and lifted up, I see Him on the eternal Calvary,
And two pierced hands are stretching east and west o'er land and sea.
On my knees I fall and worship that great Cross that shines above,
For the very God of Heaven is not Power, but Power of Love.

In a discussion about Nietzsche, who stated that a God of the kind created by Paul is the negation of God, Eberhard Jüngel (1983:206) comments about the relationship between power, weakness and love.

Nietzsche takes Paul at his word and insists that the apostolic discourse about God does not want to be anything but talk about the crucified God. For Paul, the Crucified One is weak, subject to death. But Paul does not celebrate this thought with melancholy, but rather thinks of it as the Gospel, as a source of joy.... For Paul, the weakness of the Crucified One is the way in which God's power of life is perfected. Weakness is then not understood as a contradiction to God's power. There is, however, only one phenomenon in which power and weakness do not contradict each other, in which power can rather perfect itself as weakness. This phenomenon is the vent of love. Love does not see power and weakness as alternatives. It is the unity of power and weakness, and as such is certainly the most radical opposite of the will to power, which cannot affirm weakness. The Pauline "theology of the cross" is, accordingly, the most stringent rejection of all deification of self-willing power. Nietzsche then acutely and clearly sees that a new understanding of God has been initiated here.

In a similar vein, Berkhof (1979:141-145) sees the power of God in terms of his defencelessness in the biblical account of revelation. He writes that "the first impression one gets from the biblical account of revelation is that of God's impotence, of how man has taken the initiative away from him, of what we shall call here his defenselessness" (1979:141). Like Moltmann, Berkhof (1979:142) says that God's defencelessness begins at creation. In creating man, God recedes to make room for another, but in giving this room, He relinquishes some of his power and makes Himself more or less dependent. Especially in man's freedom (i.e., human sin) to turn from fellowship with God, he sees a definite limitation of the power of God who surrenders his power to allow man to go his own way. He continues by saying that God's defencelessness reaches its nadir on the cross where He is unable to save Himself, where God is silent, and where free and rebellious man triumphs over God. This problematic defencelessness continues as the Holy Spirit must work with defencelessness, which means: with the means of proclamation and persuasion (1979:142).

Berkhof also finds God's vulnerable love in the covenantal promise. For him, the central purpose of the promise given is explained as God wanting to have a relationship with his people. Berkhof (1979:233) asserts that many regard the statement, "I will be your God, and you shall be my people" as the core and common denominator of Israel's relationship with God. Put differently, the promise that the Lord would be God to them, and they would be his people, is none other than God's concern for an intimate relationship with his covenantal people. God's desire for intimacy with his people, as shown in this promise, is expressed throughout the Scriptures.

On the basis of this covenantal promise, Berkhof (1979:427) calls man "the purpose of God," whose goal is to enter into an eternal covenant with man. What matters in God's eagerness for intimacy hidden behind this promise that man is of significance before God, regardless of man's social status

and financial capacity. Man is God's purpose. But God's concern for an intimate relationship with man as his purpose leads Him to be relational and vulnerable.

Berkhof then concludes that everywhere in Revelation, we meet a God who retreats to give us room in our rebellion against Him. The promise will reach its climax when the eternal state is realized (Rev 21:3,7). Until then, God Almighty will not stop suffering with us, for us, because of us, to be faithful to the covenantal relationship. In this concept of God, we find his power, that is, his identification with the suffering of the world and including God's vulnerability, his powerlessness and his compassion (Inbody, 1997:140).

All authors above perceive God's power as weak or vulnerable in that He loves the world so much. God abandoned his power in favour of love. In order to be a faithful God for His covenantal people, He chose to be vulnerable, weak, and defenceless.

However, as Louw (2000:100) already pointed out, God's vulnerability revealed in the cross is not final, because males who are exposed to despair, anxiety and guilt need more than vulnerability. They need security, steadfastness and reliability, despite the uncertainty of painful events. What follows leads to the discussion of transforming power based on God's faithfulness.

4.2.3. God's power as transforming grace

Like Louw, Inbody (1997:178) recognizes God's two-sided knowledge in dealing with the problem of suffering and evil. He asserts that the Christian dealing with the problem of suffering and evil must include both God's identification with our suffering and the transforming power of resurrection, hope and new life in the midst of despair and death. Inbody (1997:178) is convinced that there are two options in understandings and responses to the dilemmas of human suffering: resignation or transformation, and differentiates stoic courage from Christian courage. "Stoic courage to accept and endure one's suffering is based on acceptance of the cosmos as it is, while Christian courage finally rests on confidence in the power of resurrection, re-creation and transformation."

Inbody (1997:179) argues, if God's final answer to human problems is the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ, we can overcome suffering by going through it to possibilities of a new life. The courage in the cross and resurrection of Christ is then the courage of acceptance, endurance and transformation. "To enter into the love of God is not to abolish evil, but to transmute it and triumph over it" (1997:179). By this, Inbody (1997:179-180) does not reject the models of victory, triumph and conquest, and writes:

The cross and resurrection do not dispense with the idea of power, but they do transform it, radically transform it, for the victory of the cross - resurrection is not a victory from the

outside which eliminates evil through a unilateral destruction of it; it is a victory from within which accepts and transforms death in all its forms into the possibility of a new life

However, Inbody (1997:182) warns that this belief of victory does not mean that everything will be all right. "Suffering is real and can never be expunged; the loss is real and can never be recovered. Everything will not come out 'all right.' But everything can be resurrected through the power of God in the life of God to become new life." He concludes that the Christian God is the God whose power is love and whose might is transformation (1997:183).

Louw agrees with Inbody's central thesis that God's power is his identification with the suffering and the power of resurrection and transformation, which brings new life out of death, hope out of despair, and joy out of sorrow. However, Louw is critical of Inbody's method that uses the social notion of empowerment through relations. Louw (2000:63) rather attempts to revise the power of God (his identification with the sufferer and his resurrection power) based on his faithfulness. He argues that the power of God is never meant to be a violent force, but a vivid covenantal promise: "I will be your God in a covenantal relationship between God and His people." Thus, God's power is reinterpreted as overwhelming love and steadfast faithfulness, grace and compassion (2000:69).

In the context of his discussion of meaning in suffering, Louw argues that it is the resurrection power that enables us to deal with everything through Christ Jesus. It is none other than transforming power in the dynamic resurrection power. Louw (2000:181) argues that whoever believes in Christ must also be prepared to suffer for Him, but the ability to suffer for Christ and actively to embrace the suffering is only possible in and through the Holy Spirit. "The call to suffering and active dealing with it in perseverance and patience-cannot take place without the Holy Spirit's work." God's resurrection power creates transformation, freedom, liberation and vision.

Migliore (1983:49) attempts to revise God's power in terms of the transforming power in a trinitarian manner. He defines the God of the Old Testament as the exodus God. In his understanding, God's power is: the power to set the oppressed free; liberating power; justice-making power and compassionate power. This power of God worked in Jesus through the power of the Spirit.

The power of God in Jesus was made known both in the form of teaching and in the concrete language of action (Migliore, 1983:53-54). Jesus proclaimed good news to the poor and announced the day of liberation to those in bondage. He healed the sick and even raised the dead. Jesus brought God's transforming power into every corner of human life. Jesus empowered the powerless by extending God's forgiveness and affirmation to them (1983:54-55).

The Holy Spirit continues to do the work that Jesus inaugurated. This Spirit of God is the power, the energy, of new beginnings in human life. The Spirit is God's power at work among us, reminding us

of the story of Jesus (Migliore, 1983:58). Migliore (1983:59) writes how God's transforming power could affect our everyday lives as follows:

The power of God breaks our bondage to self-centredness and exploitation of others, and frees us for a new life of inclusive friendship and community with God and with our fellow human beings. Where this Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. Where the Spirit is at work, there is the beginning of love and community in which each member is respected and valued. The power of God present in Jesus and in his Spirit is the power of forgiveness of sins, of love of the enemy, of solidarity with the oppressed, of the passion for justice and reconciliation.... God is power that liberates by forgiving, power that builds friendship and a new community among those once estranged, power that serves others in the daring hope of the completion of God's purposes for the entire creation.

4.2.4. The significance of the vulnerable and transforming God for male gender role strain

In the previous chapters, the researcher discussed the phenomena of male gender role strain such as anxiety about performance, fear of failure, a sense of loneliness, low self-esteem and inappropriate God-images. These feelings often result from males' adherence to male ideologies centred on the notion of power, as well as their fear of vulnerability and weakness. A reinterpretation of the power of God in terms of the vulnerable and transforming God can shed light on dealing with males' feelings and obsession with power.

1) God's vulnerability not merely provides consolation for sufferers by his identification with them, but also challenges males to rethink their desires. By realizing God's power in this vulnerable love, males might be able to choose love and the cross as a way of life. Males might be able to find meaning in vulnerable openness and humility rather than power and control. If we begin to recognize that God abandons his power and becomes vulnerable and weak in love in the relationship with his people, if we realize that God is invisible and hidden in his vulnerable love for his people based on his faithfulness, males might be able to renounce their wanting to "show off," and desire for recognition, power and control over others. Instead, they might be able to live a life of love and service in their relationships with God and fellow human beings without being lost in pursuit of self-esteem elsewhere.

2) Our understanding of God's power in his resurrection power could also help males to break their bondage to male ideologies, such as anti-femininity, power, status and success, self-reliance and aggression. They might be able to find meaning in serving God and others with the help of the Holy Spirit's transforming power. By God's transforming power, males will be able to experience victory and triumph over their inner striving for worldly fame and reputation. Through the Holy Spirit's empowering and transforming power, they will be able to have not merely courage to endure their painful experience of inadequacy resulting from their failure to conform to male gender norms, but also gratitude and joy. They might be able to move from achievement compulsion to vocation,

devotion and service. They might be able to move from competition to compassion and sacrifice, from performance anxiety to hope, and from anger to inner peace. In this way, God's vulnerable and transforming power can thwart male gender role strain.

In the next section, the researcher will explore how three basic spiritual movements could help males to reframe males' understanding of power and how these movements of spirituality can encourage them to seek spiritual maturity instead of pursuing power, competition, success, control and achievement.

4.3. SOULFULNESS AND THE REFRAMING OF MALES' UNDERSTANDING OF POWER

What is now the spiritual question at stake is how can males move from their concern for competition, achievement, control, success and power to aspire to living a meaningful and purposeful life in the midst of their pain? Thus far in this chapter, the researcher has attempted to provide a pastoral approach (pastoral therapy or pastoral healing) to the notion of male gender role strain. If one cannot find real meaning in success and achievement, what brings soulfulness (the quality of the soul) or meaning of life to us? According to Louw, the term "soulfulness" seems to be connected with the term "being-functions" which is again associated with spirituality. "Spirituality designates the art of soulfulness. It signifies meaning in life as a life-long learning process. Spirituality indicates within soulfulness the dynamics of transcendence as a continuous movement and process of growth" (Louw, 2005:133). Louw (2005:133) describes the dynamics of the soul within the three main movements (or areas) of relationships (or spirituality), such as, the movements: within oneself, within a relationship with others, and within a fellowship with God. The researcher will discuss "soulfulness" (being-functions or spirituality) in the light of these three basic movements.

4.3.1. The soulful movement within oneself (from loneliness to authenticity)

Henry Nouwen (1997:5) asks: Why do many parties leave us so empty and lonely? This is because we live in a world where even the most intimate relationships have become part of competition and rivalry. This prevents people from revealing themselves to each other therefore they experience loneliness. In part, this is right, but a reason can also be found at a deeper level. In his book, *Existential therapy* (1980), Yalom (1980:378) says, "The human being's universal conflict is that one strives to be an individual, and yet being an individual requires that one must endure a frightening isolation." "If we fail to develop the inner strength, the sense of personal worth and firm identity that enable us to face existential isolation, to say 'so be it' and to take anxiety into ourselves, then we will struggle in oblique ways to find safety"(1980:373).

One result of this sense of isolation is “existing in the eyes of others,” in other words, to seek validation (to prove masculinity) outside of us. “The individual who needs the affirmation of others to feel alive must avoid being alone” (Yalom, 1980:376). In his book, *Escape from evil* (1975), Ernest Becker (1975:11,12) writes as follows about people who seek validation in terms of self-aggrandizement:

One of the main motives of organismic life was the urge to self-feeling.... Man can expand his self-feeling not only by physical incorporation but by any kind of triumph or demonstration of his own excellence ... he is in an almost constant struggle not to be diminished in this organismic importance.... To be outshone by another is to be attacked at some basic level of organismic durability. To lose, to be second rate, to fail to keep up with the best and the highest sends a message to the nerve center of the organism’s anxiety: “I am overshadowed, inadequate; hence I do not qualify for continued durability, for life, for eternity; hence I will die.”

Ernest Becker (1973) relates man’s urge for heroism as an expression of self-aggrandizement to the idea of narcissism in his book, *The denial of death*. He writes that men are hopelessly absorbed with themselves, and this narcissism drives them to march into point-blank fire in wars. Becker notes that this narcissism is inseparable from self-esteem as a basic sense of self-worth. To earn self-esteem, “Man must desperately justify himself as an object of primary value in the universe; he must stand out, be a hero, make the biggest possible contribution to world life, show that he counts more than anything or anyone else” (1973:4). However, Becker (1973:6; 1975:xvii) concludes that man’s desperate effort to achieve a heroic self-image or to earn his self-esteem is the root cause of human evil and pain.

This often leads to hostility toward others, whom we perceive as rejecting us, because we have become enslaved to the opinions of others (Becker, 1975). Holligan provides examples of historical figures who suffered from “narcissistic wounds” in childhood, and says that, “for Stalin, there was nothing but loneliness, the constant threat of beatings, the belief in his own ostensible worthlessness and guilt, and nowhere was there another human being to protect him from constant persecution and abuse” (Holligan, 1997:313). Holligan argues that only an understanding person, who shows compassion in the face of the narcissistic wound, can break that hostility resulting from loneliness.

Experience of God’s unconditional grace

God’s unconditional love is the central idea that Nouwen conveys in his books. He writes: “The roots of loneliness are very deep and cannot be touched by optimistic advertisement, substitute love images or social togetherness. They find their food in the suspicion that there is no one who cares and offers love without conditions, and no place where we can be vulnerable without being used” (Nouwen, 1997:6). “Without seeking for God in the solitude of heart, our relationships with others easily become needy and greedy, sticky and clinging, dependent and sentimental, exploitative and parasitic” (1997:22). In line with Nouwen, Louw (2005:134) writes that one needs to make peace with oneself

first through the space of silence and solitude. Solitude prevents a soul from becoming dependent on others and from assuming that life is only meaningful through the presence of others.

In solitude, we can find our new reality in Christ. For Louw, (2005:4) the first step of spiritual maturity is to make peace with oneself within a relationship with God, and argues, “In our quest for meaning, the undergirding presupposition is that the most fundamental human needs are intimacy, embracement and security: the need to be acknowledged and validated within the realm of unconditional love.” In order to live a meaningful life, human beings desperately need an experience of reconciliation, forgiveness, acceptance and belonging within God’s grace. Without unconditional love, human beings experience hatred and anger (2005:19). Louw describes how a human being is *more than* the sum total of all its parts. Within a Christian perspective, he writes that, by this “more than,” Christian identity refers to identity as determined by grace. The quality of a human being is more than sin, evil, shortcomings and failures. A Christian is also more than all one’s achievements, skills and competence. Christian identity is determined by God’s faithfulness and his unconditional love, not by outcomes and inputs (2005:24). In Louw’s (2005:15) view, this self-consciousness in relation to the Ultimate represents one’s uniqueness and authenticity. According to Louw (2005:134), “The first step towards spiritual growth is to discover authenticity within oneself and to start to know oneself in terms of unique, individual capabilities.”

In his book, *Life of the beloved* (1992) dedicated to his handicapped brothers, Nouwen (1992:31) connects authenticity of oneself to the new reality in Christ. He writes:

We are the beloved. We are intimately loved long before our parents, teachers, spouses, children, and friends loved or wounded us. That is the truth of our lives. I hear at my center words that say: You are mine and I am yours. You are my beloved, on you my favor rests.... I have carved you in the palms of my hands and hidden you in the shadow of my embrace. I look at you with infinite tenderness and care for you with a care more intimate than that of a mother for her child.

Paul Tillich (1948:163) also describes this new reality in Christ as follows:

In the light of this grace we perceive the power of grace in our relation to ourselves. We experience moments in which we accept ourselves, because we feel that we have been accepted by that which is greater than we.... For it is such moments that make us love our life, that make us accept ourselves, not in our goodness and self-complacency, but in our certainty of the eternal meaning of our life.

God’s grace or love, as the source of our authenticity, is beautifully described in Kierkegaard’s prayer (Foster & Smith, 1989:154-155):

God not only loved us first once but love us first all the time. You have loved us first, O God, alas! We speak of it in terms of history as if You only loved us first but a single time, rather

than that without ceasing You have loved us first many times and every day, and our whole life through.

Sundar Singh (Foster & Smith, 1989:460-461), who was called “the St Paul of India” finds his joy in this love of God:

Real joy and peace do not depend on power, kingly wealth, or other material possessions. If this were so, all people of wealth in the world would be happy and contented.... But this real and permanent joy is found only in the Kingdom of God, which is established in the heart when we are born again.... In comparison with this big world, the human heart is only a small thing. Though the world is so large, it is utterly unable to satisfy this tiny heart. Our ever growing soul and its capacities can be satisfied only in the infinite God. As water is restless until it reaches its level, so the soul has no peace until it rests in God.

However, in solitude, self-acceptance in Christ does not guarantee a life without interruptions or sufferings. Nouwen (1997:7) believes that it is not realistic to deal with human predicament by running away from loneliness and by trying to distract oneself with people and special experiences. Instead of running away from loneliness, we must first find the courage and a strong faith to enter into the desert of our loneliness by persistent efforts (1997:13). He suggests that we view the many events of our lives as challenges to give up old-fashioned styles of living, and open up new unexplored areas of experience. “Then our life would be a different life because fate becomes opportunity, wounds a warning, and paralysis an invitation to search for deeper sources of vitality” (1997:31). Those who do not run away from their pain, but touch them with courage, bring healing and new strength (1997:38).

This is what Tillich (1952:161-162) observes in Luther and Munzer’s life. He writes that with courage of confidence based on personal encounters with God, they transcended the anxiety of meaninglessness that they had experienced. The encounter with God allowed them to face their fate and death.

In Louw’s (2005:15) view, a new reality in Christ goes with a vivid hope towards the future based on God’s faithfulness (that He promised and demonstrated in the cross and resurrection). He writes that the quality of our being-functions in the here and now is eventually connected to our being there with-in the belief of our immortality (2005:5). It is also connected to the transforming power of the Holy Spirit. Due to this hope and transforming power resulting from God’s trustworthiness, the transcendence that anticipates a new future by faith, hope and love becomes possible despite nothingness (2005:131). Without embracing God’s faithfulness and the Holy Spirit’s transforming power, males will not be able to reach any transcendence or to discover meaningful lives in the midst of powerlessness, hopelessness, vulnerability and loneliness. Thus, overcoming the issue of power should be sought in their experience of the unconditional love and faithfulness of God who promised, “I will never desert you.” It should also be sought in males’ hope for the transforming power of the Holy Spirit who enables them to face the realities of life with courage and strong faith.

For meaningful life, it also seems to be fundamental to pursue Christian virtues; in other words, being like Christ, or true discipleship.

Developing Christian virtues

Confucianism's ultimate concern is to become the *Chun-tzu*, or Superior Man (Gentleman). The Superior Man has been the source of inspiration for achieving a mature personhood among people in the Confucian society. The characteristics of a Superior Man are not money, success, achievement, control and power, but virtues, that is, being-functions, which are described in Confucius' Analects as follows:

Accomplishments and solid qualities are in him equally blended. In everything he considers righteousness to be essential. No emergency however great can drive him from his principles. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven, of great men, and of the words of the Sages. Mere eloquence has no effect on him, and he himself is earnest and careful in his speech. He is characterized by dignified ease without pride, and is affable, but not adulatory. Careless about creature comforts, he is not anxious lest poverty should come upon him. Neglect of his contemporaries does not trouble him. He shows the firmness of his energy by cultivating a friendly harmony. He always does what is proper to the station in which he is, not murmuring against Heaven or grumbling against men; thus calm and quiet, he waits for the appointments of Heaven. In his conduct of himself he is humble; in his service of his superiors he is respectful; in nourishing the people he is kind; and in ordering the people he is just. He rarely quarrels, but when he does he maintains his character, and he hates only those whose conduct makes them fit objects of disdain. He seeks to perfect the good qualities of other men. He shows forbearance and gentleness in teaching others and does not avenge unreasonable conduct. Sincere towards his relatives, he does not neglect old acquaintances. He praises the good and pities the incompetent. Grave and venerable, respectful to others and observant of propriety, he is loved and respected by all as a brother (Zunsik Choi, 1994:135-147; Bonsall, 1934:44-45).

The virtues of the Superior Man in Confucianism can be summed up as follows: firmness, dauntlessness, simplicity, generosity, self-control, temperance, wisdom, courage, righteousness, trust and humbleness (Jinil Chung, 2002:160). Confucianism emphasizes self-cultivating developing virtues. Maturation is perceived as a holistic process to have the authentic human nature and begins in early childhood and does not end, not even in old age. Being the authentic human being is the ultimate goal of Oriental philosophies and religions, and is well reflected in the Korean proverb (Zunsik Choi, 1994:95-96): "No matter how rich a man may be, no matter how high a man's position may be, no matter how high a man's fame may be, a man should first be a man."

It is obvious that the Confucian emphasis on self-cultivation is wrongly based on inner potential and strength endowed by Heaven. Yet, its focus on humanness as the ultimate goal should not be underestimated, and it could be used as a clue to turn males' concern about power to being-functions within the Christian context.

In the Western society, Erikson (1968:100) suggests eight ways of behaving according to eight psycho-social stages of development: trust, autonomy, initiative, industry, identity, intimacy, generativity and integrity. In his book, *Biblical approaches to pastoral counseling* (1979), Capps (1979:113) connects a person's psycho-social development to important theological themes in Erikson's epigenetic thought: providence, grace, repentance, vocation industry, faith, communion, vocation, generativity, and awareness of the Divine. He also connects human virtues to various texts in the book of Proverbs, based on Erikson's model: hope, will, purposefulness, fidelity, love and wisdom (1979:142-143).

Louw (2005:137-138) identifies the most basic virtues in spirituality as follows: charity, prudence, compassion, patience, trustworthiness/humility, fidelity, fortitude and courage, temperance and embodiment and physical fitness. He understands the development of these virtues in the area of spirituality and suggests spiritual practices in the following: purifying motivation, cultivating true discernment (wisdom), living ethically, developing a peaceful mind, recognizing the sacred in all, finding meaning and purpose in life, cultivating compassion and sensitivity and engaging in the service of others (2005:136-137).

Seeking for spiritual maturity - in other words, being like Jesus - is greatly important in dealing with male strain. Males must be encouraged to pursue Christian virtues such as prudence, compassion, patience, humility and courage to tackle the negative emotions they feel in their daily lives. Seeking for spiritual maturity is not merely an alternative to craving for power, but also the essential goal of all Christians. C S Lewis (1989:7) states, "The state exists simply to promote and to protect the ordinary happiness of human beings in this life. In the same way the Church exists for nothing else but to draw men into Christ, to make them little Christs. If they are not doing that, all the cathedrals, clergy, missions, sermons, even the Bible itself, are simply a waste of time."

The implication of the words of the authors above for the study is that males can overcome their obsession with power and their negative emotions by seeking for spiritual maturity or developing Christian virtues. Thus, males could also move to authenticity from loneliness in their endeavours to pursue true Christian virtues. In this way, males might be able to find meaning in life through the experience of God's unconditional grace and faithfulness, and by pursuing spiritual maturity combined with cultivating virtues.

4.3.2. The soulful movement to others (from success and achievement to compassion and service)

Chittister (1998) attempts to figure out why men desperately seek for power and to be gods. She observes that we live in a society of high tension, high achievement, and high anxiety. The question is: What caused it and what, if anything, can cure it? "The answer is not that we have gotten too

developed, too sophisticated, too educated, too wealth; the answer may simply be that we have gotten too much into ourselves, given too much of our lives to the self, gone too far off center in our lives" (1998:93). One result of this tendency is our preoccupation with the pursuit of self-esteem. Self-help books advise us how to achieve high self-esteem, child rearing guides tell us how to raise children with high self-esteem, schools devote aspects of their curriculum to raising children's self-esteem, and most people organize their lives, in part, around seeking out or avoiding activities, situations, and people to protect, maintain, and enhance their self-esteem (Crocker, 2002).

One of the results of this pursuit of self-esteem is a search for competence. People need a competent doctor to heal the sick; competent politicians to resolve poverty; competent engineers to solve technological problems. Thus, the important questions are "How many people take you seriously? How much are you going to accomplish? Can you show some results?" (Nouwen, 1989:24). Nouwen notes that Christian leaders join their contemporaries in their attempts to develop a new competency. This seems to be quite true as regards the church. People think, "If a church has a problem, she needs a competent pastor; if a church gets stuck in numerical growth, she needs a competent preacher." This drives seminarians to seek competence that will probably lead to achievement, status, and success in their ministries, and thus, more satisfaction in their lives. But, the reality does not seem to prove these assumptions.

William James (1903:137), in the context of his discussion of the sick soul, describes man's feeling of failure resulting from the inability to reach his own ideals. He writes that even the one that the world most envies, perhaps "in nine cases out of ten of his most inmost consciousness, is one of failure. Since his ideals in the line of his achievements are pitched far higher than the achievements themselves," he feels himself to be found wanting. He quotes Goethe's (cited by James, 1903:137) confession:

I will say nothing against the course of my existence. But at bottom it has been nothing but pain and burden, and I can affirm that during the whole of my 75 years, I have not had four weeks of genuine well-being. It is but the perpetual rolling of a rock that must be raised up again forever.

James (1903:138) asserts that, "whatever else we are intended to do, we are not intended to succeed; failure is the allotted fate." Thus, the painful feeling known to man is related to this feeling of failure.

There is an interesting story about the consequences of seeking for competence, achievement and success. In their book, *Career success and personal failure* (1980), Abraham and Rhoda Korman (1980:4) reveal that successful people (managers and executives) report "their great dissatisfaction with life; strong feelings of personal and social alienation; and frequently a desire to give up the position in life which they have worked hard to achieve and which defines them as successful." On

the basis of their research, they argue that the idea that personal satisfaction will result from career success has been with us for a long time. But the problems of career success and personal failure are too serious to ignore in their implications for individuals, organizations and society (1980:ix). The Kormans (1980:5,110) report the following, based on their research with managers and executives:

1. Individuals with high levels of income did not report any greater satisfaction with life in a practical sense than did individuals with lower levels of income.
2. Highly successful male executives in midlife reported doubts about the meaning of success, considerable self-doubt, disquiet over their careers (despite their success), and great value conflict.
3. A lack of personal fulfilment and a sense of job meaninglessness was found to be common in both higher- and lower-level executives.
4. A survey of several thousand managers reported great degrees of personal alienation (i.e., their careers were no longer meeting their needs) and, also, alienation from the organizations for which they worked.
5. Intensive interviews of successful young executives and their wives revealed great feelings of stress, a loss of personal alertness, and an increasing sense of meaninglessness in everyday activities.
6. Significant numbers of successful managers in today's corporations reported a loss of emotional feeling and a decreased level of social and emotional ties with others.
7. A survey of one thousand middle-aged professionals and managers found that approximately 80% went through periods of intense frustration as early as their late 30s, and that 15% never fully recovered from this period.
8. During the years of climbing, they have cut themselves off from wives and children. But their wives and children, in turn, have cut themselves loose from the husband and father in their own quest for emotional survival.

In the Kormans' views (1980:26,32,34), this alienation of a number of managers and executives stem from the success ethic which generates the feeling that career success and occupational achievement is good and that the more you attain career success, the better. People value good grades in school because this leads to a good college, which leads to a successful career, which is desirable because it leads to a more satisfying life. However, the result of this is personal and social alienation. Their

conclusion is that personal satisfaction is not the direct result of career success. Rather, it could be the source of loneliness, isolation from relationships and meaninglessness.

If we cannot find real meaning in success, competence, competition and achievement in our works, what brings soulfulness (the quality of the soul) or the meaning of our works, which generates real satisfaction in life?

According to Louw (2005:2), these feelings of loneliness and isolation are none other than death. He writes: "Death refers to the destruction of relationships, i.e. human beings' exposure to loneliness, isolation, rejection and loss." This can be cured by systemic dynamics of networking.

The emphasis on networking in an attempt to find a cure for the soul is not a new idea. In Confucianism, being an authentic man is not separated from the social ethic to care for others. For the establishment of one's character, it is fundamental to learn harmony between human relations. The ultimate goal of the Confucian ethics is a society of harmony in which everyone lives in comfort and perfect peace with each other in the whole world (Jinil Chung, 2002:174). This concern for a peaceful world is reflected in the Five Relations. These are the ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger brothers, and friend-friend relations. The sovereign should be benevolent, the subjects loyal. The husband should be just, the wife obedient; the father kind, the son filial; the elder brother considerate, and the younger obedient. Friends should be faithful. This system has developed and has held together highly integrated social groups (Hodous, 1946:5).

Confucius laid great emphasis upon the essential virtue, *jen*, which has no exact equivalent in English, but is usually translated as benevolence or humanity. The qualities in it that Confucius emphasizes are loyalty, reciprocity, reverence and faithfulness and valour (Bonsall 1934:47-50). The first is that man should do to others what he wants them to do to him. This is the principle *chung*, loyalty. The second is that we should not do to others what we do not wish them to do to us. This is called *shu*, reciprocity (Hodous, 1946:7). The third, reverence, is found in dutiful respect to one's parents and to all superiors. The fourth is that man should be faithful and sincere to all, but especially to friends. The fifth is that to see what is right and not to do it is the lack of valour. Thus, all of Confucian ethics can be summed up as "not considering myself, but caring for others."

In the Western society, Erikson's vision of the mature man shows this idea in terms of generativity. When Erikson (1963:266) speaks about generativity, it "encompasses the evolutionary development which had made man the teaching and instituting as well as the learning animal." "Generativity is primarily the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation and is meant to include productivity and creativity" (1963:267). Only in this mature person or generative man who has taken care of things and people and has adapted to the triumphs and disappointments inherent to being, the

fruit of all the seven stages may gradually ripen. This is called “ego-integrity.” Erikson (1963:268) finds “a post-narcissistic love of the human ego - not of the self - as an experience which conveys some world order and spiritual sense” in this generative man. He argues that fear of death or despair signifies a lack or loss of this accrued ego integration.

In connection with generativity, Erikson (1964:115) speaks of love, care and wisdom as the central virtues of adulthood. Love is the greatest of human virtues and the dominant virtue of the universe. This love binds together every stage of the life cycle. He defines: “Love in the evolutionary and generational sense is the transformation of the love received throughout the preadolescent stage of life into the care given during adult life” (1964:127-128). Love, then is mutuality of devotion forever subduing the antagonisms inherent in divided function. It pervades the intimacy of individuals and is thus the basis of ethical concern (1964:129-130).

Regarding care, Erikson (1964:131) says that adult man is so constituted as to need to be needed lest he suffer the mental deformation of self-absorption. Care is the widening concern for what has been generated by love, necessity, or accident; it overcomes the ambivalence adhering to irreversible obligation. With regard to wisdom, Erikson (1964:133) defines wisdom as that which is a detached concern with life itself, in the face of death itself. In this way, Erikson speaks of care and concern about others as the characteristics of the adult stepping out of the concern about the self. He believes that caring for others can bring the true meaning of life and a real satisfaction in life.

Several other authors also emphasize the importance of the discovery of a vocation and service in our quest for meaning. Kierkegaard (1962:54) finds meaningful life in the Christian command “to love others.” He says that “only when it is a duty to love, only then is love eternally and happily secured against despair. Despair consists in not having undergone the transformation of the eternal through duty’s ‘You shall.’ Despair is not the loss of the beloved - that is misfortune, pain and suffering; but despair is the lack of the eternal” (1962:55). Hammar skjöld (1964:140) beautifully describes what our callings mean. He writes, “Still a few years more, and then? The only value of a life is its content - for others. Apart from any value it may have for others, my life is worse than death. Therefore, in my great loneliness, serve others.”

In line with Kierkegaard and Hammar skjöld, Louw (2005:135) writes that soulfulness is about the discovery of a vocation in life. It is sacrifice, giving and sharing that enrich others. In our vocation, the other person becomes a partner, not one’s opponent, and work becomes servitude, not mere employment. For Louw (2005:22), the new creation in Christ and the indwelling presence of the Spirit lead to the Christian ethics of sacrificial love. An experience of God’s unconditional love and security, generating from the assurance of God’s faithfulness in any situation, creates the intimacy of

covenantal and sacrificial love within relationships with fellow human beings. This experienced unconditional love of God is embodied in service of others and willing commitment to others.

Henry Nouwen's (1997:158) experience of his own near death offers a good example of this desire for service. His first question was, "Why am I alive?" He answers, "I am called to die for others." He is convinced that dying in Christ can be, indeed, his greatest gift to others. He says, "Life is a long journey of preparation - of preparing oneself to truly die for others. It is a series of little deaths in which we are asked to release many forms of clinging and to move increasingly from needing others to living for them." For him, life is a long process of dying to self to live in the joy of God and give our lives completely to others. He found the meaning of life and a real satisfaction in life in serving others.

Together with the authors above, we can say that our soulfulness depends on "the discovery of a vocation in life," not on our success itself. When males realize this simple truth of life, they will be able to free themselves from the obsession with success and competition, and move to a life of compassion and service from a life of achievement and success.

4.3.3. The soulful movement towards God (from the illusion of immortality to humility and surrender)

Wayne Oates (1994:39) describes a man intoxicated with the love of power as the one who thrusts himself into total control. He also points out that the love of power is the subtlest temptation we face - supplanting God. Nietzsche (1924:168) describes this temptation of men to be gods; he says, "God is dead! God remains dead! We have killed him! How shall we console ourselves? The holiest and the mightiest that the world has hitherto possessed, has bled to death under our knife ... Shall we not ourselves have to become gods, merely to seem worthy of it?"

How can males escape from this love of power and the love "to be gods"? According to Hammarskjöld (1964:35), "There is only one path out of the steamy dense jungle where the battle is fought over glory and power and advantage - one escape from the snares and obstacles you yourself have set up. And that is - to accept death." This is what Becker and Kierkegaard argue about. Becker (1973:11,12) perceives that "The enemy of mankind is basic repression, the denial of throbbing physical life and the spectre of death." In Becker's view, Kierkegaard saw the world as it was and wanted to show that life bogs down and fails when man closes himself off in the face of terror of creatureliness (1973:85). Kierkegaard says that we can really transcend ourselves by realizing the truth of our condition, that is, our creatureliness, our limitation and our destiny (death) (1973:87). Nouwen (1997:83) speaks of the significance of the awareness of death for a spiritual life. He says, "It is only in the lasting effort to unmask the illusions of our existence that a real spiritual life is possible."

According to Kierkegaard, males should be challenged by this awareness of our creatureliness to take it seriously that we all cease to exist and thus, all of our achievements, success, and status will perish. The span of life could be ten years for some, one year or even less than a month for others. During these periods, what then must we do? Males need to focus on the significant (meaningful and purposeful) issues in life, and to reorganize their lives around being-functions, that is, their relationships with God, fellow human beings and creation rather than success, competition, control and achievement.

This is illustrated in the story of Lance Armstrong (cited by Louw, 2005:1), who was diagnosed with stage-four testicular cancer in 1996 and won the Tour de France for the sixth time in 2004. He says:

Cancer is like that, too. Good, strong people get cancer, and they do all the right things to beat it, and they still die. That is the essential truth that you learn. People die. And after you learn it, all other matters seem irrelevant.... When I was sick, I saw more beauty and triumph and truth in a single day that I ever did in a bike race – but they were human moments, not miraculous ones.

If we begin to see our lives in the light of mortality, we might be able to accept our own limitations and vulnerability. We might be able to be contented with our own shortcomings and with the imperfection of others and the destitution of life (Louw, 2005:135). Through this woundedness, from competition we can move to compassion (2005:135). When we acknowledge our reality, then we become open and vulnerable to the suffering and helplessness of others. If we accept this mortality, our goals in life could become a wounded healer, to sacrifice and to share; not to achieve and become a champion, not to gain and be fortunate. Only then, the other person becomes no longer one's opponent, but a partner in life (2005:135).

Chittister arrives at the same idea that we can move from competition to compassion through the awareness of our vulnerability. In Chittister's (1998:138) view, "When we know and accept ourselves as lacking, we become capable of understanding others. Once we realize our own emptiness, we can accept the needs of others. Once we ourselves suffer loss, we come to understand what loss does to others. And we can suffer with it."

This life of compassion is also possible by an encounter with death. By an encountering with mortality, males might be able to realize that they are not gods; they are unable to be in control of even their lives, which they think their own, let alone others' lives. This leads to surrender to God. This is what Holligan argues about. He maintains that human being's awareness of creatureliness can lead them to "living a spiritually surrendered life" (Holligan, 1997:316). If we do not live forever, if death comes unexpectedly upon us, if we are just human beings who cannot change things like death, where can we anchor our lives?

Kierkegaard writes that “the simple truth is - to live is to feel oneself lost - he who accepts it has already begun to find himself” (Becker, 1973:89). The ideas of the shipwrecked are the only genuine ideas. He who does not really feel himself lost, never finds himself, never comes up against this own reality. For Kierkegaard, however, the self must be destroyed, brought down to nothing in order for self-transcendence to begin. Then the self can begin to relate itself to absolute transcendence, that is, to the Ultimate power of creation, which made finite creature (1973:89). Once the person begins to look at his relationship with the Ultimate Power, he opens up the horizon of unlimited possibility. Thus, Kierkegaard’s basic formula of faith is: “One is a creature who can do nothing, but one exists over against a living God for whom everything is possible” (1973:90).

This idea of surrender to the Ultimate is also expressed in Confucianism. Confucius (Analects, 4.8) believed that a human being can reach the way of heaven and earth. The way is the most satisfying life one can lead, and that the way is the only path to a peaceful and good society. “One who has heard the way in the morning can die that evening contented.” “The Superior Man (or Gentleman) is not to grumble at Heaven nor blame men.” Mencius said, “The gentleman follows the model and thereby awaits the order of Heaven.” The Doctrine of the Mean states: “The gentleman abides in change and awaits the mandate of Heaven” (Hodous, 1946:7). From this belief of the way of Heaven, people believe that the happiness of life is to be achieved, not in the result, but in the act done in good conscience regardless of the consequences.

Even though Confucianism never taught about a personal God who is involved in human beings’ existential problems, many find meaning of suffering in the teaching of the way of Heaven. If this is the case in Confucianism, how much more do we Christians, who know the faithful and personal God, have to surrender to God?

Within the Christian perspective, Peterson (2000:154) writes that spiritual maturity stems from abandoning control of my own life or others’ lives, and surrendering them into God’s hands. A real spiritual life begins with a willing surrender of our whole being to God. Moon and Benner (2004:18) convey a similar idea when they write, “To be a Christian is to be on a journey from the pigpen of self-rule to the out-stretched arms of a loving father.”

However, what we need to note is that the quality of surrender depends on who God is. If our God-image is the Hellenistic image of the *pantokrator*, our attitude towards God can be remote and cold according to our image of Him, as Moltmann rightly pointed out.

As Moon and Benner stress God-image as a loving father when mentioning “surrender” to God, in order not to perceive “surrender” as “accepting one’s fate with resignation,” our speaking of “surrendering to God” must be based on appropriate God-images. Only when surrender to a God who

is identified with our pain and is faithful to his promises, can our attitude be passionate, loving and surrendering in a true sense. Only when surrender is to a God who not only identifies with our suffering but also understands our anxiety, helplessness and hopelessness, and who is not merely a Father but also becomes one's best friend, can we enjoy and delight in God Himself as well as rejoice and have hope in our mortality. .

Thus, through the movement from the illusion of immortality to humility and surrender to God, males can accept their own weakness and vulnerability as well as the imperfection of others. They can be open and vulnerable to the helplessness of others freed from focusing on their own desire for the centre of attention.

4.3.4. The significance of the three basic movements of spirituality for male gender role strain

1) As discussed earlier in the previous chapters, males so often are measured by what they achieve and what they earn, not by their worth as human beings. Today, males are expected to be successful despite their harsher job environment. When they fail to fulfil this role, they do not expect any respect from others. Even among themselves, males are not supposed to expose vulnerability, weakness and dependence, because competition is at the heart of male friendships. Notions that they have nobody to support them and that everybody will turn away in the face of their failure harass all men even more painfully. Only competition to survive and natural selection exist; this leads to a sense of loneliness, nothingness and helplessness. These feelings not only compel males to pursue more power and more control, but also bring despair, anxiety, guilt and anger. As Nouwen (1997:6) describes, males seem to be troubled with "the suspicion that there is no one who cares and offers love without conditions, and no place where we can be vulnerable without being used." In a real sense, this males' agony results from their seeking validation in the eyes of the world. However, a real cure does not seem to come from validation. Rather, it can be found in making peace with oneself within God's unconditional love. As Nouwen and Louw rightly state, when males begin to seek for God in solitude and silence, they could possibly be freed from both being dependent on others and from the belief that life is meaningful only in the presence of others. Furthermore, males might be able to experience that the deepest human needs (intimacy, security and significance) are met within God's grace alone.

2) Males seem to believe that success brings a more satisfying life but as Kormans' study shows, the reality indicates that personal satisfaction has nothing to do with career success itself. Rather it can lead to loneliness and meaninglessness. It could be that man can find real meaning in the discovery of a vocation in life. When males accept and put into action the following statements, "the only value of my life is for others" and "I am called to die for others," then they can be freed from morbid clinging

to success, competition, and achievement, and move to service, vocation and self-sacrifice for God and others.

3) Males are trapped in anger and self-criticism because of their reluctance to accept their vulnerability, weakness and destiny as they are. However, when males begin to see the truth of our fragility, our limitation and destiny, they can really focus on the significant issues in life and can accept our shortcomings and the imperfection of others and life's destitution. Furthermore, in the hope of the future kingdom of God and within the empowerment of the Holy Spirit, males can rejoice in their mortality.

4) How often do males try to preserve their self-reliance? Males are taught that they can do everything and they must be able to do everything but they can seldom change. When realizing their mortality, they can surrender to God. When they see the faithful and personal God who sympathises with their troubles, identifies with them, indwells in them and empowers them, they can not merely accept their mortality, but also surrender to God in hope, gratitude, joy and glory.

In this way, by means of the three basic movements of spirituality (movement within oneself; movement to others; movement towards God), male gender role strain, results from seeking self-worth based on the ideologies of male roles (the issue of power), can be healed.

IN CONCLUSION: FINDINGS

Pleck (1981, 1995) suggests the male gender role strain paradigm and defines this strain as a negative psychological and social consequence resulting from violating gender roles (1981:145,146). He identifies three strains, that is, the strains of discrepancy, trauma and dysfunction. He argued that men experience male gender role strain as they fail to fulfil male-role expectations. Together with Pleck, several authors (Ferguson, Eyre & Ashbaker, 2000; Brannon, 2005:360; Jaworski, 2003: Courtenay, 2001; 2005; Blazina, 2007; Robertson, 2005; Insenhart, 2005) claimed that this male gender role strain, resulting from the disjuncture between expectations and their reality, seems to have the following impact on males: their low self-esteem, guilt, resentment, loneliness, anxiety, shame, violent behaviour, alcoholism, drug addiction, and international policy. Within a Christian context, male gender role strain impacts on males' spirituality and practices of faith in the four major areas of masculinity, such as anti-femininity, success, self-reliance and aggression, preventing men from maturing spiritually.

Based on Pleck's male gender role strain paradigm, the research project was guided by the main research problem: If male gender role strain has psychological and spiritual consequences for males, how can we deal with male gender role strain as related to the issue of power? Can a theological understanding of God's vulnerability help pastoral care to address the problem of men's power and psychological struggles (male gender role strain) - possibly by reframing the notion of power in order to foster spiritual maturity in males?

Under this main research problem, the study was guided by the following three research questions and hypotheses.

1) My first research question was: What are current trends in male gender roles within both the Western society and the Korean context as well as the impact of different cultural settings and contexts on male identity? Furthermore, to what extent do men adapt to the so called "new role functions"?

My first hypothesis was that men's roles are changing, but many traditional stereotypes persist in contemporary societies, including the Korean society. This rigid adherence to the traditional male gender role has intensified the phenomenon of gender role strain.

The research found that gender roles have changed due to structural changes at work (from manufacturing to services), job insecurity, feminization of labour and casualization of labour resulting from the impact of globalization. These factors have forced male roles to be transformed into multiple roles: as carers of children, supporters of wives, and domestic workers. However, it was found that,

although male gender role norms are changing, success, status, progress, strength, aggression and toughness are still dominant male norms for both women and men in both American society and Korean context.

According to the findings of the empirical study, performed with the Korean males within the Cape Town region (about reason why the researcher has selected them, see p.16), these Korean men appeared to adhere rigidly to the traditional male gender roles shaped by Korean culture, even though male roles are changing. This is consistent with literature studies in Korea (Hyosoon, Kim & Sunhee, Heo, 1995; Cho, 1999; Hyung Cho, 1995; Meeting for women, 1994; Sueae Park & Enkyung, Cho, 2002; and Youngseok, Han, 2000). Many males (11 out of 15) appeared to experience a high degree of gender role conflict and much gender role stress in evaluating their attitudes towards success, competition, achievement, intellectual superiority, and physical strength (see pp. 141-145). The majority of males (12 out of 15) in the researcher's sample do seem to experience anger, shame, anxiety, helplessness, guilt and health problems stemming from a strong sense of responsibility for their families, the loss of authority over their wives and children, and worries about child-rearing. Their strains seemed to be related to their hierarchical and patriarchal life style influenced by Korean culture, although they are staying in South Africa where a more egalitarian and relaxed life style is encouraged.

2) The second research question: Within a Christian context, how does male gender role impact on their spirituality and practices of faith?

My second hypothesis was that the four major areas of masculinity ideology, such as anti-femininity, success, self-reliance and aggression could prevent men from maturing spiritually (About a definition of spirituality, see p.10-13).

The research reveals that anti-femininity in Korean churches is expressed in the forms of the Confucian view of gender roles that regards women as inferior to men. As Park asserts (2004:97), a conservative Christian's view of men and women justifies male dominance and female subordination. As Hong (2004:115) insists, this patriarchal attitude of pastors encourages sexual segregation and hierarchal relationships in Korean churches, as well as violence, sexual and physical abuse in churches and families.

When we define spirituality as "living a human life in union with God and experienced within human relationships" (Louw, 2005:133), anti-femininity is indeed becoming a stumbling block for the development of a Christian spirituality which tries to focus on a qualitative approach to a human being's stance before God.

The research also indicated that obsession with success as a masculinity ideology was found in both Korean churches and Korean men's personal lives. The strain to succeed in Korean churches is found in her pursuing materialistic success and quantitative growth. As Yang (2003:72) points out, Korean churches now resemble companies. Pastors seem to dream of being chief executive officers, church leadership seems to play a role as executive, and lay people also do not want small churches, but want big churches and boast of the size of their churches. This obsession with success, performance and achievement hampers the spiritual notion of meaning as related to a sacrificial ethics.

The interview with the 15 Korean males in Cape Town showed that the counterpart of this obsession with success in men's lives were the feelings of shame, fear of failure and loneliness, which led to self-rejection and using faith for instrumental and utilitarian purposes. In one case study, Mr. J's experience was most striking (see p. 146). He expressed, "Who knows my loneliness and despair? Does even God know my misery? Who can share my pain? Nobody!" For Mr. N (see p.147), his desire for success has been driving him to worry about failure to the point of insomnia. Above all, all of my interviewees wished that their God would be a Father Christmas who guarantees their security and prosperity in this world that is full of uncertainty and anxiety (see pp.155-156).

When we define a Christian spirituality as "the ability to transcend reality, the ability to anticipate creatively the new, despite nothingness and to make peace with oneself and with life" (Louw, 2005:132-134), this obsession with success could hamper males' spirituality because it prevents men from making peace with themselves but instead leads them to shame and low self-esteem.

3) The third research question: In what way does the notion of power play a fundamental role in the way in which males respond to new demands in our current cultural setting?

The third hypothesis was that the essential source of gender role strain might be more closely connected to the existing cultural paradigm of power based on masculinity ideology such as anti-femininity and men's inexpressiveness.

Studies in literature indicate that men's feelings of anti-femininity are closely related to the issue of power. A man must distance himself from femininity in order to prove masculine strength. As Hartley (1974:11,12) shows, men's fear of weakness drives them to avoid femininity. Even men's inexpressiveness is associated with their search for power. Males are supposed to suppress a range of emotions in order to maintain their power and control and to dominate human beings around them (Kaufman, 1994; Satel, 1989).

Consistent with studies in literature, the findings of the empirical study among the Korean males in Cape Town indicate that the strains in their roles are closely related to the issue of power (12 out of

15). They identified the source of their strain as getting ahead, competition, winning, anxiety about performance, longing for a sense of superiority, a sense of comparison, and their wish to boast about their competency. Conversely, this source of their strain can be described as a fear of the loss of power, or a loss of being the centre of attention. Their strain, as related to their dysfunctional strain, seems to lead them to seek a God who guarantees material well-being, prosperity, and success. Their feelings of a loss of power, as related to their discrepancy strain, seem to generate an intense low self-esteem that is associated with a distant, callous and unfair God.

Driven by these men's desire for power, they seemed to perceive God's faithfulness as something that must be incarnated in their material well-being and success. However, this understanding of God's faithfulness could create unrealistic concepts of God and thus, immaturity in faith could finally result.

4) The fourth (main) research question : Can a theological understanding of God's vulnerability help pastoral care to address the problem of men's power and psychological struggles (male gender role strain) – possibly, to reframe the notion of power in order to foster spiritual maturity in them?

The fourth (main) hypothesis was that the reframing of the concept of power, based on a spirituality of vulnerability, could contribute to the reframing of traditional male roles, and should play an important role in therapy for males. The notion of vulnerability, emanating from a theology of the cross, can free males from both the ideology of power and personal psychological struggles. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that such a theological paradigm shift could foster spiritual growth in males despite existing cultural paradigms.

In order to reframe the concept of power from a theological perspective, the researcher has selected three interpretations of a theology of the cross and resurrection. The reason for this selection was to investigate how these three interpretations can provide a theological framework to address the theological understanding and interpretation of the notion of God's power (omnipotence).

The research finding is that, if the concept of the *pantokrator* can be reframed by a pathetic interpretation of the cross, this theological reframing has consequences for the human understanding of power. A reinterpretation of God's power could bring about a paradigm shift from the notion of power as strength, control, domination and success, to that of power as vulnerability, service and pathos of other-empowerment. Such a hermeneutics of power can foster spiritual growth and healing in males by helping them to shift their concerns to serving others, and empowering fellow human beings from pursuing strength and control.

Three interpretations of a theology of the cross and resurrection can contribute towards this paradigm shift. The first concerns our human existential predicament of helplessness, while the second is about

the theological problem of God's identity: God's relationship to the notion of suffering. The third has implication for pastoral therapy and identity formation.

a) Luther's theology of the cross addressed the existential dimension of our human predicament (re the significance of Luther's model for male gender role strain, see pp.164-166). In his discussion of the notion of the hidden God, Luther (LW 31, 52,53) argues that, when the unbeliever can see nothing but the helplessness and hopelessness on the cross, the theologian of the cross recognizes the presence of the hidden God within the forsakenness of the crucified Christ. For Luther, God is hidden (but present) in the humility and shame of the cross, as well as in our human suffering. Where people think God is absent, he is present in a strange and hidden way.

Regarding the relationship between God's alien and proper work, Luther speaks of "*Anfechtung*," which represents the alien work through which God works out his proper work (McGrath, 1985:170). Through *Anfechtung* (our human predicament), we are driven to despair and helplessness. Yet, through this experience of *Anfechtung*, the believer can turn to God. *Anfechtung* becomes the means by which God ensures one's salvation. By realizing this hidden grace in "*Anfechtung*," Luther regards "*Anfechtung*" as a delicious despair (McGrath, 1985:171).

According to Luther's marvellous exchange (his analogy with marriage), "The believer enters into a spiritual marriage with Christ, as a result of which the marvellous exchange of attributes takes place" (McGrath, 1985:173). As a consequence of this marvellous exchange, we now possess all good things and holiness that Christ possesses. Now, we possess a rich righteousness in Christ. The real and redeeming presence of Christ can be recognized within the suffering of the believer.

The pastoral implication of Luther's model is that his existential interpretation of the cross links God's involvement through the cross to our human predicament of failure and helplessness. Luther's model can help men to recognize that God really is present here and now, in the contradictions and confusions of their experience. It also helps men to be aware that God is never absent nor uninvolved in their predicament (low self-esteem, anger, shame, and anxiety) resulting from their failure to fulfil male-role expectations.

With the regard to the notion of power, Luther asserts that weakness, suffering, the cross and persecution are the strengths and powers by which God saves us (LW 10,250). Luther also claims that God's strength is hidden underneath the weakness (LW, 22,340). By this reinterpretation of God's power, men are able to reframe their patriarchal understanding of God's power. Thereby, they can be challenged to interpret their weakness and vulnerability in a different way, i.e. as a new model of faith and dependency.

In this way, Luther's theology of the cross can help men to shift their position from pursuing power, success, achievement, strength and competition to patience, courage, endurance and sacrifice: all manifestations of a spiritual power of vulnerability.

b) Moltmann's (1977:88) ontological model (for the significance of his model for male gender role strain, see pp.171-174) is an attempt to challenge the Hellenistic model of a distant and apathetic God. Instead of an apathetic God, Moltmann (1974:12) speaks of God's pathos as moving outside of Himself and entering into a relationship with his people. Because of his pathos, God can suffer and be injured by human actions (1974:12).

This concept of a suffering God is further developed into the notion of the ontological suffering of God the Father through the doctrine of the Trinity. While God participates in man's destiny, making the sufferings of his people his own (as in the Old Testament through his *Shekinah*), God identifies with his children to the point of death on the cross (Moltmann, 1981:119). This means that God's ultimate and complete pathos can be found in the passion and death of Jesus Christ. According to Moltmann, it is not sufficient to say that God is the fellow-sufferer who merely understands our suffering (1974:15). God not only participates in our suffering, but also makes our suffering his own, and takes our death into his life. The Son dies in abandonment, suffering the death of sin, curse, wrath and hell (forsaken by his Father). But the Father suffers the death of his Son in the unending pain of love. In his pain, He participates in the Son's death (1977:99). In this way, God is not merely present in suffering externally, but also suffers. This suffering and vulnerable God embraces the situation of our sin and God-forsakenness as part of his own life. Suffering becomes a cry between God the Son and God the Father and therefore represents a divine element.

The implication of God's vulnerability for male strain is that, if God makes "suffering and vulnerability" part of his own identity, how much more can males embrace weakness and vulnerability as their own identity, rather than strength and power? The acceptance of God's vulnerability can help males not to fear being weak and vulnerable, and not to adhere to male role expectation: strength and power.

According to Moltmann (1974:7), in our success-oriented society, our experience of failure and frustration are not tolerated - only success and power are praised. This results from our concept of God as the God of success and power. However, this one-sided God-concept makes men inhuman and this is completely contradictory to the core of Christianity. Based on the fact that the vulnerable God reveals Himself only in helplessness and humility as displayed by the cross, Moltmann rejects man's desire for being glorious, strong, dominating and in control.

Moltmann (1981:118) also speaks of a God who humiliates Himself in Christ's passion and death. Yet, this self-humiliating and vulnerable God does not compel a response, but waits patiently because He wants to experience a human's free response.

The implication of Moltmann's reinterpretation of God's power for the male gender role strain is that men's desire for gaining glory, power, and dominion over others (considered as desirable for their manhood) must be replaced to serve God and their neighbours. Moltmann's ontological understanding of God's suffering and vulnerability can help males to reframe our understanding of power, and his reinterpretation of God's power can encourage males to change their paradigm of power from a patriarchal interpretation (dominion and control) to a diaconic paradigm (serving others).

However, Moltmann's approach was needed to be applied to broader existential issues of life, such as anger, helplessness, despair, anxiety, guilt and shame. This led to Louw's hermeneutical model in which Moltmann's ontological approach was linked to the existential issues of life with a pastoral perspective for healing (a therapeutic dimension).

c) Louw's (2008:31-32) pastoral hermeneutics, based on a theology of affirmation, addresses the human quest for identity and meaning in life from a pastoral perspective (for the significance of Louw's model for male gender role strain, see pp.184-188). He attends to human predicaments at a deeper and broader existential level.

According to Louw's theology of affirmation (2005:23-25), eschatology affirms a Christian in one's ontic state of being. Our significance and dignity emanates from the ontological "yes" in Christ to our being human. This implies that, when males are really affirmed in their very being qualities, they can be free from pursuing outside validation, because this ontological "yes" to our being human in Christ can quell our burning desires to be more significant in the eyes of the world.

The problem of male gender role strain requires more than God's vulnerable suffering with us. Males need empowerment. Louw's theology of affirmation, combined with inhabitation theology, indicates that our spiritual *fortigenesis* (spiritual strength) and fortology (courage) stem from our new being in Christ. Courage and strength are not human qualities but qualities that come from God and Christ, as a result of the implication of a theology of the resurrection and the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit. Louw's theology of affirmation can provide males with a theological framework in order to gain "courage to be" in the midst of pain.

For Louw (2000:173), God not only identifies with our suffering, but He also understands our most basic existential needs: our anxiety, helplessness, hopelessness, anger, despair, and guilt. Based on the concept of God's faithfulness, Louw (1995:70) portrays a God who promises that He will never desert

us and will always be with us, even after death. God proves his faithfulness by the resurrection so that we may know that He will do what He promises. Because of his faithfulness, we accept his free gift of grace. We are speechless when we discover that what God did through Christ was all for us!

According to Louw, believers' new reality in Christ, generated from the eschatological reality, can bring about meaning in life. In the attempt to find meaning in life and suffering, Louw makes use of systems thinking in which the term "being-functions" is of great significance. Compared with our knowing, doing, and listening functions, Louw (2008:20) defines being functions as the existence of a human being within the dynamics of relational systems and cultural settings. These systemic and relational dynamics influence position and *habitus*. Being functions imply a growth process of anticipation and transformation from the ethics of performance and achievement to the sacrificial ethics of unconditional love. Louw's "being functions" are connected to the term "soulfulness" that indicates the quality of the soul. It is also associated with spirituality that is defined as the art of soulfulness. According to Louw, spirituality signifies meaning in life as a life-long learning process. Within soulfulness, it indicates the dynamics of transcendence as a continuous movement and process of growth. This movement is described as follows: From loneliness to solitude; from hostility to hospitality; from the illusion of immortality to the vulnerability of grace; from anxiety to hope; from anger to peace; from achievement to vocation; and from competition to compassion. In this way, Louw (2005:134-135) attempts to expand the traditional idea of *cura animarum* into *cura vitae*.

Louw's emphasis on "being-functions" can lead males to spiritual growth by helping them to shift from an irrational self-centred idea to the vulnerability of grace, from performance anxiety and the anxiety about loss, to hope, from anger to peace, from achievement stress to vocation, devotion and service, and from competition to compassion and sacrifice.

In Louw's model, God's vulnerability plays a crucial role in reframing the notion of power. In Louw's (2006:67-69) discussion of God's power, God's omnipotence and sovereignty are reinterpreted. According to Louw, God's omnipotence in theology has often been interpreted in Hellenistic categories: e.g. God as a *pantokrator*. In this case, God's power is equated with strength and violent power and He becomes the Roman Caesar. But this interpretation of the *pantokrator* must be questioned. Louw (2000:64) regards God's power as a metaphor that portrays God's unique faithfulness and steadfastness in relation to his covenant people. For Louw, God's power is not coercion, but persuasion; God's power is transforming power; God's power is a rebuilding, creating and healing power, rather than imposing and controlling. The power of God is a power that conquers death, overcomes his enemies and triumphs over the destructive powers of evil and darkness, hatred and injustice. God overcomes all his enemies, not by annihilating them, but by loving them.

Sovereignty does not mean that God controls all and everything. One should rather say: God empowers. In this way, Louw (2000:70) perceives God's power (God's omnipotence) in terms of grace, mercy, servanthood and sacrifice. God's power should be viewed as his graceful identification with our human misery.

The implication of this reinterpretation of God's power for male gender role strain is that it can lead males to spiritual growth by helping them to shift their understanding of power from coercion, control and threat to persuasion, serving, healing, transforming and empowering. Louw's reinterpretation of God's power as his vulnerable faithfulness and steadfastness and his identification with the suffering of his people can help males to give up the spirit of power, dominion and control. Instead, it can lead males to live for vocation, compassion, and sacrifice. It also could set an example that helps males to step out of the spirit of achievement, competition, power, and control.

The significance of Louw's model for male gender role strain lies in the fact that his theology of affirmation can give males meaning, hope, transforming power and new insight about the notion of power. Our ontic new reality, new strength, and meaningful lives enable males to come to terms with the human existential issues of life, such as anxiety, guilt, despair, helplessness and anger. His theology of affirmation can provide males with strength and courage to be. Thus, Louw's theology of affirmation, by dealing with crises of identity, can help men to abandon the spirit of achievement, power and competition and lead males to self-transcendence towards the Ultimate. In this way, Louw's model can lead males to tackle their existential issues, as well as the issue of power, as a source of male gender role strain.

In the light of a theology of God's vulnerability and ontological empowerment (affirmation), the researcher wants to present the following conclusions:

- a) The search for power, success and competition should be deconstructed by a theology of vulnerability.
- b) Since God's power, revealed in weakness, can be understood as both vulnerable love and self-emptying power for the benefit of his people, real power can be translated into sacrifice, love, mercy, and servanthood. The implication for a hermeneutics of male power is that weakness and vulnerability can become expressions of strength and courage to be. The further implication of this understanding of the notion of power is that males' search for power can be reframed by a search for sacrifice, love, mercy and servanthood.

Appendix A (English)

Interview Questions for the Korean males in Cape Town

1. What are the issues and concerns that you are experiencing at the moment? For example, in workplace and at home, or about yourself or children or anything else, etc.

(The first question was about what kind of male gender role strain they were experiencing).

2. What do you think about the following statement? “There could be an interrelationship between male gender role strain and the issue of power (competition, comparison, getting ahead, control, recognition, and achievement, etc).” If so, can you tell me about your experience?

(The second question was about how they perceived the relationship between the issue of power -comparison, competition, control, desire to achieve status, success, recognition and approval- and their strains).

3. How do you think the issue of power could influence your faith? For example, about yourself, about God, about your relationship between others, etc.

(The third question concerned the impact of their male role strain on their spiritual life).

Appendix B (Korean)

케이프타운 거주 한국남성들에 대한 인터뷰 질문지

1. 요즘 고민하는 문제나 스트레스를 주는 일들은 무엇입니까? 예컨대, 직장에서나 가정에서, 혹은 자신이나 가족이나 자녀들이나 등.

2. 다음의 말에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까? “남성들이 겪고 있는 갈등이나 스트레스가 힘에 대한 문제와 관련이 있다. 예컨대, 경쟁, 비교, 업적을 이루는 것, 성공, 이기는 것, 인정받는 것 등)” 만약 그렇다면, 귀하의 경험을 말씀해 주실 수 있으십니까

3. 위에서 언급한 힘에 대한 문제가 귀하의 신앙에 어떤 영향을 끼치고 (끼쳤거나, 끼칠거라고) 있다고 생각하십니까? 예컨대, 하나님께 대한 생각이나 자신에 대한 느낌, 다른 사람들에 대한 태도, 혹은 시간사용 등.

Appendix C (English)

Research Participation Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a research project designed to explore male gender role strain in the Korean males in Cape Town in South Africa. Your decision to participate in this study is voluntary.

The study consists of an audiotaped interview lasting about 90 minutes. You will be asked about your experiences related to gender role conflicts. The interview will be conducted by me (DongChan, Jun) with no one else present. We schedule the interview at a time and place that are convenient for you. Interviews are done face-to-face. It is possible that you will be contacted again after the interview to clarify or review the thoughts and experiences you shared. If you do not want me to call you again, please indicate by signing here _____

You may at any time refuse to answer any questions, request for the tape recorder to be turned off and discontinue the interview. Your name and this interview code will only appear together on this consent form. Immediately, your name will be removed from any interview materials, and the confidentiality of the audiotapes and notes, which are made during the interview, will be maintained by immediately assigning an interview code to them. Direct quotes of what you said may be used in written publications but your name will not be attached to them. Identifying information except age is altered so that when the information is used, for example, a quote in an article or a talk, it will be hard for anyone to see you in the data. The tapes will be kept in a secure, confidential location, and no one other than myself will have access to them. The tapes will be destroyed when the research project is completed. No one else but myself will listen to the tapes. They will be used for exploring a theme (themes) about how contemporary Korean males in Cape Town are experiencing role strain.

You may take a much time as you wish to think this over. Before you sign this form, please ask me any questions on aspects of this study or about me, should you would like to know. I will attempt to answer any questions you may have prior to, during, or following the study. Your help is much appreciated.

AUTHORIZATION: I, _____, have read and decide to participate in the research project described above. My signature indicates that I give my permission for information that I provide in the interview to be confidentially in publications in research articles, books, and/or teaching materials, as well as for presentation at research symposia. Additionally, my signature indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form.

Signature:

Date: .

Address:

Telephone number: .

If you need further information, please contact the principle investigator or me:
Dong Chan, Jun (084 732 3369)

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