

**FROM HEGEMONIC TO POST-PATRIARCHAL MANHOOD IN THE
KOREAN CONTEXT: A THEOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

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To Soyoun, Yewon, Yeil
and
My Parents, Changyoon Yun and Kyungran Ko
with Deep Respect and Love

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INTRODUCTION

In East Asian and Korean culture, a variety of new images of men have gained cultural attention recently through mass media. For instance, the term “Chimseung Nam,” which means “beast man” in English, is a Korean neologism referring to tough men who have stocky, well-muscled bodies and physically attractive looks. This is a revived form of macho or machismo, which is intimately associated with potency and virility. In contrast, the term “Chosik Nam,” which is translated as “herbivore men,” is coined by a Japanese columnist Fukazawa Maki to suggest men who are “young, earn little and spend little, and take a keen interest in fashion and personal appearance but show less or no interest in sexual relationships with females.”¹ The image of “Chosik Nam” reveals a problematic cultural assumption that gender can be translated into terms associated with one’s gastric position on the food chain. The term thus connotes those who are passive (thus considered “feminine”) and deficient in “consuming” women in contrast to a “carnivorous man” who would take a more sexually active and heteronormative posture. Even though such emergent images are expressive of an increased concern for reimagining men’s roles and identities in a changing society, androcentric assumptions and connotations embedded in these images tend to remain overlooked in theology. Hermeneutical violence embedded in these masculine images often go unnoticed.

Men’s aggressiveness and violent behaviors have been part of the traditional, dominant definition of what it means to be “real” men in Korean culture as in many other cultures, and given militarized gender socialization in Korean society, many boys and men are vulnerable to the notion that being violent makes one more of a man or creates genuine masculinity. Violence

¹ Morgan Neill, “Japan's 'Herbivore Men' --Less Interested in Sex and Money.” *CNN*, June 8, 2009.

against women and children still persists pervasively in Korean society.² According to the 2010 Domestic Violence Survey of South Korea, the rate of spousal abuse among those aged between 19 and 65 increased in terms of the rate of physical abuse compared to the 2007 survey. It was 53.8%, among which the rate of physical abuse was 16.7%. As to other types of abuse, emotional abuse amounted to 42.8%, economic abuse 10.1%, sexual abuse 10.4%, neglect 30.5%, and controlling 48.8%. According to this survey of 1,523 households with children younger than 18 years of age, the rate of child abuse was 59.1%. By abuse type, physical abuse accounted for 29.2%, emotional abuse 52.1%, and neglect 17%.

Not only in the family but also in the sociocultural and religious contexts, Korean society has been marked by the rise of conservative, antifeminist men's movements such as "Men of Korea," a men's right group and "the Father School" (FS),³ a transnational evangelical men's movement profoundly influenced by the U.S Promise Keepers platform of conservative gender ideologies and theological tenets. Around the period when the FS movement gained momentum in the 1990s, massive social and economic changes were taking place in Korean society as a result of the sudden economic downturn and ensuing bailout from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Such socioeconomic changes have destabilized the capacity of men to act as the sole breadwinner in the family, and this has made it infeasible for them to adhere to the role of the emotionally distant father with authority. Since then, the FS has evolved into a nationwide and subsequently transnational men's movement. Interestingly, the FS has created a paradoxical

² This survey suggests that the increase might be attributed to "the increased economic uncertainties and unemployment caused by the global financial crisis of 2008. See <http://www.mogef.go.kr/korea/view/policy/>

³ The FS began as a small faith-based organization of a mega church in Korea in 1995. Since then, the FS has evolved into a nationwide and subsequently transnational men's movement. The FS has run its programs more than 3116 times in over 227 cities in 41 different countries as of 2011. It has been held in prisons, government-run public institutions, commercial corporations, military bases, and public schools, as well as at local churches. Since the FS started in the United States in 2000, it has spread over Korean immigrant churches across the nation and currently operates in 57 cities. More detail will be discussed in chapter 4 on men's movements.

space that reinforces, renegotiates, and challenges aspects of hegemonic masculinities.

Consequently, these religious phenomena are an indicator of persistent, though softer and more implicit, patriarchal expectations and hegemonic roles of men and masculinities in Korean culture, where androcentric ideologies undergird gendered forms of men's aggression and violence.

More fundamentally, increasing popular and academic interest in masculinities, along with such a critical awareness of the persistent resurgence of hegemonic/patriarchal masculinities, calls for a more sophisticated theoretical investigation. With the lack of a meaningful theoretical account and guidance for transformed praxis, the roles and responsibilities of many men still remain ambiguous and confusing, and implicit traditional and androcentric visions and models of masculinities keep filling the lacuna. Beyond "old models and mores of manhood for salvation," *Newsweek* author Andrew Romano claims, "it is time to reimagine masculinity in two spheres, home and work, in which men's worth and utility have always been determined."⁴ Such a task of reimagining seems to be even more urgent in Korean society in which post-patriarchal marriage and family relationships continue to reflect persistent societal patriarchal forces, as well as a strong backlash against feminism. Given this situation, it is necessary to undertake more proactive and systematic work of re-envisioning post-patriarchal masculinities while seeking to challenge and transform patriarchal/hegemonic masculinities. This research study thus addresses the following question: How can pastoral theology, especially a feminist-informed approach, envision and guide, in a mutually critical dialogue with the social sciences, a process of envisioning post-patriarchal understandings of manhood in the Korean context, while challenging and transforming, at both theological and practical levels, hegemonic and patriarchal

⁴ Andrew Romano, "Why We Need to Reimagine Masculinity." *Newsweek*, September, 2010.

masculinities⁵ which are constructed and reproduced within both popular culture and contemporary religious communities and movements such as the Father School?

Literature Review

Religion and Masculinity in the New Men's Studies

Although men have articulated, meditated on, and practiced religions throughout history, the scholarship dedicated to the critical study of masculinities in religion has had only a short history.⁶ As a result of the challenge of feminist movement and scholarship, men's studies emerged as a new interdisciplinary field in the late 1970s and 1980s. Sociologist Harry Brod, one of the pioneering theorists, defines men's studies as the inquiry into "masculinities and male experiences as specific and varying social-historical-cultural formations," and such an inquiry situates "masculinities as objects of study on a par with femininities, instead of elevating them to universal norms."⁷ Brod notes that new men's studies reject the recapitulation of traditional male-biased scholarship that excludes women and generalizes men's experience as generic. In this regard, the term "critical" refers to the attempt to argue against "reifying heterosexual and heteronormative claims" while arguing for "a critical reading of the privileged performances of men and normative models of masculinity within religious traditions."⁸

⁵ Even though some scholars in men's studies tend to use these two terms similar and yet distinct concepts having different emphasis, I will regard these two terms almost always as synonymous in this project.

⁶ As a scholarly response, Men's Studies in Religion Group and the Gay Men's Issues in Religion Group, were organized in American Academy of Religion (AAR) in 1988 and 1990 respectively, though it is still questionable that it is recognized as an identifiable subfield of religious studies yet.

⁷ Harry Brod, "The Case for Men's Studies," in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, ed. Harry Brod (Winchester, Mass: George Allen & Unwin, 1987), 40.

⁸ Stephen B Boyd, ed. *Redeeming Men: Religion and Masculinities* (Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, c1996), xix.

The field of religious studies began to respond to the lack of scholarly work on the relations between masculinities (or men) and religious traditions. A great deal of early research has investigated a wide range of men's movements, including spiritual and religious ones. While acknowledging that the intersection between men (masculinity) and religion has been "dynamic, elastic, complex, creative, and filled with historical and political significance at specific moments in time,"⁹ four central themes can be identified.

First, the critical approach to men and masculinities has examined the ways in which being religious affects men's sense of masculinity, including analysis of a wide range of religious traditions, such as fundamentalism, liberal Protestantism, evangelicalism, the Black church, Judaism, and Islam traditions. Since contemporary social scientific research on men and masculinities has not paid much attention to the influence of religious traditions and spirituality in forming and transforming men's self-identity as men, this line of inquiry fills a gap in the research by investigating such issues as the dialectic between imagery of the divine and the construction of masculinity.¹⁰ By recognizing the power of religious traditions over the lives of individual men and women, these critical approaches to religion's connection with masculinities avoid a conceptual trap which often leads scholars to separate the theoretical examination of religions from the domain of power.

Second, the critical study of men and masculinities has explored the influence of sexist, heterosexist, racist, and classist definitions of hegemonic masculinity on religious ideas and practices, such as ritual practices, sexual ethics, social ministries, and pastoral authority. Just as particular religious traditions shape men's understanding of themselves as men, the operant

⁹ Björn Krondorfer, ed., *Men and Masculinities in Christianity and Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 2009), xv.

¹⁰ Boyd, *Redeeming Men*, .33.

definition of masculinity and men's self-understanding also affect the ways they grasp, appropriate, reject, or partake in religious/spiritual practices and institutions.¹¹ The consideration of race, class, sexualities, age, ethnic, and colonial positioning in understanding masculinities rejects the singular focus on gender to the exclusion of other crucial variables. Third, critical men's studies in religion has also been concerned with the effects of male experiences and various constructions of masculinities on the religious and spiritual dimensions of men's relationships to women, other men, children, and nature.

Finally, critical men's studies in religion has examined the ways religious rhetoric and practices have shaped men's movements and their effects on political and religious life. During the last two decades, various organizations and movements have come out of different ways of perceiving and diagnosing men's reality in American society (e.g., Profeminist Group, Men's rights movement, Promise Keepers, and Million Man March). While Profeminist groups focus on overcoming the destructive nature of patriarchal masculinity and dealing with the limitations of gender roles, the men's movements such as the Million-Man March, the Promise Keepers, and Mythopoetic men's movement have been concerned to varying degrees with spiritual dimensions in men's lives. Professor of religious studies Stephen Boyd notes that many contemporary men's movements identify "the malaise of masculinity as fundamentally spiritual or religious in nature."¹² Traditionally, religious and spiritual dimensions have often been associated with women and femininity; therefore, masculinities based on the rejection of the feminine face a difficulty integrating the spiritual dimensions. Despite the challenge, it is important and necessary for some to recover or strengthen the spiritual dimension in men's lives. For others, it

¹¹ Ibid., 77.

¹² Ibid., 171.

is considered more crucial and urgent to reject or partially reject traditional religious expressions and institutions and to find a value in alternative myths, rituals, and communities.

A few things need to be noted. Critical studies of men and masculinity in religion have been undertaken primarily from a historical perspective and often lack psychological and practical/pastoral theological analysis. In addition, the relationship between critical theorizing of masculinities and religious practices remains ambiguous. In this regard, praxis-oriented disciplines such as pastoral and practical theology can be conducive to generating deeper pastoral, ethical, and political engagement. Finally, new men's studies in religion have confronted some theoretical and practical challenges in terms of its relationship to other disciplines and constant suspicion of the field as just another way to talk about privileged religious men.

Pastoral Theology on Men and Masculinities: Complexifying Power and Difference

With respect to men and masculinities, pastoral theology has also investigated a wide range of issues with distinctive foci for the last three decades. In terms of shifting foci, the pastoral theological research on men and masculinity reflects the evolution of three paradigms of pastoral care: the clinical pastoral paradigm; the communal contextual paradigm; and the intercultural paradigm.¹³ In *Pastoral Care and Counseling: Redefining the Paradigms*, the authors address the emergence of and the impact of the new paradigms in the fields of pastoral care, counseling, and theology beyond the dominance of the clinical pastoral paradigm. In pastoral theological literature on men and masculinity (as singular) in the 1960s and 1970s,

¹³ Nancy J Ramsay, ed., *Pastoral Care and Counseling: Redefining the Paradigms* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2004), xi.

attention was given to the significance and necessity of the balance between feminine and masculine characteristics in the work of pastoral care and counseling.

In *The Christian Shepherd: Some Aspects of Pastoral Care*, a typical example of the clinical paradigm, Seward Hiltner develops the perspective of shepherding and applies it to some of the common areas of pastoral care, such as grief and loss, the family, class structure, etc.¹⁴ Based on his concern for the effective performance of the role of a good shepherd, he points out that in American culture the feminine or femininity is associated with tenderness, humility, introspection, and intuitive and subjective knowledge¹⁵ while masculine or masculinity with objective or scientific knowledge. Though he considers masculinity and femininity to be culturally constructed, Hiltner suggests the need for ministers (assumed to be mainly males here) to embody feminine characteristics in pastoral care and counseling. Masculine objectivity alone, according to Hiltner, cannot pursue the “tender and solicitous concern that is always the essence of Christian shepherding.”¹⁶ He thus finds feminine subjectivity vital as a counterbalance to masculine objectivity, especially for the Christian minister engaged in pastoral counseling. In this regard, rather than problematizing the binary construction of the feminine and the masculine, Hiltner’s primary concern is to explore the possibilities of a more adequate pastoral care by bringing the balance of the two seemingly opposing characteristics. Critical analysis of masculinity or femininity itself did not emerge in the field yet.

¹⁴ See Seward Hiltner, *The Christian Shepherd: Some Aspects of Pastoral Care* (New York, Abingdon Press, 1959).

¹⁵ He defines subjective knowledge as the process by which we attempt to [enter] understandingly [into] the frame of reference of another person.

¹⁶ Susan E. Myers-Shirk, *Helping the Good Shepherd: Pastoral Counselors in a Psychotherapeutic Culture, 1925-1975* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 174.

By the late 1980s and the early 1990s, as the discipline became attentive to context and politics, pastoral theologians began to employ the critical perspectives and strategies of feminism on gender and to engage in the issue of men and masculinities, although only indirectly by virtue of analyzing male power, abuse, and difference. Many scholars fostered and complexified our understanding of how the issue of power and difference intersect with the practice of pastoral care and counseling. In her chapter in *Pastoral Care and Counseling: Redefining the Paradigm*, for example, Christie Neuger traces pastoral theology literature's approach to the issue of power and difference through several different phases. In the 1960s and 1970s, some pastoral theologians such as Peggy Way and Maxine Glaz paved the way for moving the discipline "from an awareness of difference and injustice to the role of cultural analysis and deconstruction."¹⁷ It was in the 1980s, however, that cultural analysis began to be more visible in pastoral theology literature. The perspective of gender, race/ethnicity, and class were taken into serious consideration in the development of theory and practice. Feminist pastoral theologians in particular have treated the issues of power and difference as a central concern of pastoral theology in pursuit of analyzing and challenging the interlocking and systemic nature of patriarchal power and oppression in various dimensions.

Some pastoral theologians have problematized the nature of the practice of pastoral care and counseling, the role of pastoral caregiver, and power asymmetries and dynamics between pastoral caregiver and carereceiver. In *Through the Eyes of Women: Insights for Pastoral Care*, for example, Jeanne Stevenson Moessner found Hiltner's image of shepherding¹⁸ problematic on

¹⁷ Christie Neuger, "Power and Difference in Pastoral Theology," In *Pastoral Care and Counseling: Redefining the Paradigms*, ed. Nancy Ramsay (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2004), 72-73.

¹⁸ In *Preface to Pastoral Theology*, Seward Hiltner develops the image of a tender, solicitous shepherd as a central metaphor for pastoral theology based on the biblical image in Luke. For him, pastoral theology is theological knowledge and inquiry that brings the perspective of shepherding, and the aim of shepherding is to move in the direction of healing as the recovery of functional wholeness. Pastoral theology in this sense corrects, revises, and

the grounds of the hierarchical implication of that image in relation to the flock. Moessner instead offered the image of what she calls the “self-differentiated Samaritan,” seeking a shift of focus from an authority figure who shepherds a flock to neighbors who minister by the side of the road. She argues that the parable of the neighbor demonstrates “greater affinity to the nonhierarchical preferences of women.”¹⁹ This shift seeks to challenge and transform the hegemonic power and roles of (male) pastoral caregivers as authority figure, fundamentally addressing the issues of power and dominance in the context of the practices of pastoral care. In contrast to the traditional interpretation of the Luke story on the Good Samaritan that emphasizes loving neighbors at the expense of one’s own needs (thus loving God), Moessner also emphasizes that the image of self-differentiated Samaritan takes seriously the third injunction to love one’s self as well as the other and God for the sake of the wellbeing of women in particular. In that light, this movement implies a shift to pastoral theology that takes seriously not only healing but also flourishing as its aim and goal. Moessner’s work, alongside the works of other feminist pastoral theologians in *Through the Eyes of Women*, signals this important shift.

Other pastoral theologians paid central attention to the debunking and deconstruction of the context (religious, cultural, and socioeconomic) where pastoral care is practiced and provided. In her article on the “Living Human Web,” Bonnie Miller-McLemore finds the conventional image of “living human document” that had defined the primary subject matter of the discipline since the 1950s overly individualistic and isolated (thus, blind to the larger systemic context). Instead, she offers the image of living web as the wider context that embraces

enhances theology by holding it accountable to human suffering as experienced and encountered in pastoral situations. In the aftermath of Hiltner’s work, some pastoral theologians and clinicians have also picked up the image of shepherd.

¹⁹ Jeanne Stevenson-Moessner, ed., *Through the Eyes of Women: Insights for Pastoral Care* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 196.

interconnectedness, not only with persons but also with family systems, institutions, and ideologies. The feminist consciousness has helped the field to see the web not only as a support system but also as entanglement that needs to be critically investigated and challenged. In this regard, Miller-McLemore argues that the living human web is “a better term for the appropriate subject for investigation, interpretation, and transformation”²⁰ in pastoral theology. Such a deeper commitment to the analysis of wider contexts signals a shift in the focus of care from individuals alone to care understood as part of broad cultural, political, and religious contexts. Pastoral theology should take into consideration the context in which the acts of care are provided, and pastoral theology should offer practical assistance in struggles presented by the contexts. Alongside the work of Archie Smith, Edward Wimberly’s work is an early example of contextual pastoral theology attentive to the cultural experiences of African Americans. In *Pastoral Care in the Black Church*, he takes an indigenous narrative approach by drawing on the stories of African Americans in oppression and suffering and connecting their stories to the God’s eschatological plot. With the critical awareness of the significance of the larger cultural, political, and religious contexts, the discipline of pastoral theology has increasingly defined itself more as a practical and public theology.

Finally, another significant shift arose with the advent of a cross-cultural and intercultural framework or paradigm of pastoral care and counseling.²¹ In *Living Color: An Intercultural Approach to Pastoral Care and Counseling*, for example, Emmanuel Lartey indicates that an overemphasis on the identity, difference, and homogeneity of cultural or ethnic groups or preoccupation with racial and cultural differences overlooks the complex and conflicting aspects

²⁰ Bonnie J Miller-McLemore, *Christian Theology in Practice: Discovering a Discipline* (Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2012), 37.

²¹ Neuger, “Power and Difference in Pastoral Theology,” 74.

of relationships within ethnic and racial groups.²² Essentializing cultural differences unintentionally creates a “we” and “they” mentality or a division between persons of different cultures and ethnicities. He proposes an intercultural approach as the most holistic attempt to gain a fuller understanding of human persons, well recapitulated in the maxim from cultural anthropology: “every human person is in some respects (a) like all others (b) like some others (c) like no other.”²³ He points out that interculturality speaks of “living in the intersection of the three spheres” that should be held together in creative and dynamic tension with the others without overstating any one of these to the exclusion of others.²⁴ In this way, the intercultural approach attends to the multiple components of culture in each person, as well as to the complexity of social location, though it is somewhat unclear how this intercultural perspective can be conceptualized in interplay with other social locations beyond cultural and ethnic relations, such as gender and class.

With the increasing work of womanists and women of color, recognition of complexity has been deepened even further. In *Survival and Liberation*, for example, Carroll Watkins Ali argues that neither male-centered African liberation theology nor white-dominant feminist theology offers a proper place and voice for African American women.²⁵ In critique of Seward Hiltner, she notes that dominant white male views were seen as generic and normative while gender-class-race oppression was hardly addressed in the discipline. By adding race and class along with gender, she emphasizes the significance of contextuality from a womanist perspective—

²² Emmanuel Lartey, *In Living Color: An Intercultural Approach to Pastoral Care and Counseling* (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2003), 168-169.

²³ *Ibid.*, 171.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁵ See Carroll Watkins Ali, *Survival & liberation: Pastoral Theology in African American Context* (St. Louis, Mo: Chalice Press, 1999).

particularly that of poor African American women. In this way the voices and experiences of women of color demanded the reclaiming of the particularities of gender and race. Even seemingly homogenous racial groups contained differing layers of experience, depending on class, age, geography and sexual orientation.

Consequently, feminist approaches have led to gender-informed proposals that have a strong concern for transformed praxis. Even though feminist analyses have considered men with respect to power and domination, men have seldom been treated as gendered subjects or as an object of gender analysis. According to Bonnie Miller-McLemore, the feminist theology literature can be categorized into three kinds of projects in terms of emphasis and nature: (1) “implicit critique of patriarchy”; (2) “explicit critique and advocacy for women and other marginalized populations”; and (3) “topical reconstruction.”²⁶ The implicit and explicit critiques of the traditional pastoral theologies have been eye-opening and life-changing for many, revealing that much of methodological and theological accounts has been dominated by men’s perspectives and experiences. The project of topical reconstruction refers to “extensive engagement with particular thematic practices or topics.”²⁷ As far as topical reconstruction is concerned, however, the issues of men and masculinities have not received sufficient attention.

From this literature review, a few problems need to be noted. First, there is a lack of explicit scholarly attention to challenging and transforming hegemonic masculinities and power relations and engaging religion in that process. For this reason, men are often described as a “decentered sun,” to appropriate the words of Hyun Kyung Chung, Asian feminist theologian.²⁸

²⁶ Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore. “Feminist Theory in Pastoral Theology,” In Brita Gill-Austern and Bonnie J. Miller-McClemore, eds. *Feminist and Womanist Pastoral Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 88.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.88-89.

²⁸ Hyun Kyung Chung. *Struggle to be the Sun Again* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1990).

They seem like bystanders who do not care about the process of transformation while struggling with the sense of being caught in in-between, not knowing where to stand or how to redefine their masculinities and relationships with women and other men. Second, without constructive theological accounts and guidance for a transformed praxis, the roles and responsibilities of men in relation to gender hierarchy and cultural and institutional injustice also remain ambiguous and confusing. Further research is called for to explore the post-patriarchal roles and identities for men in family and religious contexts.

Moreover, the existing literature in men studies and religion tends to reflect Western/European-American, white, and middle-class male experiences and worldviews in implicit and explicit ways. The voices and experiences of Asian/Asian American men and masculinities in particular are almost absent and disenfranchised. Finally, given the contemporary situation where traditional and androcentric visions and models keep filling the void, it is necessary for pastoral theologians to undertake more direct and systematic work on reimagining post-patriarchal masculinities while continuing to challenge and transform patriarchal/hegemonic masculinities. Indeed, concrete visions for transformed praxis and revised theories are needed. A feminist-informed pastoral theology that intentionally incorporates the issue of men and masculinities in its theory and practice could make gendered power and women's experience more visible in the theological community, as well as in public and ecclesial contexts. Based on these critiques, this research study is designed as a pastoral theological project that explicitly integrates feminist voices and insights into the study of Korean men and masculinities.

Argument of the Project

By engaging in a critical dialogue with feminist psychoanalytic and social psychological discourses, this project seeks to investigate how hegemonic/patriarchal masculinities are formed and can be transformed and how such examination might inform and guide a process of reimagining “postpatriarchal” masculinities. Central to this research is the idea that the study of masculinities must include an element of critical evaluation, and theological traditions and methods have distinctive roles to play in this process of evaluation. We cannot just be celebratory of all versions of masculinities, though we should acknowledge diversity and plurality. My argument is that rethinking manhood from a feminist perspective can offer us a unique vantage point to develop an alternate, constructive account of men and masculinities beyond hegemonic/patriarchal configurations of masculinities and move us closer to the goal of creating an environment of mutuality, justice, equality, and care.

While considering intrapsychic, familial, and sociocultural factors, this project offers a theoretical account of hegemonic/patriarchal masculinities in the Korean context. Masculinity is not a monolithic and static entity but, according to women’s studies scholar Judith Gardiner, it reflects “the confluence of multiple processes and relationships with variable results for differing individuals, groups, institutions, and societies.” Hegemonic masculinities should thus be examined as an “ideology culturally constructed and institutionally embedded within a field of power” and as “a set of practices engaged in by groups of men.”²⁹ In this regard, this project takes men’s identities into serious account as sites for political engagement in gender politics and the transformation of persistent patriarchal order, given the profeminist insight that men’s

²⁹ Judith Gardiner, ed., *Masculinity Studies & Feminist Theory: New Direction* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2002), x.

subjectivities are one of the central variables in the reproduction of patriarchy and gender hierarchy.³⁰

A second objective of this project is to envision, from a feminist theological standpoint, what constitutes postpatriarchal visions of family and religious life, what it means for men to participate in postpatriarchal reconstruction of family living, and how pastoral theology informs a process of reimagining and guiding men in the midst of confusion and ambiguity. The term “postpatriarchal” implies “alternative consciousness, perspectives, and ways of life that can guide both women and men beyond an age of male dominance and female oppression toward an age of mutuality, justice, equity, and ecological sustainability,”³¹ according to religion professor Jay McDaniel. This inquiry is thus premised on the idea that the absence or removal of male dominance itself does not constitute a full-fledged postpatriarchal vision, though it necessarily encompasses it. This project delineates some of the core themes such as the value of care, relational power, and mutuality/equity, which have been identified by feminist theologians as crucial visions for transformation and flourishing.

This project uses theological and psychological resources to explore how hegemonic masculinities are formed and can be transformed in the family and religious lives of Korean men and women. Three recognitions are foundational: (1) strengthening the family is incomplete or meaningless without gender justice at home; (2) gender justice as a goal of feminists cannot be fully achieved without engaging the family; and (3) by affirming these two recognitions and promoting gender equality in its structure and practice, religion can greatly contribute to shaping

³⁰ Fidelma Ashe, *New Politics of Masculinity: Men, Power, and Resistance* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 14.

³¹ Jay McDaniel, “Six Characteristics of Postpatriarchal Christianity” in *Readings in Ecology and Feminist Theology*, eds., Mary MacKinnon and Moni McIntyre (Kansas City: Sheed & Ward, 1995), 302.

the healthy development of both women, men, and families.³² Affirming these recognitions brings attention to where “men” would fit in and how religion might contribute to the process of challenging hegemonic masculinities and re-envisioning the praxis and identities of men. With respect to this process, I recognize pastoral theology as “a religious response”³³ which can serve to *describe* the context of practice, *analyze* the problem theoretically and theologically, and *imagine* prospective visions for transformed praxis.

This study assumes that a feminism conversant with the social sciences can offer a unique vantage point to develop an alternate account of men and masculinities. Given the complexity of masculinity, hegemonic masculinities must be examined critically as an ideology and a set of practices. This project therefore attends to feminist liberating praxis and the transformation of androcentric structures and practices as a significant means to re-envision post-patriarchal systems and possibilities for family and religious life, following the example of feminist pastoral theologians, such as Miller-McLemore and Pamela Couture, who have also challenged systemic structures and ideologies of patriarchy, individualism, self-sufficiency, and rationalism.³⁴ Such feminist understandings are vital to re-envisioning, in more explicit and systematic ways, postpatriarchal ideals and praxes.

Additionally, gender analysis as a basic organizing principle of feminist research, and self-reflexivity as an essential aspect of transformative research, can serve as critical tools in this research, helping the researcher to be sensitive to his/her own location in the work. The academic

³² Anne E. Carr and Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen, *Religion, Feminism, and the Family* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996).

³³ Miller-McLemore, *Christian Theology in Practice*, 143.

³⁴ See Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, *Also a Mother: Work and Family as Theological Dilemma* (Nashville, TN.: Abingdon Press, 1994) and Pamela D. Couture, *Blessed are the Poor?: Women's Poverty, Family Policy, and Practical Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon Press in cooperation with the Churches' Center for Theology and Public Policy, Washington, D.C., 1991).

studies of men and masculinities have been criticized for reifying and reproducing gendered power and male supremacy. Some have viewed “men’s turn to feminism and gender politics” as problematic, due to the possible dominating effects of men doing feminism.³⁵ For example, scholars in men’s studies have often treated the so-called “crisis of masculinity” merely as a matter of men’s spiritual and psychological issues, such as the feminization of manhood, while ignoring systemic injustice and gender inequality. In this regard, the serious integration of feminist discourses on masculinities is a critical safeguard against this research becoming just another venue of reinforcing male power and privilege. Consequently, by using this vantage point, this project affirms that studies on men and masculinities must acknowledge the power imbalances between men and women and between men and subordinate men while rejecting defensive accounts of masculinity that attempt to focus solely on male difference without acknowledging male dominance.

Methodological Foundations for Studying Masculinity in Theology and Religion

Professor of religious studies Kathryn Lofton notes, “If masculinity is to be a viable methodological compass, scholars must seriously pursue the complex theoretical and historical quagmires such a concept poses.”³⁶ Regarding how we investigate men in religious and theological studies, feminist scholarship and its critical awareness of gender inform and undergird the theoretical basis for including masculinity. Historically in Europe, gender has simply been regarded as “the natural designation of the sexes as opposite” since the eighteenth

³⁵ See Kimmel 1998; Fidelma Ashe, *New Politics of Masculinity: Men, Power, and Resistance* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007).

³⁶ Kathryn Lofton, “The Man Stays in the Picture: Recent Works in Religion and Masculinity.” *Religious Studies Review* 30.1 (2004): 23-28.

century, and it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that gender study emerged as a central category of feminist studies as it related to both the oppression of women and creation of a new subject.³⁷ More specifically, the analysis of women and men as gendered beings was generated and fostered under the influence of first- and second-wave feminism. A recognizable form of organized religious feminism which emerged in the nineteenth century with pioneering works of scholars like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage concerned two major issues: the matter of equal access to ministry and biblical criticism. Contemporary feminist scholars of religion, such as Mary Daly, Rosemary Radford Reuther, Judith Plaskow, and Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, began with a comprehensive account of the misogyny and androcentrism of Western religions yet arrived at differing conclusions and solutions. Feminist studies³⁸ consider how social institutions, cultural systems, and religious traditions are “gender coded” and how these codes impact the life of women and men. By challenging former sexist and androcentric models of theology, the critical insights of the feminist scholarship not only set the stage for a comprehensive deconstruction and reconstruction of the major categories of religious thoughts and symbolism. They also created new source materials and new paradigms of religious scholarship based on women’s experiences.

To examine theoretical and methodological frameworks established by feminists, however, raises a fundamental question: Could feminist discourse on gender and sexuality simply make a legitimate space for investigating “masculinity” as a category of analysis in studying religion? Feminist approaches to religions have demonstrated that gender as an analytical category must

³⁷ John Hinnells. *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 245.

³⁸ Certainly, feminist studies are not a unitary or monolithic enterprise but includes a wide spectrum of ideas and perspectives that have intellectually, politically, religiously, and socially far-reaching impacts.

be included in order to understand more fully and adequately religious practices and symbols. They have illuminated the ways in which “religious symbols and practices shape, challenge, and transform women's roles” and vice versa.³⁹ While taking into consideration the nature and direction of feminist approaches to religions, it is vital to investigate how men's gender identities shape religions and how religions construct and shape men's gender identities. To adopt masculinity as an analytical category could help to examine the ways in which religions construct images of men and impose particular modes of being a man, as well as shape the development of men and women.⁴⁰ Almost four decades ago, James Nelson directly addressed within Christian tradition the theological need to reflect on the experiences of heterosexual men. In his preface to *Embodiment: An Approach to Sexuality and Christian Theology*, he indicates:

Christian faith ought to take embodiment seriously: ‘And the Word became flesh and dwell among us, full of grace and truth...’ (John 1:14). The embodiment of God in Jesus Christ is, in faith’s perception, God’s decisive and crucial self-disclosure. But for those who believe in God’s continuing manifestation and presence, the incarnation is not simply past event. The Word still becomes flesh. We as body-selves- as sexual body-selves – are affirmed because of that.⁴¹

In this statement, Nelson takes seriously the Christian notion of God’s willed incarnation in Jesus Christ. He considers God’s voluntary gift of ‘in-flesh-ness’ as the invitation of men and women to embrace lovingly their own bodies. On the foundation of his incarnational theology, he calls for men to liberate themselves from socially encoded and self-inflicted roles of traditional masculinity.

³⁹ Krondorfer, *Men and Masculinities in Christianity and Judaism*, 53.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, xii.

⁴¹ James B Nelson, *Embodiment: An Approach to Sexuality and Christian Theology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1978), 8.

Feminist Pastoral Theological Methods

Depending on where one stands in terms of method, the researcher is led to different conclusions about human fulfillment, health, wholeness, and so on. This implies that human understandings of reality depend on its methodological basis. As feminist pastoral theologians have made clear, feminist consciousness brings into awareness that methodology is not neutral, and that the kinds of resources which are implemented determines the kinds of voices which one can hear. Given this methodological insight, this research project employs a feminist pastoral theological method as an overarching framework to study men and masculinity. The appropriation of feminist pastoral theological method could be a critical means for studying men and masculinities in a more gender-conscious manner from the vantage point of a feminist liberationist perspective. According to Miller-McLemore, feminist pastoral theologians have constructed new examples of pastoral theological research unified by at least five elements: “revised correlational method, psychological and cultural sources, power analysis, feminist positioning, and pastoral intent.”⁴² By adopting a feminist pastoral theological method, this research project embodies these research elements.

The process of constructing a pastoral theology constitutes “an interdisciplinary forum” where different disciplines mutually inform and critically engage with one another.⁴³ Conversation partners for this interdisciplinary forum include (1) psychoanalytic theories with a focus on feminist theorists such as Nancy Chodorow, Juliet Mitchell, and Jessica Benjamin; (2) the social psychology of gender and masculinities in critical men’s studies; and (3) theology,

⁴² Miller-McLemore, *Christian Theology in Practice*, 236.

⁴³ See David Tracy, *Blessed Rage for Order: The New Pluralism in Theology: With a New Preface* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Browning S. Browning, *A Fundamental Practical Theology: Descriptive and Strategic Proposals* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996).

with particular attention to feminist pastoral theology and Asian/Korean feminist theology. I contend that to investigate the given research topic from psychological, social psychological, and theological perspectives can formulate more effective practices of pastoral care.

Regarding the study of men and masculinity, Gardiner notes that there have been two main approaches.⁴⁴ One is to engage in and construct feminist theory/theology by exploring masculinity as an important dimension of gender relations, hierarchy, inequality, and power; that is, feminist study on men. The other is to use feminist theory and theology to explore critically aspects of masculinity; that is, masculinity studies through feminism. By using and bridging together feminist theories/theologies and masculinity studies, I seek to perform and construct a feminist-informed pastoral theology of Korean men and masculinities. As indicated by some feminists, current men's study focuses less on men's power over women and more on relationships between men. In this project, a more mutually critical and engaging conversation between the two seems necessary to complement the scholarship in each realm and to work through both realms toward the goal of creating an environment of mutuality, justice, equity, and ecological sustainability.

Based on this collaborative dialogue this project seeks to balance three vital aspects in studying men and masculinities: (1) the institutionalized privilege of men over women; (2) the costs of masculinity; and (3) the differences and inequality among men.⁴⁵ By examining hegemonic masculinity, paradoxically reinforced and challenged in Korean men's movements such as the Father School, this research project takes into serious consideration all three dimensions and demonstrates how they are intertwined and interfaced. While being informed by

⁴⁴ Gardiner, *Masculinity Studies & Feminist Theory*, x.

⁴⁵ Michael Messner, *Politics of Masculinities: Men in Movements* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997). 3-8.

this dialogue, pastoral theology can also contribute to the entire discussion in terms of its proximity to concrete praxis and practical methods for men's transformation, from which both feminist and men's studies could benefit. This will lead to the construction of a pastoral theology of Korean men and masculinities that challenges and unmask the male-centered/androcentric assumptions and ideas even as it formulates and constructs postpatriarchal visions of religious and family life.

Definition of Key Terms

Masculinity

The term "masculinity" is a culturally and theoretically complicated concept and phenomenon. Culturally, it is often assumed as natural, biological and stable. Being understood as the opposite of femininity, masculinity tends to be noticed only in the case of its absence or extremity. Such a relative invisibility and lack of articulation reveals the nature of masculinity and the role of power and privilege in deciding what should be considered normal and natural. Theoretically, there is no clear consensus about the meaning of masculinity. Researchers do not necessarily agree on what they actually mean by masculinity, approaching the concept in different ways. Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell lays out four main approaches and strategies: essentialist, positivist, normative and semiotic.⁴⁶

First, essentialist approaches focus on "the core of the masculine" such as masculinity as activity in contrast to femininity as passivity. The problem of this approach is the arbitrariness of the choice. Second, positivist definitions are concerned with "finding the facts" about masculinity. This view functions as "the logical basis of masculinity/femininity (M/F) scales in

⁴⁶ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 68-71.

psychology” or “the basis of the ethnographic discussion of masculinity in a given culture.”⁴⁷

Third, normative approaches define masculinity as what men ought to be or a social/cultural norm for men’s behavior. Fourth, semiotic approaches define masculinity through “a system of symbolic difference in which masculine and feminine places are contrasted.”⁴⁸ Despite its usefulness in cultural analysis, however, this approach has a limited scope because it grapples mainly with discursive sphere, not with gendered places in production/consumption and social/institutional struggles.

Masculinity, as a hypothetical construct, has been employed in a variety of different ways: a set of practices, an ideology, a gender role, psychological/personality traits, and/or power and dominance. First, masculinity is defined as a set of practices or performance. This way of understanding is used widely by scholars in humanities.⁴⁹ Second, masculinity is treated as an ideology regarding one’s attitudes and beliefs about what gender norms exist for men whether they are appropriate or not. Third, masculinity is understood as a gender role, which is actually not a fixed state but a condition under active and social construction. Fourth, masculinity is conceptualized as psychological/personality traits that often function as rigid gender stereotypes in a given culture (e.g., masculinity as strong, tough, aggressive, competitive, dominant, etc.). Finally, some feminist approaches identify masculinity itself with power and dominance, thus, problematizing it as something that needs to be deconstructed and even abolished. Just as the discourse of femininity has been problematized in contemporary feminist studies,⁵⁰ some have

⁴⁷ Ibid., 69.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 70.

⁴⁹ See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

⁵⁰ See Mary Daly, *Gyn/ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978).

argued that the term “masculinity” is also to be problematized and deconstructed in men’s studies.

For this reason, some feminists seek to eliminate masculinity on the ground of a feminist degendering movement that wishes to “undo gender” as an organizing principle of institutions, attitudes, and values.⁵¹ Scholars such as Seth Mirsky indicate the assumed hegemonic place of masculinity in men’s studies as the object of study in agreement with the elimination of the use of masculinity.⁵² Still, others think that masculinity can be restructured beyond its dependence on male dominance and gender hierarchy, and this project affirms this view. Rather than to formulate a full argument in this section, I will delineate the position by analyzing hegemonic masculinity. Given the cultural and institutional deep-seatedness of masculinity, it is too naïve to assume that we can simply get rid of it. Gardiner notes that “gender appears to be so deeply structured into society, individual psychology, identity, and sexuality that eradicating it will be extremely difficult.”⁵³

Hegemonic Masculinity

Contemporary theories have argued for the multiplicity of masculinities.⁵⁴ Psychoanalyst Ethel Person presents masculinity as a multiple entity, calling attention to a wide range of masculinities that are existing and observable, “not only within different cultures, but also within

⁵¹ Judith Lorber. “Using Gender to Undo Gender: A Feminist Degendering Movement.” *Feminist Theory* 1.1 (2000): 88.

⁵² Seth Mirsky. “Three Arguments for the Elimination of Masculinity,” In *Men’s Bodies and Men’s Gods: Male Identities in a (Post-) Christian Culture*, ed. Bjorn Kronorfer (New York; London: New York University Press, 1996).

⁵³ Gardiner. *Masculinity Studies & Feminist Theory*, 3.

⁵⁴ See Michael A. Messner, *Sport, Men and the Gender Order* (Human Kinetics Europe Ltd., 1993); R W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Stephen Whitehead and Frank J Barrett, *The Masculinities Reader* (Cambridge, UK: Polity; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

any one culture.”⁵⁵ Masculinity is something that is continually constructed and transformed in relationships rather than monolithic or unitary, in essence, a given. Men are situated in different roles, religions, class, race/ethnicity, and nationality, for which they are embedded in different systems of belief regarding what constitutes optimal and ideal masculinity and what kind of relationship and practice are to be endorsed (or discouraged) between men and women and between men. Importantly, acknowledging the multiplicity of masculinities leads to the recognition of dominant and hegemonic forms of masculinity as a benchmark against which all men and women are measured and gauge their success in the gender order. Connell explicates the phenomenon by coining the concept “hegemonic masculinity.” Connell draws on Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony⁵⁶ in order to theorize the relationship between men and women and between men. Because hegemonic masculinity is a slippery, contested concept. However, it has given rise to serious criticism and has been examined in different contexts, such as social struggles for power and political leadership, public and private violence, and changes in families and sexuality.⁵⁷

First, hegemonic masculinity is understood as a symbolic and aspirational goal. Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is

⁵⁵ Bruce Reis; Robert Grossmark, eds. *Heterosexual Masculinities: Contemporary Perspectives from Psychoanalytic Gender Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 2

⁵⁶ To Gramsci, hegemony refers to the predominance of one social class over others, representing not only economic and political control but also the ability to control and influence the ways one sees the world and the ability to make the subordinated ones accept the ways as natural and common sense” (Alvarado & Boyd-Barrett 1992: 52). So the basic premise of the theory of hegemony is that human are not ruled by forces alone, but also by ideas. Hegemony is achieved not through force but rather through the consent of other groups.

⁵⁷ R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender & Society*, Vol. 19, No. 6 (2005): 829-885.

taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.”⁵⁸ Unlike scholars in men’s studies who make a distinction between “hegemonic” and “patriarchal,” she defines the two in close relationship. For Connell the task of becoming a man involves a process of taking on and negotiating hegemonic masculinity, which is a largely unreachable set of social norms and ideals for most men. Cultural ideals of masculinity do not correspond at all to the actual personalities of the majority of men. Most men, Connell suggests, can never personally embody hegemonic masculinity even though they support it, are regulated by it, and use it to judge other men’s behaviors. It is “largely symbolic, though legitimate, ideal type of masculinity that imposes upon all other masculinities (and femininities) coherence and meaning about what their own identities and positions within the gender order should be.”⁵⁹ Hegemonic masculinity is conceptualized as an ideal or set of prescriptive social norms, rather than a personality type or an actual male character. Since men are mostly seen as complicit with hegemonic masculinity, gender power is reproduced in oppressive forms.

Hegemonic masculinity is also understood as a lived reality for ordinary men. The concept of hegemonic masculinity initially delineated by Connell has been criticized for various reasons. Several scholars suggest that the concept lacks an adequate theory of the subject.⁶⁰ Margaret Weatherell and Nigel Edley emphasize a need for a much more detailed theoretical account of how hegemonic masculinity is reproduced.⁶¹ They give primary attention to how men position themselves in relation to conventional notions of the masculine and how they take on the social

⁵⁸ Connell, *Masculinities*, 77.

⁵⁹ Richard Howson, *Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 3.

⁶⁰ See Richard Collier, *Masculinities, Crime, and Criminology: Men, Heterosexuality, and the Criminal(ised) Other* (London; Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998); Stephen Whitehead, *Men and Masculinities: Key Themes and New Directions* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2002); Tony Jefferson, *Subordinating Hegemonic Masculinity*, *Theoretical Criminology* vol. 6, no. 1 (2002): 63-88.

⁶¹ Wetherell and Edley. “Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity,” 335-356.

identity of being a man. They contend that Connell regards hegemonic masculinity as “an aspirational goal rather than a lived reality.” They argue against the common assumption that hegemonic masculinity is just one style or that there is just one set of ruling ideals (most often understood as *macho* masculinity). Instead, there is a multiplicity of hegemonic sense-making relevant to the construction of masculine identities, and the process is complex, contradictory, and full of competing claims and dilemmas. Therefore, a much more detailed account of the social psychology is required. While indicating that Connell’s account of the ideological field is too neat, they maintain that the multiple and inconsistent discursive resources⁶² available for constructing hegemonic gender identities need to be considered. It would thus be important to allow for the possibility that complicity and resistance on the side of men can be mixed together.

Overview of the Chapters

This project as a whole proceeds in three movements.⁶³ It aims to *describe/ understand* the contexts of practice, *analyze/evaluate* within the context the problem of hegemonic masculinities theologically and psychologically, and *imagine/guide* pastoral theological visions for transformed praxis and identities of men toward fostering postpatriarchal environments. It brings into a mutually critical and constructive dialogue feminist pastoral theology, including the voices of Asian/Korean feminists, and critical men’s studies literature. The first part offers a descriptive analysis, tracing the historical-cultural construction and reconfiguration of hegemonic

⁶² They employ discourse as “a site for investigating men’s identities” given the central role that discursive practices play in the constitution of subjectivity.” That is, “what it means to be a person, the formulation of an internal life, an identity and a way of being in the world develop as external public dialogue to form the voices of the mind. Subjectivity and identity are best understood as the personal enactment of communal methods of self-accounting, vocabularies of motive, culturally recognizable emotional performances and available stories for making sense” (see Weatherell and Edley, 339).

⁶³ See Don S. Browning and Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, et al., 2nd ed. *From Culture Wars to Common Ground: Religion and the American Family Debate* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000).

masculinities in Korean society and analyzing Asian/Korean feminist portrayals of masculinities. The second part analyzes and evaluates from a theological and psychological perspective the problem of hegemonic masculinities with a focus on their production and reproduction.

The first chapter draws on Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity to trace the shifting definitions of masculinity in the premodern and modern history of Korea, demonstrating that such shifts have been associated almost exclusively with men's subjectivities, such as role confusion and identity crisis. I argue that masculinity discourses function as an ideological mechanism that seeks to address and cope with crisis in masculinity while at the same time reconfiguring hegemonic masculinity to be more compatible with changing cultural, socioeconomic, and familial environments. This chapter seeks to analyze the concepts and symbols which have evolved as a consequence of people's lived experience, rather than to fully explicate how hegemonic visions of masculinities have been constructed and performed as a *lived experience*.

Chapter 2 surveys the multiple images of masculinities in Asian/Korean⁶⁴ feminist theologians while acknowledging their impact on human action, belief, and attitude. Asian feminists themselves have acknowledged some essentializing claims in their earlier literature. Depending on the view of patriarchy and of the relation between men and patriarchy, four broad categories of images are identified: (A) Oppressors as agents of patriarchy, (B) Victims/Co-sufferers, (C) Decentered bystanders, and/or (D) Participants in women's liberation. I argue that hegemonic images of men and masculinities described critically by Asian/Korean feminist

⁶⁴ By using the phrase "Asian/Korean" feminist theologians, I intend to broaden the scope of the literature I engage in analyzing the cultural images of hegemonic and patriarchal masculinities. According to my survey of Asian feminist theologies, most of their work in the late 1980s and 1990s were published as a collaborative work or as composite papers, agreeing upon the commonality of their experiences as Asian women and shared cultural and political contexts of Asian women under the multiple forms of oppression. More recent work of Asian feminist such as Namsoon Kang (1995) critiqued such an essentializing and universalizing aspect.

theologians can be viewed not simply as cultural descriptions, but also as critical theological reflections expressed by women's lived theological idioms. This inquiry is grounded on the premise that Asian/Korean feminist theology is a foundational source for not only critiquing hegemonic masculinity but also for generating critical and constructive modes of dialogues toward the process of re-envisioning post-patriarchal masculinities.

Analyzing the development of hegemonic masculinities from psychoanalytic approaches (particularly feminist psychoanalysts), Chapter 3 draws on the post-Freudian psychoanalytic theories of Robert Stoller, Nancy Chodorow and others in contrast with classical psychoanalytic theorists such as Freud. I ask how psychoanalytic theories, particularly feminist approaches, understand the formation and transformation of hegemonic masculinities. And how applicable and relevant are such psychoanalytic accounts to understanding the development of hegemonic masculinities in the Korean context? This chapter reconsiders Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity by applying it to the context of a Confucian ritual space where gender identity is constructed. By drawing on both object relations theory, which offers a psychoanalytic account of the early relational, multilayered construction of the masculine subject, and Korean indigenous concept of *shimjung* exchange, a dynamic means of exchanging mind between gendered subjectivities, this chapter argues for the significance of understanding the formation of hegemonic masculinity in the relational context of the family and the practices and roles of women. I claim that the concept of Shimjung exchange reveals a cultural assumption behind object relations theories. Grounded in the individualistic orientation of Western cultures, object relations theories presume individuation/differentiation as normative. This chapter also argues that the family, as a central ritual space in Confucianism, and a point of departure for Confucian salvation, sustains the performance of hegemonic masculinity by forming and cultivating a

Confucian masculine self. Yet, the family also has the potential to challenge hegemonic masculinity and to generate a movement toward gender democracy.

Moving from the psychological to the social, Chapter 4 interrogates how hegemonic masculinities are enacted, reinforced, compromised, and reconstructed in the public and political spheres and how religiosity/religious discourses and quasi-religious fervor plays a role in shaping the politics of masculinity and hegemonic masculinities. As a way of capturing a broader picture of the masculinity politics, this chapter focuses on men's groups and movements in Korean society, examining how the issues of men and masculinities are politicized around particular concerns and interests of men in solidarity with other men. Certainly, some forms of men's movements claim themselves to be apolitical and may remain overtly apolitical in terms of their explicit discourse and practice, but claiming to be or remaining apolitical also has political implications and consequences in a larger society. By drawing on sociologist Michael Messner's conceptual framework as an overarching analytic method, this chapter investigates critically three representative men's groups and/or movements: (1) Man of Korea as a Korean men's rights group; (2) The Father School as an evangelical men's movement; and (3) Men for Cultivating a Culture of Equality and Fathers Loving Daughters as pro-woman and antisexist groups. By analyzing how the discourse and practice of each group relate to hegemonic masculinity, this chapter will demonstrate how hegemonic masculinities are enacted, negotiated, or challenged in public and political spheres.

Analyzing the nature of hegemonic masculinity from a feminist pastoral theological approach, the final chapter investigates the theological dimensions of hegemonic masculinities, which theorists in men and masculinity studies have neglected. This neglect raises a litany of questions: how has theology, particularly feminist theology, defined and conceptualized

theologically the problematics of male power characterized by hegemonic masculinities? What distinctive light does theology shed upon the development and nature of hegemonic masculinities? The development and embodiment of hegemonic masculinity cannot be understood fully in separation from the influential role of religion and the issue of spirituality. This is more so when considering the Confucian religio-cultural contexts of East Asia and Korea, where the family as a central ritual space shapes the development and enactment of hegemonic masculinity.⁶⁵ Given the significance of the relational and ritual context of the family, the case of the Father School as an example of “domestic” spirituality is also drawn on to explicate these complex dynamics.

The Significance of the Project

In dialogue with psychoanalytic, social psychological, and theological discourses, this study uncovers and reveals the multilayered process and mechanisms through which the detrimental and destructive aspects of hegemonic masculinity are produced and reproduced in the cultural and religious contexts. By investigating hegemonic masculinities in East Asian/Korean contexts, my project also builds cross-cultural understandings of symbolic and cultural forms of aggression since a broader picture can be mapped only when we have a sound knowledge of the parts; that is, male aggression and violence in a global context. In particular, the examination of a wide range of Korean men’s movements, including men’s rights and profeminist men’s groups, sheds light on the politics of hegemonic masculinity and violence

⁶⁵ Confucianism constitutes a moral order in which the family is regarded as primary and central to the development of selfhood and as the point of departure for an expanding web of relations beyond one’s localized selves. The family is conceived as the center of all order, social and cosmic, as demonstrated in the Great Learning, one of the Four Books, which states that all meaning “ripples out in concentric circles from personal cultivation within the family.” See Roger T. Ames, ed., *Self as Person in Asian Theory and Practice* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 97.

perpetrated by men in both implicit and explicit manners. Understanding critically these cultural/religious contexts is crucial to the process of envisioning and cultivating a more gender-conscious and egalitarian culture and practice.

Additionally, based on its feminist and interdisciplinary approach, this project bridges and complements feminism and men's studies, which have historically developed antagonistic relations. The feminist critiques of patriarchy have been eye-opening and life-changing for many, demonstrating that sexism alongside classism and racism acts as a fundamental source of social conditions for women and men. As far as topical reconstruction is concerned, however, the issues of men and masculinities have not gained sufficient attention from feminist theologians. The integration of feminist methods and discourses in this research study is not only a critical safeguard against this work becoming just another way of shoring up male power and dominance, but also a path to the construction of alternate, constructive accounts of men and masculinities in the Korean/Korean American contexts.

Finally, even though the primary context for analysis is Korea, this study also has some significant implications for deepening an understanding of Korean/Korean American churches and communities. The landscape of North American Christianity as a whole picture can be mapped only when we have a sound knowledge of the parts; that is, local, culturally marginalized, racial/ethnic communities of faith in North America. By investigating the religious and cultural contours, it sheds light on the problems of Korean/Korean American evangelicalism and its gender ideologies and practices. Understanding critically these cultural/religious contexts is crucial to the process of envisioning and cultivating a more gender-conscious and egalitarian culture and practice among Korean/Korean American Christians and churches while helping them move towards the post-patriarchal reconstruction of family and religious life. I believe that

the research findings for this ethnic minority will contribute to enriching and broadening our understanding of men and masculinities in the global context. This research project adds to the field a resource for cross-cultural competency and understanding beyond the dominance of Western/European-American, white, and middle-class male experiences and worldviews.

CHAPTER 1

Masculinity Trouble (?): Shifting Visions of Korean Hegemonic Masculinity

Sociologist Raewin Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the *currently* accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.”⁶⁶ What counts as hegemonic masculinity is not culturally universal or transhistorical but is contingent upon time and space, as noted by Western and North American scholars on men and masculinity. Hegemonic visions of masculinity (and femininity) have also shifted across time in Korean society. The shifts in the definition of what is culturally dominant masculinity have been provoked by macro sociocultural, political and economic changes. Interestingly, they have often been associated with real or perceived threats to manhood or the issue of men’s subjectivities, such as “role confusion” and “identity crisis.”

While being aware of the risk of constructing an androcentric historical account, this chapter offers a historical analysis of hegemonic masculinities in broader cultural and religious contexts of Korea where gender norms and relations are constantly constructed, enacted, and reconstructed. In tracing the changing dominant norms and practices of masculinities from the late 1900 to the present, this chapter offers a broad-brushed historical account of masculinity in the Korean context in order to capture how hegemonic visions of masculinities have been constructed as a lived experience of Korean people. I will identify some of the salient themes and forms of masculinities in a given historical period, considering the implications for the

⁶⁶ Raewin Connell. *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 77. Emphasis is mine.

configuration and reconfiguration of hegemonic masculinities in relation to femininities and other subordinate forms of masculinities.

This chapter has three parts. Drawing on Connell, I explicate the concept of hegemonic masculinity from a family systems perspective. Then I examine how hegemonic manhood has been construed in premodern and modern Korea, identifying some of the salient historical, cultural, and religious contexts that shape hegemonic ideals of masculinity and influence the identities and lives of contemporary Korean men and women. Even though cultural symbols are fluid and unstable, certain patterns reoccur. In the last section, I lay out three distinctive approaches to the “crisis in masculinity” in terms of definition, causation, and solution. It is my argument that the “crisis of masculinity” discourses, which emerge in the periods of social and historical transitions, serve as an ideological mechanism that tries to cope with male issues while simultaneously reconfiguring hegemonic masculinity to be more compatible with changing environments. In other words, the cultural and religious discourses promote a process of re-adjusting the homeostasis of male dominance.

Hegemonic Masculinity as a System

In her work, Connell conceptualizes hegemonic masculinity as a system or a collection of interdependent individual parts that together accomplish something greater than any individual part alone. As it has been appropriated in pastoral care, counseling, and theology, systems thinking brings a new perspective to understand the complexity of social reality or of institutions such as the family and congregation. Departing from traditional notions of linear cause and effect, systems thinking reveals the ways in which each component of the structure is

interdependent with one another and functions according to their position in the system.⁶⁷

Likewise, hegemonic masculinity always operates “in interplay with various forms of masculinities as well as with respect to women.”⁶⁸ Men receive privilege from patriarchy, but not all men share equally or receive it in the same way. Connell explains hegemonic masculinity as consisting of the four types of relations or components that work together as a system: (1) dominant masculinity; (2) complicit masculinity; (3) marginalized masculinity; and (4) subordinate masculinity.

First, *dominant masculinity* refers to the idealized and socially expected ways of being male. Connell suggests that the most important feature is being “heterosexual, being closely connected to the institution of marriage.”⁶⁹ Dominant masculinity in Western nations emphasizes competition, wealth, aggressiveness, and heterosexuality. Men who are well represented in the culture and hold wealth and class privilege would be able to negotiate masculinity within this realm. This idealization becomes symbolized and internalized in a male-centered culture through various institutions such as the media, family, religion, and education. Ironically, the majority of men will not be able to attain dominant masculinity, as Connell points out. This becomes an aspirational goal. Even though men are surrounded by the ideal, not all men are equally dominant in their ability to access cultural and economic resources.

Second, *complicit masculinity* refers to masculinity that is not dominant in and of itself but supports dominant masculinity. This would include participation in aspects of masculinity that conform to dominant masculine norms in hopes of not being punished and receiving rewards for

⁶⁷ See, for example, Edwin H. Friedman. *Generation to Generation: Family Process in Church and Synagogue* (New York; London: The Guilford Press, 1985), 15.

⁶⁸ Raewyn Connell. *Gender and Power* (California: Stanford University Press, 1987), 183.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 186.

being like the dominant group. Psychologist Jack Khan illustrates an example through a story about a boy:

The walls of this boy's room were covered with posters of male heavy metal artists. One day as he sat in his room, his father began to criticize him for having pictures of men all over his walls and began calling him derogatory names, emphasizing that it is not acceptable to hang posters of men in his room. Soon after this incident, this boy ordered a playboy calendar poster that featured mini-photos of the playmate models from the previous year, and hung them on his wall. The next time his father came into his room, he congratulated this boy for this choice, while his mother sat in confusion. This boy would not likely be able to achieve many direct benefits of dominant masculinity, but by complying with his father and complying with a more dominant masculinity, he avoided possible trouble with his father and the society.⁷⁰

Connell indicates that the option of compliance is central to *complicit masculinity*. Such conformity to hegemonic masculinity is also manifest in the pattern of femininity called *emphasized femininity*, which receives “most cultural and ideological support at present.”⁷¹ *Emphasized femininity* is organized and performed in compliance to men's hegemony and power and emphasizes the so-called “female virtues” such as nurturance, submissiveness, and empathy.⁷² Like hegemonic masculinity, the contents and performance of *emphasized femininity* as a cultural construction are primarily linked with private and domestic spheres. However, it is sustained, promoted, and reinforced publicly by the mobilization of cultural media (i.e., women's magazines) and the implementation of social and religious forces. It is also mobilized by political groups or movements, which take an antifeminist stance.

Third, *marginalized masculinity* refers to groups that are on the peripheries of dominant masculinities because of their identification with a social grouping that is not dominant. These masculinities could be based on ethnic, religious, or racial identification. They are marginalized

⁷⁰ Jack S. Kahn, *Introduction to Masculinity* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 35.

⁷¹ Connell, *Gender and Power*, 186.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 188.

in that their interests and perspectives are not taken into consideration by the dominant culture. Finally, *subordinate masculinity* refers to experiences that are not only marginalized but also subjugated or viewed as denigrated forms of masculinity and not legitimately what men do. For example, gay men are sometimes characterized as being expressive in their behaviors, which some view as being more “feminine.” Men displaying dominant masculinity often view such behaviors as unmanly and humiliate gay men when they express themselves in this way.

It should be noted, though, that these four concepts are differentiated for analytic purposes. In reality these components of hegemonic masculinity could be combined in highly complex ways. The majority of men will not be able to attain or perform dominant masculinity but are compliant and complicit with socially ideal or dominant norms and practices of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity operates in ways that oppress and subordinate women (referred to as *external hegemony*) and marginalize men (referred to as *internal hegemony*). Thus, under the influence of hegemonic masculinity, people act in ways that reinforce male privilege by supporting conformity to an idealized version of masculinity, even when it may not be in their best interest, thus contributing to the maintenance of patriarchy. Just as a system has a tendency called homeostasis to resist change and to remain stable, so hegemonic masculinity is also resistant to change, but when it shifts, it still reconfigures masculinities in service to the maintenance of patriarchal gender hierarchy. Understanding hegemonic masculinity as a system implies that challenging hegemonic masculinity is something that should be undertaken at a systemic and ideological level rather than at an individual level.

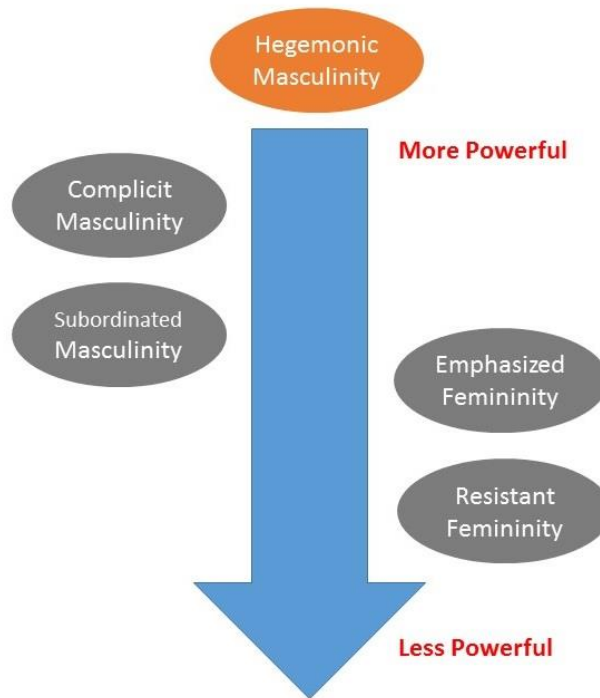


Figure 1.1: The Gender Hierarchy⁷³

Hegemonic Masculinities in the Korean Context: Shifting Visions

***Seonbi* Masculinity as Dominant Masculinity in the Premodern Period**

In the Korean context, there have been multiple historically shifting, culturally fluctuating visions of hegemonic masculinity as a system, with certain masculinities and femininities idealized, marginalized, subordinated, or complicit in the maintenance of dominant masculinity. This section thus aims at tracing and analyzing the changing visions of hegemonic masculinity in the premodern, modern, and contemporary Korean society. Since this covers lengthy historical

⁷³ Anthony Giddens. *Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 465.

periods (1800s-2000s), the present analysis is not meant to be exhaustive in its historical undertaking. Nor does it mean to essentialize and generalize across time and space. As discussed in the previous section, masculinities are not static and fixed but are continually constructed and reconstructed. Accordingly, this analysis can only capture “masculinities in the making” at a particular historical and cultural juncture, laying out the dominant visions of hegemonic masculinity.

As Connell notes, hegemonic masculinities are not simply the traits or behaviors of men, but social and cultural ideologies that normatize and legitimize manhood in a given historical context. Even though premodern Korea was under the influence of other traditional religions such as Buddhism, Taoism, and other folk religions, Confucianism had a unique status because its values of conformity, authoritarianism, and gender hierarchy were integrated within the psychological substructure of the individual and family life.⁷⁴ Neo-Confucianism and its revived emphasis on social and family ethics is especially significant to understanding the nature of hegemonic masculinity in the premodern Korea of the 19th century. Masculinity in premodern Korea was not monolithic but a multiple and complex entity with aspects that were complicit or subordinate to a hegemonic version, which I will hereafter refer to as “*Seonbi* masculinity.”

The term *Seonbi* refers to Confucian scholars or scholar-officials, who made up the ruling class called *Yangban* in premodern Korean society. *Seonbi* masculinity, undergirded by Confucian philosophy and the political culture of premodern Korea, was shaped by a socio-cultural context that subordinated physical to intellectual strengths. These two ideals had developed an asymmetrical relation in terms of priority and emphasis. Just as other East Asian

⁷⁴ Walter H. Slote. “Psychological Dynamics within the Confucian family,” in *Confucianism and the Family*, ed. Walter Slote and George DeVos (New York: SUNY, 1998), 37.

societies deeply influenced by Confucianism, premodern Korean society preserved the national civil service examination called *Kwa-Keo* as a backbone of the Confucian elite education until the late 19th century. Men who successfully passed the examination and excelled in academic achievement were appointed as government officials. Men with political power and influence were considered to be ideally masculine, regardless of physical strength and prowess. In contrast, since men in a lower class were not entitled to take the civil examination except for military positions, the physical strength and prowess emphasized as ideal masculinity for them was eventually complicit in and subordinate to Seonbi masculinity. Men who did not fit the criteria were marginalized as emasculate, fragile, and “feminine.”

Chinese gender theorist Kam Louie suggests that the *wen-wu* construct is a paradigm that explains the performance of gendered identities and manifests the defining features of Chinese masculinity, though it can be easily translated to other East Asian cultures deeply influenced by Confucianism.⁷⁵ He points out that masculinity during pre-modern China comprised both *wen* and *wu*, a complementarity between cultural attainment (mental and civil) and bodily valour (physical or martial). *Wu* refers to the attributes of physical strength and military prowess, while *wen* indicates “the wisdom to know when and when not to deploy the power of military strength.”⁷⁶ Louie argues that in this view a scholar is considered to be no less masculine than a soldier. At certain points in history, the ideal men would be expected to embody a balance of *wen* and *wu* while at other times only one or the other was expected. For example, there was a historical time when ambitious males strived for both *wen* and *wu* whereas lesser men were

⁷⁵ Analogous to premodern Chinese masculinity, Seonbi masculinity as a hegemonic ideals and practices was clearly in contrast with masculine ideals of Samurai in premodern Japan or the European and North American ideals of masculinity represented by muscular Christianity, which regarded physical prowess and fitness as an idea of masculinity.

⁷⁶ Kam Louie. *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 14.

understood to achieve only one or the other. With the establishment of Confucianism as a dominant ideology, however, *wen* became progressively more dominant for the upper classes and associated more with elite masculinity, and this was also the case in premodern Korea with its dominant emphasis on *wen*.

The Configuration of *Seonbi* Masculinity in the Confucian Family and Social Systems

More fundamentally, *Seonbi* masculinity is best understood within the context of Confucian family systems, economic and social structures and institutions, and men's roles and status in them. In premodern Korean culture, masculinity was not merely an aspect of an individual self. The sense of self was established and understood within the context of the whole. An ego structure and self-image were based on a concept of the integrated family, which had crucial and life-determining significance.⁷⁷ The proper or improper conduct of a person was not just an individual matter but a matter of whether the entire family would suffer the collective loss of face. The defining characteristics of such a prevailing cultural and social environment thus played a critical role in the socialization of children, with extremely limited variations among individuals, given the pressure toward cultural conformity to a code of proper conduct in society. Although significant differences existed from culture to culture, and from individual to individual, shared elements on the nature of interpersonal relationships and family dynamics greatly shaped what it meant to be a man. Psychoanalytic anthropologist Walter Slote notes:

The Confucian family traditionally has been defined by its value system: age grading; the generational sequence; the dutiful bonding between parents and siblings; the security brought to its members by a complex but highly effective extended family system; the common core of intensely structured values; an ethical code and a morality widely

⁷⁷ Slote, "Psychological Dynamics within the Confucian Family," 43-44.

disseminated and known to all; a role definition in which everyone had a specified assignment; industriousness, discipline, and the elevated position given to learning.⁷⁸

This relational dynamic and structure were undergirded by the principle in Confucian ethics called *The Three Bonds*, which basically emphasizes the hierarchical relationship between the ruler and the minister, the father and the son, and the husband and the wife, based on the logic of dominance and subservience.⁷⁹ The father-son relationship was central in justifying the hierarchy of the Confucian social and relational matrix. Just like the ruler, the father assumed “full responsibility for the stability and harmony of society” as “the interpreter, the executor, and the judge of the moral code.”⁸⁰ This line of reasoning was applied to the category of gender as well. Ideologically, the wife assumed the responsibility for practicing obedience to the father, to the husband, and to the son, respectively. A wife dominating a husband was thus considered damaging and analogous to a son defying a father. Such gender roles and rules, alongside position and age, were seen as natural patterns of social landscape. The gender roles for boys and girls were strictly distinguished in the early stage of their development.⁸¹ The mother was in charge of nurturance, supervision, and sanctioning of children while the father had full legal authority and played a role as the ultimate disciplinarian.⁸² In accordance with the Confucian model, the father was a stern, feared and distant figure to children, nearly retreating from the affairs of the household. The display of affection toward children was restrained. In contrast, a

78 Ibid., 38.

79 Wei-Ming Tu. “Probing the ‘Three Bonds’ and the ‘Five Relationships,’ in *Confucianism and the Family*, ed. Walter Slote and George DeVos (New York: SUNY, 1998), 122.

80 Ibid., 123.

81 The psychological construction and socialization of hegemonic masculinity within the Confucian family and social systems will be discussed further in chapter 2.

82 Slote, “Psychological Dynamics within the Confucian family,” 41.

strong emotional tie between mother and son was culturally endorsed, maintained, and even promoted.

In her extensive survey of the Korean women's life history literature,⁸³ Sungsook Kang explores the ways in which men and women in the 19th century performed domestic roles and responsibilities in everyday lives in terms of household labor and economic life. According to her analysis, there are very few cases in which *Yangban* or ruling class males get involved in economic and domestic lives, while there are many cases in which females were main breadwinners of a family.⁸⁴ Men belonging to *Yangban* class were excused from getting involved in household affairs. Detachment from and disinterest in economic instrumentality and devotion to academic advancement were even considered a virtue for *Yangban* males. The literature frequently portrays the wives as non-complaining, ready to sacrifice, or even glad for conditions of economic hardship and heavy labor because this was understood as helping their husbands accomplish life goals and identity as males. Thus, qualities of compliance, submissiveness, and sacrifice were recognized as virtues for women—what Raewyn Connell calls “emphasized femininity” that is complicit in the construction and maintenance of dominant masculinity. In that regard, Seonbi masculinity was constructed and maintained out of men's intellectual and political power and strength rather than simply out of biological sex.

Such rigid gender distinctions were upheld by Confucian authoritarianism, which shaped the psychological formation of men and women.⁸⁵ Even though men are surrounded by a context

83 This analysis covers the 1179 writings of 65 different authors.

84 Sungsook Kang. “Choson Hoogi Ilsang Saenghwaleseooui Jangeseo Nam/Nyu Gender Chai-eui Kangkeukwa Kyoseop” (The intervals and Negotiation of Gender Difference in Everyday Lives of the Late Chosun Dynasty). In “Korean Masculinity: its Reconstruction and Genealogy,” Society for Korean Feminist Literature (Oct, 2013): 49.

85 It is also to be noted that in contrast to static images of a rigid and uniform patriarchal society that oppressed women, new studies have demonstrated the development of internal fissures and cultures of dissent that

of dominant masculinity, the majority of men could not attain dominant masculinity, which became sort of “an aspirational goal” for most men. Slote claims that there were three predominant psychological processes that derived from Confucian authoritarianism: “fear of authority, dependency, and hostility.”⁸⁶ Dependency was built into the hierarchical system of a Confucian society and was sustained throughout life. Fear of authority, whether through age or position, is “a reaction to authoritarian domination.” Hostility is a form of deep-seated resentment toward those who people feared and upon whom people were dependent. Certainly, these three processes had differing manifestations in the life of men and women, depending on social status and stratification. Especially for women and men in a subordinate position, respect, deference, and submission were encouraged. Along with this, overt hostility was disapproved and suppressed. The expression of anger towards parents or those with authority was strictly prohibited and discouraged as a cultural taboo from early childhood. In this light, filial piety was a social and psychological mechanism to strengthen and maintain authority through rituals and rites replicated in the familial and cultural contexts.

Self-Cultivation as the Formation of Dominant Masculinity

As a solution to the social and political problems, Confucius himself emphasized the significance of self-cultivation and learning. To learn is “synonymous with to live, to improve, to be mature or even to be eternal,” and through learning, humans develop moral strengths and move toward moral virtues. Learning thus becomes a primary instrument to facilitate “the process of transformation from what is realized to what should be realized, from the animal-like

promoted subversive and egalitarian notions of womanhood based on their efforts to resist gender hierarchy and restrictions.

⁸⁶ Slote, “Psychological Dynamics within the Confucian family,” 46.

to the fully human, from the uncivilized to the civilized, and from the uncultivated to the cultivated.”⁸⁷ Confucius’ teachings on filial piety, dutifulness, honesty, wisdom, and moral courage thus aimed at fostering individuals with the moral attitude of humanity and virtue, which Confucius thought could, in turn, transform the government and society. Confucius’ emphasis on the cultivation of inner dispositions and virtues has influenced almost every cultural aspect of East Asian societies. With respect to the process of self-cultivation, Confucius took the role of ritual performance seriously. He believed that rituals guide and cultivate the external expression of an inner morality and humanity, which, in turn, enlivens and fills rituals. Through the practice of rituals properly done with moral intent, both individuals and society derive mutual benefits. In this way, Confucius embraced ritual acts as a moral action that maintains a humane and civilized society and that cultivates the attitude of humanity and morality.

In Confucianism, to learn meant not simply a reading of books, but a special kind of practice or moral training preformed with ritual and propriety. Confucius considered proper ritual as enacting the basic patterns of life. Even though this moral training was practiced in all aspects of social life, it was first performed filially in the home.⁸⁸ Ancestral worship, for instance, is one of the fundamental Confucian rituals in families. Confucians of all generations especially in Korea and China have made reverent sacrifice to their ancestors at home to express filial piety. However, women, whether wives or daughters, older or younger, were excluded from officiating at the rites even in the absence of a related male heir.⁸⁹ In this way, the family in a Confucian context has functioned as a ritual space forming gendered selfhood in ways that

⁸⁷ Mengzi, 6B and Xunzi, 23:5 in *An Introduction to Confucianism*. Xinzhong Yao (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 210.

⁸⁸ Slote, “Psychological Dynamics within the Confucian family,” 211.

⁸⁹ Roger L Janelli. *Ancestor Worship and Korean Society* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1982), 13.

reinforced and maintained dominant masculinities such as *Seonbi* masculinity. Even though some argue that Korean women in premodern society were relatively powerful and liberated compared to their Western sisters in terms of their extensive economic and domestic power,⁹⁰ it is still hard to deny the strong dichotomy of public and domestic that assumed the exercise of male power and authority over women. Moreover, the social power and status of women in domestic spheres were granted only when they fulfilled their duty as mothers and more importantly when they produced sons.⁹¹ Consequently, self-cultivation was predominately a male-dominant project, a project for and by males only, and more importantly, it was the context in which the formation of dominant masculinity, such as *Seonbi* masculinity, happened.

As philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler argues, social categories, as a product of discursive construction, represent performative acts, and such repeated performance through ritualized activity in everyday life construct a hierarchical system of gender differences that appear normative and natural over time.⁹² Given the social and cultural structures and arrangements of premodern Korean society characterized by the caste system, the process of self-cultivation through scholarship was not expected and was even discouraged for men in lower social class, as well as for women. In consequence, the ideal masculinities were bifurcated along the class lines—the elite, ruling class called *Yangban* and commoners in lower class called *Joongin* and *Cheonmin*. Interestingly, these two different ideals of manhood were combined and presented as a new vision in the modern and colonial context.

90 Haejoang Cho. “Male Dominance and Mother Power,” in *Confucianism and the Family*, ed. Walter Slote and George DeVos (New York: SUNY, 1998), 188.

91 *Ibid.*, 193.

92 Judith Butler. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), x.

***Taejangbu* as a New Dominant Manhood in the Early Modern and Colonial Period**

The question of what constituted a modern manhood in Korea requires a complicated inquiry given multiple discursive and cultural forces and historical players. It initially raises another question of what constituted “modern” in the Korea of the time. In her book, *Under Construction: The Gendering of Modernity, Class, and Consumption in the Republic of Korea*, Laurel Kendall defines modernity as “the cultural articulation of modernizations,” which refers to “self-conscious experiences and discourses, judgments, and feelings about modernizing experiences.” She contends that modernity is gendered inherently with the “multiplicity of diversity of women’s and men’s relations to historical processes.”⁹³ Though there had been different ways modernities played roles in the lives of Korean men and women, modernities are generally characterized by valorization of and “receptivity to social and technical innovation” and “a repudiation of the past” perceived as irrational barrier.⁹⁴ But in the Korean context, these modernities were not only gendered but also mediated by the context of colonial hegemony and Protestant missionaries. Thus, to come to terms with visions of hegemonic masculinity during the early modern and colonial period (approximately 1890s-1945), multiple contextual factors and historical forces must be taken into consideration: modernizing/nationalist discourses/movements, Japanese colonial influence, and Western/Christian missionaries’ practices and discourses of gender and modernity. In interplay with the subjectivities of Korean men and women, such contextual factors challenged *Seonbi* masculinity as a premodern dominant masculinity and shaped a new vision of masculinity named *Taejangbu*. Though it generally means a manly, chivalrous man in Korean, in the Confucian context to be a *Taejangbu*

93 Laurel Kendall. “Introduction,” in *Under Construction: The Gendering of Modernity, Class, and Consumption in the Republic of Korea*, ed. Laurel Kendall (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), 2.

94 Ibid., 2.

meant “conforming to the ideal of an impassionate learner, often a precocious prodigy able to astonish one’s elders with unusual study skills, and a man of balance and restraint whose sense of duty and righteousness could find its expression in behavior that could be praised as lofty and principled without being violent.”⁹⁵ In this paper, I use this term to indicate a modern masculine ideal that encompasses both physical prowess and psychological strengths such as self-control and discipline.

First, modernizing nationalist movements and discourse played a critical role in forming a new dominant vision of manhood. In his article on ideal masculine types in the gender discourse of Korea’s modernizing nationalists (1890s-1900s), Scholar of East Asian Studies Vladimir Tikhonov explores the construction of modern masculinity in Korea. He makes a distinction between premodern masculine ideals of the commoners, such as “fighting prowess,” and the higher classes’ visions of manhood, such as “self-control and adherence to moral and ritual norms.”⁹⁶ Tikhonov asserts that the premodern masculine norms that diverged along class provided a context for “indigenizing the mid-nineteenth century European middle-class ideal of nationalized masculinity” characterized by being “disciplined, self-controlled, sublimating the sexual impulses and channeling them toward the nobler national goals, and highly militarized—in early modern Korea.”⁹⁷ He claims:

Articulated in a language tinged with Confucian rhetoric, it was often legitimized as an extension of the Confucian values of self-discipline and sacrifice but also was accepted and practiced accordingly, with perhaps stronger emphasis on the simultaneous cultivation of the patriotic body and the vigorous, moral, and self-sacrificing patriotic

95 Vladimir Tikhonov. “Masculinizing the Nation: Gender Ideologies in Traditional Korea and in the 1890s Korean Enlightenment Discourse.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66 (November, 2007): 1042.

96 *Ibid.*, 1029.

97 *Ibid.*

spirit—which was to combine the basics of Confucian ethics and attitudes with an all-observing nationalist enthusiasm.⁹⁸

By surveying the representative journals and newspapers, Tikhonov identifies the three ideal masculine features of a modern Korean man. First, ideal masculinity was inextricably linked to patriotic service to the state with a self-sacrificial spirit.⁹⁹ Second, unlike dominant masculinity in premodern Korea, the ideal masculinity for modern Korean men was associated with both physical and psychological strength. Finally, success was idealized as ideally masculine, along with achievement of the qualities of self-sacrifice and strength.

As a cultural and textual example, Tikhonov first draws on Namson Choi's letter entitled "The Sacrificial Spirit," published in the monthly journal *Taekuk kakpo* in 1906. In this letter, Choi, a pioneer in studies of Korean mythology and religion and an influential intellectual in early modern period, discusses the historical hero who showed "the ability to rouse himself to action, bravery in action, indefatigable, indomitable spirit shown in trials"¹⁰⁰ as demonstrating the ideal masculine features of a modern man. Choi says:

Who was the one who managed to revive the nation in downfall, restore its fallen fortunes, and build a veritably great power in the Northern Continent? It is the achievement of Peter the Great, made possible by his sacrificial spirit... Look at Christ, who was born in a little village as a son of a little artisan, but succeeded in widely propagating [his] doctrine and saving the living beings, being revered through the eternal age! Whose force, whose achievement is this? The people of the whole world would unanimously reply that it was done by the blood shed on the cross. Look at Jeanne d'Arc, who was born in an out-of-the-way, little hamlet, in a remote province, as a farmer's daughter, but rose to command armies and defeat a strong enemy, being [the figure] everybody in the country pinned their hopes upon!... The same is true in the cases of Luther, the great man of religion, who founded the New Roman Church, and Washington, the builder of the New World, who established the Republican rule. One was risking the death in resisting the Pope of Rome, while the other was prepared to die

98 Ibid., 1037.

99 Ibid., 1032.

100 Namson Choi. "Honsinjok chongsin" (the Sacrificial Spirit). *Tekuk Hakpo* (1906), In "Masculinizing the Nation: Gender Ideologies in Traditional Korea and in the 1890s Korean Enlightenment Discourse," Vladimir Tikhonov, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66 (November, 2007): 1030.

resisting the metropolitan country. That is the firm evidence that those possessing a sacrificial spirit have to go through all sorts of ups and downs in life, having hair-breadth escapes from imminent death [at some points], in order to obtain good results in the end.¹⁰¹

Interestingly, by drawing on religious figures such as Jesus and Luther in line with political leaders (e.g., Peter the Great in Russia, General Zhuge Liang in China, etc), Choi identifies self-sacrificial, patriotic spirit as a central virtue for modern men. The glorification of Western religious figures in Choi's writing is no surprise. Christianity was recognized by modernizing nationalists as the civilized religion of the new nation of the 20th century, capable of reforming the nation and promoting national justice, ethics, and morals. In that light, the new nationalist masculinity was imagined and constructed in intimate relationship to Christian notions of self-sacrifice, self-control, and industriousness. The cultivation of such seemingly Christian virtues and qualities was understood to build up national strength.¹⁰²

The construction of modern Korean manhood was closely associated with American Protestant missionaries who introduced Western (Christian) modernity to Korea. Beginning with the arrival of two young American missionaries in 1885, the work of Protestant missionaries has drawn mixed evaluations and criticisms in Korean society. Even though their missional endeavor paved the way for a remarkable expansion of Protestant Christianity, the American missionary movement was entangled with colonial expansion.¹⁰³ In their teachings, missionaries often

101 Namson Choi. "Honsinjok chongsin" (the Sacrificial Spirit) In "Masculinizing the Nation: Gender Ideologies in Traditional Korea and in the 1890s Korean Enlightenment Discourse," Vladimir Tikhonov, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66 (November, 2007): 1030.

102 Ibid., 1034.

103 For example, early pioneering Protestant missionaries such as Dr. Horace Allen served both as a missionary and diplomat. Due to the colonial entanglement of missionary endeavors, American missionaries were recognized as an agent of imperialism by some radical independent movement activists in the early 1900s. It was more so with American support for Japanese colonial policy followed after Korea-Japan Treaty in 1905, which deprived Korea of its sovereignty and independence and made Korea the protectorate of Japan. The American missionaries actually made a formal resolution to support the Japanese policy in the early period of Japanese domination. Ironically, the American missionary movement could be successful in Korea mainly because of the

conflated their North American/Western cultural values and biases with the essence of Christianity. In particular, the American gender ideologies about family and gender relations, which were understood as a generic part of Christian teachings, went largely unnoticed by Korean Christians and the American Protestant missionaries themselves. In her book *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, Hyaeweol Choi points out that in line with the Victorian binary notion of gender based on public/private spheres, the American missionaries considered the public to be a male sphere while regarding the domestic realm as the ideal sphere for women, emphasizing women's religious piety, moral strength, and nurture of family and community.¹⁰⁴ Instead of seeking to challenge and change patriarchal family and gender relations, missionaries tried to maintain and respect Korean cultural and gender practices by segregating men and women in Sunday school, for instance.¹⁰⁵ In that regard, the prevailing gender ideologies of American missionaries initially converged with hierarchical gender ideals of Korean men and women rooted in Confucian tradition.

Furthermore, the American missional approach allowed Korean people to develop self-confidence and the spirit of independence, which was also championed and cherished by the modernizing nationalists under the domination of the Japanese imperialism. The missionaries drew on the Nevius Method as the principles of mission and the direction for local churches, a method which emphasized a three-self movement: self-governance, self-propagation, and self-

subsequent failure of American diplomacy in Korea, which eventually helped some missionaries to distance themselves from the American imperial forces and policy and to stand for Korean people.

104 Hyaeweol Choi. *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 3. By analyzing official and personal missionary records, including diaries and novels, Choi shows a more complicated picture of the mission field in the early modern Korea in which even female missionaries were expected to assume subordinate roles and statuses as opposed to them of male missionaries in Korea.

105 Theodore Yoo. *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2008). 47.

support. That spirit of self-development culminated later in movements such as “Million Souls for Christ,” in which both evangelistic and nationalistic fervors and consciousness were closely intertwined. In the context of Japanese colonial rule, nationalism thus functioned as a litmus test or “a touchstone of legitimacy” in order for a foreign religion or ideology to be accepted and succeed. In this way, Protestant Christianity and Korean nationalism, which became associated with each other positively in the face of Japanese colonial rule, became integrated even more tightly down the road.¹⁰⁶

The new dominant vision of masculinity encompassed “patriotism and loyalty” and upheld valor, self-sacrifice, and bodily and spiritual vigor.¹⁰⁷ “Patriotic, self-sacrificial vigor” was fostered through gymnastics and sports activities. In this regard, physical strength along with psychological strength were emphasized as significant components of -new modern male. The physical health and fitness of people were linked with the power and vigor of the nation.¹⁰⁸ This is well demonstrated in a song entitled “Juvenile Men (Sonyon namja)” written by Korean students for a baseball tournament and published in an influential Seoul daily newspaper *Hwangsong sinmun* in July, 1909. It says:

Oh, young men of iron bones and muscles, endeavor to display your patriotic spirit! It came, came, and came, the age of action for our boys! Train to stand up to the tens of thousands, and to acquire achievements in the later battle. Are not the great endeavors of the matchless heroes our aim? Nurture your competitiveness, spirit and attentiveness while developing your bodies...The hot blood of the virtuous gentlemen is circulating well, and the legs and arms of the Independence Army soldiers are nimble...One by one, we go from one interesting context to another, through all the playing of maritime battles and infantry. Beat the drums of victory where the Triumphal Arch is to be!¹⁰⁹

106 Timothy Lee. “A Political Factor in the Rise of Protestantism in Korea: Protestantism and the 1919 March First Movement.” *Church History* 69 (March, 2000).

107 Tikhonov, “Masculinizing the Nation,” 1058.

108 Ibid., 1056.

109 Hangnae Yi. *Hanguk kunda cheyuk sa yongu* [Research on the History of Physical Culture in Modern Korea] (Seoul: Chisik Sanopsa, 1989).

As a cultural text, this song captures visions of masculinity grounded in the idealization of physical strength and prowess, with allusions to violent and militant acts, which are expected to be disciplined carefully. Tikhonov indicates that a plain baseball game was understood as “a nation-building ritual, affirming and strengthening the participants’ belonging to the imagined masculine community.”¹¹⁰ Though it is fair to ask how much these textual examples of new masculine ideals reflected the social reality and the lived practice of masculinity in early modern Korea, these literary formulations still have significance as a conceptual and linguistic code for cultural descriptions and prescriptions. Thus, an ideal masculinity in this period can be epitomized as “a patriot who is strong in body and spirit-but who also aspires to the shining heights of the Bismarckian or Petrine fame and enjoys the process of developing and displaying the potential of his body.”¹¹¹ Such a new standard of masculinity, tied with the nationalized masculinity discourse, emphasized consciousness of morals and duty, self-sacrifice, and military spirit. Certainly, it is critical to recognize that these new ideals were formulated in the historical context in which imperial forces of the late 19th and early 20th century were seeking to expand their power and influence on the Korean peninsula towards colonization.¹¹²

In fact, *Taejangbu* as a dominant masculine ideal for modern Korean men was mediated significantly by the context of colonialism and, more specifically, colonial modernity. The discipline of body and the cultivation of physical strength embedded in the masculine ideal of *Taejangbu* could be seen as a threat to the Japanese colonial regime. However, by castrating the

110 Tikhonov, “Masculinizing the Nation,” 1058.

111 Ibid., 1033.

112 The Eulsa Treaty of 1905 between Korea and Japan deprived Korea of its diplomatic sovereignty and made Korea a protectorate of Japan, and Japan–Korea Treaty of 1907 by which Korea was deprived of the administration of internal affairs. The Japan–Korea Treaty of 1910, also known as the Japan–Korea Annexation Treaty, was made and forced by the Empire of Japan.

spirit of independence, the Japanese colonial authority domesticated and subordinated the masculine ideal to the colonial power and order, and the pursuit of bodily discipline and strength became a mechanism to internalize the rules and roles of the colonized and thereby to maximize the interests of the Japanese colonial government. In his book *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea*, Theodore Yoo explores the formation of new gendered subjectivities of Korean men and women in the three interrelated domains of education, labor, and health during the colonial period.¹¹³ He points out that while negotiating their own vision of manhood and womanhood, Korean men and women were increasingly confronted with the pervasive control of the Japanese colonial regime which imposed the dictates of colonial hegemony on bodies, relationships, and social behaviors. Yoo notes:

On another level, bio-power involved the discipline of the body through continual surveillance and control. As in Europe, these techniques of power pervaded the Korean social body, especially in key institutions like the family, schools, factories, and hospitals...By training the body to accept the rules as norms, the colonial state created what Michael Foucault has described as “a policy of coercions that acts on the body, which ultimately sought to produce subjected and practiced bodies, docile bodies.”¹¹⁴

The institutional mechanisms of control were also implemented through educational systems. Japanese colonial government expanded standardized public obligatory education, which during the Choson dynasty had been accessible only to males in the elite class. Just as the nationalists emphasized the cultivation of bodily strength through sports and training in order to protect and strengthen the state, so the arduous discipline of body and character was considered indispensable for the colonial regime to foster the colonized male subjects prepared to produce and fight. Drills and other forms of militarized exercise and training were implemented in

¹¹³ Theodore Yoo. *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2008).

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 6.

schools (including even missionary schools) by the Japanese colonial authority, based on the idea that rigorous training of the body could promote healthy bodies and character building.¹¹⁵

The primary goal of educating Korean women was to subdue and maintain their roles in the home as their rightful place. Though Japanese colonial government changed directions later, it initially stressed the ideology of “wise mother and good wife” (*hyonmo yangcho* in Korean) just like the nationalist reformers who wanted to create a stronger nation by stabilizing traditional marriage and family. However, the ideology of “wise mother and good wife,” as traditionally defined within Korean womanhood, was challenged by the emergence of new ideals—“New Women.” An emerging group of educated women created a “culture of dissent” by confronting traditional and patriarchal assumptions about gender and the privileged status of domesticity and by redefining their roles and identities. By doing so, they posed “a threat to male hegemony.”¹¹⁶ However, despite the emphasis of Japanese colonial authorities on reforming education, their goal was merely utilitarian. They sought to create “loyal, imperial subjects who had internalized the rules and mores of the empire” rather than to further knowledge or equal rights among Korean people.¹¹⁷ Consequently, the impact of Japanese colonial rule on the subjectivities and the everyday lives of men and women was profoundly formative in the making and remaking a modern Korean manhood and womanhood.

115 Tikhonov, “Masculinizing the Nation,” 1051. The militarized fervor continued in schools throughout the military regime until the establishment of Democratic government in the 1990s.

116 Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea*, 80.

117 *Ibid.*, 60-61.

Militarized Masculinity as a Dominant Vision in Post-Colonial Period

Since the liberation from Japanese colonial regime in 1945, Korean society had been marked by dramatic social transformation as it subsequently went through the imposed division of Korea into North and South Korea, the Korean War, and the military dictatorship, democratic movements, and rapid industrialization from the 1960s through the 1980s. The Korean War has lasting devastating impact, leaving people in extreme poverty and elevating hostility and distrust between South and North Korea. Such political turmoil accompanied by considerable socioeconomic and cultural changes influenced labor and power relations in both public and private spheres. In particular, military rule in the post-Korean War and global Cold War period, imposed by Park Chunghee who served as president, dictator, and military general from 1961 until his assassination in 1979, significantly shaped Korean men's and women's everyday experiences, especially in the domains of production and reproduction. While suppressing political opposition and pro-democracy movements, Park's military regime set economic development as the first priority. To maximize the developmental plan, numerous young women joined the industrial workplaces with extremely low wages and exploitative working conditions.¹¹⁸ Through mass mobilization, the military regime exercised political and social control in the name of national security and economic development, using public discourses of hard labor and personal sacrifice as incentives. These changes influenced the gender order and relations in the households and workplaces of postcolonial Korean society. This section

¹¹⁸ Seung-Kyung Kim. *The Korean Women's Movement and the State: Bargaining for Change* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 23.

delineates some of the new gender discourses and practices that emerged,¹¹⁹ including a militarized masculinity as a dominant vision of manhood.

This period is characterized by state valorization of militarization and an emphasis on militarized masculinity. *Militarization* describes the sociopolitical process and environment through which “militaristic control, influence, and ideologies” are transmitted and permeated into various societal domains and levels. It is marked by “a society’s dependence on the military for its wellbeing and results in the normalization of military values.”¹²⁰ Feminists have given particular attention to the ways in which masculinity and femininity are constructed and performed in militarized roles and interactions. According to feminist theorist Cynthia Enloe, “militarized forms of manliness permeates the military of modern nations and shape both military and state identity.”¹²¹ The ideal type is used by soldiers and citizens to “construct hierarchies of militarized masculinity among themselves.”¹²² The hypermasculinity of militarized masculinity is grounded in “the rigidity of gender roles, resentful and violent reactions, and preoccupation with order, power, and control.”¹²³ It focuses on power and virility and emphasizes traditional femininity as the need to appear tender and just.

In her book *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives*, Laura Sjoberg explores the construction of institutional ideologies of gender in the “hero” narratives of idealized military

119 Though doing so would require a book-length attention, this section aims at delineating some of the salient and critical dimensions only.

120 Jody O’Brien, ed. *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society* (Los Angeles; London: Sage Publications, 2009), 298.

121 Cynthia Enloe. *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1993), 25.

122 Ibid., 56.

123 Ibid.

masculinities and femininities.¹²⁴ According to Sjoberg, militarized masculinities and femininities not only represent the gendering of the states they reside in but also reproduce these gender patterns. Gender norms are specific and fluid over time and place, however, and such cultural variations are also dictated by historically specific militarisms.¹²⁵ In her book *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea*, Seungsook Moon analyses the politics of gender in the postcolonial Korea by exploring critically the cultural notion of modernity and its implications for national building. According to Moon, Park's military regime championed and implemented as "a nation-building project" the 19th century nationalist discourse of modernity, which was subsequently adopted by the Japanese colonial authority as well.¹²⁶ This modernity was associated with strong military control and high productivity based on technological advances and innovation. In this regard, Moon finds a continuity between the postcolonial military rule and Japanese colonial rule in terms of their comparable institutional mechanisms of controlling and disciplining body, whether for industrialization or for colonial exploitation. Moon argues that "the path of mass mobilization was structured not only by the instrumental notion of modernity, but also by a hegemonic understanding of the proper places of women and men in modern nations."¹²⁷

In his article on militarized masculinity in the context of the Conscientious Objector Movement (COM) in South Korea, Vladimir Tikhonov also notes that the military force based on the conscription system not only links whole "able-bodied males with the nationalist ethos"

124 Sjoberg, Laura & Via, Sandra. eds. *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives* (Santa Barbara; Denver; Oxford: Praeger Security International), 215.

125 Enloe, *The Morning After*, 73.

126 Seungsook Moon. *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea* (Durham and London: Duke University Press. 2005), 2.

127 *Ibid.*, 2.

but also adapts them into “views and practices often referred to as militarized masculinity culture.”¹²⁸ Experiences of men in the military service thus functions as a process of cultivating militarized masculinity. In the military life, a man’s masculinity is challenged and threatened by superior officers and peers if he is unable to perform a required task or show signs of weakness. This perceived loss of masculinity renders a man unfit for military service while violent and militarized masculinity is both legitimized and rewarded. Male soldiers are required to prove their masculinity by committing violent acts, frequently against women. Insulting and degrading words related to women and femininities are utilized as a cultural mechanism to humiliate men who are not “masculine enough,” as well as to reinforce male-bonding.¹²⁹

In Korea’s military-dominant culture, obligatory military service played a critical formative role in reproducing militarized masculinity. In Korea, military service was socially recognized as a rite of passage for males and thus as a vital marker of adult masculinity. Based strictly on the Military Duty Law, those who refuse or object to perform military service are not only punished legally (up to three years’ imprisonment) but also stigmatized socially. In contrast, men who successfully completed their military service were considered not only “true men” but also “true citizens” with privileges exclusive to males. Given the pervasiveness of the military culture in other domains of social life, military service also served as preparation for most

128 Vladimir Tikhonov. “Militarism and Anti-militarism in South Korea: ‘Militarized Masculinity’ and the Conscientious Objector Movement,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, Vol. 12-1-09 (March 16, 2009) Accessed [http://www.japanfocus.org/VladimirTikhonov-MilitarismandAntimilitarismSouthKoreaMilitarizedMasculinityandtheConscientiousObjectorMovement_\(English\)](http://www.japanfocus.org/VladimirTikhonov-MilitarismandAntimilitarismSouthKoreaMilitarizedMasculinityandtheConscientiousObjectorMovement_(English)).

129 Insook Kwon. *Daehanminkooken koondaeda (Korea is the military)* (Seoul: Chungnyeonsa, 2015), 242.

workplaces in society, characterized by hierarchical organizational structure, subjugation to authority, and emphasis on discipline just like the military.¹³⁰

Such constructions of militarized masculinity, which depend on an opposing construction of femininity, involves “both a gendered view of the world in which the able-bodied men, the defender of the fatherland, was unconditionally privileged over women, defined either as sexualized objects or as child-rearing mothers of the nation, and a shared feeling of superiority towards men unfit for or unwilling to engage in combat (handicapped, conscientious objectors, etc).”¹³¹ Especially in the industrializing economy, men as the primary military and labor force were constructed as protectors and main breadwinners and women as caregivers of children. The expectation of long hours of work separated paid work from domesticity and male breadwinners from their families. This cultural atmosphere in workplaces reinforced the notion that the public and business world is a masculine domain, thus exacerbating gender asymmetry and inequality. In contrast, the subordination of women and daughters within the Korean family was reckoned “sufficient preparation for the discipline of the factory” in the 1960s and 1970s.¹³²

Interestingly, democratic movements were also grounded in an opposition of masculinity and femininity and a dichotomy between the public and the private. The public sphere as a place to fight against military regimes was considered a masculine domain. Men who sacrificed themselves for the nation in this “sublime” role, whether blue collar laborers or intellectual elites, were excused for not being responsible as fathers and husbands in the private and domestic sphere, and this was even taken for granted as a sublime value. Korean feminist Myounghee

130 The ideal of militarized masculinity had also shaped the characters and processes of democratic movements against military dictatorship.

131 Tikhonov, “Militarism and Anti-Militarism in South Korea,” 1.

132 Kendall, *Under Construction*, 6.

Song talks about men who actively participated in democratic movements in the 1970s and 1980s of Korea. She notes:

The poet took it for granted sacrificing their lives for the sake of the democratization of this nation. It was considered even lofty that his mother, wife, and children were included in this “beautiful” sacrifice. Even though he was a strong fighter against dictatorship in society, he was a misfit and incompetent in his own family....The poet believed that fighting for democratization was the only meaning and purpose of his life. So he refused to compromise with the absurdity of the reality by playing a role as an ordinary man and breadwinner. However, when he tried to keep his role as breadwinner and go back to his family, he felt like being in prison.¹³³

Military authoritarianism during the military dictatorship had an ironical and complicated relationship with Korean Christianity. In *The Third Wave*, political scientist Samuel Huntington evaluates the positive roles of Christianity in the democratization process of Korea, asserting that “Confucian authoritarianism and Buddhist passivity were replaced by Christian militancy.”¹³⁴ Even though Korean Christians in progressive lines played a formative role in the development of democratic movements (e.g., the articulation of Minjung theology), most mainline Korean churches remained submissive, complicit to, and even collaborative with the authoritarian regimes of military dictators such as Park Chunghee (1961-1979) and Chun Doohwan (1980-1988). Reflecting the compressed industrialization and the authoritarian political culture of the time, Korean churches maintained growth-oriented, triumphalist mission strategies and ideas while taking a strong anti-communist/anti-North Korean and yet depoliticized stance. In her article on ideal masculinities in Korean churches, Sookjin Lee explains this reality as the intrusion of military culture into the church. By drawing on the term “holy fighter,” she identifies the features of the Christians’ dominant masculinity as exclusive to and militant against “others”

133 Myounghee Song. *Feminist namsung-eul malhanda (Feminists talk about Men)* (Seoul: Pureunsasang, 2000), 211-12.

134 Samuel Huntington. *The Third Wave* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 74.

who are ideologically and religiously different from themselves.¹³⁵ In terms of leadership, organization, and administration, Korean churches tended to be militarized and authoritarian in nature. Militarized languages such as “total mobilization Sunday,” “mission battlefield,” and “soldiers of the cross” were widely used to express religious fervor and promote evangelism among Protestant churches across denominations. The hierarchical relationship between clergy and laity and between senior pastor and assistant ministers reflected not only Confucian tradition but also the military’s hierarchical structure based on rank, order, and discipline. It is thus noted that “Korean church leaders have typically been more authoritarian than their American parts.”¹³⁶ In particular, strong and charismatic male leadership has been emphasized and expected as an ideal image of church leaders.¹³⁷ Consequently, the configuration of dominant militarized masculinity in culture was replicated in religious realms and vice versa.

Recent Trends: Caring Breadwinner as a Neoliberal Masculinity

With the success of democratization movements and the erosion of the political power of the military regime in the late 1980s, Korean society undertook a democratic reform, epitomized by a constitutional amendment in 1987. The first civilian government was formed after three decades of military rule, and political and social life began to move toward deconstructing authoritarianism and promoting democracy, though there are disagreements among scholars over

135 Sookjin Lee. “Kyohwe namsung-eun autuke mandelajeo wahtneunka” (How Has Manhood in Korean Church Been Constructed?). *Kidokyo Sasang* (Christian Thought). (June, 2012): 52-63.

136 Jungin Kang. *Western-Centrism and Contemporary Korean Political Thought* (Lanham, ML: Lexington Books. 2015), 131.

137 It is not irrelevant to the fact that the ordination of female clergy was not possible until 1995 in the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in Korea, one of the largest Protestant denominations in Korea.

the extent of such transitions.¹³⁸ The process of democratization played a significant part in the transformation of the socioeconomic, political, and cultural life of Korea. The rise of feminism and the election of progressive and pro-women administrations and female politicians especially contributed to making significant legal changes. Numerous laws were passed to address women's issues and promote gender equality and democratic values in both public and private sectors.¹³⁹ However, in 1997 Korean society faced an unprecedented national economic crisis, involving the aid of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and massive layoffs. Even though women workers were generally laid off ahead of males, there was an unbalanced outpouring of sentiment for men who lost their jobs. Mass media and popular literature paid greater attention to the role of wives and children in supporting unemployed husbands and fathers.¹⁴⁰ In this way, cultural responses to financial crisis were dominated by the conservative rhetoric of gender while downplaying women's issues. This tendency was even more exacerbated by the enactment of neoliberalist economic policies.

138 Youngwhan Kihl. *Transforming Korean Politics: Democracy, Reform, and Culture* (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), 16-17.

139 With respect to gender equality, the landmark legislation was Act on Women's Development enacted in 1995 to eliminate discrimination against women and to promote gender equality in all areas of politics, economy, society, and culture. The establishment of the Ministry of Gender Equality (2001) was a direct consequence of this legislation. There are at least 6 pieces of legislature that have followed from 1995 Women's Development Act to 2012's Child Care Support Act: a. Act on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection of Victims in 1997; b. The ban on the system that compensate veterans with extra points in job application in 2001; c. the legislation that recognizes women as family heads passed in 2005; d. Act on Promotion of Economic Activities of Career-Interrupted Women in 2008; e. Act on the prevention of sexual assault and protection (acknowledged the state responsibility for the prevention of sexual assault and education in 2011); and f. Child Care Support Act in 2012. Even though the enactment of these laws have contributed to making progress toward achieving gender equality in Korean society, there is still long way to go to fully achieving equality given the areas of political empowerment, the income gap by gender, and equal treatment at work. See the official website of Ministry of Women and Family: see <http://www.mogef.go.kr>. Accessed April 20, 2015.

140 Kim, *The Korean Women's Movement and the State*, xii.

With the intervention of the IMF, the national financial crisis also signaled the restructuring of Korean society into a neoliberalist economy. Neoliberalism is characterized by “liberalization of trade and industry” such as removal of trade barriers, “privatization” such as “the transfer of public holdings to the private sector,” and “deregulation of the labor market.”¹⁴¹ Neoliberalist reconfiguration of the economy led to the greater flexibility of the labor market, thus increasing job insecurity and under- and unemployment. Neoliberalist economic policies also discouraged governmental intervention in the labor market, and the lack of state interference resulted in a weakening of public efforts to rectify gender inequality in the job market and workplaces and to address women and men in marginalized positions. Given the social Darwinian character of neoliberalist culture based on isolated individualism and unlimited competition, many have argued that neoliberalism is more than a matter of economic policy. According to Song, neoliberalism promotes a “sociocultural logic” and “a social ethos operating through a wide variety of social agents as well as an economic program.” Family relationships cannot be immune from this powerful project of change.”¹⁴²

Neoliberal economy and home have been interwoven in new ways. Traditionally, the role of men, especially in the family, has been defined by three major responsibilities: (1) being a good economic provider/breadwinner; (2) being a protector; and (3) being a disciplinarian. The financial crisis initially created a social atmosphere in which a man’s role and responsibility as a breadwinner seemed to have been reconsidered and compromised. Under the high market pressures of a neoliberalist economy, however, men and fathers continued to be stuck with the traditional gender role division, or they even regressed into a traditional work-focused manhood

141 Raewin Connell. *Confronting Equality: Gender, Knowledge and Global Change* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity, 2011), 43.

142 Ibid.

and fatherhood. At the same time, the socioeconomic changes destabilized the capacity of men to act as the sole breadwinner, which had traditionally undergirded men's patriarchal authority in the family. Korean men and fathers lost the domestic authority that they used to exercise as the main wage earner, making it infeasible for them to adhere to the role of the estranged father with authority.

The heightened cultural emphasis on more involved and relational fatherhood has also exerted an impact on this social condition. This cultural shift in fatherhood can be understood as "the relational turn," which was originally used in the psychoanalytic field in reference to the shift in the field's new attention to relationship in post-Freudian theory away from Freudian drive theory.¹⁴³ Traditionally, the acts of caring and nurturing had been considered the exclusive domain of women and mothers and have not been an expected or valued activity for fathers. But a relational turn in fatherhood has entailed higher expectations for the father's involvement in the care of children, a shift from a distant breadwinner to a more emotionally caring, nurturing, and relational father. An important cultural marker for the relational turn in fatherhood was a significant increase in men's presence at the birth of their children. Also, the emergence of men's movements and groups that concerned fathering issues, the variety of educational programs, books, support groups, and organizations for fathers demonstrated a shift in the culture of fatherhood. So in a situation where their instrumental roles could no longer guarantee their authority and dominance, men's expressive roles in family relationships were stressed in order to secure, maintain, and regain domestic authority. However, the pressure of a neoliberalist economy, which results from the insecurity of the job market, unlimited competition, and

¹⁴³ Even though a concern for more nurturing parenting emerged slowly in Western/North American culture, "practices and perspectives on fatherhood garnered new attention, beginning in the mid-1960s and most notably in the 1980s in the U.S" according to sociologists (Canfield, 2011; Wall & Arnold, 2007).

excessive amounts of labor, seems to create a circumstance where a majority of men and fathers cannot help experiencing a sense of guilt and conflict between multiple roles. Connell notes that “in this milieu, being a good parent means buying the best services for one’s own children. All this is done under considerable pressure, because such fathers and mothers are also parenting to the market.”¹⁴⁴ Just as parents themselves are the agent of a neoliberal market, parenting practices involves producing children as effective market agents through the commodification of education in changing economic realities, which are challenging especially for working-class parents who do not have a market power.

Masculinity Trouble (?): Discourses on a Crisis in Masculinity or Crisis of Men

Scholars in the study of men and masculinities along with mass media have addressed what they call a “crisis for men” or “crisis in masculinity,” though what it actually means and on what level it may exist still remains vague and equivocated.¹⁴⁵ Generally the notion indicates that men as a social group are experiencing problems “at a rate disproportionate to their numbers and with uniqueness that seems to be a part of the lived world of men.”¹⁴⁶ The phrase does not imply, however, that there is something intrinsically wrong or problematic with men. North American scholars identify broadly three major areas in which men as a social group are not doing well: (1) male violence; (2) higher education; and (3) health concerns.¹⁴⁷ In *Cultures of Masculinity*, Tim Edwards makes a helpful distinction between “the crisis from without” and “the crisis from within,” which are often conflated. First, “the crisis from without” refers to problems pertaining

144 Connell, *Masculinities*, 56.

145 For this reason, some raise questions about the notion of “the crisis in masculinity” itself as slippery and lacking empirical evidence, viewing the crisis in masculinity as a matter of interpretation (See Beynon 2002).

146 Kahn, *Introduction to Masculinity*, 165.

147 *Ibid.*, 166-186.

to the position of men in the family, education, and work.¹⁴⁸ Second, “the crisis from within” focuses on “a perceived shift in men’s experiences of their position as men” often represented by “their sense of powerlessness, meaninglessness and uncertainty.”¹⁴⁹ Such a distinction implies that, even though men as a group or as individuals can be considered to be stuck in crisis from an outsider’s view, they may not necessarily experience it as a crisis in terms of an inner sense of masculinity.

In Korean society, however, the term “crisis of masculinity” has hardly been associated with male violence and higher education, though they were main concerns among North American scholars. Problems primarily associated with the crisis of masculinity in Korean contexts encompass health concerns, both physical and mental, unemployment (the loss of economic and instrumental roles as a breadwinner), midlife crisis, and the so-called feminization of boys and men.¹⁵⁰ With high rates for illnesses in Korean society, for example, the issue of health concerns have been frequently reverberated as a social problem for men. Although the suicide rate of Koreans is highest among all the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)¹⁵¹ and has continued to rise, it increased sharply during the middle and late 1990s when Korea was going through economic crisis.¹⁵² The suicide rates during the same period is 2 or 3 times higher in men than women.¹⁵³

148 Tim Edwards. *Cultures of Masculinity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 7-8.

149 Ibid., 8.

150 See Mijung Lee. “Supporting Strategies for the Families of Retired Men in Crisis.” *Gender Review* 7 (2007).

151 See <http://www.oecd.org/els/health-systems/MMHC-Country-Press-Note-Korea.pdf>. Accessed April 13, 2014.

152 Joon-Pil. Cho. “Suicide in Korea” In *Suicide Prevention: Meeting the Challenge Together*. Lakshmi Vijayakumar, ed (Orient Longman Pvt Ltd, 2003), 231-232.

153 The male suicide rate in 1991 was 12.1% and in 1997 it increased to 19.5%.

In addition, cultural media in Korean society have indicated men's role confusion and identity crisis in a rapidly changing society that includes shifts in economic structures/systems and the expansion of public policies and consciousness regarding gender equality with the rise of feminism. In a journal article which starts with a question "why men are crying these days?" Moonjae Lee argues that contemporary men are not equipped with strong masculinity that society expects from them.¹⁵⁴ According to Lee, the so-called "the devastation of masculinity" is not only an issue for middle age males; it is a crisis across generations from boys, adolescents, young married men to older men. More importantly, the crisis appeared in the context of the economic crisis and the subsequent bailout from the IMF. Such socioeconomic changes have destabilized the capacity of men to act as the sole breadwinner in the family, and this has made it infeasible for them to adhere to the role of the distant father with authority. In terms of definition, analysis of the cause, and solution to "the crisis," I will lay out three distinctive approaches to the notion of a crisis in masculinity in terms of definition, analysis of the cause, and solution.

A Crisis in Masculinity as a Loss of "Real" or "True" Masculinity

The proponents of this approach presuppose the existence of a normal, natural, and ahistorical essence of masculinity or what it means to be a man. Based on the idea of correspondence between biological sex and gender, this essentialist approach acknowledges the appropriateness of determined and expected roles and behaviors for each gender that are rooted

¹⁵⁴ Moonjae Lee. "namsungui wiki, inryuwiki bureunda." Sisajournal (May 18, 1995). Accessed <http://www.sisapress.com/nes/articlePrint.html?idxno=2526>.

in either biology or tradition, including moral and religious beliefs.¹⁵⁵ For example, the traditional role of males as breadwinners and protectors is considered to be the intrinsic nature of men, implying that they are predisposed to be dominant in the public sphere. In contrast, women as caregivers and homemakers are regarded as naturally dominant in the private sphere. Thus, the essentialist approach claims that the reversal or violations of traditional gender roles lead to social and moral unraveling, including the crisis of masculinity. This view also asserts that the maintenance or restoration of traditional behaviors could contribute to a more civilized society, making people happier because such behaviors are compatible with natural tendencies.¹⁵⁶ In this regard, the essentialist solution to the crisis entails helping men learn what is considered “real” or “true” manhood and shaping society to value such a masculinity.

In *Politics of Masculinity*, Michael Messner identifies two men’s groups or movements in the U.S as “essentialist retreats”: the mythopoetic groups¹⁵⁷ and the Promise Keepers, an evangelical men’s movement. While the Promise Keepers tend to criticize feminism, sexual liberation, and the disintegration of the family as a primary reason for the crisis of masculinity, the mythopoetic groups are apt to blame the problem on modernization. These two essentialist groups differ in many respects, but they commonly problematize what they see as a feminization of men.¹⁵⁸ Robert Bly was the most influential and yet controversial representative of the

155 Kenneth Clatterbaugh. *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity* (Oxford, UK: Westview Press, 1997). Clatterbaugh makes a distinction between biological and moral conservatives.

156 Ibid, 40.

157 The mythopoetic men’s movement is not a single, unified, univocal men’s movement. There are at least two representative of mythopoetic men’s movement: (1) Robert Bly’s and (2) John Rowan’s Wicca tradition, which was “more humanistic, more political, more feminist, and less Freudian. This is partly one of the reasons why the mythopoetic men’s movement gained mixed responses from people.

158 Michael A. Messner. *Politics of masculinities: Men in movements* (Oxford, UK: Altamira Press, 2000), 16-17.

mythopoetic groups. In his book *Iron John: A Book about Men*,¹⁵⁹ which was recognized as a pioneering work in the mythopoetic men's movement, he claims that the images of adult manhood presented by the popular culture in Western/North American culture are “worn out,” and can thus no longer be cherished by men. He thus emphasizes the need for reclaiming ancient myths, rituals, and fairy tales. Bly is particularly concerned with the lack of initiation rites and the lack of older male mentors for young men in contemporary society. He asserts that fathers in this society are not doing a good job of raising their sons because they are “absent.” Social changes such as modernization have disallowed boys from making the transition to manhood in a healthy way due to the lack of rituals marking the phases of men’s maturation.¹⁶⁰ In this regard, the mythopoetic men’s group offers “a collective ritual structure within which individual men can explore, discover, and reconstruct their inner selves.”¹⁶¹

In the Korean context, the Father School, profoundly influenced by the U.S Promise Keepers, represents an essentialist perspective. Just like the Promise Keepers (PK), the Father School embraces the essential differences between men and women. While acknowledging the confusion and tension between the essential/natural masculinity and the changing gender norms and demands for men, PK authors propose a Christ-like model of manhood as a rationale to domesticate males into responsible family roles.¹⁶² Likewise, the FS draws on the same strategy by reclaiming the father's identity as "pastor, high priest, steward, and leader," what they call a “servanthood headship” model. A servanthood headship model appropriates Jesus Christ, who is

159 The title of this book “Iron John (or Hans)” is a folktale which embodies many of the themes that the author wants to delineate. With the use of this folktale, he analyzes one episode of the tale in depth and then to the next episode, demonstrating how it captures the dilemmas of the contemporary men particularly in the United States.

160 Kahn, *Introduction to Masculinity*, 195.

161 Messner, *Politics of Masculinity*, 18.

162 Donovan, Brian. “Political Consequences of Private Authority: Promise Keepers and the Transformation of Hegemonic Masculinity.” *Theory and Society* 28, (1998): 817-43.

construed as both the head of the church and suffering servant, as a prototype for paradoxically embracing the tension between male spiritual headship and domestic servanthood. It implies the exercise of male spiritual authority and leadership roles in ways that are caring and affective, rather than in a tyrannical and oppressive ruling over family members. By doing so, however, the FS perpetuates domestic gender hierarchy in a spiritual form. Along with the mythopoetic groups, the Father School stresses “a need for men to retreat from women to create spiritually based homosocial rituals through which they can collectively recapture a lost or strayed true manhood.”¹⁶³

There are some problematic aspects of essentialist approaches to masculinity. First, the choice of essence or core masculinity is quite arbitrary, whether it is based on sociobiological or religious ideas. Authors in these approaches present the essence of masculinity with a variety of different concepts, definitions, and characteristics such as risk-taking (vs. security-seeking), aggressive (vs. non-aggressive), responsible (vs. irresponsible), and active (vs. passive). For the Christian essentialists such as the Father School and the Promise Keepers, the guidance of Scripture helps to know what is natural and unnatural while biological (especially sociobiology) essentialists find their evidence in the “universal” behaviors of humans and nonhumans. Essentialist approaches thus come up with differing understandings of what constitutes the essence of the masculine, normally presented in a binary form, and such understandings offer a norm or standard for the ways men’s lives and conditions (such as the crisis of masculinity) are interpreted and evaluated. Connell notes that “claims about a universal [essential] basis of

¹⁶³ Messner. *Politics of Masculinity*, 17.

masculinity tell us more about the ethos of the claimant than about anything else.”¹⁶⁴ For this reason, the essentialist approaches have faced serious criticisms from liberals and feminists.

A Crisis in Masculinity as Gender Role Discrepancy, Trauma, and Conflict

By rejecting the essentialist idea that there is a true or correct way of being masculine, a second approach affirms that masculinity is culturally and historically shifting and diverse; thus, there are multiple ways to be a man. The basic premise of this view is that each culture has formulated numerous forms, expressions, and norms with varying expectations about masculinity. The crisis results from men’s conflict with or maladjustment to shifting social and cultural expectations about masculinity. According to psychologist Jack Khan, there are three theoretical approaches for explicating the reason: (1) gender role discrepancy; (2) gender role trauma; and (3) gender role conflict.¹⁶⁵

First, *gender role discrepancy* refers to a discrepancy or difference between one’s ideal self and real self. Men experience such a discrepancy between “the way that men actually are in a culture and that particular culture’s expectations of the way they should be.”¹⁶⁶ Since most men cannot achieve such cultural expectations, men tend to internalize the discrepancy as their own failure and to experience it as role strain. However, discrepancy strain is described “as a process, not as a fixed experience.”¹⁶⁷ Men are therefore more likely to fluctuate in and out of strain rather than to be stuck in a state of discrepancy. Second, the *gender role trauma* approach

164 Connell. *Masculinities*, 69.

165 Jack S. Kahn, *Introduction to Masculinity* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

166 Ibid., 213.

167 Joseph H Pleck. “The Gender Role Strain Paradigm: An Update” in *A New Psychology of Men*, ed. Ronald Levant and William S Pollack (New York, NY, US: Basic Books, 1995), xiv. Cited in *Introduction to Masculinity*. Jack Khan (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 214.

focuses on different gender socialization in the family between boys and girls.¹⁶⁸ The premise of this approach is that the separation or detachment of boys from their mothers in early childhood sets the tone for the psychological development of boys that stresses independence, autonomy, and emotional dissociation, as opposed to that of girls that emphasizes relationship, empathy, and intimacy.¹⁶⁹ Such rigid masculinity, often referred to as “boy code” or “masculinity script,” is communicated by family, school, religious communities, and society, keeping boys and men from experiencing the full range of human qualities that are culturally associated with femininity. Lastly, the *gender role conflict* approach assumes the inherently problematic nature of the male gender role and expectations in most Western cultures, and such male expectations are understood to produce a variety of problems for men.¹⁷⁰ Though they vary in terms of theoretical focus, these three approaches commonly acknowledge that the phenomenon of crisis is “not because there is a ‘right’ way to be masculine, but because men are not prepared to effectively adapt to the changing norms of masculinity due to the rigidity of the male gender role,” whether it is due to family upbringing or socialization in society.¹⁷¹

Those who view the crisis in terms of gender role discrepancy, trauma, or conflict seek to find the ways in which the rigidity of male gender roles can be challenged and undermined so that men can adjust to changing gender norms or integrate roles and qualities culturally associated with femininity. The proponents of this approach claim that homosocial gatherings

168 This approach will be discussed in detail in chapter 2. For further references, see Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalytic and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Ronald F Levant and William S Pollack, *A New Psychology of Men* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); Olga Silverstein and Beth Rashbaum, *The Courage to Raise Good Men* (New York, N.Y., USA: Viking Press, 1994).

169 Kahn, *Introduction to Masculinity*, 215.

170 *Ibid.*, 218.

171 *Ibid.*, 209-211.

and environments can be beneficial for men to share personal struggles, losses, and grief, but this approach cannot address the issue of crisis in a fundamental sense.¹⁷² Key to the solution is to bring men in relationship and connection to women and femininity. This view believes the essentialist approach is misleading when it emphasizes the restoration of real masculinity through connection to the deep masculine or relationship with other men.

Crisis in Masculinity as Shift in or Challenge to Patriarchal Power and Privilege

This approach shares with the second approach some of the core assumptions about the nature of masculinity as culturally and historically shifting. The notion of a crisis in masculinity is not something new. Each culture and generation has experienced a crisis in different ways and for different socio-economic and cultural reasons.¹⁷³ It is thus misleading to assume some kind of normalcy or stability in masculinity prior to the current crisis of masculinity. The contemporary discourses of crisis simply reflect the construction of modern masculinity in Western and North American industrialized societies. This suggests that the notion of crisis may not necessarily be relevant and applicable cross-culturally.

Based on the analysis of power influenced by radical feminists, this approach focuses on how gender power, patriarchy, and male hegemony shape our understanding of and approach to the crisis in masculinity. According to this approach, the experience of the crisis results from a firm belief in and unawareness about male privilege and the effort to maintain it in the midst of a loss of rights or access to privileges.¹⁷⁴ It is not about the loss of real masculinity, nor the result

172 Ibid., 221.

173 See Michael S. Kimmel, *The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement and the Mythopoetic Leaders Answer* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995); John Beynon, *Masculinities and Culture* (Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2002).

174 Ibid., 235.

of gender role conflict or discrepancy. However, this does not mean that all men experience the crisis in the same way. Based on their positions of power, some men are placed in marginalized and subordinate roles and struggle with the feeling of powerlessness and helplessness, but men are not often aware of the fact that they receive both benefits and pain from patriarchy. Given the social structure, it is other men who are largely responsible for the problem which they face. Sociologist Michael Kimmel thus notes that "men's pain is caused by men's power."¹⁷⁵ So, the source of the crisis is patriarchy, not women and feminists. In this regard, the crisis can also be understood as a sign of the deterioration of patriarchal order and men's hegemony as male privilege and power is challenged in post-industrial societies.

Korean feminists have also approached the crisis of masculinity discourse in different ways. Young-ah Lee argues that the crisis of masculinity discourse does not refer to a crisis of all men but to a crisis of men with power.¹⁷⁶ The discourse is a response from men whose normative and hegemonic masculinities face changes and transitions. Even though the discourse may be seen as the dismantling and deterioration of male power and dominance, it is actually a mode of resistance to maintain male hegemony. Other feminists understand the crisis of masculinity in the context of a broader social discourse of familism. In her examination of the reconstruction of familism in the mass media, Haekyoung Park argues that the discourses of the family are constructed as a response to a national economic crisis that emotionalizes, privatizes, and masculinizes the economic problem.¹⁷⁷ The economic crisis in South Korea, for example, has

¹⁷⁵ Michael Kimmel. *The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement* (and the Mythopoetic Leaders Answer. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 366.

¹⁷⁶ Young-ah Lee. "Geundae choki dahmloanae namseongseong jaekooseong kwajeong kochal" (Study on the process of reconstruction of masculinity discourse in the early modern period). In a collection of articles entitled "Korean Masculinity: its Reconstruction and Genealogy," *Society for Korean Feminist Literature*, (Oct, 2013).

¹⁷⁷ Haekyoung Park. "The Reconstruction of Familism Discourses and the Limitations of Gender Equality Discourses during the South Korean Economic Crisis." *Korean Feminist Studies* 27 (2011): 71-106.

been reduced and translated into a crisis of men as main breadwinner through the use of familism discourses in the mass media. The discursive strategy of familism, however, puts the responsibility for the problem upon wives and mothers, paradoxically leading to the promotion of women's status *and* the reproduction of traditional gender division of labor.

Conclusion

By tracing the changing dominant norms and practices of Korean masculinities from the late 1900 to the present, I have demonstrated how hegemonic visions of masculinities have been constructed as both an ideal and a lived experience of Korean people. The configuration of *Seonbi* masculinity in the Confucian family and social systems is undergirded by Confucian authoritarianism, which had shaped the psychological formation of men and women in the pre-modern Korea and yet still affects the ethos of various cultural/religious institutions such as family, school, military, and church. This invokes This period is characterized by state valorization of militarization and an emphasis on militarized masculinity. Militarization describes the sociopolitical process and environment through which “militaristic control, influence, and ideologies” are transmitted and permeated into various societal domains and levels. It is marked by “a society’s dependence on the military for its wellbeing and results in the normalization of military values. In fact, *Taejangbu* as a dominant masculine ideal for modern Korean men was mediated significantly by the context of colonialism and, more specifically, colonial modernity. The discipline of body and the cultivation of physical strength embedded in the masculine ideal of *Taejangbu* could be seen as a threat to the Japanese colonial regime. However, by castrating the spirit of independence, the Japanese colonial authority domesticated and subordinated the masculine ideal to the colonial power and order, and the pursuit of bodily

discipline and strength became a mechanism to internalize the rules and roles of the colonized and thereby to maximize the interests of the Japanese colonial government. Finally, in a situation where their instrumental roles could no longer guarantee their authority and dominance, men's expressive roles in family relationships were stressed in order to secure, maintain, and regain domestic authority. I have also argued the "crisis of masculinity" discourses serve as an ideological mechanism that reconfigures hegemonic masculinity to be more compatible with changing environments and challenges men are facing. By doing so, I have shown how the cultural and religious discourses promote a process of re-adjusting the homeostasis of male dominance and become complicit to hegemonic masculinity.

The proponents of the feminist views seek to deconstruct and challenge the dominant views of masculinity and dismantle patriarchy through scholarship and activism. Based on the social constructionist view of masculinity as plural, which is a form of activism in a sense, Korean feminists have been critical of men's studies and movements that take essentialist and antifeminist positions. Even though there are many areas in which women are not doing well in Korean society, crisis in masculinity discourses, as a political and ideological strategy or reactionary response from men, tend to eclipse the urgency and seriousness of women's issues in Korean context. It is even more so given the social reality and order that does not allow most people to see this concern as a crisis or even a legitimate concern. Feminist critiques make it clear that such discourses have some significant political implications in terms of their portrayal of men exclusively as victims of political process and/or their emphasis on men's pain rather than men's power. They construct a wide sense of crisis in masculinity that "reduce the matter of

sexual politics to mere psychological issues.”¹⁷⁸ It is also critical to develop a conceptual framework that enables us to consider both the vulnerability and relative power of men positioned in diverse groups. We should consider the possibility of complicating political contexts that demand the awareness of gender hierarchy and order and the acknowledgement of difference. The next chapter turns to Asian feminist theology to construct such a framework.

¹⁷⁸ Brian Taylor. *Responding to Men in Crisis: Masculinities, Distress and the Postmodern Political Landscape* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006.), 149.

CHAPTER 2

Images of Men and Masculinities in Asian/Korean Feminist Theology: Constructing a Theological Basis for Rethinking Masculinities

In tracing the changing dominant norms and practices of masculinities, I argued in my previous chapter that visions of masculinity are not culturally universal or transhistorical but that they shift according to a complex sociocultural, political, and economic matrix. As also noted in introduction, a multitude of new images of men have emerged and gained cultural attention through mass media in East Asian/Korean culture. Even though such images are expressive of an increased concern about men's identities and roles in a changing society, androcentric assumptions and connotations embedded in many of these images tend to go unnoticed. The persistent resurgence of hegemonic/patriarchal masculinities calls for gender-informed theological investigation, along with meaningful guidance for transformed praxis.

Feminist approaches have formulated gender-informed proposals that have a strong concern for transformed praxis and theories. Gender analysis as a basic organizing principle of feminist research and self-reflexivity as an essential aspect of transformative research together have served as critical tools in feminist theology. Given that the academic studies of men and masculinities have often been criticized for reifying and reproducing gendered power and male supremacy, a feminist approach could help a researcher be more gender-conscious and self-reflexive about his or her own social locations and foster transformed praxis and revised theories of masculinities. Yet such scholarly efforts to integrate feminist perspectives into a core discussion on challenging and reimagining masculinities are notably lacking in theology in general and pastoral theology in particular. In that light, this chapter gives attention to feminist

theology, particularly Asian feminist theology, as a foundational source for generating a critical and constructive dialogue on how we rethink masculinities.

While acknowledging some essentializing claims in the earlier literature, claims that Asian feminists themselves have addressed critically,¹⁷⁹ this chapter investigates some selected images of Asian men¹⁸⁰ and masculinities portrayed in Asian/Korean feminist theology. By the word “images,” I mean perceptual and mental signs or a set of appearances constituted by sensory descriptions, memories, ideas, and metaphors. Even though “images” normally refers to appearances that are detached from the place and time in which they first came to be and were preserved, here I discuss images paying attention to their contexts. This inquiry is grounded on a premise that the images of masculinity portrayed by Asian/Korean feminists include some sociological, psychological, and theological truths about Asian/Korean men. In *the Cry of Tamar*, for example, feminist pastoral theologian Pamela Cooper-White lays out the cultural portrayals of women in the U.S. culture and notes that critical examination of such images led her to identify “the whole territory of misogyny, hatred, and fear of women.”¹⁸¹ In other words, looking at media images of women exposed the deep forces and structures of patriarchy, and as Cooper-White asserts, this is a crucial move because such socially accepted public imagery of women has functioned as “the text for all the other forms of violence.”¹⁸² Given that dominant

¹⁷⁹ See, for example, Nam-soon Kang, “Creating Dangerous Memory: Challenges for Asian and Korean Feminist Theology,” *Ecumenical Review* 47 No. 1 (January, 1995); Pui-lan Kwok, *Introducing Asian Feminist Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000).

¹⁸⁰ While acknowledging huge cultural diversity and difference among them, I use the term “Asian men” to refer to East Asian men—though not exclusively so-- including immigrants in the U.S. who share a Confucian heritage that is manifested in their similar family values, ethnic pride, and interpersonal distance. This includes Korea, China, Taiwan, and Japan, though here more focus is given to the Korean context.

¹⁸¹ Pamela Cooper-White, *The Cry of Tamar: Violence against Women and The Church's Response* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995), 42.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 45.

visions and images of masculinity are tied critically to the way men assert what they believe to be manhood in a given context, I believe that, beyond men's narcissistic, androcentric self-definitions of masculinity, it is necessary for us to attend to how Asian/Korean feminists have portrayed men and masculinity.

Based on four distinct categories of images of men, I argue that their appropriation in Asian/Korean feminist theology could help construct a basis both for rethinking masculinities and for offering pastoral guidance to Asian/Korean men located in diverse contexts of men's lives. At the risk of overgeneralization, I understand men to be situated in three different phases: (1) men who are unaware of or ignore the feminist and womanist challenges and persist in patriarchal masculine roles and values, including perpetrating violence against women and children; (2) men who are informed about changing expectations yet struggle and falter with ambivalence and confusion of how to implement these new expectations in real life; and (3) men who have strong commitment to postpatriarchal reconstruction of gender roles and to redefining masculine identity, as well as to gender justice and equality. Given this reality, the images could be appropriated for three critical moves or possibilities: (1) as *a critical reflexivity* to the continuing hegemonic/patriarchal masculinities of some Asian men by facing their own images from Asian women and facilitating a critical self-reflection; (2) as *a critical memory* to those who no longer want to recapitulate or revive patriarchal roles in their marital, familial lives, and; (3) as *a critical pedagogy* intended to guide men towards developmental sensitivity in living out anti-sexist, post-patriarchal relational values beyond patriarchal constraints.

In this chapter, I first examine the relation between image representation and the impact of images on human action, belief, and attitude. By doing so, I explicate what the images of men and masculinity portrayed by Asian feminist theologians have to with the realities and lives of

Asian/Korean men and what constitutes a theoretical basis for the relation between images and their impact on Asian/Korean men. Based on the observations of some Asian feminist theologians, such as Hyun Kyung Chung, Virginia Fabella, Namsoon Kang, and others,¹⁸³ I then illustrate four representative images of Asian men portrayed in the literature: Oppressors as Agents of Patriarchy; Victims/Co-sufferers; Decentered Bystanders; and Participants/Advocates for Women's Liberation. Finally, I discuss the possibility of pastoral appropriation of these images along with some implications for pastoral theology. My concern in this chapter is not to evaluate the accuracy and truthfulness of the images nor to construct a completely new image, but to appropriate particularly useful images in order to create a basis for rethinking Asian/Korean men and masculinity. To establish such a new and more adequate pastoral theological basis for understanding men it is vital first to deconstruct men's androcentric patterns and images and to prevent any premature work of reconstruction. This focus on the images of men and masculinity should not be interpreted as implying that patriarchy is merely a matter of a mental imagery or male psyche. At all points, this chapter acknowledges the very real and hard-wired human issues of power and control that are firmly rooted in the history of patriarchy.

The Significance of Image

In everyday life, we experience a wide range of images from a variety of sources. Some of these images become part of our mental life, which consists of a plethora of diverse internal images and associated ideas and representations, which we hold both consciously and

¹⁸³ I draw on three criteria for selecting work for my research: (1) The foremost criterion is whether and to what the extent the work touches on the issue of men and masculinity; (2) Second, the work is contextualized with an aspect of Asian/Korean experience and is rooted in Asian reality; (3) Finally, the work is theological in nature with reference to faith traditions and is published in English. These criteria are helpful in terms of ensuring a manageable scope for my research and accessibility to the relevant literature.

unconsciously. Historically, images, along with languages, have been a significant and yet enigmatic issue across disciplines, including theology.¹⁸⁴ In contrast to real and material images, the notion of mental and verbal imagery in particular has been discredited by modern neuropsychology and philosophy due to its instability and temporality.¹⁸⁵ Yet regardless of how the complex relations between imagery and social reality are conceived, questions about the nature of mental images cannot dismiss the effects and functions of such images on human lives. Despite the discredited status of notions of mental imagery in modern criticism, a great deal of social psychology literature has demonstrated that mental imagery and representations play a significant role in influencing our self-image, interpersonal relationships, and the world view in a variety of different ways.¹⁸⁶ In his book *Psychology of Image*, psychologist Michael Forrester explains that external images that become an integral part of our mental lives in turn influence the way we look at things.¹⁸⁷ When an image arrests our attention, we move closer and respond to it in various ways. Images not only shape our ways of seeing, they also influence our bodily movements and behaviors. In this way, images are considered to function as teachers of values, ideologies, beliefs, and performative actions whether or not they are positive and whether or not the creator of those images is conscious of their intent.

Certainly, the impact of these images on one's ideas and attitudes is contingent upon how one connects to, plays with, and/or partakes in those images. W. J. T Mitchell notes that "images are not just a particular kind of sign, but something like an actor on the historical stage, a presence or character endowed with legendary status, a history that parallels and participates in

¹⁸⁴ W.J.T. Mitchell, "What is an Image?" *New Literary History* 15 No. 3 (Spring, 1984): 506.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 507.

¹⁸⁶ See Forrester's work for the related research and the relation between images and the social construction of reality.

¹⁸⁷ Michael Forrester, *Psychology of Image* (London: Routledge, 2000), 1.

the stories we tell ourselves.”¹⁸⁸ Depending upon how one relates to “an actor,” images can serve to create opportunities for authentic and critical self-reflections and interpretations of the self, world, and God—or not. Historically, different religious imageries or “actors” have held the luring and formative power among communities of faith at different historical junctures, and religious leaders have long recognized the power of religious images to shape public perception and pedagogical direction.¹⁸⁹ Even though images from biblical and Western theological traditions could be invoked as resources to guide Asian/Korean men, it is still necessary to take into consideration cultural relevancy and adaptability of such images because images do not have universal currency. Images, whether religious or secular, are essentially social phenomena which cannot be viewed and used in a vacuum. It is therefore vital to explore what kind of images could be called for to facilitate Asian/Korean men’s meaning-full and transforming encounter with “actors” on the cultural and historical stage.

Given their cultural relevancy and proximity, I contend that the images of men reflected in Asian feminist theology can help Asian/Korean men rethink their identities and roles. Such images of men and masculinity are the ones that have been historically constructed, culturally embodied, and filtered through perspectives and experiences of Asian/Korean women. When appropriated in the context of pastoral care, these images have the potential to influence Asian/Korean men in pastorally and pedagogically meaningful ways. Furthermore, Asian/Korean feminist portrayals of men and masculinities are not simply cultural but also theological constructs that have emerged from the depths of Asian cultures and been narrated in Asian/Korean women’s idioms. In that light, I assert that Asian/Korean feminist portrayals of

¹⁸⁸ Mitchell, “What is an Image?,” 503-537.

¹⁸⁹ David Morgan, *The Lure of Images: A History of Religion and Visual Media in America* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 199.

men and masculinity which are culturally-relevant and theologically attentive to the Asian context could guide Asian/Korean men more profoundly toward a self-reflective, memory-provoking, and pedagogically transformative identification with these images.

Images of Men and Masculinities in Asian/Korean Feminist Theology

A few observations need to be addressed briefly before discussing the images of men and masculinity in detail. First, with a lack of explicit concern for and general silence on the issues of men and masculinity in Asian/Korean feminist theological literature, most discussions of these issues are done in indirect and implicit ways as a backdrop for articulating their main interest in women's experiences and identity issues, which is expected and understandable. Nonetheless, there are certain loci in which a discussion on men and masculinity appears more frequently and explicitly: personal narratives of Asian women's experiences of suffering and oppression; and Christological and soteriological debates around the maleness or masculinity of Jesus and its implications for the role and place of women and men in churches and societies. In addition, the descriptions of men and masculinity are generally critical, negative, and deconstructive in nature, and yet there also exist promising images of men. Depending on their location in relation to patriarchal system and the experience of oppression, I identify four distinct categories of images: (A) Oppressors as active or passive agents of patriarchy (i.e., *Domestic Masters*), (B) Victims/Co-sufferers under patriarchal constraints (i.e., *Drunken Frenzy* and *Han-saturated Beings*) (C) Decentered bystanders (i.e., *The Decentered Sun*), and/or (D) Participants in women's liberation (i.e., *Mutual Liberator*). The use of these categories does not mean that Asian/Korean men are homogenized and that there is no room for individual variations.

Men as Domestic Masters

First, Asian men are portrayed as *domestic masters* characterized as authoritarian, tyrannical, abusive, irresponsible, helpless, and overburdened with reference to the personal narratives and witnesses of women's suffering. Asian feminist theologians, such as Hyun Kyung Chung, Namsoon Kang, and Christine Tse, introduce the "common" experience of Asian women in traditional Asian societies regarding women's three virtues of obedience to men, which are influenced by Confucian thought that dictates that a woman should be obedient to her father before marriage, to her husband after marriage, and to her oldest son after the death of her husband. Kang notes, "Even in promoting filial piety in Confucianism, the key players come from the two male figures of the family—father and son...Korean women [are] to be under submission of male figures all throughout her life: her father, her husband, and her son."¹⁹⁰ With few exceptions, in Asian feminist theological literature men are predominantly described as domestic masters throughout a woman's major life transitions, with the result that a woman becomes deprived and disempowered – a "no-body." Strikingly, this is the ongoing reality in the Asian countries which remain in the grip of Confucian family law and unwritten rules that men maintain as part of their status as masters in all aspects of life.¹⁹¹ It demonstrates that the hegemonic status and roles of men in marital and familial relationships are intertwined with and undergirded by the interlocking oppressive and patriarchal socio-political systems.

¹⁹⁰ Kang, "Creating Dangerous Memory," 39.

¹⁹¹ Virginia Fabella and Mercy Amba Oduyoye, eds., *With Passion and Compassion: The Third World Women Doing Theology* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1988), 119.

Men as Victims: Drunken Frenzy and Han-saturated Beings

Ironically, Asian men, who are predominantly portrayed as oppressors in Asian feminist literature, are also portrayed as victims and women's co-sufferers under institutional and structural powers of oppression and dominance. Pauline Chakkalakal introduces a story of Leelanvathy, a mother of six children, in which the husband is described as being helpless and powerless while the family suffers and struggles for survival.¹⁹² Chung notes, "Korean women have been suffering with men under colonialism, neo-colonialism, and military dictatorship throughout our painful history. The oppression of women, however, has taken specific forms in addition to all of the experiences of suffering that women share with men."¹⁹³ Korean men have a double image both as oppressors and the oppressed, positioned in the common historical, political context of colonialism and military oppression, even though women's suffering has the aspect of "gender specificity."

The subjective experiences of those who have been oppressed politically, exploited economically, and marginalized socially by the powerful and wealthy oppressors have been identified with an Asian (and particularly a Korean) term —*han*¹⁹⁴— that describes the depths of pain and suffering. To demonstrate the far-reaching influences of *han*, Chung introduces a poem written by a twelve-year-old Korean girl living in a poor community of Korean society. This

¹⁹² Pauline Chakkalakal, "Asian Women Reshaping Theology: Challenges and Hopes. *Feminist Theology*, FT 27 (2001): 21-35.

¹⁹³ Hyun Kyung Chung, "Han-pu-ri: Doing Theology from Korean Women's Perspective," *The Ecumenical Review*, 40 no. 1 (January, 1988): 31.

¹⁹⁴ The late Minjung theologian, Nam-Dong Suh defines the concept of *han* as "the suppressed, amassed and condensed experience of oppression caused by mischief so that it forms a kind of lump in one's spirit" (See "Towards a Theology of Han," in *Minjung Theology* (Singapore, CCA, 1981), 65. Another Korean Minjung theologian, Yung-Hak Suh sees it as "a sense of unresolved resentment against injustice suffered, a sense of helplessness, a feeling of acute pain of sorrow in one's guts and bowels making the whole body writhe and wiggle, and an obstinate urge to take revenge and to right the wrong all these constitute." See "Minjung the Suffering servant and Hope," a lecture given at Union Theological seminary, New York, 13 (April 1982):7.

poem in a narrative form reveals the image of men as *han-saturated* or *han-ridden* beings, exhibiting a manifestation of *han* that is quite distinct to that of women.

My mother's name is worry,
In summer, my mother worries about water,
In winter, she worries about coal briquettes,
And all the year long, she worries about rice

Then, my mother's name is worry.
My father's name is drunken frenzy,
And mine is tear and sigh.¹⁹⁵

This poem depicts a father as a “drunken frenzy” who does not care or partake in his wife’s worry or his child’s tear and sigh. Here, a father is simply a helpless, powerless, and self-destructive being who suffers under the situation of extreme poverty. Whereas the mother’s endless worries and children’s tear and sigh are a more “feminine” expression of *han*, the image of “drunken frenzy” can be seen as a more “masculine” expression of *han* in Korean culture. In his book *The Exploration of Inner Wounds-Han*, Jae Hoon Lee notes that in Korean culture, the *han* of women has been expressed in the form of “myth, legend, fairy tale, and ritual.”¹⁹⁶ Such expressive outlets, however, were not culturally available to most Korean men. For this reason, it seems that the *han* of men has often been manifested in more extreme ways: in actions destructive and aggressive to others (active expressions of *han*) or the totally acquiescent attitudes based on a collapsed sense of hope (passive expressions of *han*). The concept of *han* thus aptly describes the double nature of men as both oppressors and the oppressed. Given the shared, collective experiences of *han* among Asian men, the image of “drunken frenzy” represents a *han-ridden* character of Asian men under oppression and poverty which

¹⁹⁵ Chung, 34. A quotation from *My Mother's Name is Worry: a Preliminary Report of the Study on Poor Women in Korean* (Seoul: Christian Institute for the Study of Justice and Development, 1983).

¹⁹⁶ Jae Hoon Lee, *The Exploration of the Inner Wounds- Han* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1994), 18.

marginalizes and separates them from the reality of life, thrusting them into total despair, helplessness, and resignation to the reality that looks irrevocable and hopeless.

Men as Decentered Bystanders: The Decentered Sun

Asian men are also described as decentered bystanders in the narratives of Asian feminist theologians. They are neither perpetrators nor immediate victims of oppressive systems. They are more like bystanders in the margin dealing with the sense of in-betweenness, confusion, and ambiguity, not knowing where to stand and how to redefine their relationships with women. One of the representative images is “the decentered sun” found in Hyun Kyung Chung’s book *Struggle to Be the Sun Again*. Chung articulates that Asian women were “once self-defining persons” like the sun but “now have become dependent women defined by men,” just as the moon depends on the sun’s light.¹⁹⁷ To be the sun again means for women to regain agency and subjectivity especially in relationships with men who have been regarded as “the sun” under the patriarchy. The title of this book therefore reflects and expresses Asian women’s yearning and passion for liberation and wholeness in their lives. Chung further explicates what the outcome of women becoming the sun would look like in their actual personal relationships with men, now naming them “self-awakened and self-affirming women.” She says, “On the personal level, women define new relationships with the men in their lives. Such women are unwilling to stand in awe of men or be pushed around, manipulated, or dominated.”¹⁹⁸ The self-awakened/self-affirming women, Chung adds, witness the changes in their marriage by resisting men’s patriarchal attitudes, or by making a radical break with patriarchal marriage through divorce

¹⁹⁷ As Chung notes, the title of the book comes from a Japanese woman, Hiratsuka Raicho’s poem, “The Hidden Sun.”

¹⁹⁸ Hyun Kyung Chung, *Struggle to be the Sun Again* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990), 45.

(despite its continuing stigma in Asian culture), or even through choosing “lesbianism,” a strong taboo in Asian society.¹⁹⁹ Consequently, Chung views Asian women’s shifting relationships with their primary partners not only as a way to protect and heal themselves from men’s violence and oppression, but also as a sign of self-awakened and self-validating women’s self-love in personal lives.

Though envisioning the new status and identity of women in their struggle “to be the sun again” is the main concern in Chung’s book, the image of the sun poses some critical questions about the changing or changed standing of men: What implications and ramifications will Asian women “becoming the sun” have for the role and position of men who have functioned as the sun in women’s lives? If it is not that men’s status as the sun should be abandoned (nor that men should now take the position of the moon), how can Asian men’s orbits and roles be challenged and reformulated in their relationship with women as the other sun? In this way, the image of men as *the decentered sun* not only dislocates men from their centered, privileged position to a decentered, equal one with women, but also leads us to the discussion about the transformation of relationships between men and women.

In a more fundamental sense, however, one might question whether the image of the sun, which has been an operant image of hegemonic/patriarchal men and masculinity, is a proper or adequate image for transforming the relationship between women and men. Moreover, the distinction between the sun and the moon is grounded in the Chinese philosophical concept of *yin* and *yang*, which has been introduced by many feminists as an alternative framework to

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 45.

Western dualism.²⁰⁰ In her article on challenges for Asian and Korean feminist theology, Namsoon Kang claims that the cosmological idea of *yin* and *yang*, though originally conceived as interacting and complementary, came to develop a hidden sexism over time through establishing *yang* as being superior to *yin*. This conceptual framework has been practiced as a patriarchal ideology in reality, thus naturalizing and sustaining patriarchy.²⁰¹

Nonetheless, the image of the sun and the moon is helpful in demonstrating that Asian women's struggle to "shine in their own light out of her burning core of life," calls for men's struggle to adjust and redirect their own light first by shedding light on themselves for insight and personal growth. Given the struggles of women to reclaim agency as an ongoing process in Asian society, the nature and quality of the relationship between men and women should be further clarified and transformed in light of both women's own subjectivity and their interconnectedness with others, including men.

Men as Participants in Women's Liberation and Mutual Liberators

It is challenging to find accounts of promising models and constructive images of men and masculinities in Asian feminist theology literature, and this lack of positive images itself reveals the deep-seated patriarchal reality that rendered masculinity invisible and silenced the discussion on positive masculine alternatives in the Asian contexts. However, one promising image of a man is arguably revealed in Asian feminists' theological interpretations of Jesus Christ as "the prototype of the real liberator, reflecting the historical contexts of Asian women

²⁰⁰ *Yin* has been associated "with water, earth, the moon, femininity and nighttime," while *yang* "with fire, sky, the sun, masculinity and daytime." See Charles E. Osgood, "From Yang and Yin to and or but," *Language* 49.2 (1973): 380–412.

²⁰¹ Kang, "Creating Dangerous Memory," 25.

under the multiple forms of oppression.²⁰² In her formulation of a Christology from an Asian women's perspective, Virginal Fabella emphasizes that the image of Jesus as liberator is consistent with "a liberational, hope-filled, love-inspired, and praxis-oriented Christology," yet she finds the image of "lord" to be inconsistent and problematic in terms of its colonial and feudal connotations.²⁰³ She sees that Jesus' attitude towards, and treatment of, women was characterized by deep respect, contrary to the prevailing customs and practices of his day.²⁰⁴ While problematizing traditional images like "suffering servant," Chung also draws on the new images of Jesus coming out of Asian women's movement, such as "liberator" and "revolutionary, political martyr."²⁰⁵ In these writings, Jesus is understood as a liberator who restores the full humanity of women from their inferior status distorted by patriarchy

What is obvious is that Asian feminist theologians such as Fabella and Chung do not make any direct connection between male Jesus as a liberator and other males as they reflect upon the significance of Jesus for Asian women. In the composite paper of the EATWOT²⁰⁶ Asian Women's Consultation, entitled "Women and the Christ Event," the authors make it clear that the overemphasis on the maleness of Jesus is one of the distorted theological premises that have been used to discriminate against women in the church and society.²⁰⁷ According to Fabella, Asian feminist theologians think of the maleness of Jesus merely as "functional," not "essential." She writes:

²⁰² "Women and the Christ Event," in *Proceedings: Asian Women's Consultation* (Manila: EATWOT, 1985), 131.

²⁰³ R. S. Sugirtharajah, ed., *Asian Faces of Jesus* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 218.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 232-243. Other images include "worker and grain," and "mother and shaman."

²⁰⁶ The Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians.

²⁰⁷ Virginia Fabella and Mercy Amba Oduyoye, eds., *With Passion and Compassion: The Third World Women Doing Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988), 120.

Feminist theologians in the U.S. have raised the question of the maleness of Jesus. Among Asian women, the maleness of Jesus has not been a problem for we see it as “accidental” to the salvific process...By being male, Jesus could repudiate more effectively the male definition of humanity and show the way to a right and just male-female relationship, challenging both men and women to change their life patterns.²⁰⁸

In that light, it seems both helpful and problematic to employ this as a promising image for Asian men. It is helpful in the sense that Jesus sets an example as a male model who cares for the weakest and oppressed and lives out just and equal relationships with women and life abundant. Simultaneously, it could be problematic in the sense that to connect the roles of Jesus with men’s roles could be seen as an attempt to essentialize and divinize the maleness of Jesus, thus placing men into the role of liberator and “god” for women, problems frequently noted throughout early feminist theologians such as Mary Daly and Rosemary Reuther. This could be interpreted as reifying traditional male supremacy over women.

How then should liberating and empowering roles of Jesus be understood with respect to the new roles of Asian men? Interestingly, Chung presents a promising case of an Asian man as a participant in women’s liberation and a mutual liberator when she introduces two poems of Korean male workers that demonstrate “two radically different manifestations of male consciousness regarding women.”²⁰⁹ In contrast with the one that she thinks sees women as a means of male liberation, the other, No-Hai Park, sees women’s liberation as “an integral part of the total liberation process.” According to Chung, Park realized through his participation in the worker’s movement that “he was a dictator in his home,” and then gave up his male privilege in order to find “a new mode of life in which he frees himself of the sin of domination, thus setting his wife free from her cultural chain.”²¹⁰ The story suggests that men can be liberated

²⁰⁸ Sugirtharajah, *Asian Faces of Jesus*, 212.

²⁰⁹ Chung, *Struggle to Be the Sun Again*, 28-29.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

from androcentric and sexist ways of life and values by their transformative engagement with women and further can participate in women's liberation by helping women and other men to free themselves from various forms of patriarchal bondage. In such a mutual relationship, men and women can be conceived as "mutual liberators." I suppose this is the reason why Chung highlights not only the importance of men's eyes being opened to the web of oppression and their transformation, but also the necessity of establishing relational ethics with a new vision of the community in which men and women live in trust, respect, and democratic sharing.

Implications

Clarifying Assumptions about Key Concepts

The review of Asian feminist theologies reveals some assumptions about the issue of men and masculinity. First, Asian feminist theologians use "maleness" and "masculinity" as interchangeable terms. In her article on Christology and the experience of Indian women, for example, Monica Melanchton employs those two concepts as denoting the exact same thing.²¹¹ Parallel with scholarly efforts to make an analytical distinction between sex and gender, differences between maleness and masculinity need to be acknowledged in order to allow a clearer and fuller discussion. The term "sex" has generally referred to the genetic makeup of male or female as a biological category while "gender" has denoted a cultural construct that consists of expectations, ideals, and modes of action that are deemed appropriate in a given socio-cultural context.²¹²

²¹¹ Virginia Fabella and Sun Ai Park, et al., *We Dare to Dream: Doing Theology as Asian Women* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989), 19.

²¹² Stephen B. Boyd and W. Merle Longwood, et al., *Redeeming Men: Religion and Masculinities* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), xiv.

The descriptors “maleness” and “masculinity” tend to be used in Asian feminist theology as if maleness/masculinity is a monolithic, singular, and homogeneous entity. As discussed in chapter 1, however, masculinities change across time and are subject to historical and cultural shifts. The multiplicity and plurality of the images of Asian men and masculinity identified in Asian feminist theology warrant the understanding of masculinity as multiple, heterogeneous, and complex. Much as Hyunkyung Chung explains the shifting conceptions and expressions of Asian women’s *han* over the course of different historical stages of Korea, so too the images and experiences of men shift and diverge. The plurality of the images makes us reconsider stereotypical and essentialist images of Asian men that are culturally and historically imposed especially with respect to totalizing negative cultural stereotypes against Asian men.

In addition, in Asian feminist theology masculinity tends to be construed as inherently hegemonic and dominant. Given the reality of gender hierarchy among different men and the plurality of masculinities, hegemonic masculinities should be distinguished from non-hegemonic ones. Hegemonic masculinities refer to the dominant construction of ideals and norms considered appropriate for those who have held public power and hegemony, characterized by Euro-American, educated, middle- and upper-class, heterosexual, religiously Christian males—in the case of American society. It is a culturally specific concept that has unique and different manifestation in other cultural contexts; therefore, it needs to be translated when considered in the Korean context as delineated in chapter 1. In contrast, non-hegemonic masculinities denote the construction for those outside the dominant group, including men in an economically, racially, and socially marginalized status.²¹³

²¹³ Boyd, *Redeeming Men*, xiv-xv.

Asian men in general have been portrayed with conflicting or even double-binding stereotypical images in the North American mainstream media. A recent study has shown that Asian men are often stereotyped as “passive, feminine, nerdy, asexual,” (here referencing the myth of their small penises), and paradoxically at the same time as violent, sexual aggressors (such as wife beaters).²¹⁴ Given this situation, just as it is significant to note that men’s experience is not identical with generic human experience, so it is critical to recognize that the experiences of Asian men are not identical and that Asian men are sometimes unfairly and harmfully stereotyped—realities that feminist theology has overlooked; therefore, masculinities in the plural more accurately reflects the reality of the plurality and complexity of men’s experiences and identities.

Embodying Three Movements of Criticality as a Methodological Basis

The exploration of the images of men in Asian feminist literature yields some significant implications for guiding Asian men in the context of pastoral care and for establishing a basis for reimagining masculinities beyond patriarchy. First of all, pastoral use of images could catalyze a *critical reflexivity* by offering Asian men views and perceptions of themselves mirrored by Asian women, images that could facilitate critical self-reflection and self-consciousness. By *reflexivity*, I refer to a more immediate and dynamic process of self-awareness and “a self-critical lens” in a methodological sense through which one looks at oneself and becomes conscious of the nature of one’s personal and social life. As psychoanalyst Stephen Mitchell notes, it is a commonplace that one cannot experience oneself in a direct fashion, unmediated through relationship with others,

²¹⁴ Tewari, Nita & Alvarez, Alvin, *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives* (New York: Taylor and Francis Group, 2009), 215.

including objects, and their reflections.²¹⁵ Men recognize how they appear in a particular context and where they are situated depending on the nature, quality, and conditions of the reflecting substance. For example, since the images of Asian men as *domestic masters* and *drunken frenzies* reflect not simply a historical but also an enduring reality in Asian contexts, the pastoral appropriation of those images introduces a public awareness of diverse forms of oppression against women in marriage and family life. In this way, those images grounded on the living witness of Asian women function as a surface for critical reflection that enables Asian men to consider their status and their use of power in marriage and family. Certainly, this reflection engenders in men a wide range of mixed reactions: feelings of guilt and shame, confusion, and a sense of accountability that varies according to the form and extent of their privilege as men. Such emotional responses have a motivational character, urging them to reflect and act. Consequently, a critical reflexivity disrupts and challenges the internalized normativity of the hegemonic/patriarchal roles and attitudes of Asian men.

Second, the images can be retrieved as a *critical memory* not only to prevent them from recapitulating and reviving patriarchal roles in their marital, familial lives, but also to imagine and remember gender-sensitive and post-patriarchal roles and values for men. A critical memory to Asian men consists of two aspects: a memory of dominance, violence, and sexism, and a memory of gender-conscious attitudes, equal and just relationships, transformation, and empowerment. In that regard, what I recommend here is a counterpart to Sharon Welch's concept of *dangerous memory*, which has two dimensions: a memory of suffering, conflict, and exclusion and a memory of hope, freedom, and resistance.²¹⁶ For example, the image of *domestic*

²¹⁵ Stephen Mitchell, *Hope and Dread in Psychoanalysis* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 111.

²¹⁶ Sharon D. Welch, *Communities of Resistance and Solidarity* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1985), 35-42.

master could function as a critical memory to some Asian men while the same image results in critical reflexivity to others. The particular image provokes a memory of male dominance and supremacy in the family. Accordingly, a critical memory would especially be crucial to those in a transitional stage of divorcing themselves from sexist and patriarchal attitudes and relationships toward more equal and just ones. Since the transitional stage is quite unstable and confusing in nature, it can potentially lead or encourage men to remain at a liminal stage or to regress. The embodiment of critical memory supplies a dynamic force to enable not only more continual, committed responses to injustice but also transformative and creative imagination for life in justice and abundance.

Lastly, a *critical pedagogy* elicited by images of men such as *mutual liberator* could prompt a praxis-oriented process that makes actual changes in men possible through the embrace of a developmental sensitivity to the unique social and personal location of each man. While a critical reflexivity works mainly at intuitive and emotional levels and a critical memory at a cognitive level, critical pedagogy concerns behavioral and practical dimensions as men strive to live out with a sense of accountability anti-sexist, post-patriarchal relational values and attitudes beyond “the self-justifying moral worlds.” Welch notes:

Accountability is not met by increasingly sophisticated analyses of structures of oppression. Accountability is not met by increasingly subtle and deep feelings of rage and/or sorrow because of injustice. Accountability requires action: the use of our power in concrete ways to implement the demands of justice. Thinking and feeling, no matter how profound and subtle, are not actions. They may lead to action, but in themselves they mean little.²¹⁷

In light of Welch’s term, the critical pedagogy thus assists men in moving from “the justification of intent” toward bringing “effect” through the practice of accountability.²¹⁸ For example, to

²¹⁷ Welch, 335.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

employ the four different categories of images together could work as a pedagogical framework, representing the direction in which men's development and change ought to head from domination to mutual partnership. It is also a grounding principle that constantly integrates the spiral of critical reflexivity and critical memory into the whole process of men's growth and transformation. A critical pedagogy thus helps men to be constantly aware of their status and to flesh out pedagogical implications of images for making changes and addressing the questions and limitations that such images fundamentally pose. Certainly, change involves a cost in terms of the amount of effort necessary to make a real difference whether the process of change is radical or gradual. For the development of egalitarian gender relations, these costs might imply participation in a greater share of domestic work and care or the elimination of male privilege or status differences between women and men. Given these challenges, the progression of sensitivity through pedagogical guidance for Asian men is vital.

Consequently, as the four categories of Asian men's images identified in Asian feminist theology are embodied in critical form, they establish a framework for reimagining masculinities and they provide pastoral guidance for Asian men situated in different life circumstances. The images of Asian men retrieved from contemporary Asian culture and biblical narratives can also be added in consideration of three critical moves and be situated into those four categories for pastoral appropriation. More important, those images can be implemented in the life and ministry of faith communities by means of pastoral counseling, liturgy, and preaching.

Calling for More Constructive Pastoral Theological Work for Asian Men

The review of Asian feminist theology demonstrates that the issue of men and masculinity has been a peripheral academic agenda in Asian feminist theology, including

feminist pastoral theology. Why has the discussion on men and masculinity been largely absent from feminist theory and theology? First, feminist theory and theology have made women and their oppression and inequality their primary theoretical focus, and rightly so. Second, even though men have been part of feminist analyses in terms of how men's power and dominance have been practiced and operated through social norms, cultural constructs, and religious institutions, men and masculinity generally have not been treated as specific gendered group and an object of gender analysis. Generally, they have been included as a basis for comparison to women, as the source of women's subordination by way of abusive power or dominance, and as the beneficiaries of gender privilege.²¹⁹ Although there are good reasons for the lack of analysis of men's experiences, this oversight leaves a problematic vacuum.

Third, historically there has been an uneasy relation between feminist theory and men's studies. In her book *Masculinity Studies & Feminist Theory: New Direction*, Judith Gardiner explains a historical rationale behind the antagonism or lack of interactions between masculinity, masculinity studies, feminism, and feminist theories that has been asymmetrical, interactive, and changing.²²⁰ According to her, many feminists, especially under the influence of the second-wave feminism, had problems with masculinity for two reasons: (1) feminist thought's association of masculinity with "the institutional practices, attitudes, and personality traits of men that uphold male dominance and oppress women"; and (2) the concept as "a slippery entity without consistent content."²²¹ This feminist concern reminds us that to examine masculinity

²¹⁹ Nancy E. Dowd, *The Man Question: Male Subordination and Privilege* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 13.

²²⁰ Judith Gardiner, *Masculinity Studies & Feminist Theory: New Direction* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2002), 2, 14.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

without also examining seriously the underlying paradigm reiterates rather than challenges versions of patriarchal modes of thinking.

Another reason for the silence is that Asian feminist theologians tend to be cautious about making any claim about men's identity and masculinity that could have universal implications. Feminist critiques of men's view of themselves as generic humans, rather than as gendered persons conditioned by historical and cultural processes, also seem to make feminists less concerned about the issues of men. Namsoon Kang, a Korean feminist theologian, made this point clear in her article on Asian and Korean feminist theology. Drawing on Sheila Davaney's critique of the universalization of the conception of women's experiences, Kang suggests that Asian feminist theology should also take into account "the particularities and diversities of experience among Asian women rather than begin with claims of commonality," though that does not mean "a total disregard for common experiences among different groups of women": black, white, yellow and so on.²²²

Conclusion

Given these historical and theoretical insights from feminists, any pastoral theological exploration of men and masculinities should be undertaken with a full acknowledgment of the particularities of Asian/Korean men, given the diversity of men's experiences and social locations. Second, it is critical to develop more constructive work on men and masculinities alongside continued deconstructive analysis of male domination and power since the existing literature on masculinities has been largely deconstructive in nature. For men to be investigated as gendered beings and as objects of study could eventually contribute to enriching and further

²²² Kang, "Dangerous Memory," 21.

contextualizing our understanding of patriarchal gender dynamics and structures that both benefit and demands costs from men and women. Most fundamentally, it is necessary to undertake a more sophisticated level of academic work on men and masculinities, and to do so in a way that fresh academic inquiry does not simply become another way to establish male privilege. Feminist pastoral theology is called upon to take a reflective and empathetic stance toward men as individual and communal being, as well as to bring gender consciousness to the critical analysis and interpretation of masculinity. As a last word, it would be worthwhile to note Austin Farrer's provocative argument that "all of human life and imagination is enabled by images, that religion is always a skein of images, that revolution in religion is a shifting of images, and that the Christian movement is just such a revolution."²²³ Pastoral theology is called to such a revolution by making more constructive theological moves towards reimagining images and roles of men beyond hegemonic and patriarchal views and practices.

²²³ Austin Farrer, *A Rebirth of Images* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1949), 13-14.

CHAPTER 3

The Masculine Subject and the Confucian Self: Reconsidering Hegemonic Masculinity from a Psychoanalytic Perspective²²⁴

Sigmund Freud notes that the concepts “masculine” and “feminine” have been “among the most confused that occur in science.”²²⁵ Yet even though Freud’s attempt to construct a psychological and scientific account of masculinity was groundbreaking, it was not systematic.²²⁶ While presented in the form of a classical grand theory, as was common for psychological writings of the time, his theory treats men (and women) as a generic category and male experiences as universally identical. Subsequent psychoanalytic theorists such as Carl Jung, Karen Horney, Alfred Adler, Robert Stoller, and Nancy Chodorow addressed the issue of gender and masculinity critiquing Freud’s approach. Despite theoretical disagreements and divergences on various points, the body of psychoanalytic work in general and object relations theories in particular assumes that there are some core psychological conflicts that men typically face and resolve in ways that contrast with how women approach them. These conflicts are normally concerned with intimacy, independence, and sexuality. Regarding the causes for these conflicts, psychoanalysis turns to the events and experiences of childhood, a time when the pattern and structure of the mind are formed. Psychologists Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell explain that psychoanalytic theories regard different modes of masculinity as “representing a range of uneasy

²²⁴ This chapter has been expanded from my paper I wrote for Post-Freudian Theories class taught by Prof. Bruce Rogers-Vaughn and presented at American Academy of Religion, 2012.

²²⁵ Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (London: Imago Publishing Company: Limited), 219-220.

²²⁶ Raewin Connell, “Psychoanalysis on Masculinity,” In *Theorizing Masculinities*, Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman, eds. (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1994), 12.

balances or compromises between conscious and unconscious desires, arising because of commonalities in the treatment of male children.”²²⁷

Importantly, contemporary psychoanalytic theorists have argued for the multiplicity and fluidity of masculinities and concomitantly multiple and fluid with their clinical and theoretical implications. In her article in *Heterosexual Masculinities: Contemporary Psychoanalytic Gender Theories*, psychoanalytic gender theorist Ethel Person presents masculinity as a multifaceted experience, calling attention to a wide range of masculinities that are “existing and observable, not only within different cultures, but also within any one culture.”²²⁸ She understands men as being situated in different roles, religions, and/or nationalities, which lead to “different systems of belief regarding what constitutes optimal masculinity and what kind of relationship is to be sanctioned between men and women.”²²⁹ In the same volume, psychoanalysts Robert Grossmark and Bruce Reis likewise claim that the conception and configuration of masculinity is “continually constructed and transformed in relationships” rather than being a “monolithic” or “unitary, in essence, a given.”²³⁰ Importantly, acknowledging the multiplicity of masculinities leads to the recognition of dominant, idealized forms of masculinity by which all men are measured; that is, hegemonic masculinity. Even though psychoanalytic theorists after Freud have addressed the issues of masculinities, Person points out that masculinity remains “undertheorized compared with femininities.”²³¹ She explains the reason for such undertheorization by drawing

²²⁷ Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell, *Men in Perspective: Practice, Power, and Identity* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1995), 39.

²²⁸ Ethel Person, “Masculinities, Plural,” in *Heterosexual Masculinities: Contemporary Perspectives from Psychoanalytic Gender Theory*, Bruce Reis and Robert Grossmark, eds., (New York; London: Routledge, 2009), 1.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

²³⁰ Robert Grossmark, “Two Men Talking: The Emergence of Multiple Masculinities in Psychoanalytic Treatment,” In *Heterosexual Masculinities: Contemporary Perspectives from Psychoanalytic Gender Theory*, eds. Bruce Reis and Robert Grossmark (New York; London: Routledge, 2009), 73.

²³¹ Person, “Masculinities, Plural,” 4.

on psychoanalysts Muriel Dimen and Virginia Golder who suggest that, “Freud’s idealization of phallic masculinity not only erased and debased femininity as a category and as a lived, embodied self-experience, but also delayed the theorization of masculinity in all its specificity and multiplicity.”²³² This undertheorization of masculinities seems to be even more striking in psychoanalytic theories on the development of hegemonic masculinities.

Given that feminist psychoanalytic theorists have laid significant groundwork for a gender-informed psychological understanding of men as well as women, this chapter explores how psychoanalytic theories, particularly feminist approaches, inform the formation of hegemonic masculinities and how such psychoanalytic accounts can be applicable and relevant for understanding the development of hegemonic masculinities of Korean men and masculinities. My argument in this chapter is twofold: First, I argue that it is crucial to understand the development and enactment of hegemonic masculinity in the relational and ritual context of the family. I do so by drawing on object relations theory and a Korean indigenous concept of *shimjung* exchange. I present object relations theory as a theoretical basis for explicating how hegemonic masculinity is constructed and maintained within the relational contexts of the masculine subject since it offers psychoanalytic accounts of the early relational, multilayered construction of the gendered subject. I then employ a Korean indigenous concept of *shimjung* exchange, a dynamic means of exchanging minds between gendered subjectivities, as a cultural account of hegemonic masculinity. I will show that psychoanalytic conceptions of masculinity are inadequate, particularly when applied to a Confucian understanding of masculine formation. I argue that the concept of *Shimjung* exchange reveals a cultural assumption behind object

²³² Muriel Dimen and Virginia Goldner, “Gender and Sexuality,” in *APPI Textbook of Psychoanalysis*, E. S. Person, A.M. Cooper, & Go. O. Gabbard, eds., (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, 2005), 96-113.

relations theories. Being grounded in the individualistic orientation of Western cultures, object relations theories presume individuation/differentiation as normative. This chapter thus challenges the universality of object relations theories of masculine development. I will draw on psychoanalysts such as Robert Stoller and Nancy Chodorow to broaden the psychoanalytic perspectives on masculinity using a Confucian cultural lens. The second part of my argument is that the family as a central ritual space in Confucianism sustains the development and performance of hegemonic masculinity by forming a Confucian masculine self through the repetition of gendered ritual practices and relations. And yet I contend that the family also has the potential to challenge hegemonic masculinity and to generate a movement toward gender democracy.

With these arguments in mind, this chapter makes three movements. First, I will explain “the masculine subject” and its significance for reformulating hegemonic masculinity as a discursive and lived reality for ordinary men by identifying two conceptual problems within sociologist Raewyn Connell’s model. Second, I will discuss “the Confucian self” and the need to reconsider hegemonic masculinity in the context of the family, where the Confucian self is formed and cultivated through rituals and gendered relations. Finally, by bringing the masculine subject and the Confucian self together into the context of family, I present some cases to illustrate how hegemonic masculinity is developed, embodied, and reproduced in family rituals and relational contexts, and how hegemonic masculinity potentially can be challenged.

The Masculine Subject: Reconsidering Connell’s Model of Hegemonic Masculinity

Even though the concept of hegemonic masculinity has yielded a wide range of theoretical applicability and usefulness, it has also been criticized on various theoretical grounds,

as I noted in earlier chapters. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, especially when considered in the context of Confucianism, raises two conceptual problems. First of all, she theorizes hegemonic masculinity as an aspirational goal rather than a lived reality for ordinary men, and does not consider how hegemonic masculinity is developed and might become effective in men's psyches, nor how it is enacted and reproduced psychologically in men's daily lives.²³³ Connell's model contributes to transforming the conceptual singularity of masculinity into a socially constructed multiplicity. But it conceives of hegemonic masculinity merely as a symbolic and ideal type of masculinity that measures all other masculinities (and femininities) and gives them meaning. For Connell, such cultural ideals of masculinity do not correspond to the actual personalities of the majority of men. Most men can never embody and practice hegemonic masculinity personally, though they are complicit to it, are measured by it, and use it to judge other men. In that light, Connell's model seems to fall short of explaining how men actually relate psychologically to hegemonic masculinity. She herself acknowledges the critique that the concept of hegemonic masculinity is an "over-socialized" and "psychologically unsatisfactory" view of the masculine. She calls for a much more detailed psychological account that can explicate the development, embodiment, and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity, noting that "the pattern of embodiment involved in hegemonic masculinity has not been convincingly theorized."²³⁴

The second conceptual problem is that Connell's account of the discursive and ideological field is too neat, to use psychologists Margaret Wetherell and Nigel Edley's term. In their article, Wetherell and Edley provide a critical analysis of the concept of hegemonic

²³³ Margaret Wetherell and Nigel Edley, "Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho-Discursive Practices" *Feminism and Psychology* 9 no. 3 (August 1999): 338-339.

²³⁴ Connell and Messerschmidt, 851.

masculinity by exploring how men position themselves with regard to conventional notions of masculinity and how men embody the social identity of being a man as they talk, specifically men's identities and subjectivities. They argue that Connell's model does not consider "the multiple and inconsistent discursive resources available for constructing hegemonic masculinities" and "the possibility that complicity and resistance can be mixed together."²³⁵

According to Wetherell and Edley, there is a multiplicity of hegemonic sense-making relevant to the construction of masculine identities. Because the process tends to be complex, contradictory, and full of competing claims and dilemmas, they reconceptualized hegemonic masculinity as discursively and situationally variable and fluid.

Wetherell and Edley's argument has significant theoretical and contextual implications. First, their argument for multiplicities of hegemonic masculinities and their observation that the complex process of masculine identity construction is full of conflicts and contradictions illuminates the process in which hegemonic masculinities are constructed (or socialized), internalized, and reproduced in the psychic and social life of individual men. For them, hegemonic masculinity does not represent a certain character type or structure of any group of men, but rather one particular way that men situate themselves through discursive practices.²³⁶ Such a discursive and situationally variable view of hegemonic masculinity explains well why men conform to a certain masculine ideal and turn themselves into complicit or resistant types according to particular situations and interactional needs.

Second, Wetherell and Edley's understanding of masculinity as potentially both complicit and resistant is critical to considering Korean hegemonic masculinity in the sense that the

²³⁵ Wetherell and Edley, 338-65.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 337.

masculine images of Korean/Asian men are also represented paradoxically as both oppressors and the oppressed (e.g., as victims of patriarchy). By making a distinction between “hegemonic masculinities” and “non-hegemonic masculinities,” scholar of religious studies Stephen Boyd regards the latter as the construction for those outside the dominant group, including men in an economically, racially, and socially marginalized status (e.g., Native American, African American, Asian, Hispanic, and Gay men).²³⁷ Wetherell and Edley, however, challenge the idea that groups regarded as marginalized are immune to or exempt from hegemonic masculinities. To construe hegemonic masculinities as both plural and conflicting enables us to see that hegemonic masculinities are not an exclusive domain of Euro-American, educated, middle- and upper-class, heterosexual, religiously Christian males in the case of American society.

Even though Wetherell and Edley’s discursive approach explains well why men conform to certain masculine ideals and turn themselves into complicit or resistant types, their approach is also not without problems. In response to Wetherell and Edley’s analysis, Connell and Messerschmidt assert that gender relations are constituted through “nondiscursive practices such as wage/domestic labor, sexuality, and child care,” as well as through discursive actions. According to them, noticing the nondiscursive and unreflective dimensions of gender thus help us recognize the limits to discursive flexibility.²³⁸ Moreover, Wetherell and Edley seem to conceptualize hegemonic masculinity as something that can be consciously adopted or distanced from men’s gendered selfhood with no social, structural impingement and restraint, as if it were simply like changing clothes. Consequently, the process of connecting or disconnecting a gendered self to hegemonic masculinity is conceptualized as somewhat superficial in nature and

²³⁷ Stephen Boyd, W. Merle Longwood, and W. Mark Muesse, eds., *Redeeming Men: Religion and Masculinities* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), xiv-xv.

²³⁸ Connell & Messerschmidt, 842.

merely as a fully conscious and deliberate activity, thus neglecting the involuntary and, at times, unconscious dimension of the embodiment process.

Moreover, Wetherell and Edley's focus is limited to broader social contexts and institutions, and overlooks the context of the family and its impact on the development and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity. Also, even though their discursive, situationally variable view highlights the lived reality of hegemonic masculinity, they seem to suggest that hegemonic masculinity is consciously adopted or distanced from men's gendered selfhood without any social and systemic impingement. Given these critiques, psychoanalytic discourses such as object relations theories can help expand the concept of hegemonic masculinity and understand it more fully in terms of its sophisticated theoretical accounts of subjectivities and its emphasis on the impact of early parental/familial relational templates on human development.

The Confucian Self: Reconsidering Hegemonic Masculinity in the Context of the Family

In his book *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation*, Chinese scholar of Confucianism Tu Wei-Ming begins his introduction with a challenge raised by his teacher and friend, Robert Bellah: "What is the Confucian self?" He admits that "there is no monolithic Confucian self to speak of."²³⁹ By presenting this volume as his response to the perennial question, Tu's primary goal is to explore the possibility of a new vision of the self which takes into account both the reality of a shared life with other human beings and the truth of transcendence. In other words, he examines how a self can be rooted in society without overlooking the transcendent reality.²⁴⁰ In this way, Tu introduces two interrelated definitions of

²³⁹ Weiming Tu, *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1985), 13.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

the self: First, he defines the self as a center of relationships. Second, he refers to the self as a dynamic process of spiritual development. He says:

A distinctive feature of Confucian ritualization is an ever-deepening and broadening awareness of the presence of the other in one's self-cultivation. This is perhaps the single most important reason that the Confucian idea of the self as a center of relationships is an open system. It is only through the continuous opening up of the self to others that the self can maintain a wholesome personal identity. The person who is not sensitive or responsive to the others around him is self-centered; self-centeredness easily leads to a closed world, or to a state of paralysis.²⁴¹

By an open system, Tu implies that the self is "expansive" and "receptive" to the world at large.

This view of the self presupposes that the self is never "the private possession of a single individual" but "a sharable experience that underlies common humanity."²⁴² As one resonates with other selves, the internal sources inherent within become multiplied. By means of genuine communication, one gains an appreciation of oneself. Simultaneously, as one knows more of oneself, one recognizes more of the other. Such a mutual relationship between the self and others is well articulated by a dictum in the *Analects*, the collection of sayings and ideas of Confucius: "Wishing to establish oneself, one establishes others; wishing to enlarge oneself, one enlarges others."²⁴³

The Neo-Confucian idea of the self as a center of relationships and a dynamic, holistic, open system demonstrates the significance of the participation of the other and the symbiosis of selfhood and otherness in understanding Neo-Confucian selfhood. By affirming that one becomes fully human only through continuous interaction with other human beings, Tu suggests that the sensitivity and responsiveness to the other in one's self-cultivation is not simply

²⁴¹ Ibid., 114.

²⁴² Ibid., 57.

²⁴³ Confucius, *Analects* 6:30 In *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation*, Weiming Tu (New York: State University of New York Press, 1985), 114.

“altruistic” but “required for one’s own self-development.”²⁴⁴ How then does Neo-Confucianism conceptualize the development of the self? Tu explains:

Obviously, the cultivated self is not private property that we carefully guard against intrusion from outside. The ego that has to be protected against submersion in the waves of social demand is what the Confucians refer to as *ssu* (the privatized self, the small self, the self that is a closed system). The true self, on the contrary, is public-spirited, and the great self is the self that is an open system. As an open system, the self in the genuine sense of the word is expansive and always receptive to the world at large.²⁴⁵

This is clearly not a psychologically sophisticated account of the development of selfhood, and it encompasses “developmental morality,” which is often used to criticize the tacit moral biases of developmental theories. Nevertheless, this idea shows how central morality is in constructing the Neo-Confucian configuration of selfhood and how Neo-Confucian thought conceptualizes what the ideal self looks like.

Hegemonic Masculinity in a Confucian Ritual Space

The critique of the concept of hegemonic masculinity is critical especially when we apply the concept of hegemonic masculinity to the Confucian ritual space. Unlike Christian symbolism, which tends to undermine the significance of familial relationships in its soteriology, Confucian salvation takes “the basic dyadic relationships in the family as its point of departure.”²⁴⁶ In Confucian tradition, the family is especially central as a salvific ritual space in which a masculine self is formed and cultivated. As clearly illustrated by *The Three Bonds and the Five Relations*, for instance, Confucianism presupposes that all social relationships, including

²⁴⁴ Tu, 114.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 57-58. The use of the term “ego” here was not psychoanalytically sophisticated. It was used as a term interchangeable with the term “self.”

²⁴⁶ Tu Wei-Ming, *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1985), 123.

domestic ones, are relationships of hegemony and hierarchy, no matter how benignly. More importantly, relational values and practices regarded as normative and hegemonic are both consciously and unconsciously learned and embodied by men in their everyday lives from a very early age. Given such a lived reality of hegemonic masculinity for men in Confucian contexts, the concept of hegemonic masculinity needs to be reformulated so that it may elucidate how hegemonic masculinity becomes effective in men's psyches and how gender norms are conveyed and enacted by men in their daily lives.

In light of the aforementioned critiques, I assert that the concept of hegemonic masculinity should first be examined in the context of the family, and I contend this on three grounds: First, given that the family is a central ritual space in Confucianism, reconsidering hegemonic masculinity in the context of the family helps us to theorize hegemonic masculinity as a lived reality for ordinary men in a Confucian context, and allows us a better sense of how men relate psychologically to hegemonic masculinity in everyday life. Second, as a space where men engage in the rituals that form the core of life in Confucianism, the family not only demonstrates the embodiment of gender identity, but also offers a discursive and ideologically complex field for understanding how hegemonic forms of masculinities are developed, enacted, and reproduced. Furthermore, along with the discursive nature of the family, Confucianism itself entails multiple and, sometimes, inconsistent discursive/ideological resources available to individuals and families. Lastly, as feminist object relations theorists such as Nancy Chodorow argue, a gendered self is developed in one's formative relational templates in which complex

processes of interpersonal transmission of gender values and ideals occur through parental and familial relationships, more specifically through women's mothering.²⁴⁷

In the following section, I offer theoretical accounts of post-Freudian approaches to masculinity with a focus on Nancy Chodorow and Robert Stoller. I take a critical review of Robert Stoller's idea of the maternal origin of hegemonic masculinity, i.e., dependence upon powerful women or maternal figures. Along with him, I draw on Nancy Chodorow, whose contribution to understanding gender through the complex process of interpersonal transmission of cultural values I address along with the implications of her theory for the development of male dominance and the dread and devaluation of femininity, which are strikingly pervasive in Confucian societies. By doing so, I want to emphasize how focusing on the family as the source of relational templates can yield significant theoretical implications for the development of masculinities and hegemonic masculinity in particular.

Classical Freudian Psychoanalytic Approaches to Masculinities

To analyze Freud's understanding of male development, it is critical to consider his theoretical view of childhood and human development in general, which he seemed to consider universally applicable across cultures. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Freud explores the development of the sexual lives of men and women, based on his everyday clinical observations. He begins his first essay with an account of sexual aberrations, based on his idea that investigating abnormalities helps us to understand what constitutes normal mental development.²⁴⁸ In his discussion on the theory of bisexuality and psychological

²⁴⁷ Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalytic and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 38.

²⁴⁸ Freud, 19.

hermaphroditism, Freud acknowledges that there are masculine and feminine elements in every human being, just as his contemporary scholars did. He sees masculinity and femininity as the characters of the respective sexes, which could potentially be inverted in one's psychological development, based on narcissism. According to Freud, for instance, it is not the masculine character of a man that excites the male invert, but "his physical resemblance to females as well as his feminine mental qualities."²⁴⁹ By contrast, the active inverts among women, who Freud thinks portray masculine physical and mental characteristics, frequently seek femininity in their sexual objects. He thus claims that "the sexual object is a kind of reflection of the subject's own bisexual nature."²⁵⁰ Freud notes:

The fact that women change their leading erotogenic zone in this way [from the clitoris to the vaginal orifice], together with the wave of repression at puberty, which, as it were, puts aside their childish masculinity, are the chief determinants of the greater proneness of women to neurosis and especially hysteria. These determinants, therefore, are intimately related to the essence of femininity.²⁵¹

Despite his theoretical orientation being grounded in his background as a neurologist, Freud does not suggest a physical basis or innate predisposition for masculine or feminine behaviors/traits, as a biological perspective might suggest. In his view, the instincts in the infant are not particularly masculine or feminine, but it simply drives to satisfy hunger or needs for physical security, and more controversially, a set of sexual and aggressive drives. Masculinity and femininity derive from the way human communities in the shape of the parents strategically handle these innate drives toward different forms of pleasure and varying forms of satisfaction.²⁵² However, Freud assumes a somewhat fixed, universal set of masculine or

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 22.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 23.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 99.

²⁵² Nigel and Wetherell, 41.

feminine traits and characteristics that correspond primarily to one's biological sex, making a distinction between activity and passivity.²⁵³ Feminist psychoanalysts such as Karen Horney and Nancy Chodorow have criticized the Freudian classical psychoanalytic account of masculinity for its preoccupation with the phallus.

Object Relations Theories on the Development of Hegemonic Masculinity

As mentioned above, contemporary psychoanalysts indicated the undertheorization of masculinities in psychoanalysis seems to be even more striking in psychoanalytic theories on the development of hegemonic masculinities. Yet object-relations theory, and especially feminist psychoanalytic theorists, has laid the groundwork for a gender-informed psychological understanding of men as well as women. In their book *Deepening Psychotherapy with Men*, counseling psychologists Fredric Rabinowitz and Sam Cochran divide the development of object-relation theories into the three different waves that, though not exhaustive, possess distinctive features.²⁵⁴ Given constraints of space and a desire to get to theorists in the third wave, this section offers a brief discussion on two figures in the first two waves identified by Rabinowitz and Cochran and does not delve into them.

In the first wave represented by British object-relations theorists D.W. Winnicott and John Bowlby, normative dependency is emphasized as a critical aspect of the developing child's experience. The child enters the world profoundly dependent on his or her caretakers for

²⁵³ Ibid., 38.

²⁵⁴ Yet as Mitchell and Greenberg say, "discussion of theories of object relations is complicated by the fact that the term is used in many different contexts and with any number of different connotations and denotations, which resulted in considerable ambiguity and confusion"; see Greenberg & Mitchell's (1983) first chapter for a more detailed discussion about the concept and definition. In this book, Mitchell and Greenberg identify three models for psychoanalysis: the drive/structure model; the interpersonal model; and the mixed (or revisionist) model. In his book *Relational Concepts in Psychoanalysis* (1988), Mitchell develops his idea of identity or a sense of self without Freud's meta-psychological concept of drive by focusing on the role of sexual experience (Mitchell, p.99).

survival. Winnicott regards the provision of a “good-enough mothering” relationship, which involves both physical “handling” and emotional “holding” of the infant, as critical to the formation of the capacity for relational interdependence in the developing child.²⁵⁵ Similarly, John Bowlby’s attachment theory, based on the emotional quality of the child’s tie to the mother, emphasizes this earliest relationship with the mother as the basis for expectations and experiences in later interpersonal relationships, relating continuities and discontinuities of such initial relationships to the development of psychological symptoms and problems.²⁵⁶ The British object-relations theorists seem to give less theoretical attention to the development of a gendered self or identity (not to mention the development of dominant/hegemonic masculinities), even though their theoretical focus addresses the deviant or relatively less normative development of a child.

The second wave in object-relations theory, which was developed in the U.S. by theorists such as Margaret Mahler, Heinz Kohut, Otto Kernberg, and others, has refined and extended the earlier British object-relations theory. Mahler’s *separation-individuation perspective*, for example, emphasizes the significance—as did the British object relations theorists—of initial attachment as well as the ongoing, reciprocally influencing interaction between the mother and the child. It extends the preceding theory in at least two respects: (1) by attending to the role of the father (or surrogate) as “the first external object who embodies—literally, behaviorally, and symbolically—cultural values around masculinity and the male gender role in a boy’s development”; and (2) by describing “the oscillation of separation of the infant from the mother

²⁵⁵ Fredric E. Rabinowitz and Sam V. Cochran, *Deepening Psychotherapy with Men* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2002), 35.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

and early caretakers with the return, or rapprochement, for emotional support to assuage separation anxiety.”²⁵⁷

According to Kohut, gross, consistent failure of empathic holding leads to “fragmentation of the self,” an ensuing difficulty in maintaining adequate self-esteem, and a compromised capacity for relatedness with others.²⁵⁸ Deviation from optimal development results in basic interpersonal patterns and emotional responses. Despite theoretical variations and diversities, the second-wave theorists view the development of the self that is composed of a gendered component as “being forged out of the complex interplay between the developing child and his or her interpersonal milieu,” thus extending further the boundary of the relationships in a way that has deep implications for the optimal development of a gendered identity.²⁵⁹ As with the first-wave theorists, theoretical explanations for the development of a hegemonic masculine identity or self are lacking or at most implicit in the second-wave theorists.

The third wave of object-relations theory, characterized as feminist psychoanalytic constructions, is concerned more explicitly with “how a gendered self is developed in the child’s formative relational templates that are transmitted by the mother and the father and their own unique, idiosyncratic notions about the meaning of gender.”²⁶⁰ Rabinowitz and Cochran note:

Postfeminist psychoanalytic analysis of boys’ and men’s development has enriched our understanding of the masculine-specific strains characteristic of both normative and deviant developmental trajectories. These strains often result in what is commonly perceived as men’s unique psychological characteristics: a tendency to prefer autonomy to relatedness; defensiveness about bids for intimate connection; [and] a deep-seated, if not unconscious, discomfort around interpersonal relatedness.²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 36.

²⁵⁸ Heinz Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self* (New York: International Universities press, 1977), 85.

²⁵⁹ Rabinowitz & Cochran, 36-38.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 38.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 39-40.

In his book *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity*, psychiatrist and psychoanalytic theorist Robert Stoller developed the theories of gender development and identity with particular attention to the development, maintenance, and manifestations of masculinity and femininity. Stoller regards the intrapsychic conflicts between the child's instinctual drives and the opposing demands of the outside world as crucial to understanding masculinity and femininity. Simultaneously, he argues for the tremendous influence and power that parents' attitudes and behavior have in shaping masculinity and femininity and the amount of gender development that happens in a nonconflictual manner in the infant.²⁶² He suggests that, contrary to classical analytic theory claims, core gender identity does not arise from defense by one part of oneself (superego or ego) against instinctual desire (id), even though such conflicts contribute to gender identity development later on. Unlike the classical psychoanalytic view that femininity in females arises only in response to intrapsychic conflicts, Stoller considers that those psychic events "play their part only after such capacities as memory, fantasy, and recognition of self and objects have developed"; that is, after the core gender identity has formed.²⁶³ Emphasizing the importance of some early, non-traumatic, parental factors that contribute to the development of femininity and masculinity, he notes that "if the nonconflictual parental influences are essential to creating a sense of femaleness and, later, a sense of worth in femininity, then femininity is not just a defense against envy of maleness and masculinity. I quite disagree with Freud in his conviction that women are fundamentally inferior."²⁶⁴

²⁶² Robert Stoller, *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity* (London: Karnac Books, 1984), 263.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 314.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 316.

In *Presentation of Gender*, Robert Stoller further articulates the maternal origin of hegemonic masculinity in relation to women even though he does so in somewhat problematic ways.²⁶⁵ He argues that if an infant male has too intimate a relationship with his mother (her body and psyche) and if she tries to maintain that intimacy indefinitely in an ambience of trauma-less, frustration-less pleasure, he will fail (meaning not be well motivated) to separate from her body and psyche in the ways boys usually do. As a result, from the start, he is feminine. And if, by contrast, there is no intimacy between mother and infant, there are risks of excessive masculinity or phallic character—something like what is seen in the development of female transsexuals or some phallic warriors.

Also, Stoller views men as essentially living with an intrinsic sense of weakness or inadequacy rooted in prolonged dependency on mothers or on maternal figures. By making efforts to transform weakness into strength (e.g., through anger, physical intimidation, violence, or contempt for women), men try to compensate for their ambivalent feelings of longing for maternal nurture and of humiliation by neediness toward and dependency on women. For example, childhood humiliation experienced in relationship with powerful women (mostly mothers) leads men to seek methods for achieving power and dominance over women such as “unconscious strategies to control and to humiliate women – to sexualize them, to purchase them, and to betray them through infidelity.” Consequently, violent forms of hegemonic masculinity in relation to women are an expression of unconscious rage against maternal figures who are perceived as a threat to the child’s core gender identity.

Stoller’s argument raises more problems than it solves. Since dependency on maternal figures is the sine qua non of human development, the argument does not fully explicate why

²⁶⁵ Robert Stoller, *Presentation of Gender* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

some men take the hegemonic compensatory expressions while others do not. If men's dependency on a mother creates in them a sense of weakness, Stoller's argument should explain men's dependency on fathers who often carry greater power and authority, which should generate greater possibilities for men to experience inadequacy and humiliation as a dependent. More fundamentally, the negative assumption about dependency behind this argument is rooted in a culture that values independence and autonomy, which some scholars such as Rothschild identify as actually an *aspect* of hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, as presented as a critique to Freud, Stoller's examination of masculinity and femininity is based mainly on patients with gender disorders and disturbances with masculinity and femininity; therefore, it does not show how gender identity develops normally. His theory also presupposes a particular form of the family as the basis of his theory and as constituting normality; that is to say, heterosexual couples with both a husband and a wife.

Many feminists have taken issue with the extent to which object relations theories effectively blame mothers for the children's psychological ills, holding mothers to impossible standards for caring and maximizing their already highly active sense of guilt. Other feminist psychoanalytic perspectives have been developed, though they have not had the impact on discourses of masculinity that object-relations theory has had. For example, in her book *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, Juliet Mitchell counters certain feminist reductions of any paternal and phallic significance to merely male-dominated cultures while analyzing critically "a culture in which, with infinite complexity, the self is created divisively, the sexes are divided divisively; a patriarchal culture in which the phallus is valorized and women oppressed."²⁶⁶ Her

²⁶⁶ Juliet Mitchell, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism: A Radical Reassessment of Freudian Psychoanalysis* (London: Penguin Group, 1974), 361.

intention, she notes, is to indicate that psychoanalysis seems to offer some way into the question of how, along with all social changes, something persists that is incommensurate with the real social situation.²⁶⁷ More fundamentally, however, regardless of theoretical orientations and the way masculine internal conflicts are conceptualized, most psychoanalytic theories, including object relations theories, posit that the causes for these conflicts lie, in some way, in the events of childhood where the pattern and the structure of the mind is established.²⁶⁸

As in the work of Robert Stoller, the work of psychoanalyst Nancy Chodorow as the feminist application of object relations theory examines how certain so-called male behaviors in our society result from a denial of identification with the maternal figure. In her book *Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalytic and the Sociology of Gender*, Nancy Chodorow offers a more nuanced, sophisticated understanding of gender than Stoller by delineating the complex process of interpersonal transmission of cultural values regarding gender in the context of the mothering. She analyzes the implications of women's mothering for the development of gender identity in girls and boys. According to her, the traditional division of labor in childrearing implies that a woman is most likely to be the first love object for children of both sexes, yielding different consequences for boys and girls in terms of the distinct nature of the relationship that each establishes with the mother.

Importantly, boys' struggles to break identification with their mothers results in a character structure that emphasizes independent boundaries and lacks the relational needs and capacities that are more likely to develop among women. Masculine identity, defined negatively, tends to be abstract and insecure. Chodorow notes, "The very fact of being mothered by a

²⁶⁷ Ibid., xvi-xvii.

²⁶⁸ Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell, *Men in Perspective: Practice, Power, and Identity* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1995), 40.

woman generated in men conflicts over masculinity, a psychology of male dominance, and a need to be superior to women.”²⁶⁹ In other words, boys’ ambivalent perception of their mothers as both gratifying and engulfing is one reason why men sometimes idealize but also denigrate women, and why there is often a fear of powerful women combined with exaggerated admiration. She asserts:

One result for children of both sexes is that since it is the mother’s and not the father’s one which gives the principal early approval and disapproval, the nagging voice of conscience is feminine in both sexes. Thus as children of either sex attempt to gain I independence—to make decisions on their own that are different from their upbringing—they must do this by consciously or unconsciously rejecting their mother (people like her) and the things she is associated with.²⁷⁰

Her idea seems to suggest that the experience of being mothered itself induces misogyny in both women and men and contempt for femininity. In a sense, this is why reinforcement of the devaluation of women and an apparent dread of femininity is found in patriarchal ideology. Based on Chodorow’s perspective, masculinity is viewed as “a struggle against the feminine, a struggle in which men are vulnerable because of their initial identification with their mother.”²⁷¹

Drawing on Chodorow’s theory, Jack Balswick explains why men are not engaging in more intimate and nurturing relations with their wives and children, given that such behavior is, he believes, part of the culturally dominant definition of masculinity.²⁷² Similarly, Victor Seidler addresses men’s resistance to feminist demands for equal personal relationships between men and women, employing Chodorow’s idea which helps him to characterize male psychology in terms of “self-estrangement, denial of need, fear of intimacy, and emotional

²⁶⁹ Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalytic and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 241.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

²⁷¹ Wetherell and Edley, 51.

²⁷² Jack Balswick, *The Inexpressive Male* (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1988), 197.

underdevelopment.”²⁷³ He notes that the pain of having to reject mother and identify with an absent father causes the boy to build defenses around his emotional expressiveness. The process of “disidentification” is considered to lead a boy to suppress his own potential qualities of intimacy and caring in the construction of masculinity. In this way, male domination is largely seen as an effect of the non-relational nature of masculine psychology. Consequently, psychoanalytic theorists such as Stoller and Chodorow place more emphasis on the emotional structure experienced by the growing child, rather than on drives and instincts. In a revision of the Freudian account, they also pay greater attention to the role of the mother in male development, and investigate the child’s family (or family substitutes) relationships at a much earlier period of childhood than the phallic stage stressed by Freud.

***Shimjung* Exchange and Hegemonic Masculinity**

In line with Stoller and Chodorow, the concept of *shimjung* exchange, a Korean indigenous psychological concept, can be presented as a concrete case to demonstrate the significance of the relational context of the family and the mother-son relationship for the construction of hegemonic masculinity in the Confucian religio-cultural context. The term *shimjung* has two parts: *shim* referring to mind and *jung* referring to affection, and the combined word means “a state of aroused mind concerning a particular situation.”²⁷⁴ More specifically it denotes personal experiences which are felt in the mind, charged with deep emotion, and activated in close relationships, especially within the ‘we-ness’ category. It is shared and poured

²⁷³ Victor Seidler, *Man Enough: Embodying Masculinities* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, 1997), 105-107.

²⁷⁴ Ŭi-ch’öl Kim, Guoshu Yang, and Guangguo Huang, eds, *Indigenous and Cultural Psychology: Understanding People in Context* (New York, NY: Springer, 2006), 359-360.

out as a form of story-telling and mind exchange in a private, exclusive, and secretive manner rather than in a public and open fashion. Importantly, this concept can be drawn to address the criticism that, despite its original formulation in tandem with a concept of “emphasized femininity,” the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity in the work of major theorists of masculinity such as Raewyn Connell gives almost no attention to the practices and roles of women in the construction of masculinities. Given that women are central in many of the processes of constructing masculinities and that hegemonic masculinity is constituted in men’s interaction with women to a significant degree, examining the mother-son relationship based on *shimjung* exchange should illuminate how the family, as a central ritual space in Confucianism, sustains the performance of hegemonic masculinity by forming a Confucian masculine self.

Using the concept of *shimjung*, we can see that object relations theories explain and yet simultaneously fall short of fully explaining the experiences of men in their development of masculinities, especially in contexts where Confucianism has had significant influence. According to Korean psychologists Choi Sangchin and Kim Kibum, one of the most dynamic and intricate *shimjung* exchanges occurs in parent-child relationships, especially the mother-son relationship, though *shimjung* exchange occurs in a wide range of human relationships.²⁷⁵ The real strength and potency of *shimjung*, lies beneath spoken or manifested forms of *shimjung*. This is particularly true of the *shimjung* exchange between a mother and a son in Korean culture. The authors present an example in which a son gets angry at his mother for bringing an umbrella to the bus stop on a rainy day, and the mother promptly apologizes to the son for her considerate and loving behavior. Ironically, the son’s anger is an expression of *Jung* toward his mother,

²⁷⁵ Sang-Chin Choi and Kibum Kim, “Naïve Psychology of Koreans’ Interpersonal Mind and Behavior in Close Relationships. In *Indigenous and Cultural Psychology: Understanding People in Context*, U. Kim, K.S. Yang & K. K. Hwang, eds., (New York: Springer, 2006).

encompassing his ambivalent feelings of both concern about and gratitude to the mother. This appears to be nonsensical, but an expression of emotions that are the opposite of the real and deep emotions exhibits the complexity and intricacy that accompany the mother-son relationship, which have already been articulated by both classic and contemporary psychoanalytic theories.

The mother-son relationship from birth is quite special in Korean culture, a culture that is characterized as fairly homogeneous, family and in-group oriented, and influenced by Confucianism. In traditional Korean society, the umbilical cord symbolized the beginning of socialization that ignites the very first interpersonal relationship, which is between the mother and the child. As motherhood has been the single most important role for many Korean women (even for those who work outside the home), unselfish devotion and sacrifice of mothers for their children has been encouraged and valued. Asian feminists have criticized sacrificial motherhood, considering it oppressive and an abandonment of self and identity as a woman. In her critique of women's three virtues of obedience to men,²⁷⁶ Namsoon Kang, a Korean feminist theologian, notes, "Even in promoting filial piety in Confucianism, the key players come from the two male figures of the family – father and son . . . Korean women [are] to be under submission of male figures all throughout her life: her father, her husband, and her son."²⁷⁷ It does not mean that Korean mothers abandon their selves but extend themselves to their children, and their life-goals become attached to their male child, seeing him as the extensions of themselves.

Such an unwaveringly strong bond between the mother and the child (especially the male child) persists throughout their lives, not merely in the early years.²⁷⁸ Even though the bond

²⁷⁶ Confucian thought dictates that a woman should be obedient to her father before marriage, to her husband after marriage, and to her oldest son after the death of her husband.

²⁷⁷ Nam-soon Kang, "Creating Dangerous Memory: Challenges for Asian and Korean Feminist Theology," *Ecumenical Review* 47 No. 1 (January, 1995): 39.

²⁷⁸ Kim and Yang, *Indigenous and Cultural Psychology*, 425.

between the mother and the son was even more salient in a traditional society in which women were considered secondary and less valuable than men, the mother-son relationship still has profound psychological and social ramifications for men and women in contemporary Korean society. For example, the *shimjung* exchange between the mother and the son often causes conflicts, tensions, and even toxic effects to the triangular relationship between the mother, the son, and the son's wife. In fact, one of the top reasons for divorce in Korea is related to conflicts with in-laws, especially mothers-in-law. Sons in Korean society have greater responsibility than daughters to take care of their parents, especially when one of their parents (in many cases, the mother) is left alone or sick, and men who take full responsibility in this way are deemed culturally as being more masculine than those who do not. To this extent, in masculinities of Korean/East Asian men the act of caring is not necessarily considered to be an exclusively feminine trait.

The reality of *shimjung* exchange grounded in the strong, persistent, and yet ambivalent bond between the mother and the son yields significant implications for considering hegemonic masculinities of Korean/Asian men influenced by Confucian tradition. It suggests that the hegemonic status and roles of Asian/Korean men, especially in marital and familial relationships, are related to the mother's sacrificial parenting of the son viewed as an extension of her own self. The recurring experiences of *shimjung* exchange between the mother and the son correspond to an emphasis in object relations theory on the emotional structure experienced by the growing child. In this way, the emphasis of object relations theories on the maternal origin of masculinities is also affirmed in the phenomenon of *shimjung* exchange, yet in the opposite direction. Whereas object relations theorists such as Chodorow posit that the boys' attempt for *disidentification* with the mother creates conflicts over masculinity and a psychology of male

dominance, the concept of *shimjung* seems to suggest that the enduring *bond* between the mother and the son based on the mother's sacrifice is related to the development and maintenance of hegemonic masculinities in marital/familial relationships. In this regard, the concept of *Shimjung* exchange reveals a cultural assumption behind object relations theories. That is, the individualistic orientation of Western cultures (in which individuation/differentiation are normative developmental goals) is embedded in object relations theories. *Shimjung* thus challenges the universality of object relations theories of masculine development.

In *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, Futoshi Taga indicates that Western theoretical perspectives do not always mirror the complexity of relational dynamics and interactions in East Asian families and men.²⁷⁹ For example, the inappropriate application of Western paradigms of masculinity to Chinese men led to the notion that Chinese men are effeminate and “not quite real men.” In South Korea, despite the cultural ideology of gender difference, there exists an underlying cultural psychology that stresses a fundamental intimacy between men and women in which gender categories are blurred. This is also the case in Japanese culture. Among older Japanese couples, the tendency of the wife to take the initiative with the family budget and the husband's emotional dependence on his wife implies a complexity in the power relations between men and women in East Asia that is not easily captured by superficial observation.

Bringing a Masculine Subject and a Confucian Self Together

Given the discursive/nondiscursive resources and practices in Confucian teachings on relationships and family rituals and rites, this section expounds briefly upon how hegemonic

²⁷⁹ Michael Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and Raewyn Connell, eds., *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities* (London: Sage Publications, 2005).

masculinity is fostered and reproduced and how it can be challenged within the family as a central ritual space of Confucianism. Confucianism constitutes a moral order in which the family is regarded as primary and central to the development of selfhood and as the point of departure for an expanding web of relations beyond one's localized self. The family is conceived as the center of all order, social and cosmic, as demonstrated in the *Great Learning*, one of the *Four Books*, which states that all meaning "ripples out in concentric circles from personal cultivation within the family."²⁸⁰ In contrast to Christianity, which tends to undermine the significance of familial relationships in its soteriology, Tu Weiming suggests that Confucian salvation takes "the basic dyadic relationships in the family as its point of departure."²⁸¹ Of course, by the term salvation he would not mean deliverance by a supernatural power, but deliverance from ignorance or the lack of learning. Ultimately, such Confucian learning and practice are designed to help people attain sagehood, a goal which is believed to be attainable through spiritual cultivation in one's secular life. And the idea that everybody is capable of becoming a sage is one of the fundamental beliefs in Confucian tradition, in Neo-Confucian tradition in particular. In this process it is neither prayer nor repentance but learning that is central.

In Confucianism, to learn is "synonymous with to live, to improve, to be mature or even to be eternal"; through learning, humans develop moral strengths and move toward moral virtues. Learning thus becomes a primary instrument to facilitate "the process of transformation from what is realized to what should be realized, from the animal-like to the fully human, from the uncivilized to the civilized, and from the uncultivated to the cultivated."²⁸² What needs to be

²⁸⁰ Roger T. Ames, Wimal Dissanayake, and Thomas Kasulis, eds., *Self as Person in Asian Theory and Practice*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 97.

²⁸¹ Tu, *Confucian Thought*, 123.

²⁸² Xinzhong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 210

noted here is that Confucianism understands learning to occur *in relationships*, and that relationships are structured with and shaped by certain gender norms and practices in Confucian tradition, whether or not they are hegemonic and dominant.

For example, one of the representative principles for Confucian learning is the well-known *Five Relationships*. These five principles have to do with normative relational qualities and ideals between father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and friend and friend. Three of the five relationships are domestic/family relationships—the relationship between father and son, husband and wife, and elder and younger brother. Importantly, *The Five Relationships*, which significantly shapes individuals and families in a Confucian context, represents the hierarchical and gendered aspects of all social relationships, including domestic ones, based on implicit and explicit forms of power and hegemony in relations, no matter how benign they are.

Also, in Confucian tradition, to learn refers not simply to a reading of books, but to a special kind of practice or moral training preformed with ritual propriety. Confucius considered proper ritual to enact the basic patterns of life. Even though this moral training was practiced in all aspects of social life, it was first performed filially in the home.²⁸³ Ancestral worship, for instance, is one of the fundamental Confucian rituals in families. Confucians of all generations, especially in China and Korea, have made reverent sacrifices to their ancestors at home to express filial piety. Consider the Chinese character 祖, “Zu” or “Zo” (in Korean). Originally referring to the temple of the ancestors, this character is composed of two radicals: 礻 (which symbolizes a spiritual sacred altar) and 且 (which represents male genitals or meat for sacrifice),

²⁸³ Ibid., 211.

thus signifying the combination of sacredness and sacrifice that represents men's bodies.²⁸⁴ This implies the male-dominant origin of ancestral worship. The *Book of Family Ritual*, which was written by the neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi and became the basic text for regulating ritual procedures, also demonstrates the ritual responsibility was assumed almost entirely by sons, more specifically by eldest ones in an extended family. Women, whether wives or daughters, older or younger, were excluded from officiating at the rites even in the absence of a related male heir.²⁸⁵ In this way, the family in a Confucian context has functioned as a ritual space forming gendered selfhood in hegemonic, patriarchal ways.

Yet, based on its discursive nature and resources in favor of gender democracy and the Confucian concept of selfhood as creative transformation, I believe the family as conceptualized in Confucian thought can instead foster a movement that challenges hegemonic masculinity. First, there are a wide range of discursive resources and practices available within the family as conceptualized in Confucian thought that challenge hegemonic masculinity. For example, consider the following passage from the *Zidao* (which talks about the Way of the Son), in chapter 29 of the *Xunzi*, one of the great Confucian synthesizers. Zigong, one of the disciples of Confucius, states:

If a son follows the order of the father, this is already filial piety. And if a subject follows the order of the ruler, this is already loyalty. But what is the answer of my teacher?" Confucius said, "What a mean man you are! You do not know that in antiquity, if there were four frank ministers in a state with ten thousand war-chariots, its territory was never diminished...If a father has a frank son, he will not do anything that contradicts propriety. If a scholar has a frank friend, he will not do anything unjust. How, then, could a son be filial if he follows the order of his father? And how could a subject be loyal if he follows

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 199.

²⁸⁵ Roger Janelli and Dawnhee Janelli, *Ancestor Worship and Korean Society* (California: Stanford University Press, 1982), 13.

the order of the ruler? One can only speak of filial piety and loyalty after one has examined the reasons why they follow the order.²⁸⁶

This passage indicates that one has a duty to speak out against violations of propriety and justice even if it is a ruler, father, or older brother, who is about to violate them. In a sense, the acknowledgement of such a duty to free speech and action in relationships is a sort of a ground to question and challenge men of hegemony, authority, and dominance even though it is limited only to the case of impropriety and injustice. To this extent, it can be suggested that Confucianism has at least a legitimate, discursive basis for challenging and transforming the practices of hegemonic masculinity, though in a limited way. Even though hegemonic masculinity is developed and reproduced in family ritual and relational contexts, it always has the potential to be challenged by discursive and nondiscursive resources and practices available in Confucian families.

Consequently, I have discussed that, given its theoretical and cultural implications, family relationships are to be examined as a critical ideological field for conceptualizing hegemonic masculinity in the religio-cultural context of Korea. In fact, developmental theories of gender, whether cognitive, behavioral, or psychoanalytic, have taken into consideration the influence of the family, based on the idea that the socialization and formation of gender begins in all societies from the very moment humans are born.²⁸⁷ It is my assessment, however, that the family has tended to be neglected in theorizing the model of hegemonic masculinity, as if such masculinity begins its development outside the family; that is, in broader social and institutional contexts

²⁸⁶ Xunzi, Wang Xianquan, Xunzi jijie, chapter 29, in *Confucian Ethics: A Comparative Study of Self, Autonomy, and Community*, Kwong-Loi Shun and David B. Wong (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 35.

²⁸⁷ Robyn Ryle, *Questioning Gender: A Sociological Exploration* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE/Pine Forge Press, 2012), 120.

only, and as if the embodiment and enactment of hegemonic masculinity can be done in separation from, or independently of, the development of masculinity.

The Need to Investigate Hegemonic Masculinity in a Broader Social Context

Though I affirm the significance of theorizing hegemonic masculinity in a familial and religious context, I do not mean to discount the psychological formation of hegemonic masculinities in broader social contexts. In fact, attention to the concept of *shimjung* reveals the role of the interlocking socio-cultural forces or influences that undergird and implicate the mother-son bond in both the early and later life stages of men. It is not simply a matter of the mother's character or an emotional bond between the mother and the son in the dyadic relational structure. It is also a matter of socio-cultural mechanisms or institutions that culturally and ideologically sustain the mother-son bond and enable the ongoing process of internalizing and performing the ideals of motherhood and masculinity.

Given that reality, an object relations approach neglects factors beyond individual or interpersonal psychology that contribute to the development, maintenance, and even problematics of hegemonic masculinities throughout some men's life. It treats men as if they were insulated from their own socio-cultural matrix. To take account of the *shimjung* exchange suggests that even the psychology of men and masculinity should be in context—whether cultural, social, economic, political, or religious. In other words, psychological development of hegemonic masculinities is to be examined “in the context of male power” in both patriarchal families and societies.²⁸⁸ Consequently, the concept of *shimjung* not only affirms object relations theories in terms of the maternal origin of hegemonic masculinities, but also challenges and

²⁸⁸ Edley and Wetherell, *Men in Perspective*, 59.

extends them by maintaining that there is an interplay of maternal influences and the complex dynamics of relationships embedded in socio-cultural contexts.

Discussing the complex interface between masculinity, race, and, class, Jama Adams, a contemporary psychoanalytic theorist, takes seriously macrosocial factors. He argues that macrosocial factors have a crucial impact on men's self-development within their relational matrix by shaping their access to the resources and networks. He indicates that culture writ large is often marginalized, even in relational psychoanalytic perspectives which view self-construction as occurring within "a matrix of relationships that facilitate the internalization of habits of thinking, feeling, and handling feelings."²⁸⁹ Adams notes:

Psychoanalysis pays relatively little attention to the social forces that promulgate and enforce models of normality, dominance, and otherness and that facilitate and inhibit the attempts of individuals to love, work, and pursue whatever other goals they cherish. It is therefore not always obvious how social factors such as racism, sexism, and classism influence our work as psychoanalytically oriented therapists.²⁹⁰

According to Adams, the work of psychotherapists should thus encompass the process of understanding how personal and macrosocial factors intersect in their impingement on their clients' self-development and of finding constructive ways to deal with both in their work. Despite its theoretical insight, Adams' concern for macrosocial contexts is oriented more toward their negative, constraining impact on the marginalized men in American society than their possibilities. Similarly, in her book *Moving Beyond Individualism in Pastoral Care and Counseling*, pastoral theologian Barbara McClure maintains that an overemphasis on intrapsychic and interpersonal dimensions of a self and the therapist's blindness to social and

²⁸⁹ C. Jama Adams, "Psychotherapy with Poor African Men: Challenges around the Construction of Masculinities," in *Heterosexual Masculinities: Contemporary Perspectives from Psychoanalytic Gender Theory*, Bruce Reis and Robert Grossmark, eds., (New York: Routledge, 2009), 165.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 163.

institutional structures could lead to failure in both understanding and caring for people from different cultures and classes.²⁹¹ It is important to take into consideration macrosocial dimensions of Korean hegemonic masculinities in a more balanced way by attending to how macrosocial contexts also facilitate and promote hegemonic masculinities.

Ryan LaMothe's pastoral analysis of the three pillars of U.S. hegemony also offers a meaningful avenue to probe the overarching influences of macrosocial contexts on the development and preservation of hegemonic masculinities. While pointing out "free market" capitalism, militarism, and exceptionalism as the three interrelated pillars of U.S. hegemony, LaMothe makes it clear that these pillars, as profoundly flawed symbol systems, are beneficial to some U.S. citizens while detrimental for other people (thus acknowledging both their positive and negative aspects). These hegemonic systems, he suggests, lead to "controlling, manipulating, using, or destroying the other," based on the interpretation of the other as functional and instrumental.²⁹² For example, capitalism and militarism are complex symbol systems that generate and communicate a worldview of conflict and acquiring economic or military advantages over others. Given the representations and manifestations of these symbols (e.g., manipulation, competitiveness, dominance, and violence), these three pillars of hegemony can be understood as prototypes of hegemonic masculinities operating in American society.

Interestingly, these hegemonic systems are also cross-culturally valid given their connection to the process of globalization. In the Korean context, for example, men's mandatory military service has far-reaching ramifications on the construction and reproduction of

²⁹¹ Barbara McClure. *Moving Beyond Individualism in Pastoral Care and Counseling: Reflection on Theory, Theology, and Practice* (Oregon: Cascade Books, 2010), 110, 114.

²⁹² Ryan LaMothe, "A Pastoral Analysis of the Three Pillars of U.S. Hegemony – 'Free Market' Capitalism, Militarism, and Exceptionalism," *Pastoral Psychology* 60 no.1 (2011): 179-193.

hegemonic masculinities of Korean men, such as their ways of fathering and childrearing in terms of discipline and hierarchy.²⁹³ Also, rapid industrialization and urbanization promoted by free-market capitalism has increasingly conspired to place a man in the position of breadwinner. Like in Japan, Korean husbands and fathers have come to spend most of their time and energy on work and on their association with colleagues outside the house. The result has been a fatherless complex where mothers and wives take over the role of head of the family, and men's failure in breadwinning has led to increasing number of suicides as revealed in the economic recession in the late 1990s, which delivered a blow to "salary masculinity" as hegemonic masculinity.²⁹⁴ This shows that the results of the breakdown of hegemonic masculinity in a man's life, or the failure to sustain and perform it, can be fatal to men's identity. In that regard, to examine closely macrosocial systems such as the three pillars of hegemony would help us to draw a bigger picture of how the hegemonic masculinities developed from early relational contexts are maintained, reinforced, transformed, and sometimes fail.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I first argued for the need to examine the development and enactment of hegemonic masculinity in the relational and ritual context of the family, given the limitations of Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity that lacks psychologically satisfactory account. Object relations theory is a useful theoretical framework to delineate the psychological construction of hegemonic masculinity in terms of its accounts of the early relational, multilayered construction of the gendered subject. A Korean indigenous concept of *shimjung*

²⁹³ Kimmel, Hearn, and Connell, *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, 138.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 133.

exchange reveals that such psychoanalytic conceptions of masculinity that treats individuation/differentiation as normative are inadequate and less relevant to a Confucian culture. Certainly, to affirm the significance of theorizing hegemonic masculinity in a familial and religious context should not mean to overlook the impact of the interlocking socio-cultural forces or influences that culturally and ideologically sustain the process of internalizing and performing the ideals of motherhood and masculinity. In this regard, psychological development of hegemonic masculinities is to be examined in the context of male power in patriarchal families and societies; thereby, taking into consideration an interplay of maternal influences and the complex dynamics of relationships embedded in socio-cultural matrix.

To that end, social psychology offers a corrective to psychoanalytic accounts of the development of hegemonic masculinity in terms of its dual focus on individuals and socio-cultural/institutional structures. Social psychology illuminates that to investigate hegemonic masculinities is not simply a matter of the father's or the mother's character or a psychological/emotional bond between the mother and the son, but also a matter of socio-cultural mechanisms or institutions that culturally and ideologically sustain these significant relationships. By giving theoretical attention to structural factors beyond intrapsychic and interpersonal psychology, social psychology provides a more comprehensive theoretical account of the development, maintenance, and even problematics of hegemonic masculinities throughout men's lives while still remaining psychologically astute. In this regard, social psychology gives a much more detailed account of the psychology involved in the development, embodiment, and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity, illuminating how men actually relate psychologically to hegemonic masculinity. In the next section, I will discuss how Korean hegemonic masculinity is

configured and reconfigured through men's political engagement and activities in public spheres;
that is, the politics of masculinity.

CHAPTER 4

THE POLITICS OF HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY IN KOREAN MEN'S MOVEMENTS

*Patriarchy is itself the original men's movement, and the struggle to overthrow it must be a movement of men as well as women.*²⁹⁵

Given the intersection between the psychological and the social, this chapter interrogates how hegemonic masculinities constructed in psychological processes are enacted, reinforced, and reconstructed in public and political arenas. It further investigates the role of religiosity/religious discourses and quasi-religious fervor in shaping the politics of masculinity and hegemonic masculinities. Some feminists have argued that everything men do in society is ultimately masculinity politics.²⁹⁶ Given that men continue to predominate in civil services, political structures, business worlds, and religious institutions, there is truth to this.²⁹⁷ Men's activities therefore can be interpreted as masculinity politics in a broader sense. In line with sociologist Raewyn Connell, this chapter employs the term "politics of masculinity" in a narrow sense, referring to "the mobilizations and struggles" in which the meaning of masculine gender along with men's position in gender relations are at stake and where masculinity is not taken for granted as background but considered a dominant or principal theme.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Patriarchy and the Men's Movement: Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution?," in *Women Respond to the Men's Movement*, ed. Kay Leigh Hagan (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992), 17.

²⁹⁶ Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 204.

²⁹⁷ "Human Development Report on Gender 2015," Accessed Oct, 2015, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/KOR.pdf Political empowerment (Women in Ministerial Position in OECD was only 12%), the income gap by gender (39% the biggest among OECD nations in 2010), and equal treatment at work (Korea was the most unequal among OECD nations).

²⁹⁸ Connell., 205.

Certainly, masculinity politics never arise in a vacuum. As social psychologists claim, social movements have a range of motivating and mediating factors. With the rise of feminism and the expansion of legislation on equality, Korean society has also gone through significant changes, though it is still long way from gender equality in a full sense. Such changes in social, political, economic, and religious arenas have evoked a wide range of men's organized responses and actions that have political implications; that is, politics of masculinity. In particular, the politics of masculinity is based on the arguably shared perception of men that they feel less certain and secure about their roles and identities in family and society, though whether they think that is due to the shifting economic and socio-political conditions, the rise of feminism, restructuring of the family and marriage, changes in workplace and religious communities, and/or alternative forms of sexualities varies a good deal. In this regard, the politics of masculinity is about issues of men's subjectivities and identities. The attention to men as a gendered category and to masculinity as a category of analysis has opened "a discursive space around men's identities, roles, and power," as gender theorist Fidelma Ashe notes.²⁹⁹

Masculinity politics takes many forms with respect to the overall structure of gender relations and processes, since masculinity itself has multiple patterns, as discussed in previous chapters. This diversity suggests that there could also be numerous methods and avenues by which to investigate the politics of masculinity. As a way of capturing a broader picture of the politics of masculinity, however, this chapter focuses on men's groups and movements³⁰⁰ in

²⁹⁹ Fidelma Ashe, *The New Politics of Masculinity: Men, Power, and Resistance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 2.

³⁰⁰ Whether or not these can be seen as a social movement has been a point of dispute among scholars in studies of social movements. Scholars such as Stephen Whitehead argue that it is inaccurate to consider men's movements (e.g. those that are profeminist) to represent a social movement given their loose, less formal, decentralized nature. In contrast, others such as Fidelma Ashe claim that men's movements can be viewed as a social movement given the aspects of contemporary social movements marked by relatively informal organizational processes, fluid structures, loose forms of belonging, and diverse and shifting perspectives. See Stephen M.

Korean society, examining how the issues of men and masculinities are politicized around particular concerns and interests of men in solidarity with other men. Certainly, some forms of men's movements claim to be apolitical and may remain overtly apolitical in terms of their explicit discourse and practice, but claiming to be or remaining apolitical also has political implications and consequences in a larger society. According to Connell, the politics of masculinity is concerned with "the making of the gendered power" organized and exercised in such issues as "violence, inequality, technology, pollution, and world development."³⁰¹ Hence, to investigate the conservative politics of masculinity in Korean men's groups and movements, along with progressive groups, one needs to grasp what provides an alibi for the (dis)continuation of male power, though power is preserved not only by knowledge but also by willful negligence.

Using sociologist Michael Messner's conceptual framework in combination with Kenneth Clatterbaugh's schema as an overarching analytic method, this chapter will investigate the three forms of Korean men's groups and/or movements: (1) Man of Korea as a Korean men's rights group; (2) The Father School as a conservative evangelical men's groups; and (3) Men for Cultivating a Culture of Equality and Fathers Loving Daughters as pro-women and profeminist³⁰² groups. By analyzing how the discourse and practice of each group relate to hegemonic masculinity, this chapter will demonstrate how hegemonic masculinities are expressed, enacted, renegotiated, or challenged in public and political spheres. Finally, based on

Whitehead, *Men and masculinities: Key themes and new directions* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2002) and Fidelma Ashe, *The New Politics of Masculinity: Men, Power, and Resistance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

³⁰¹ Connell, 205.

³⁰² I use the term "profeminist men" instead of "feminist men" in this project. Men might share the empirical observation of feminism that women are not regarded as equal and the moral imperative that they should be equal to men. Nonetheless, men do not share women's experience of being oppressed as a gendered being though men may experience oppression based on class, race/ethnicity, sexuality, age, and physical ability.

the critical evaluation of these three forms of masculinity politics in Korean society, this chapter will outline some alternative visions for masculinity politics.

A Conceptual Framework for Mapping the Politics of Masculinity

Michael Messner draws on three conceptual themes to understand a wide range of social movements engaged with the politics of masculinity in the U.S.: (1) male institutionalized privileges; (2) costs of masculinity; and (3) differences and inequality among men. Messner bases his first theme on the idea that “men, as a group, enjoy institutional privileges at the expense of women, as a group.”³⁰³ He explains why institutionalized male power still predominates by looking at women’s status in political, economic, and religious realms, though he realizes this one example of male power does not capture the totalizing and unchanging nature of men’s power and privileges. Second, the costs of masculinity focus on the negative consequences that arise from men’s conformity to the narrow definitions of masculinity such as men’s poor health, shorter lives, and emotionally shallow relationships, though such definitions allow men dominant statuses and privileged systems in gender relations. Finally, the theme of differences and inequality among men addresses men’s disproportionate share in power and privileges based on race, ethnicity, social class, sexuality, age, and immigrant status (specifically black, gay, immigrant, and working-class masculinities). This theme is premised on the recognition of hegemonic forms of masculinities, which are constructed in relation to femininities and to various marginalized and subordinated masculinities.

³⁰³ Michael A. Messner, *Politics of Masculinity: Men in Movements* (Oxford, UK: Altamira Press, 2000), 5.

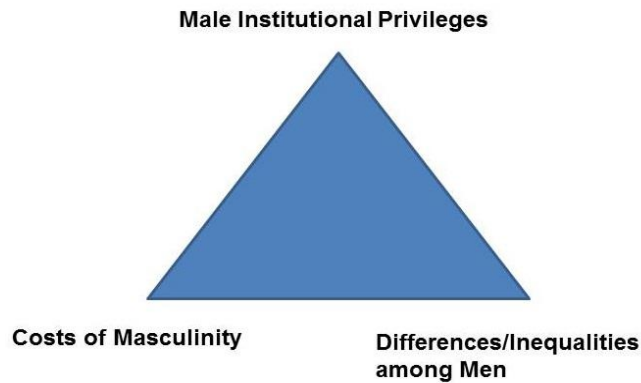


Figure 2 (Messner's Terrain of the Politics of Masculinity)³⁰⁴

Based on these three conceptual themes, Messner maps out the complex terrain of men's groups and movements in the U.S. He categorizes them into the four broad area of masculinity politics that overlap with the themes: (1) the terrain of categorical anti-patriarchal politics; (2) the terrain of anti-feminist politics; (3) the terrain of racial and sexual identity politics; and (4) the terrain of progressive coalition politics. By the use of this geographical term of *terrain*, Messner does not mean to suggest a clear-cut, rigidly fixed location of a group within the politics of masculinity. Rather, he acknowledges dynamism and movement rooted in internal disagreements and contradictions within a group, as well as dialogues, cooperation, and tensions among different groups over various political issues.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 12.

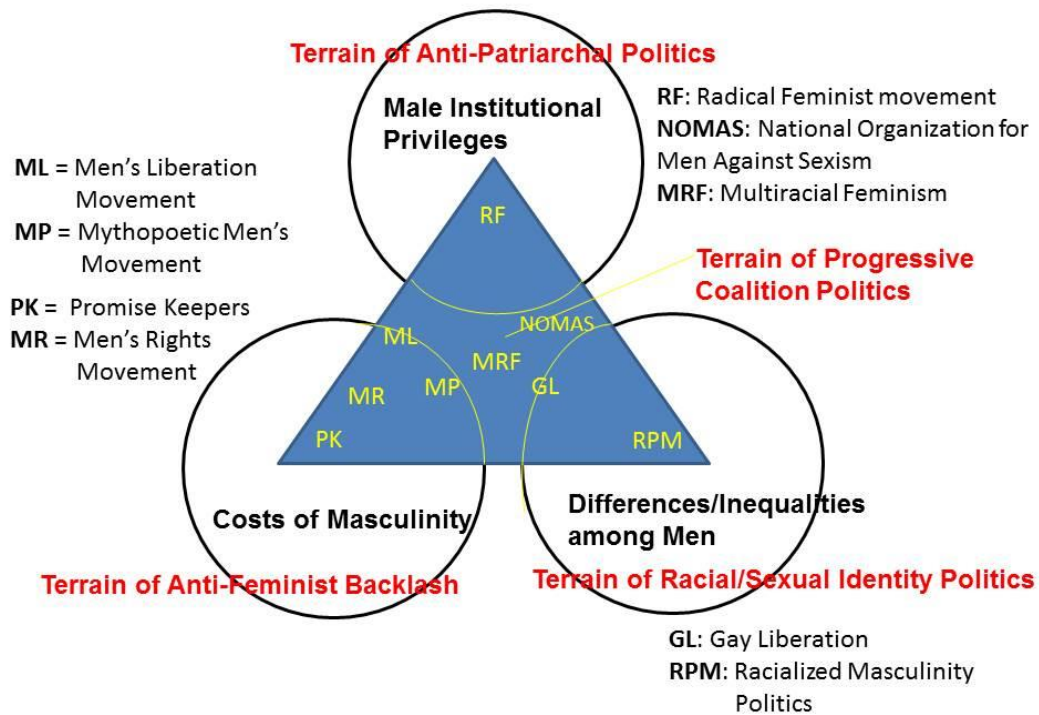


Figure 2-1 (Four Terrains of the Politics of Masculinity)³⁰⁵

A group's geographical site within this territory has implications for "the roles it plays or can play in current gender (and race, class, and/or sexuality) politics."³⁰⁶ For example, given its explicitly antifeminist and antigay voices, the Promise Keepers group at the center of the terrain of antifeminist backlash is situated at the cutting edge of a large "religious right" movement that has roots in "moral majority" and "pro-family" organizations. The mythopoetic men's movement, whose discourses have mixed and fragmented attitudes toward feminism, is located at the boundary of the terrain of antifeminist backlash and the terrain of progressive coalition. Mythopoetic discourses, characterized by the valorization of archetypal, mythic masculinities,

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 91.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 90.

therapeutically oriented approaches to men's pain, and silence about institutionalized male privileges, identify the group as having a greater proclivity to antifeminist backlash politics and the potential for progressive engagement with profeminist agendas. In terms of the focus of its political agenda on men's physical violence, abuse, and oppression, radical profeminist men represent men's engagement within the terrain of categorical anti-patriarchal politics through a relatively low level of activity and discourse. Based on its "categorical, essentialist, and moralistic views," it is unlikely that radical feminist men will build progressive alliances with other groups such as gay men and feminist women and men of color.³⁰⁷ Racialized masculinity politics located at the center of the terrain of racial and sexual identity politics tend to prioritize problems of racism and classism faced by men of color (particularly African American, Latino, and Asian American men) over sexism. Though critical of sexism, their political discourse and practice thus consider women's issues secondary or dependent upon the resolution of racial and class oppression.

Even though Messner's conceptual framework is useful to categorize men's organized responses to changes, challenges, and crises in the social organization of gender, it has some limits. First, Messner's framework depends on the group's "emphases"; that is, the most salient foci in terms of movement visions/goals/practices—which could be shifting and inconsistent in nature; therefore, it is obviously challenging for these themes to fully capture the complexity and ambiguity of reality. The identification of a group's emphases also runs the risk of being affected by the researcher's own emphases and perspectives. More fundamentally, Messner's themes themselves demonstrate the inner mechanism and rationales behind a men's group's emphasis on each of the themes; that is, these categories cannot address why men's groups and movements

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 97.

emphasize what they emphasize. Each group might emphasize a particular theme for dramatically and strategically different reasons. For example, Man of Korea's emphasis on the cost of masculinities is different from the Father School (FS)'s in terms of its rationales and motivations, though their descriptions of the realities and cost of masculinities among contemporary Korean men will be similar or overlap significantly. For the FS, the cost of masculinity remains not simply a social and political reality but also a spiritual reality that calls for men's return or conversion to Christian evangelical faith in Jesus Christ and reclaiming men's spiritual leadership in modeling Christ; this is why the FS identifies itself as "the movement of the Holy Spirit." Man of Korea, however, considers its emphasis on the costs of masculinities to be a psychological mechanism to invoke men's sense of entitlement and anger, project the problems on feminism, and mobilize the movement.

Second, the categories presented by Messner are not sufficiently comprehensive and nuanced to consider seriously the full reality. For example, the theme of men's institutional privilege is inadequate to capture fully the attitude of a men's group or movement toward patriarchy and to decide whether one is anti-patriarchal in nature (i.e., the FS acknowledges male power but does so for the purpose of reinforcing it). The theme of male institutional power also falls short of specifying which feminism a certain men's group or movement is against and on what kind of issues it opposes particular feminists. Even men's rights groups might have points of convergence (and divergence) with a strand of feminism on certain issues (e. g., Man of Korea's divergent view of liberal/radical feminism on pornography). In short, Messner's categories do not capture the complexity of masculinity politics and the diversity of feminist discourses, a limitation that Messner himself acknowledges. His category of "male institutional

privileges” is not adequate or differentiated enough to analyze the complex relations or attitudes of a men’s group to women and feminism.

Given these limits, I suggest two correctives to Messner’s framework. First, I propose to add another theme or category entitled “relations/attitudes to women and feminism,” which differentiates between a group’s approach to male institutional privilege and its relation and attitude to women and feminism. Second, I suggest that the integration of Kenneth Clatterbaugh’s schema with Messner’s themes can provide a corrective analytic framework. Clatterbaugh’s conceptual schema allows us to better analyze inner, delicate mechanisms and rationales behind a men’s group or movement. This schema encompasses the following four questions, both conceptual and practical: a) What is the social reality for men in Korean society?; b) What maintains or explains this reality?; c) What would be a better social reality?; and d) How can we achieve this better reality?³⁰⁸ In a sense, this set of questions as an analytic tool embodies a practical theological movement, in that it moves from the descriptive to the analytic, prescriptive, and finally the practical.

Men’s Movements and Groups in Korea

Men’s groups and movements in Korean society began to emerge in the early 1990s as a response to the rise of feminism and the changes in social and economic structures, as expounded in chapter 1. New forms of political activism centered on the theme of masculinity have appeared and been undertaken in antifeminist, profeminist, or mixed fashions. However, the academic development of men’s studies was quite slow and delayed. Despite the growing interest in men’s

³⁰⁸ Kenneth Clatterbaugh. *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity: Men, Women, and Politics in Modern Society* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1990), 2-8.

issues, the first university-level course in men's study (entitled "Men and Society") was offered only in 1998 at Pusan University. Moreover, there has been a prevalent misunderstanding among the public that the men's movement is another name for the anti-feminist men's rights movement. This misunderstanding was due partly to the dominance of conservative groups in mass media coverage and their overtly antifeminist political agendas that gained significant public attention thanks to the pervasive antifeminist ethos in both secular and religious spheres of Korean society.

In this section, I seek to describe a broader spectrum of men's groups that have arisen since the early 1990s. Using the analytic framework discussed above, I will describe, analyze, and evaluate the three most visible forms of masculinity politics in Korean society: (1) men's rights groups (using the example of *Man of Korea*); (2) conservative evangelical men's groups (with the example of *the Father School*); and (3) pro-woman or antisexist men's groups (such as *Men for Cultivating a Culture of Gender Equality* and *Men loving Daughters*). Through this description and analysis, this section will reveal how each of these three groups is complicit with, reinforces, or resists the politics of hegemonic masculinity, in which religious or quasi-religious ideology also plays a formative role.

Korean Men's Rights Group: Man of Korea

Men's rights discourse in Korea began to take form in an organization called Man of Korea (MOK), which recently changed its name to "NGO for Equality."³⁰⁹ MOK is a non-profit organization that claims to seek "solidarity for men." This organization represents a diverse

³⁰⁹ NGO for Equality, accessed August 15, 2015, <http://www.ngoforeq.org>. Since this group was known as Man of Korea until recently, in this dissertation I will continue to use this name instead of "NGO for Equality."

group of men, from extreme misogynists to men with relatively progressive views of gender. It began as a small online group called “Antifeminist Male Liberation Union” in 1996 and gained public attention through filing lawsuits against the abolition of the male headship system and insisting on the abolition of the Department of Gender Equality and Family Ministry. MOK encompasses aspects typical of male liberationists, acceding the oppressive nature of traditional masculinities, but unlike the U.S. men’s liberationists who advocated for feminism as a movement for human liberation, MOK promoted strong antifeminist backlash from the very beginning. While overtly expressing anti-feminist views and ethos, it has also mobilized various oppositional activities in the cultural, legal, and political arenas. Most members of this group are in their twenties or thirties, and are therefore typically in the initial stage of career building and less likely to have a stable economic and social status. MOK has struggled financially to run its organization, yet it claims to have refused any governmental support in order to maintain independence from the Gender Equality and Family Ministry.

With respect to its perception of social reality, MOK affirms that men are the true victims of ongoing oppression under current gender arrangements and that contemporary Korean society is female-centered and undeservedly preferential to women. Sung Jae-Ki, the first and former leading representative of MOK, stresses the vulnerability and problems Korean men are facing, such as men’s shorter life expectancy, increasing health problems, the loss of economic power at home, and the deprivation of custody rights in divorce. According to Sung, the perception of women’s discrimination and oppression is now merely the stereotype of the 1970s.³¹⁰ Korean society operates on the false dualism that positions men in dominant roles and women in

³¹⁰ Hyunyoung Choi. *Ilyosisa*, Nov 14, 2012. See <http://www.ilyosisa.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=26241> [accessed August 15, 2015]

subordinate ones; therefore, laws, policy, and institutions are all organized to make reparation for this reality. Under this system, men are understood to have faced reverse discrimination and have not received what they deserve, given their disproportionate economic responsibilities as primary breadwinners and their social duties, including mandatory military service. For these reasons, MOK has focused primarily on the cost of masculinity and the powerlessness of men in contemporary Korean society while negating men's institutional privileges.

Given these views, MOK is not only diametrically opposed to the feminist assessment of Korean women's status in the public domains and of existing oppressive cultural bias against women, it also blames Korean feminists for what it perceives as the "gynocentric" social reality in Korea as well as for the high divorce rate and the disintegration of families. On its official website it asserts:

Feminism is grounded on the unwarranted ideology that men are eternal perpetrators and women are eternal victims; that the private sphere is a space of women's oppression and exploitation. Feminist ideology has made mothers in our society mere slaves lacking agency, has aggravated social conflicts based on its selfish visions for human relationships, and has shaken the foundation of the family...If you choose feminism, that means you give up the value of love.³¹¹

For this group feminism is a source of social conflicts that destabilizes the traditional family structure and the sacredness of marriage and discounts the value of sacrificial womanhood and motherhood. Even though the current leader of MOK expresses a relatively nuanced view of feminism by acknowledging the group's affinity to liberal feminism in some areas, feminism, especially radical feminism, is still viewed as a plot or a power game to conceal the reality in the public spheres that women are the ones who hold the power as opposed to men who are most oppressed and vulnerable in society. For this reason, some members of this group are

³¹¹ NGO for Equality, accessed August 15, 2015, <http://www.ngoforeq.org>.

(unofficially) not reluctant to call feminists “Feminazis,” a compound word that combines Feminist and Nazi.

In response to this perceived reality, MOK emphasizes in its vision statement that it wants to cultivate an ideal and happy family culture, since the family is the center of society and nation.³¹² Although this group does not elucidate what it means by “an ideal and happy family,” it suggests that such a family is intact, male-headed, and characterized by “the values of love and sacrifice,” which this group considers to be incompatible with equality applied to marital/familial relationships in indiscreet and arithmetic ways. Second, MOK proposes a vision of building a society harmonized with “gender balance”; that is, a society that grants people rights and benefits in proportion to the duties and accountabilities each person fulfills. In line with this vision, MOK proposes compensation plans for veterans, such as the extra point system for veterans who take civil service exams.

At the same time, MOK opposes public policy initiatives and legislation for women and insists on the abolition of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family because of its enactment of pro-woman policies. For example, MOK once fought against the legal arrangement of women-only spaces within the subway or libraries (which had been adopted in response to the increase of sexual harassment against women) and the quota system for women in congress and governmental agencies, regarding these policies as reverse discrimination against men. Third, while reforming cultural conventions, legislations, and institutions that discriminate against men and impose excessive obligations and responsibilities on men, it advocates on behalf of and supports men who are isolated, discriminated against, and neglected by society. For example, MOK filed lawsuits opposing the ban on pornography and pop music or films that include

³¹² Ibid.

expressions that belittle men. In addition, this group offers legal counsel to the male victims of violence in various forms and contexts as well as to men in international marriage given growing social concerns about high divorce rates among multicultural families. MOK maintains that men are the true victims of sexist media conventions, divorce rulings, false rape accusations, and prostitution.³¹³

Evaluation and Critique

Overall, the misogynous and antifeminist claims of Man of Korea (MOK) have failed to be adopted by the mainstream of society, and the group's marginality within Korean society has made it difficult for it to establish a financially and institutionally solid organizational form. MOK has brought the issues of men and masculinity to the public spheres from a men's (or fathers') rights perspective, and it has done so often in negative, controversial, and problematic ways. Even though MOK claims that it strives for "real" equality for both men and women, ironically this group has acted in ways that reclaim men's power and privilege in public spheres, thus reinforcing gender inequality in Korean society. This group refuses to acknowledge the institutional power and privilege of men and instead regards men as powerless and true victims of narrow and traditional understanding of masculinity and of feminists. A similar pattern has arisen in the United States. Investigating the ways in which men in the public eye have been framed and misframed, sociologist Michael Kimmel describes the U.S. men's rights movement as either an expression of defensive resistance or as men's bitter responses to women's increasing equality in private and public sectors. Kimmel notes that the men's rights movement

³¹³ Statement about Prostitution, accessed April 18, 2016, http://www.ngoforeq.org/pagew_statement/76917 Man of Korea criticizes the current legal system that treats female prostitutes as victims and men as sex exploiters or abusers despite the fact that there are an increasing number of high-end female prostitutes in Korean society.

has pursued “a rear-guard action to undo women’s gains.”³¹⁴ He makes it clear that even if the U.S is not quite yet a woman’s nation, it is just as surely no longer only a man’s world. Similar to the resistance to women’s advancement that Kimmel describes in the U.S., MOK believes that “real” gender equality can be achieved by promoting men’s rights and abolishing pro-woman policies. In this regard, MOK holds ambivalent and contradictory attitudes toward patriarchal systems. Although it is cognizant and critical of the oppressive impacts of patriarchy on traditional masculine roles and identities, it dismisses persistent forces and oppressive influences of patriarchy upon the lives of Korean women.

MOK’s political assertion of gender symmetry and male victimization seem to be motivated by the group’s concern about and identification with the young men struggling with the sense of deprivation, alienation, and frustration in the context of protracted economic downturn and unemployment crisis. For this reason, MOK was once known as “the commotion of low-class men.” Due to the lack of funding sources and the unstable economic status of its members, this group has struggled with financial constraints since its inception. At the same time, they are also driven by a collective sense of rage. The problem is that their rage is directed toward wrong, seemingly less dangerous targets, the socially marginalized groups such as feminists and foreign workers. The rage is grounded in concern about the transfer of rights from men to women, the infiltration of feminists into government agencies, corporations, and social institutions, and the enactment of pro-women policies and initiatives. The misplaced anger of MOK is further evoked by members’ perception that feminists have overstated their case at the expense of men even though feminists have made enormous progress in achieving gender

³¹⁴ Michael Kimmel, *Misframing Men: The Politics of Contemporary Masculinities* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 15.

equality.³¹⁵ The group thus claims that men are the “new” and the “real” victims, victims of reverse discrimination, and specifically victims of feminism.

In his book *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era*, Michael Kimmel examines the social construction of American men’s anger in various contexts, including men’s rights activism. He shares his encounter with three young men who felt that they were the victims of workplace discrimination on a television talk show entitled “A Black Woman Stole My Job,” in which male participants narrated their own experiences of being passed over for jobs or promotions for which they believed themselves to be qualified. While situating rage in the experiences of white men, Kimmel notes that the sense of entitlement is “a marker not of deprivation but of privilege” because those who have nothing do not feel they deserve anything.³¹⁶ He argues that “aggrieved entitlement” combined with anger can be a factor for political mobilization, but such mobilization is often directed toward the past rather than the future and toward restoring what one feels has been lost. The dynamic of aggrieved entitlement distorts one’s vision and leads to a misplaced rage, often directed at those who are less powerful.³¹⁷

In this regard, one of the most fundamental problems of MOK is its inaccurate, distorted perception of social reality. By relying on isolated anecdotes and highly questionable research studies, this group disregards widely accepted psychological, sociological, and economic studies,

³¹⁵ Ibid., 9.

³¹⁶ Michael Kimmel, *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era* (New York: Nation Books, 2013), 24.

³¹⁷ This misplaced “rage” is to be distinguished from the justified rage among young black men in the U.S. In the next chapter, the dynamics of rage among young black men will be further discussed with Gregory Ellison’s book entitled *Cut Dead But Still Alive*. See Gregory C. Ellison Jr., *Cut Dead But Still Alive: Caring for African American Young Men* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013).

not to mention national and international reports about gender inequality and women's development and status, such as the Gender Inequality Index (GII).³¹⁸ It is no wonder that such a blatant disregard for solid social scientific research and findings leads to the misguided perception of social reality as revealed by the group's diagnosis of Korean society as gynocentric, preferential to women, and discriminatory towards men.³¹⁹ To MOK the solution for this problem is not social transformation of the system that creates these distorted patterns, but the reclaiming of men's rights.

MOK underlines sacrifice as a cardinal value for the family and the organization itself. As described above, it decries feminism for disparaging and dismissing the value of love and sacrifice in family relations, which it presupposes to have defined the lives of mothers and women and the nature of familial relations. It asserts that by degrading the work of mothering and housekeeping to a form of exploitative labor, feminist ideology has resulted in the phenomena of low birth rate and high divorce rate in Korean society. In this way, MOK attributes the growing disintegration of families to the absence of women's or mothers' sacrifice and to the pursuit of marital equality proposed by feminism. Such an evaluation suggests that this group considers the sacrifice of women necessary to maintain and redeem the traditional intact

³¹⁸ The Gender Inequality Index is reported annually by the United Nations as a part of the Human Development Index (HDI). This index reflects "gender inequality along three dimensions – reproductive health, empowerment, and the labor market – as rated by five indicators: maternal mortality and adolescent fertility for reproductive health, parliamentary representation and educational attainment for empowerment, and labor force participation for the labor market." <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii> Accessed Sep 16, 2015.

³¹⁹ However, a recent report from the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family notes that Korean women in corporations and civil offices continue to experience the existence of the "glass ceiling" and "glass walls," invisible barriers that structurally obstruct women's promotion to higher positions.

family consisting of a husband, a wife, and children, assuming the marital and familial relationships exclusively and primarily as relationships of unconditional love and sacrifice.³²⁰

With respect to its far-reaching, negative impact on women's psychological, spiritual, and physical health, feminist theologians have especially problematized the equation of love with self-sacrifice in Christian theology. In her article in *The Equal-Regard Family and Its Friendly Critics*, however, feminist pastoral theologian Bonnie Miller-McLemore indicates that "Christian ethical theory of families lacks an adequate theory of sacrifice."³²¹ In exploring the place of self-sacrifice in family life with particular attention to the Eriksonian concept of generativity and feminist ethics and theology, she raises these critical questions: Given that turn to equal regard and mutuality has often meant less sacrifice for women, what does it imply regarding sacrifice for men, especially when it comes to men's domestic involvement? If there is still a place for self-sacrifice, how is it to be expressed in terms of its form and relation to mutuality.³²²

Identifying various nuances and forms of self-sacrifice, such as "self-forgetfulness, self-suspension, self-extension, and self-giving," she points out that "men like self-sacrifice in theory, it seems, but women realize its import in practice."³²³ As revealed in the attitude of MOK, men's

³²⁰ Interestingly, the group's emphasis on sacrifice is also revealed by the organizational culture and practice of the leadership. As a way of promoting public interests in the organization, the former representative Jaekee Sung planned a performance that might draw greater public attention to the organization yet do so at the risk his own life. Regarding his decision as "sacrificial," he fell off a bridge over the Han River, and prior to that, he left a message on a social network service that strongly appealed for moral and financial support from the public. He was found dead a few days after the "accident," and it was unclear whether he intended to kill himself or just to make a dramatic and attention-grabbing performance. According to his posthumously published essay, Sung also made a personal sacrifice by selling his own small business to provide financial resources for MOK and by devoting himself so wholeheartedly to the organization.

³²¹ Bonnie Miller-McLemore, "Generativity, Self-Sacrifice, and the Ethics of Family Life," in John Witte, Jr., M. Christian Green, and Amy Wheeler, eds., *The Equal Regard Family and its Friendly Critics: Don Browning and the Practical Theological Ethics of the Family* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007), 18.

³²² *Ibid.*, 17-18.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 30.

emphasis on self-sacrifice often assumes female sacrifice, and even when men practice it, it is likely to be a means of self-extension; that is, a transitory sacrificial gesture for greater power and privilege. Miller-McLemore notes, “Instead of inspiring genuine sacrifice, Christianity has linked sacrifices with male headship and rule. Sacrifice requires giving up power. Shared responsibility for work and home means a kind of self-loss for which men have seldom been socialized by religion or otherwise.”³²⁴

The Father School: A Conservative Evangelical Men’s Movement

This section critically investigates the Father School (FS), ³²⁵ a dominant religious men’s movement in the contemporary Korean/Korean American context. Particular attention is given to its nature and its roles in the making and remaking of hegemonic masculinities in the Korean/Korean-American context, as well as in shaping the politics of masculinity and domestic spirituality of Korean men and women. In this section, I demonstrate that, despite its adoption of conservative gender ideologies and theological tenets from Promise Keepers (PK), the FS is a hybridized practice that has undergone a distinctive development in terms of its core motif and structure. I will also argue that the FS as a group masculinity therapy paradoxically challenges, reinforces, and renegotiates some aspects of hegemonic masculinities among Korean men.

³²⁴ Ibid.,

³²⁵ I conducted a participant observation study on the Father School (FS) held at a Korean-American church located in a Southeastern region of the U.S. in 2012. Even though participant observation often employs more than just observation in the process of studying (e.g., interviews of various sorts, checklists, and questionnaires), this study relied primarily on the extensive observation of both volunteers’ and participants’ actions, and verbal and non-verbal expressions of emotions demonstrated throughout the five sessions of the FS. This study also undertook a document analysis of written materials and resources, such as student handbooks and monthly magazines published by the FS headquarters in Korea. This section draws on my social psychology minor project entitled “Paradoxical Remaking of Hegemonic Masculinities in a Transnational Evangelical Men’s Movement *The Father School: A Participant Observation Study.*”

Overview of the Father School

The Father School was founded in 1995 by members of the Onnuri Church, one of the largest evangelical Protestant churches in South Korea, and began as a small faith-based organization.³²⁶ Around the time when the FS movement gained momentum, massive social and economic changes were taking place in Korean society as a result of the sudden economic downturn and ensuing 1997 bailout from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Since then, the FS has evolved into a nationwide and subsequently transnational men's movement. Aiming at changing communities and societies as well as families, it has held gatherings at prisons, public schools, government-run public institutions, commercial corporations, military bases, and local churches. According to internal statistics, as of 2013 the FS has run its programs more than 4804 times in over 240 cities in 59 different countries. Since the FS started in the United States in 2000, it has spread to Korean immigrant churches across the nation and currently operates in 57 U.S. cities.

The FS offers a range of short-term programs and various group-based activities to men who are current or prospective fathers and husbands. It runs two major programs: (1) "the Open Father School," which is held outside Christian faith communities and targets targeted for male employees at various corporation, or members of public organizations who are not necessarily Christian; and (2) "the General Father School," which is held at churches. The way the General FS operates is through the request of local churches. The FS headquarters arranges and mobilizes all the resources required for running the entire program, providing textbooks, banners, a main program facilitator, and lecturers. The FS participants are expected to complete five consecutive weekend sessions that include a series of small group activities, the plenary conversations, and

³²⁶ The Father School, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.father.or.kr/eng/index.action>

various rituals that are designed to facilitate the participants' reflection upon their manhood, fatherhood, and spirituality, along with biblical and practical guidance for new actions.

The Father School as a Hybridized Practice

The Father School (FS) can be seen as a hybridized practice or movement whose emergence and development have been significantly shaped by both the U.S. Promise Keepers organization and Korean religio-cultural contexts. The existing literature in the U.S. has hardly examined the PK's connection to religious men's movements in other cultural contexts. Moreover, the transnational vibrancy of the FS movement has not yet gained scholarly attention outside the circle of Korean scholars. The notion of *cultural hybridity*,³²⁷ which existed as a general idea long before it gained popularity in postcolonial theory, has increasingly become a useful concept in our contemporary cultural landscape characterized by an amalgam of cross-cultural influences and its blended, unbound, and fluid nature. The concept of hybridity explains and captures well the nature and identity of the FS. Among the many factors that contributed to the formation of the FS, the direct and indirect influences of Promise Keepers (PK) were particularly substantial. The FS shares some significant commonalities and continuity with PK in regard to its cultural symbols, core theological position, and gender ideologies.

First, the FS and PK share some of the cultural symbols. In the first session, for example, FS participants watch a video clip on the history of the FS (produced by FS headquarters), which

³²⁷ The concept of hybridity originally concerns the cultural interaction between "colonizers" and "the colonized" in postcolonial theories. Hybridity is defined as "the integration of cultural bodies, signs, and practices from the colonizing and the colonized cultures." Haj Yazdih says, "This hybridity is woven into every corner of society from trendy fusion cuisine to Caribbean rhythms in pop music to the hyphenated identities that signify ethnic Americans, illuminating the lived experience of ties to a dominant culture blending with the cultural codes of a Third World culture." Such a conception of hybridity serves as a foundation for critiquing the essentialist understanding of culture and identity as fixed and constant while affirming mutual dependence in constructing a shared culture. See Haj Yazdih, "Conceptualizing Hybridity: Deconstructing Boundaries Through the Hybrid," *Formations* (2010): 31.

makes an intimate connection between the origins of the FS and the PK. One can observe in the video that FS volunteers and leaders wear the same navy blue T-shirts as the leaders of the PK at the stadium. And at the closing ceremony of the FS, the same style of shirt was also given to each participant as a “graduation” gift. The FS participants wear their shirts as a sign of embracing and committing to the principles of the FS. Initially, this might be understood to signify the cultural transmission of PK’s symbol into the FS movement. However, as part of the FS, the shirts are no longer understood as a cultural sign of the PK but as a school uniform. PK’s cultural symbol is integrated with school motif as a cultural sign of the FS.

Also, in terms of their theological orientation, both the FS and PK commonly espouse conservative evangelical theology characterized by the belief in Jesus Christ as one’s personal savior and by a literalist interpretation of Scriptures. Promise Keepers, an evangelical men’s movement³²⁸ founded by Bill McCartney, former football coach at the University of Colorado, emphasizes a man’s commitment and accountability to seven subjects: to Jesus Christ, to the man’s prayer group, his wife, his children, his church, to racial harmony, and to the world. Even though stadium conferences are the most visible PK public appearances,³²⁹ the organization also relies upon grassroots church-based support by organizing local meetings called “Wake-up Calls” and small “Promise Builder” prayer groups for men. PK has garnered mixed responses and contradictory criticisms from the public. Scholarly studies and mass media have depicted the

³²⁸ While some scholars have treated the movement as part of traditional evangelicalism, others like Bryan Brickner argue that PK is “not part of traditional evangelicalism like Billy Graham’s organization, or part of new evangelicalism like Pat Robertson” but “social evangelicalism” which concerns social and moral change of society without succumbing to a political agenda. See Bryan Brickner, *The Promise Keepers: Politics and Promises* (Lanham, Md: Lexington, Books, 1999), 41.

³²⁹ Beginning as a single meeting in 1991, the movement grew into 22 stadium events nationwide that attracted approximately 1.1 million men in 1996; the estimated total number of participants at PK events amounted to 3.5 million by 1999. Since then, the movement has increasingly declined in terms of activities and the numbers of participants.

movement paradoxically as both an anti-feminist and reactionary movement and as a movement rejuvenating “godly manhood” and sensitive husbands/fathers, both impeding social transformation and promoting it, and both apolitical and political. Importantly, much of the conservative American evangelical theology espoused by PK has been adopted by the Korean FS movement too, though PK has declined since 2000s.

Both the FS and PK hold on to a mixture of both conservative and progressive gender ideologies along with problematic views of gender. Through lectures and discussions, the FS emphasizes the existence of essential masculinity, portraying men as intrinsically aggressive and naturally competitive. Similarly, the literature on PK notes that despite the wide diversity of PK’s gender ideologies, PK leaders and authors have tended to present masculinity and gender roles as essential and ontological to the nature of men.³³⁰ Based on this view of essential masculinity, the FS underscores the value of giving men more authority and power at home as a strategic way of solving problems, which are often named as “crises of masculinity” in Korean society as in the U.S. Typically this is done with the theological conviction that men are created with inherent leadership capabilities, just as PK authors have highlighted. For this reason, PK has been critiqued by feminists as a reactionary movement that is antifeminist in nature.³³¹

Despite the FS’s adoption of cultural signs, conservative gender ideologies, and theological tenets from the PK, the FS has undergone its own distinctive development in Korean society; its core motif and structure were molded within the sociocultural and religious contexts of Korea. What is most striking is the explicit use of the school motif which is central to the organization of the entire FS program. For example, the five sessions are organized around five

³³⁰ Donovan, 2005.

³³¹ See Kay Leigh Hagan, ed. *Women Responds to the Men’s Movement* (New York, NY: HaperCollins Publishers), 1992.

major themes pertaining to fatherhood and manhood: (1) Father's Influence, (2) Father's Manhood, (3) Father's Tasks, (4) Father's Spirituality, and finally (5) Father and the Family.³³² Each session is a combination of various educational components, including lectures and small group and larger plenary discussions about each theme. As students, FS participants are also expected to do some type of homework assignment after each session and to share this work in their small group. So, unlike the PK, which chose athletic stadiums as its typical gathering site, the FS mobilizes school-like settings for its gatherings.

To reframe this gender-based movement as a school appeals particularly effectively to the historical cultural significance of school in Korean culture influenced by Confucianism. Generally speaking, the fact that adults can attend “school” tends to be considered a sign of privilege in Korean society, because it suggests these adults have time and resources available to them, which not everyone does. Going back to school (mostly professional schools) often connotes furthering one’s career in order to attain a higher position or income as well as extending one’s social and professional relational network. In that light, the reframing of this gender-based movement as a school appealed to Koreans for whom education has always connoted valued personal and national development. At root, Confucian heritage’s valuing of continuous, life-long learning is what drives this valuing of education. Especially in the Neo-Confucian tradition, learning entails a continuous process of inner illumination and self-transformation; that is, it is a path to enhancing self-knowledge. Similarly, the use of the “school” motif highlights the movement’s goals for individual members’ change and growth as a husband and/or a father, and frames the FS as a normative, legitimate space for facilitating such processes of change.

³³² Sungmook Kim, *Lord, I am a Father* (Seoul, Duranno Father School, 2009), 11.

Father School as Group Masculinity Therapy

Along with this school motif, the Father School (FS) also contains elements of group therapy;³³³ a New York Times article described it as “Korean dads’ 12-step program.” First, just as the disconfirmation of a client’s feeling of uniqueness is a powerful source of relief in group therapy, the FS provides participants with the experience of universality based on a racially and culturally homogeneous group of fathers. Despite the complexity of human problems, some common denominators between participants soon became evident as group members perceive their similarities and share their struggles as fathers and husbands. In addition, building group cohesiveness is a critical component of the FS just as in group therapy. An integral part of small group activities is the intimate sharing that occurs, often for the first time in each member’s life, including the details of abuse and trauma and the ensuing internal pain and devastation they suffered. In this process of mutual self-disclosure, small groups facilitate not only the feeling of catharsis but also group cohesiveness, generating a positive, self-reinforcing loop: trust-self-disclosure-empathy-acceptance-trust.³³⁴ Such a sense of acceptance seems to give participants the impression that the group will accept them if they adhere to the group’s procedural norms, regardless of their past life experiences, transgressions, or social failure. In spite of its salient elements of group therapy, the FS emphasizes its identity as a school rather than as a form of group therapy. While the way FS operates does include aspects also found in group therapy, the

³³³ In his book on the theory and practice of group therapy, Ervin Yalom (2005) identified eleven therapeutic factors operative in group psychotherapy: (1) instillation of hope; (2) universality; (3) imparting information; (4) altruism; (5) the corrective recapitulation of the primary family group; (6) development of socializing techniques; (7) imitative behavior; (8) interpersonal learning; (9) group cohesiveness; (10) catharsis; (11) existential factors. Though the FS demonstrated most of these therapeutic components, I will illustrate only two examples in this analysis. See Irvin D Yalom, *The Theory and Practice of Group Psychotherapy* (New York: Basic Books, 2005).

³³⁴ Irvin D Yalom. *The Theory and Practice of Group Psychotherapy* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 56.

organization's explicit adoption and implementation of a school motif can be interpreted as a sign of the cultural adaptation that the FS has made in its formation.

Evaluation and Critique

The Father School (FS) has the paradoxical sides. First, it creates a space for challenging Korean hegemonic masculinity by redefining and promoting men's emotional expression, affectionate attitudes/behaviors, and sentimentality. In the dominant Korean culture (as in America), sentimentality, openness about emotions, and male relationship are not normally associated with hegemonic masculinities but with being non-masculine, effeminate, or gay. We can see an example of how the FS does this in the first session that new members of the FS attend, in which participants watch a short documentary film in which there are many scenes of FS participants crying and hugging other participants and their family members, implying that "it is totally fine and even normal to cry in that space." Subsequently in the film a former participant who now serves as a staff volunteer presents a "testimony" about how his relationship with his own father influenced his relationship with his own children in both positive and negative ways, and how his participation in the FS helped him realize and transform his wrongdoings and problematic attitudes as a father. He notes that his life is still "under construction" towards a radically different direction than he had followed before. He uses tissues to wipe his tears while sharing his stories—which has the effect of causing some of the audience members to wipe away their tears too. At the end of this man's film testimony, the small group leaders stand in line and give him a hug. At the end of this first session, the leader then also demonstrated for FS participants how to hug one another, and as they exited the room participants practiced doing so by hugging each of the FS volunteers standing in line.

By allowing men to critically examine their fatherhood and manhood, the FS helped participants reflect upon what kind of father and husband images they had internalized and practiced and whether such images should serve as a role model for their own children. Instead of the image of authoritarian and emotionally distant fathers, for example, they as a group explored more affectionate, friendly, and caring images and models of fathers and husbands. In this way, the FS sought to challenge some features of Korean traditional, hegemonic masculinities by implementing various kinds of processes to minimize defensiveness and resistance and by exploring both cultural and biblical models that reflect affectionate, friendly, and caring images of fathers and husbands. Moreover, the FS proposed a new set of masculine roles and behaviors that could potentially enhance male expressive roles and relationality within the family, though it did not address the issue of whether such behaviors could be sustained given the overall culture.

Yet for all these advances, the FS simultaneously created a space for reinforcing hegemonic masculinity through its emphasis on the father's spiritual headship and priesthood. In order to reconcile the confusion and tension between the essential/natural masculinity and the changing gender norms and demands for men, PK authors proposed a Christ-like model of manhood as a rationale to domesticate males into responsible family roles.³³⁵ The FS uses the same strategy by drawing on a "servanthood headship" model. Men's servanthood headship implies the exercise of male spiritual authority and leadership roles in ways that are caring and affective, rather than in a tyrannical and oppressive ruling over family members. For example, the third session in particular focused on men's spirituality and their relationship with God. The

³³⁵ Brian Donovan, "Political Consequences of Private Authority: Promise Keepers and the Transformation of Hegemonic Masculinity," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 27, No. 6 (December 1998): 817-843.

FS lecturer stressed a need for the father to recover his domestic authority in order to restore the wellbeing of his family. This implied tautology was aptly summed up in an FS banner on the wall: “A father lives! A family lives!” Along with this salvific implication of the father role, the FS also implicitly mentioned the role of mothers in assisting men as the rightful leaders of the family. Regarding the task of “saving” the families from disintegration, the relationship between Jesus the Messiah and John the Baptist was used as an analogy for the ideal relationship between husband and wife. At the final session the FS did a special closing ritual, in which FS participants washed their wives' feet. Given that the ritual of foot washing is a symbol of servanthood and service in the Christian tradition, the FS presented the participants with two seemingly contradictory masculine ideals for husbands and fathers: spiritual headship and domestic servanthood. At some points, spiritual headship was more emphasized than domestic servanthood while at other times the opposite was the case. During this ritual, many wives and husbands cried and exchanged words of repentance and forgiveness for their past mistakes and wrongdoings.

In this way, the FS combines a complementarian gender ideology with evangelical theology, asserting that their views of gender and family are biblically legitimate and right. In order to maintain its biblical legitimacy, the FS appropriates Jesus Christ, who is construed as both the head of the church and the suffering servant, as a prototype for paradoxically embracing the tension between male spiritual headship and domestic servanthood. As a way of practicing the model, the FS encourages men to conduct Christian rituals such as practicing daily prayer with their family and washing the feet of their wives on the final day of the program. Like PK, the FS deemphasizes participation in the political process and encourages its participants to change their practices in their domestic sphere by means of dispensing practical advice and

strategies. By affirming the recovery of the father's identity as "pastor, high priest, steward, and leader," the FS thus creates a space for reinforcing hegemonic masculinities.

Consequently, the FS as a form of group masculinity therapy provides a space in which hegemonic masculinities are paradoxically both challenged and secured.³³⁶ By adopting a group therapy or masculinity therapy model, the FS focuses on the healing of wounds both psychological and spiritual. Though this approach has positive ramifications in terms of its positive effects on the lives of Korean men, it is problematic on the ground that the issues of masculine gender role and the problematics of masculinity are reduced to and reinterpreted as being merely therapeutic and spiritual. With its main focus on "masculine healing," participants overlook and dismiss the realities of gender inequality and their complicity and participation in its continuation. Serious reconsideration or reformulation of the institutionalized male privilege that pervades Korean society is not addressed. It is not that the FS's therapeutic components and implications themselves are problematic but that the role played by the therapeutic component of the FS should be problematized within a broader context of gender politics in Korea. Just like the Promise Keepers, which emphasized its apolitical nature, the FS as a spiritual men's movement has claimed to maintain a distance from political engagement, but such a claim itself has political (and theological) implications: in essence, by doing nothing to change the existing gender hierarchy and patriarchy in Korean society the men are complicit in oppressing women.

³³⁶ It should be noted, though, that contradictory masculine roles and expectations in the FS are reconciled and negotiated through the role of participants' evangelical faith. Regarding the presence of various discursive resources for hegemonic masculinities in the FS, the participants' religious identity as evangelical Christians were significant in two respects. First, that evangelical identity helped to minimize resistance and defensiveness, encouraging participants to get at ideal masculinities offered by the FS. Based on their evangelical Christian faith, participants could accept gender ideals that were combined with theological language as proper and legitimate. The participants' religious identity, specifically as conservative evangelicals who adopt a literalist reading of the scripture, also functioned as an ideological glue for reconciling those contradictory discursive resources for undergirding hegemonic masculinities.

Politics of Masculinity in Progressive Men's Groups

Regarding the nature of progressive men's movements in the Korean context, two things need to be noted. First, profeminist groups especially, though formed the earliest, tend to lack a sustained, systematic form of discourses and practices, which makes a full analysis of them challenging. Compared to the U.S., men's movements in Korean society are not full-fledged and have a fairly narrow spectrum of gender politics, and they are barely sustained due to a low level of activity and discourse. Second, a majority of men's groups, including progressive ones, seem to lack an understanding of masculinities as multiple, contradictory, hierarchical, and complex. Such a lack of critical awareness has a consequence for the mobilization and activism of men's groups in that it obscures and conceals the power of hegemonic masculinity that affects the life of men and women and the various dimensions of society: home, workplace, politics, and religious institutions. Given these limits, I explore two progressive men's groups briefly.

Talsamo (Fathers Loving Daughters)

Fathers Loving Daughters (FLD), which claims to be a profeminist men's group, began in 2001.³³⁷ Similar to the group Men for Cultivating a Culture of Equality, the leaders and members of this group at the outset were upper middle-class men, including university professors, medical doctors, broadcasters, congressmen, representatives of NGOs, and actors. The group's members range from prospective fathers to seasoned fathers in their sixties. Chae-Ki Chung, the first co-leader of this group, explains:

Unlike the generation of pre-industrialization who mostly lived under the extended family system, the post-industrialization generation went through the rapid increase in nuclear families, in which men could witness the strengthening of Korean women's voices. As the society got stabilized, fathers' authority became dispersed and waned.

³³⁷ "Fathers Loving Daughters," Accessed Sep 15, 2015, www.daughterlove.org

Even though it could be difficult for men who grew up in a patriarchal family to accept this change, it is time for fathers to change themselves willingly rather than to be pushed to do so under social demand and pressure.³³⁸

The vision of FLD is to build a society in which men and women, daughters and sons live equally and peacefully.³³⁹ Over time this group has focused on issues such as the equal division of domestic labor among family members, the reform of companies and social institutions to allow employees time with their children, and the education of son and daughters to assume equal responsibility and roles. In alliance with women's groups, FLD had participated in the social movement to abolish the men's headship system. It has done so for two reasons: first, the men's headship system is a symbol of gender inequality, pushing men into the responsibilities of headship for the sole reason that they are men; second, the male headship system contributes to the high rate of abortion in Korean society.

Pyungdeung Moonwhareul Gakooneun Namsungmoin (Men for Cultivating a Culture of Equality)

The Men for Cultivating a Culture of Equality (hereafter the MCCE) of Seoul Women's Hotline was established in 1995.³⁴⁰ Unlike the group *Fathers Loving Daughters*, it is currently active among young Korean men. Early on, members of the MCCE consisted of thirty men with progressive minds in Korean society, including actors, film producers, politicians, and leaders of NGOs.³⁴¹ The vision of the MCCE was to create a society free of inequality and bias against

³³⁸ Chae-Ki Chung, "Men's Movement: The Self-Reflection of Changing Men," *Yonsei Chunchu* (March, 2002). <http://chunchu.yonsei.ac.kr/news/quickViewArticleView.html?idxno=4936>

³³⁹ "We are Whistle-Blowers," Accessed Sep 16, 2015. <http://www.women21.or.kr/tc/issue/2204?category=21>

³⁴⁰ "The Men for Cultivating a Culture of Equality," Accessed Sep 16, 2015. http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/view/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0000261051

³⁴¹ Jinyoung Lee. "The Foundation of the Men for Cultivating a Culture of Equality," *Dongallbo*, April 30, 1995.

women, a society toward which women and men could work together. Due to the declining membership and participation, however, the group could not sustain its regular meetings and was eventually suspended. The second MCCE, which restarted with new members in May 1997, pulled men from diverse backgrounds in terms of age, education, and jobs (e.g. white collar workers, teachers, businessmen), though most members belonged to at least the lower middle class.³⁴²

This group has continued to have monthly meetings as a space for discussing and debating a wide range of gender issues, as well as for facilitating friendship and solidarity among members.³⁴³ MCCE has also created and facilitated workshops called “Equality School” in which the subjects and themes covered in these meetings include: family culture and men; sex culture and men; male socialization and manhood; political culture and men; workplace culture and men; growing up as a male; narratives about “my father”; men in relationship with women; the identification of violence with life; dealing with physical violence; and dealing with psychological violence.³⁴⁴ In his statement about the goal, the leader of MCCE Sangchoon Han, , notes:

As I was working in a company, I was awakened to the reality of gender inequality. To address inequality and discrimination against women, I think the active role of men is critical. Even though we might believe that men and women are equal, it is actually not the case in reality—marriage and family. Upon marriage, men might expose some patriarchal masculinities hidden within themselves. MCCE helps men to repent, reflect on, and act concretely in new ways.³⁴⁵

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ “The Men for Cultivating a Culture of Equality,” Accessed Sept 15, 2015
http://junggu.newsk.com/bbs/bbs.asp?exe=view&group_name=124§ion=10&category=8&idx_num=290&page=104&search_category=&search_word=&order_c=bd_idx_num&order_da=desc

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

By addressing various issues and problems in the lives of men and women, MCCE seeks to create practical alternatives and suggestions that can help create a free and happy society. In order to achieve such a society, its goal is to support and extend the horizon of the women's movement through the development of programs, social activism toward the enactment or amendment of legislation, publications of magazines and/or books, support for the feminist (and men's) movement in solidarity with women's organizations, and the maximization of small groups.

Evaluation and Critique

I have briefly discussed two self-identified pro-women men's groups: Fathers Loving Daughters and Men for Cultivating a Culture of Equality. A few things are notable about these progressive groups. First, unlike conservative men's groups, these progressive men's groups have not been mobilized as a systemic men's movement or a formal organization like the Father School. Rather, they exist and act in a decentralized manner that favors flexibility and anti-authoritarianism, which results in a very different kind of politics in terms of their activities. These progressive groups tend to come together as a form of men's consciousness-raising groups that are self-managing and that gather from time to time at conferences or for campaigns on particular issues such as gender equality and violence against women. Also, even though these groups claim themselves to be pro-woman and anti-patriarchal in terms of movement goals, it appears that solidarity among men in progressive masculinity politics has not necessarily led to solidarity with the women's movement and feminist activists in particular. This partly reflects negative cultural bias and antagonism against feminism and the women's movement as being

anti-family and anti-male in Korean society, and partly the uneasy relations between feminist activists and men's groups.

In my assessment, anti-sexist politics in current progressive men's groups, such as *Talsamo*, are closer to a form of the kind of "Men's Liberation Movement" that occurred in the 1970s in America. Despite their recognition of the detrimental impacts of patriarchy and sexism on men's roles and identities, some proponents for Men's Liberation Movements took a separatist approach that emphasizes male liberation and solidarity, sometimes with anti-feminist sentiments. Though these progressive men's groups are distinct from conservative men's groups such as the MOK and the FS in terms of their critical view of traditional and patriarchal male roles in the family, they do not seem to go beyond having these critical views to actually tackling the structure of male institutionalized power and privilege in public spheres.

The Interplay between Men's Movements and Hegemonic Masculinity: Challenges and Prospects for Profeminist Politics of Masculinity

I have discussed how Men's groups and movements position themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity whether or they are conscious and intentional. Both conservative and progressive men's movements enact and reconfigure hegemonic masculinity. The connection between the men's movements and hegemonic masculinity needs a further clarification. In focusing primarily on the costs of masculinity while overlooking differences and inequalities among men, Man of Korea (MOK) fails to recognize the differences and multiplicity of masculinities, and this results in blindness to an existing hierarchy among masculinities, both hegemonic and subordinate positions. In this way, opinions and discourses publicized by MOK are based on the false universalization of "men": the group especially tends to universalize the experiences of lower-middle or working-class, young, heterosexual men who will or did

complete military service. Based on its ignorance of the influences of hegemonic and dominant versions of masculinity upon a majority of men, MOK disregards the reality that most institutional power and privileges are exercised by men over women and by privileged men over subordinate men. It identifies men merely as the powerless and as victims of feminism. Along with this tendency, this group defines the masculine in opposition to racial and sexual minorities and women and feminists; that is, the way this group constructs masculinity is predominantly by what masculinity is not rather than by what masculinity is. For MOK, what it means to be a man is not feminine, homosexual, and colored. In its pursuit of the promotion of men's rights and the abolishment of pro-woman policies, MOK thus becomes complicit in the reinforcement of hegemonic masculinities in Korean society, though they themselves may not be the bearers of hegemonic masculinities.

The Father School (FS) creates a paradoxical space in which it reinforces and challenges the current configurations of hegemonic masculinity. It also functions as a group masculinity therapy. Fundamentally, the politics of masculinity therapy is grounded in men's recognition or perception of "the crisis of masculinity." Men's groups have framed the crisis of masculinity thesis in different ways as discussed in chapter one. How it is defined and approached determines what is really at stake and how we establish priorities for action. Framing the discourse of masculinity solely around a crisis motif, however, makes the purview of men's political engagement limited and short-sighted, losing sight of broader structural factors underpinning perceived crisis situations. In this homosocial, therapeutic space, men are allowed to remain blind or indifferent to the reality of patriarchal forces and contexts. Consequently, gender discourses and practices in conservative politics of masculinity are complicit in the sustenance and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity in ways that maintain male hegemony and

dominance in service to gender hierarchy and patriarchy (whether the grounding discourse is spiritual or political).

With respect to the goals of transforming such politics of masculinity, there are many practical and theoretical challenges and struggles for progressive—and especially profeminist—men’s groups and their political engagement. First, one of the struggles for profeminist men’s groups comes as a result of feminist suspicions and criticisms. In *Misframing Men*, Michael Kimmel introduces the stories of young profeminist men who gathered at the Young Feminist Summit Conference, organized by the National Organization for Women (NOW) and their struggles around the sense of isolation in becoming part of the struggle for women’s equality, dealing with the suspicions of feminists, the frustrations with other men (especially angry antifeminist men), and the pervasive indifference of the public.³⁴⁶ One of feminism’s consistent criticisms of profeminist activism and men’s turn to feminist theories is that they can “reproduce forms of gender power through the medium of men’s appropriation of feminism” while at the same time defusing the power of feminism.³⁴⁷ In addition, feminists question the level of commitment of profeminists by raising the issue of “gender tourism,” a reference to men’s attraction to feminist ideas and yet their gradual distancing from and indifference to feminist goals.³⁴⁸

According to feminist theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether, it is “not paranoia, but simply well-founded experience that disposes women to be suspicious of men’s movements that

³⁴⁶ Michael Kimmel, *Misframing Men: The Politics of Contemporary Masculinity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 221.

³⁴⁷ Ashe, 77-78.

³⁴⁸ More fundamentally, some feminists who take a traditional standpoint theory have problematized the relation between male experience and the implementation of a “profeminist” perspective because they believe that feminist epistemology is grounded in women’s experiences of oppression. Men and women are different in terms of their gendered experiences; therefore, men “lack the epistemological foundations of feminist resistance” (Ashe, p.83).

claim to be healing the wounded male psyche by reaffirming the masculine,”³⁴⁹ which she thinks of as the expression of patriarchal power relations in this culture. She states:

I have long believed that “we,” i.e., women and men, need a “men’s movement,” in the sense of men who have to come to understand the evils of patriarchy, the injustice that has done to women, and the way that has distorted all social relations. These are men who are prepared to work in solidarity with women to create a new society liberated from patriarchy.³⁵⁰

In order to build trust and restore “damaged solidarities” at various levels, men in profeminist politics (and academia) should move beyond premature and superficial commitment to feminism and be clear and conscious about their own motivation for supporting and appropriating feminism (i.e., some men support feminism only for its potential to liberate men). Theologically speaking, becoming part of feminist struggles as profeminists involves a spiritual discipline of *kenosis* on the part of men, not a forced or reluctant but a *voluntary* practice of giving up dominance and a self-emptying of privilege. However, such a move does not imply men’s salvific acts, nor does it mean to reduce the issues of power to the realm of religion or a matter of spiritual discipline/personal practice. Based on such self-reflexivity, profeminist politics of masculinity should confront the danger of excluding women and men in marginalized statuses from their activism and scholarship while taking their theoretical compatibility with feminist politics into serious consideration. More fundamentally, attention to economic, domestic, and material justice (not just spiritual matters) is necessary to fully address the problem of male dominance and power and to achieve feminist goals, though.

Second, another practical challenge for progressive masculinity politics has been to promote the political mobilization and active participation of men, given that they tend to remain

³⁴⁹ Reuther, “Patriarchy and the Men’s Movement,” 172.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

“a quiet revolution,” one restricted to working at the personal level, compared to the militancy and enthusiasm of conservative men’s groups and their highly organized approach. Though the personal is the political, this observation and challenge warrants an analysis of how changes at a personal level could lead to the transformation of deep-seated institutional gender hierarchy and patriarchal structures. The public’s awareness of profeminist politics of masculinity is also minimal in Korean society. As Clatterbaugh indicates, most men’s movements are now in serious decline and the profeminist men’s movement especially has had almost “no life outside the university.”³⁵¹ Though it would be too naïve to expect a mass movement of men against sexism given that “the project of social justice in gender relations is directed against the interest they share,”³⁵² it would nonetheless be important for progressive men’s groups to dismantle the social mechanism of reactionary gender politics and to create more politically effective venues or strategies for involving men and making changes in solidarity with women’s movements. Rather than seeking to form a large-scale, unified mass movement to oppose patriarchy, profeminist politics of masculinity should develop a fresh politics of masculinity in new areas beyond “gender territorialism.” In fact, more promising forms of progressive masculinity politics in Korea have arisen outside pure gender politics, often at the intersection of gender with other structures, such as the labor unions, ecological movements, and the conscientious objection (CO) movement, which tackles the gendered nature of militarization and dominant militarized masculinities. These political areas open new possibilities for reconfiguring and transforming hegemonic masculinities. Finally, given the lack of Christian voices and involvement in progressive gender politics, there is a need for affirmative political and ecclesial campaigns.

³⁵¹ Kenneth Clatterbaugh, “Literature of the U.S. Men’s Movements,” *Signs* 25.3 (Spring 2000).

³⁵² Connell, *Masculinities*, 236.

Though it is critical to raise awareness of male violence, harassment, rape, etc., political engagement should not be limited to what men should not do but what men can do, and what men should do, and even to what men want to do.³⁵³

Conclusion

Feminist theorists have vocalized the importance of tackling masculinity politics. Sylvia Walby, for example, indicates that feminist discourses on gender politics have typically neglected the importance of analyzing the politics of masculinity; that is, men's actions in gender politics which are often organized as oppositional forms of women's politics.³⁵⁴ Based on this insight, this chapter has investigated both conservative and progressive politics of masculinity with reference to their complex relations to hegemonic masculinity. Particular attention has been given to how hegemonic masculinity is maintained, reinforced, and challenged in the masculinity politics of the Father School. In order to deconstruct the enactment of hegemonic masculinity in religious and public spheres, the analysis encompasses the examination of socio-economic, cultural, and theological backgrounds and structures that produce/reproduce the movements such as the FS, as well as of the interplay between individuals, hegemonic masculinity as an ideal, and social structure.

Do we really need another men's movement or masculinity politics then? To resist and transform the patriarchal order requires a form of explicit masculinity politics even though to defend the order does not need one. In terms of the need for envisioning alternative politics of masculinity, it is necessary to explore critically the nature, focus, goal, and ethos of such

³⁵³ Kimmel, 222.

³⁵⁴ Sylvia Walby, *Gender Transformations* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 18.

movements especially in relation to the ongoing women's movement. I think there is also a need for religiously-inspired or theologically-based profeminist politics of masculinities towards challenging Korean hegemonic masculinities. In fact, engagement with progressive gender politics at both the theological and the practical levels is nearly "the road not taken" in the mainline Korean Protestant churches. While being critical of the roles that Korean Protestant churches as male-dominant institutions play in gender politics, pastoral theology should not only address how feminist values and perspectives can be applied and transferred to the daily lives of men and congregants. Pastoral theology should also envision alternative politics of masculinity that integrates feminist visions, voices, and theories towards critiquing hegemonic configurations of masculinity and practicing a manhood compatible with feminist values of gender equality and justice.

CHAPTER 5

Challenging and Transforming Hegemonic Masculinity: A Feminist Pastoral Theological Analysis

In analyzing the limitations and contributions of psychoanalytic and social psychological insights into hegemonic masculinity, I have argued in previous chapters that the development and embodiment of hegemonic masculinity should be understood by keeping in mind its impact on the family, cultural institutions, and the politics of masculinity. The process of dismantling and transforming hegemonic masculinity not only demands the critical analysis of men's subjectivities, but also involves challenging the cultural dynamics of power and dominance within families and the structures of gender relations between men and women and between men themselves. In analyzing the dynamics of Korean hegemonic masculinity, it is also critical to take into consideration the religious and theological dimensions. Given that feminist theology has already amply defined and conceptualized the problems of male power characterized by hegemonic masculinities, it is critical to explore the ways in which a feminist approach can shed light on understanding and dismantling hegemonic masculinity. In a critical and constructive dialogue with the social scientific understanding of hegemonic masculinities, this chapter thus engages feminist theologies and theories with attention to the following questions: What needs to be changed and restructured in the discipline of pastoral theology? What do feminist theological insights offer us for understanding and transforming hegemonic masculinities? To that end, what can psychological and sociological insights contribute to feminist pastoral theology?

Based on the insights of Asian/Korean feminists discussed in chapter two, the pastoral appropriation of feminist pastoral theological method could be a critical means for studying men and masculinities in a more gender-conscious fashion from the vantage point of a feminist

liberating perspective. The process of constructing a pastoral theology constitutes “an interdisciplinary forum” where different disciplines mutually inform and critically engage with one another. In terms of both content and methods of theological reflection, rethinking manhood from a feminist pastoral perspective, with its emphasis on lived experiences and attention to systemic dynamics of marginalization, can offer us a unique vantage point from which to develop a critical and constructive account of men and masculinities beyond hegemonic and patriarchal configurations of masculinities, with the goal of creating an environment of mutuality, justice, equality, and care. Central to this discussion is the idea that the study of masculinities should include an element of evaluation, and theological traditions and methods have distinctive roles to play in this process. We cannot just celebrate all versions of masculinities, though we are to acknowledge their diversity and plurality.

To that end, I draw on three critical movements or possibilities, a typology that I discussed in chapter two, in a slightly different manner. I undertake a pastoral theological analysis of hegemonic masculinity, using the category of *critical memory*, *critical reflexivity*, and *critical pedagogy*. First, with respect to *critical memory* I examine the history of discipline of pastoral theology in order to facilitate a critical self-reflection on and self-consciousness of implicit and explicit patriarchal structures and ideologies within research and practice. Second, I undertake a *critical reflexivity* of the continuing realities of hegemonic/patriarchal masculinities for the purpose of dismantling and transforming them. Finally, I envision *critical pedagogy* intended to guide men and women towards a developmental sensitivity in living out anti-sexist, post-patriarchal relational values beyond patriarchal constraints. To ground a pastoral theology in openness to these three critical elements is necessary lest the deconstruction of hegemonic masculinity be filled by premature work of reconstruction and pastoral praxis. The intention of

taking such a thorough approach is to avoid the pitfalls of previous men's studies and men's movements, which ended up reifying gender hierarchy and male hegemony.

As noted in chapter three, the family serves as a central ritual space that shapes the development and enactment of hegemonic masculinity in the Confucian religio-cultural contexts of Korea. In this regard, the case of the Father School, an example of "domestic" spirituality in the Korean context, showed the complex dynamics at work as examined from a feminist perspective. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter one, cultural perception of and discourses on a crisis in masculinity, which were represented and heightened by men's massive loss of breadwinning roles in post-IMF Korea, do not necessarily eventuate in undermining male dominance and power in society or surrendering male authority in the family. Whether men become more involved in domestic work or not, what has changed is not necessarily male dominance and hegemony in gender relations, but its forms, expressions, packaging, and the redefinition of the sphere in which power is exercised and maintained.

Critical Memory: Gender and "An Identity Crisis" in Pastoral Theology

First, with regard to critical memory, this section provides a brief overview of how pastoral theology has navigated the question of gender in terms of the discipline's identity crisis. Though there has been so much talk of "a crisis of masculinity" in contemporary societies, pastoral theologians have also diagnosed a persistent identity crisis in the field of pastoral care, counseling, and theology. Although they differ in how they define the origin and nature of the crisis and what they suggest as solutions, such crises represent multifaceted issues and dimensions in the different stages of the discipline's historical development. Originally, "identity crisis," a term developed by Erik Erikson, refers to a time of intensive analysis and exploration

of different ways of looking at oneself, as well as a time of probing one's independence and development of a sense of self.³⁵⁵ When we say analogically that pastoral theology is having an identity crisis, we typically mean that it has been undergoing a time of intensive inner analysis and exploration of different ways of doing theology in response to rapidly changing social and academic environments and contexts characterized by pluralism and postmodernism. Bonnie Miller-McLemore notes, for example, that "anyone who wants to write a comprehensive text in the general area of religion and personality must first address and in some fashion dispel the persistent identity crisis of the field or at least situate one's work in relation to this crisis."³⁵⁶ She understands this identity crisis in terms of the movement's divisions and its members' diverse research and teaching locations and thus expectations.

Pastoral theology is a relatively new academic discipline established in the twentieth century United States especially through the work of Seward Hiltner. Ever since then, pastoral theology has faced a challenge to become an interdependent, integrated field especially in relation to other theological disciplines and social sciences, particularly psychology. In *The Living Human Document*, Charles Gerkin decried psychologizing the field and the absorption of pastoral theology into psychology to the point that pastoral theology loses its theological identity. Gerkin pointed out that psychological and psychotherapeutic concerns have been dominant during the first four decades of the modern period in pastoral care and counseling. He says, "Much of the new knowledge that gave rise to the resurgence of pastoral care as an emphasis in

³⁵⁵ Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993). According to Erikson, one's ego identity is constantly changing due to new experiences and information one acquires in daily interactions with others. If the stage is handled well, it brings a sense of mastery, which is sometimes referred to as ego strength or ego quality. In contrast, those who remain unsure of their beliefs and desires will feel insecure about themselves and confused about their roles and the future.

³⁵⁶ Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, *Christian Theology in Practice: Discovering a Discipline* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Wm.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2012), 143. In her later work Miller-McLemore offered a rethinking of the identity crisis of the field, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

ministry was psychological knowledge.”³⁵⁷ Certainly, this cannot be explained without considering broad and deep shifts in the cultural paradigms of Western society with the gradual deterioration of Christianity and the growing irrelevance of academic doctrinal theology. The new languages of social sciences such as psychology played a role in defining American cultural life and considering relationship problems, as Philip Rieff pointedly analyzed in *The Triumph of the Therapeutic*.³⁵⁸ Based on a hermeneutical theory, Gerkin asserted that pastoral counselors should preserve their roots in the Christian tradition and language while yet remaining open to other hermeneutical perspectives: “pastoral counselors need to continue to be psychologically minded enough to incorporate the insights coming from secular psychology.”³⁵⁹

Feminist voices and perspectives had a significant formative impact on the development of pastoral theology’s identity beginning in the 1980s. In *Liberating Faith Practice*, the first published international volume of feminist theologians in practical and pastoral theology, editors Denise Ackermann and Riet Bons-Storm argued that practical theology is the discipline least influenced by feminist theories and practices.³⁶⁰ Though their main focus was the state of practical theology, the situation was analogous to pastoral theology, which had also largely ignored during the mid-twentieth century the voices and experiences of women and maintained male-centered views as normative, universal, and representative of human beings in general. Feminist work seeks to modify a traditional approach to the pastoral care of men, as well as women. In terms of role confusion in identity crises, in which new roles or functions were often

³⁵⁷ Charles V. Gerkin, *The Living Human Document: Re-visioning Pastoral Counseling in a Hermeneutical Mode* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984), 11.

³⁵⁸ See Philip Rieff, *The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith after Freud* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

³⁵⁹ Gerkin, 21.

³⁶⁰ See Denise Ackermann and Riet Bons-Storm, *Liberating. Faith Practices: Feminist Practical Theologies in Context* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998).

not taken seriously and incorporated meaningfully, such a situation can manifest as an identity crisis. The contributions of feminist pastoral theology have increased our understanding of the role and functions of pastoral care in pastoral theology.³⁶¹ Primarily this was because feminist pastoral theologians demanded a fundamental reorientation of the core functions of pastoral care. In addition to the four conventional functions of pastoral care--sustaining, healing, guiding, and reconciling—they named four other pastoral practices that have particular importance in feminist theory: resisting, empowering, nurturing, and liberating.³⁶² In this way, feminist pastoral theology has taken seriously women's experiences, feelings, and formulations. By drawing on feminist theory as a tool for reconstructing a pastoral theology that was significantly gender-blind and androcentric, feminist pastoral theology has thus moved pastoral care and theology toward greater inclusivity. It identified knowledge embedded in women's experiences as legitimate and insightful while suggesting how these experiences can become a formative part of the declarative and transformative knowledge within the field.

Furthermore, feminist pastoral theology has created a penetrating and critical hermeneutic of suspicion in terms of its profound insights and methods. In the first edited volume on women and pastoral care, *Women in Travail and Transition*, for example, feminist pastoral theologians Maxine Glaz and Stevenson Moessner emphasized the importance of analyzing and critiquing culture in terms of its role in shaping women and men's gendered behaviors and of categorizing gender. For such an analysis, women in pastoral theology have appropriated feminist psychology and psychology of women. Regarding the use of psychology in pastoral theology, Maxine Glaz suggested that moving away from psychology too rashly is a part of an impetus to ignore the

³⁶¹ See Gill-Austern, Brita and Bonnie Miller McClemore, eds. *Feminist and Womanist Pastoral Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999).

³⁶² Miller-McLemore, *Christian Theology in Practice*, 217.

dimension of gender and gendered aspects of personal, social and religious experiences. Miller-McLemore also acknowledged that it would be naïve to ignore the power of psychology “as a consciousness- and culture-shaping force” and its strong and continuing influences in male-biased psychologies such as that of Freud.³⁶³ She maintained that we should be cautious about regarding all psychologies as individualistic and therefore inadequate for social analysis.³⁶⁴ This collaborative work of women in pastoral theology has served as a means not only to foster solidarity among women toward feminist goals but also as a way to create collective and political power to challenge the field. Indeed, the rise of feminist perspectives and methodologies was “the single most powerful and pervasive change” in the development of the field according to Rodney Hunter in his historical overview.³⁶⁵

I claim that such powerful and pervasive changes have helped the discipline of pastoral theology to recover from its identity crisis, though pastoral theologians have come up with conflicting assessments about this. Robert Dykstra implies that the status of the field is still inadequate and that it “has yet to fully recover.” Pastoral theology, he explains, was “born of madness” and “a fragile, sometimes fragmented identity on the margins of church and society seems to be its peculiar portion and destiny.”³⁶⁶ It is not clear, however, what he means by this “destiny” and whether this should be a continuing status or goal for pastoral theology. In contrast, Miller-McLemore revised her claim about the field’s identity crisis in her later work,

³⁶³ Ibid., 38

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ See Rodney J. Hunter, “Pastoral Theology: Historical Perspectives and Future Agendas.” *Journal of Pastoral Theology* 16 no 1 (Spring 2006): 7-30

³⁶⁶ Robert Dykstra, *Images of Pastoral Care* (St. Louis, Mo: Chalice Press, 2005), 2.

noting that “this is no longer the case.”³⁶⁷ By situating the field’s identity crisis in a wider systemic and intellectual context in which many disciplines are struggling with fuzzy disciplinary boundaries and research aims and parameters, she claims that the identity crisis has been handled appropriately within the field and that other disciplines now share the field’s expertise about lived practice. Though I agree that the discipline of pastoral theology has resolved its identity crisis, some challenges still exist, given the multifaceted aspects of identity crisis. The critical scholarship of pastoral theology should continue to challenge and subvert the maintenance of patriarchal systems,³⁶⁸ given the complex dynamics of power and difference in the cultural and religious arenas. This scholarship reminds the field of the significance and necessity of social, contextual, and power analysis with reference to race/ethnicity, gender, class, and age.

Given the growing diversity and complexity in gender relations, some theorists influenced by postmodernism have criticized the overarching theorization of gender and race relations as essentialist, and have called for a more complex process and method of deconstructing the normative truth claims of the dominant culture, recognizing the contextual features of power and difference. The growing work of womanists and other women of color has further recognized complexity in gender relations and integrated this into the field as a key aspect of pastoral theological conversations about power and difference. In this way the voices and experiences of women of color demanded the reclaiming of the many different particularities within such broad

³⁶⁷ Bonnie Miller-McLemore, “Also a Pastoral Theologian: In Pursuit of Dynamic Theology (Or: Meditations from a Recalcitrant Heart).” *Pastoral Psychology* 59, no. 6 (2010): 813-828.

³⁶⁸ In her book *Counseling Women*, Christie Neuger offers a feminist narrative approach to pastoral theology. By presenting data on the persistent reality of patriarchy (i.e., women’s labor, economics, job segregation, income gap, the continuing sexual and intimate violence against women, and unhealthy images of women in media), she argues that the reality of patriarchy and sexism has been ignored and minimized in pastoral theology (See Christie C Neuger, *Counseling Women: A Narrative, Pastoral Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001).

categories as gender and race. Even within one seemingly homogenous racial group they identified different layers of experience, depending on factors such as class, age, geography, and sexual orientation. As Christie Neuger noted, however, “despite the problems of essentialism, it is important not to abandon this [feminist] philosophical and methodological position completely because focusing entirely on particularity will diminish or potentially eliminate the solidarity that has made and continues to make political and societal change possible.”³⁶⁹ So the task for pastoral theologians is to navigate the tension between essentialism and relativism with a focus on how we theorize social complexity.

Consequently, the field of pastoral theology has come up with critical and creative means to address the identity crisis identified through the development of the discipline and to make appropriate changes at institutional and academic levels. Regarding future trajectories, Neuger suggested “a strong move toward a greater focus on the global spectrum of experience and a need to understand and build in knowledge and wisdom from the perspectives of others in the international community.” She considers “the critical examination of privilege, dominant culture identity, and accountability” to be an important dimension of the movement forward. Building upon this critical insight, the next section of this chapter therefore discusses what pastoral theology has accomplished with respect to the research trajectory of men and masculinity and what needs to be done further based on such insights from feminist theology.

³⁶⁹ Christie C. Neuger, “Power and Difference in Pastoral Theology,” in *Pastoral Care and Counseling: Redefining the Paradigm*, Nancy Ramsay, ed. (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2004), 70.

Pastoral Theological Exploration of Masculinity: Recognition of Men as Gendered Subjects

By the late 1980s and the early 1990s pastoral theologians began to employ the critical perspectives and strategies of feminist studies in their work on men and masculinity through the so-called critical men's studies. Because men are typically viewed in a universal, essentialist, and undifferentiated manner, men and masculinity not only have been largely absent from feminist theory as an object of gender analysis, but have also been largely treated as "a singular, unified group largely represented as privileged and dominant by virtue of gender."³⁷⁰ The anti-essentialist feminist views of gender, however, have pushed theorists to see that not all women (and by extension not all men) are similarly situated and to analyze how systems of gender hierarchy intersect in complex ways. Likewise, there has been a growing recognition in the field that men are also "gendered in a sexist society and a historically patriarchal church."³⁷¹ Though there has been very little theological scholarship on men's experience that treats them as gendered subjects, some meaningful works have demonstrated that not all men can be described as identical without regard to their social identities and locations.

This critical insight further challenges us to consider how gender functions to subordinate some "men" and thus push beyond the idea that only women are subordinated. (For strategic and political reasons, second-wave feminists paid or had to pay little attention to inequality and differences between men). In delineating four provisional and contextual criteria for the construction of feminist pastoral theology, feminist pastoral theologian Carrie Doehring asserts that pastoral theology should integrate a feminist perspective that is "poststructuralist, contextual

³⁷⁰ Nancy E. Dowd, *The Man Question: Male Subordination and Privilege* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 16. According to Dowd, it is not that feminist analysis has never noticed the subordination of men in the gender system.

³⁷¹ Jeanne Hoelt, "Gender, Sexism, and Heterosexism," In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Practical Theology*, Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, ed. (Malden, Mass: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 414.

and pragmatic.”³⁷² According to her, such a contextual feminist position acknowledges the inseparability of gender from other contextual factors. Masculinity should be viewed in relation to class, race/ethnicity, and sexuality. Paradoxically, one could be placed in a position of dominant power in one context and yet subjugated or even oppressed in another context. Legal scholar Nancy Dowd pointedly indicates that “when men are the subject of disadvantage, gender is often not considered in the equation. Black men are almost never considered as men; they are raced but not gendered. Gay men are identified by sexuality but not by masculinity.”³⁷³ In pastoral theology, the early representatives of marginalized groups regarded the reality of their experience as a generic one. Though such a restricted view was necessary during that phase, it is critical for us to be better attuned to the multifaceted and interlocking nature of power and difference.³⁷⁴ In that regard, to address the issue of men’s subordination in the gender system could contribute to furthering the goal and promise of feminist analysis toward debunking and ending patriarchy and inequality, which is ultimately an issue about power and subordination.

Multiplicity of Masculinities *within* Hierarchy

As noted in previous chapters, there are multiple expressions and practices of masculinity and femininity, and these differing versions of “masculinities” are ordered hierarchically. To conceive of masculinity as multiple and fluid, instead of adhering to a primitive unisex/gender system as reflected in theorists such as Freud, enables us to identify the broader spectrum of men and masculinities. With such a vision of masculinities, pastoral theology can develop a more

³⁷² Carrie Doehring, “A Method of Feminist Pastoral Theology.” In *Feminist and Womanist Pastoral Theology*, Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore and Brita Gill-Austern, eds. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 101.

³⁷³ Dowd, 17.

³⁷⁴ Neuger, “Power and Difference in Pastoral Theology,” 82.

critical appraisal of the constraining and oppressive cultural forms of hegemonic masculinities. In accordance with contemporary theorists on masculinities, feminist pastoral theologian Pamela Cooper-White developed a theological view of human beings as not only “mutable and fluid,” but also as “multiple and variegated.” This idea of the multiplicity and fluidity of human beings also shapes our understanding of masculinity, which leads us to pay increased attention to *a shared hermeneutical process*,³⁷⁵ a process in which meanings of one’s masculinities are continually explored, co-constructed, and revisited.

This awareness of diversity and multiplicity of masculinities also demands an examination of the cultural constructs of power relations and hierarchical structures. In his discussion of the most active group in the making of hegemonic masculinity, sociologist Mike Donaldson includes priests and psychiatrists, along with politicians and academics and other “organizing intellectuals.”³⁷⁶ These people function as “weavers of the fabric of hegemony,” by regulating and managing gender regimes, articulating experiences, fantasies, and perspectives, and reflecting on and interpreting gender relations. Clearly, such a theoretical focus sheds light on the ways in which religions construct the images of men and impose hegemonic masculinity, as well as how they hinder (or promote) a man's development and offer alternative avenues for men.

This theoretical contribution is even more essential to the field of pastoral counseling, given its close connection to psychoanalytic paradigms in terms of theory and practice. Broader socio-cultural contexts of hegemony, along with peer relations, such as boy culture and religious

³⁷⁵ Pamela Cooper-White, *Many Voices: Pastoral Psychotherapy in Relational and Theological Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 18.

³⁷⁶ Mike Donaldson, “What Is Hegemonic Masculinity?” *Theory and Society*, 22 no. 5 (October 1993): 643-657.

culture with its enforced male code, need to be further explored. As discussed in chapter 3, the sophisticated psychoanalytic languages to describe masculinities can be helpful tools and resources for pastoral theologians and practitioners who have lacked psychological theories of masculinities, given the limitation of gender theory in theorists such as Freud who idealize phallic masculinity. Psychoanalytic theory-building on masculinities that is concentrated on intrapsychic dynamics and triadic relations can be further extended by a pastoral theological vision that identifies human development as the confluence of complicated processes and manifold relationships with differing individuals, groups, institutions, and societies.³⁷⁷

Evaluating Pastoral Theology Through the Three Interlocking Themes

As discussed in chapter 4, Michael Messner draws on three conceptual themes that help categorize a wide range of politics of masculinity in the U.S.: (1) male institutionalized privileges; (2) costs of masculinity; and (3) differences and inequality among men. As a way of bringing *critical memory* into the discipline of pastoral theology, I employ the three themes as a tool for analysis of some of the literature. I argue that in pastoral theology literature, these three themes are treated mostly in isolation from one another. However, these themes or spheres actually intersect in complex and dynamic ways in the lives of men and women; therefore, holding them together in analysis is critical if we are to take a holistic approach to hegemonic masculinity. Though pastoral theology has addressed the issues of male power, privilege, and hegemony in ecclesial, public, and political dimensions of individual and relational

³⁷⁷ The development of persons within sociocultural contexts has always been a central interest of some pastoral theologians. Cooper-White, along with Miller-McLemore's metaphor of "living human web," also highlights the interconnected nature of humans situated in the matrix of life, arguing that "humanity cannot be known as a whole, but only in its local particulars, like the drops of dew on a spider's web" (See Cooper-White, 38).

experience,³⁷⁸ it is my assessment that existing pastoral theology literature on men and masculinity has overemphasized in its research focus and direction one of the three themes—the costs of masculinity. Though this is understandable given the nature of pastoral theology as “person- and pathos-centered in terms of its focus on human angst” and investment in care of persons, such an overemphasis to the exclusion of the other two themes has some serious limits and drawbacks.³⁷⁹

First, in focusing on the costs of masculinity, those pastoral theologians who have studied men are mostly concerned with the negative consequences of men’s conformity to the narrow definitions of masculinity, specifically as regards men’s poor health, shorter lives, and emotionally shallow relationships, though such definitions allow men dominant statuses and privilege systems in gender relations. Terms such as *crisis*, *confusion*, *vulnerabilities*, and *losses* have often been associated with the costs of masculinity. In *New Adam: The Future of Male Spirituality*, for example, Philip Culbertson lays out some of men’s problems, such as men’s emotional distance and longing for power and success.³⁸⁰ He does so by drawing on the biblical narratives called “texts of terror for men” that focus on the problematic and dysfunctional aspects of masculinities and male relationships. The narrative of David and Absalom illustrates men’s

³⁷⁸ In terms of its shifting foci, the pastoral theological research on men and masculinity reflects partially the development of the three paradigms of pastoral care: the clinical pastoral paradigm; the communal contextual paradigm; and the intercultural paradigm. In *Pastoral Care and Counseling: Redefining the Paradigms*, the authors address the emergence of and the impact of the last two new paradigms in the fields of pastoral care, counseling, and theology beyond the dominance of the clinical pastoral paradigm. The emergence of the new paradigms has involved critical redefinition of the discipline’s understanding of “the scope of care; the authority for care; the identity, role, and accountabilities of those who care; the fact and significance of asymmetries of power in care; and the significance of difference for the practice and conceptual foundations of care” (See Ramsay, 1).

³⁷⁹ Miller-McLemore, “Also a Pastoral Theologian,” 821.

³⁸⁰ See Philip Culbertson, *New Adam: The Future of Male Spirituality* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992).

vulnerability to emotional expression and relational distance.³⁸¹ Culbertson appropriates this narrative of a failed father-son relationship as a way of shedding light on complicated father-son relationships in contemporary families. Such a use of biblical narratives pays exclusive attention to men's relationship with other men, and to relationships between brothers, fathers and sons, and friends. While he discusses men's spirituality in the domain of homosocial relationships, his analysis discounts the issues of men's power and dominance in cross-gender relations. He also seems to treat masculinity and masculine spirituality almost as something timeless, universal, and transhistorical, something deep in the heart of men across cultures.

The focus on costs also characterizes study of men in religious studies more broadly. In *The Men We Long to Be: Beyond Lonely Warriors and Desperate Lovers*, Stephen Boyd also focuses on "the dilemma" of being a man and feelings of isolation and guilt.³⁸² He elaborates the development of the men's dual identities: the lonely warrior and the desperate lover, which Boyd thinks of as "false selves" that are constructed as a consequence of sin. In this theological book, he argues that men have experienced violent socialization and have chosen to accept it. Thus, it is not that men are inherently or irreversibly violent, relationally incompetent, emotionally constipated, and sexually compulsive, but that men, although victims of systemic oppression can nonetheless experience transformation and make different choices towards wellbeing and flourishing of all others. By drawing on faith as a critical resource to challenge men's attachment to false selves, Boyd articulates potentially transformative processes and spaces for reconciliation. However, overemphasis on the costs of masculinity to the exclusion of male

³⁸¹ According to Culbertson, David is a powerful and yet distant father, and is unable to share his emotions with his son Absalom. Absalom turns out to be like David in his sexism. David chooses to put the power of the throne over the importance of family relationships.

³⁸² Stephen Boyd, *The Men We Long to Be: Beyond Lonely Warriors and Desperate Lovers* (Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, 1997).

institutionalized privileges reinforces our silence about the inequality of women and our blindness to the reality of patriarchal dividends and privileges granted to men. It creates an unwarranted and illusory notion that the (subordinate) position of men is equivalent to that of women. The inclusion of men in gender analysis, however, does not make “their position equal or equivalent as a group as oppressed as women.”³⁸³ Moreover, such a one-sided approach risks making gender analysis almost a binary zero-sum game, in which either women or men (boys or girls) are the exclusive and isolated focus.

Second, the theme of differences and inequality among men reveals men’s disproportionate share in power and privileges based on race, ethnicity, social class, sexuality, age, and immigrant status (e.g., black, gay, immigrant, and working-class masculinities). In this sense, this theme leads to the recognition of hegemonic masculinity, which is constructed in relation to femininities and to various marginalized and subordinated masculinities. In *The Care of Men*, the first edited volume on pastoral care and men, pastoral theologians Christie Neuger and James Poling raise a concern about men’s struggle with changing expectations in various dimensions of life. This collaborative work contributes to our growing understanding of men who are located differently due to their social locations, including a womanist reflection on African American men along with an African American male theologian’s perspective on men’s movements, a feminist approach to pastoral care with working-class men, and a discussion of issues around pastoral care of gay men. It thus brings a corrective to the predominance of the white middle-class and heteronormative perspectives in the field. As a response to a lack of organized help and support for church leaders and congregations, authors in this volume integrate womanist and feminist critiques of gender inequality into its inquiry into men and

³⁸³ Dowd, *The Man Question*, 22.

masculinity and explore theologically the possibility of creative cross-gender partnership and openness toward God’s future. Though Neuger and Poling underscore the need to build “theory and practices for pastoral care and counseling with men of diverse backgrounds and experiences in a variety of contexts,” it should be noted that the experiences of Asian and Hispanic men were excluded in this volume.³⁸⁴ In this regard, this volume begins to address the third theme, though it does not do so satisfactorily.

More recently, emerging scholars have studied specific groups of men. In *Cut Dead but Still Alive: Caring for African American Young Men*, for example, Gregory Ellison Jr. problematizes the muteness and invisibility of African American men in the broader society, a society in which their “bod[ies], voice[s] and psyche[s] go unnoticed.”³⁸⁵ Regarding dehumanizing stereotypes and stigmatization of African American men, he also addresses “the social stigma of perceived or actual criminality” that disgracefully marks African American men as a whole, regardless of their individual situations. Certainly, Ellison admits “the complexity of geographic, socioeconomic, and educational diversity among African American young men,” stating that there is no universal and monolithic African American experience.³⁸⁶ He examines how the reality of being unheard and unseen—a reality that is fueled by biased cultural media, historical prejudices, and public policies—impacts education, employment, and incarceration and how such a lack of acknowledgement of African American men could become a potential obstacle to their wellbeing and hope, as well as a menace to meeting their basic human needs for “control, self-esteem, a sense of meaningful existence, and belonging.”³⁸⁷ In his analysis of the

³⁸⁴ Christie C. Neuger and James C. Poling, eds. *The Care of Men* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997), 227.

³⁸⁵ Gregory C. Ellison Jr., *Cut Dead But Still Alive: Caring for African American Young Men* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013), xiv.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, xv.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, xvi.

four human needs for recognition, he presents control as a remedy for the loss of self-esteem and as a solution to their apathy and despair. Although I agree that to recover a sense of control is crucial for African American young men who feel trapped, Ellison does not go on to explain how such control is to be envisioned and exercised anew in relation to African American women, families, and other men in the Black communities. Recognizing the inequality and differences among men, Ellison's work contextualizes eloquently the costs of masculinity in the marginality of African American young men. However, his work does not give attention to how a form of privilege and power given to African American males could occur while yet allowing a fuller and broader understanding of the impacts and consequences of oppression to become apparent in African American communities.

Importantly, we should note that overemphasis on differences and inequality among men to the exclusion of attention to male privilege and power could obscure and discount the dimension of men's power and dominance in the broader gender system. Such an approach is also susceptible to the danger of separatism,³⁸⁸ whether intentional or not. By focusing on "only male-male relations," women and "non-male" subjects might be distanced and left out of the picture. Certainly, the lack or absence of attention to differences and inequality among men homogenizes male experiences, including the conditions of subordination. Rather than celebrating naïvely the diversity and plurality of masculinities, taking differences and inequalities among men into serious consideration allows us to perceive the reality that patriarchal dividends are not shared equally among all men but proportionally based on their social location.

³⁸⁸ Harry Brod, *Theorizing Masculinities* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1994), 86.

Finally, the themes or foci that have had the least attention in pastoral theological literature on men and masculinities are male privilege and domination. According to Messner, the institutionalized power of men is based on the idea that “men, as a group, enjoy institutional privileges at the expense of women, as a group.”³⁸⁹ Though it does not necessarily refer to the totalizing and unchanging nature of men’s power and privileges, the theme concerns the institutionalized male power over women in political, economic, and religious realms. It has been a main emphasis of most liberal and profeminist groups and movements, and one of their goals around this theme was to raise awareness of male violence against women and children. In *The Abuse of Power: A Theological Problem*, James Poling explores the question of why men are the primary perpetrators of sexual abuse and violence, which he basically understands as the issue of power and the abuse of power. With attention to intrapsychic, social/ideological, and religious dynamics, he formulates a model of power as a function of the relational web within which all life proceeds.³⁹⁰ Power framed as a relational agenda, according to Poling, could move a person either toward greater creativity and freedom or toward control and domination. As a movement of self-reflexivity in this work, Poling explains the reasons why he investigates the issue of power and the abuse of power: the awareness and possibilities of his own unconscious violence; his need to struggle with his own sexuality and the ethical parameters of his relationships; his struggle to face the inherent injustices of culture; and the challenge of his therapeutic involvement working both those abused and those who perpetuate abuse to his theology. Though his work contributes to comprehending the dynamics of power and domination played in the

³⁸⁹ Michael A Messner, *Politics of Masculinity: Men in Movements* (Oxford, UK: Altamira Press, 2000), 5.

³⁹⁰ James Poling, *The Abuse of Power: A Theological Problem* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1991), 24.

context of domestic violence, the problem of male power and dominance is not confined to the case of male violence only but operates on various levels.

In *Jacob's Shadow: Christian Perspectives on Masculinity*, Herbert Anderson touches on the issue of power and dominance by introducing the challenging reality of confusion and resistance that many men experience. Anderson lays out three ways that men choose in response to such challenges. The first response is to reclaim male dominance and maintain traditional gender roles whenever possible. The second response is to try to take the feminist critique seriously but without any motivation to make real changes. The third response it is to look for new ways of being a man. While touching on such issues as handling disappointment, acknowledging vulnerability, expressing feelings, learning to grieve, making and keeping friends, and nurturing, Anderson's work calls men to foster new visions and ways of being a modern man of faith and to go beyond old models of masculinity toward the hope for human transformation with God. Although Anderson takes a critical approach to the political domination of men, his approach remains overly individualistic and treats men in undifferentiated ways.

And yet overemphasis on male institutional privileges to the exclusion of the other themes could dismiss what kind of disadvantages and prices are paid for male privileges and how such costs are given disproportionately as patriarchal dividends according to men's social locations. Also, this imbalanced approach risks making gender relations (more specifically male-female interactions) oppositional for seemingly competing interests. Consequently, the three themes are to be investigated in relation to one another in order to arrive for a more holistic and critical understanding of masculinity in general and hegemonic masculinity in particular. In order to grasp and challenge hegemonic masculinity in particular, pastoral theology should further

develop understanding around the theme of male institutionalized privilege and power, yet holding this alongside the other foci.

Given the interlocking aspects of masculinity, the critical memory section explored some of the critical literature on masculinity in the field of pastoral theology and argued for a need for a more holistic method or framework for challenging and dismantling hegemonic masculinity. In the next section, I turn to *critical reflexivity* and map out the three concrete spheres of hegemonic masculinity in dialogue with feminist theorists and theologians.

Critical Reflexivity: Charting the Three Spheres of Hegemonic Masculinity

Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell explains the constitution of the gendered system in three interrelated spheres: the sexual division of labor or work, power relations, and emotional relations; she later expands her theory by adding the dimensions of symbolism, culture, and discourse.³⁹¹ Though her multi-dimensional model of gender relations needs a closer examination to make it cross-culturally applicable, what is produced is “a gender order,” which is a historically constructed pattern of power relations between women and men and between men. Hegemonic masculinity is central to this hierarchical ordering of gender relations.³⁹² Hegemonic masculinity, though it is resistant to changes in nature, is not fixed or uncontested but constantly being produced and reproduced. This also implies that gender relations between those who are dominant and those who are subordinate are not static and permanent. Based on the dynamic and multi-dimensional view of gender relations, this section will investigate three

³⁹¹ See Raewyn Connell, *Gender: A Short Introduction* (Cambridge, UK: Polity; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

³⁹² Raewyn Connell, *Gender and Power* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1987), 98-99.

dimensions of hegemonic masculinity in conversation with feminist theorists and theologians: (1) power relations; (2) production/work; and (3) emotional relations.

First, power, as a dimension of gender, concerns the control over the means of institutionalized authority, violence, and ideology in families, institutions, the military, and the state. Especially in the Korean context, hegemonic masculinity is characterized by patriarchal authoritarianism. As discussed in chapter one, authoritarian and hierarchical gender relations have been reconfigured across many different historical and political times and contexts. In pre-modern Korea, such gender authoritarianism/hierarchy was based on Confucian ideology, and later it was relocated and reenacted in the contexts of colonialism and militarism. The Japanese colonial regime in the modern period mobilized various mechanisms to control the bodies of colonized subjects, as well as their labors and properties. Military dictatorship and militarization at institutional and social levels further exacerbated an oppositional construction of masculinity and femininity and also increased the dichotomy between the public and the private spheres that were organized by gender hierarchy in Korea. Though these visions shift across time, power dynamics and structure embedded in hegemonic masculinity are both shielded and structured by some controlling mechanisms, as was revealed by the historical illustrations in chapter one.

In addition, the most fundamental mechanism of hegemonic masculinity is to make itself invisible. As mentioned in previous chapters, men and masculinity has been largely absent from pastoral theological discourses of gender and sexuality.³⁹³ In all the voluminous theological literature on sexuality in particular, until recently there has been very little written on male sexuality as such.³⁹⁴ The invisibility of masculinity and more specifically hegemonic masculinity

³⁹³ There have been areas in which men have become more visible in feminist/gender analysis, i.e., domestic violence, sexual abuse against women and children, etc.

³⁹⁴ See James B. Nelson, *Embodiment: An Approach to Sexuality and Christian Theology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1978); James B. Nelson, *The Intimate Connection: Male Sexuality, Masculine Spirituality* (Philadelphia:

in theology are distinct from the invisibility of women and marginalized men. The perception of being and feeling invisible has been addressed in some of the pastoral theology literature. For example, gay masculinities tend to be hidden within heteropatriarchal discourses because they constitute an “alarming subject” in a homophobic cultural and religious milieu, while the invisibility of hegemonic masculinity is based on its status as an “alarmed subject,” as “a master of discursive and cultural production.”³⁹⁵ In her work on deconstructing sex in the case of AIDS, gender theorist Tasmin Wilton points out that heterosexual men are the group most characterized by their absence from the AIDS literature. Drawing on Michel Foucault, she states that “the success of power is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms and its secrecy is indispensable to its operation.”³⁹⁶ Further:

As the monolithic norm around which patriarchal culture is constructed, masculinity is un-selfconscious, unquestioned and undefined. Its nature is that of the hole in the mint – an organizing absence. Male power, organized around such evanescence, is consequently displaced onto that visible and given symbol of innate maleness, the penis, and onto practices which label and disempower those who are other, practices which range from queer-bashing and rape to the construction of the rigid gender demarcations which structure all our social relations.³⁹⁷

The invisibility of hegemonic masculinity in theological discourses has some theoretical and political implications. Theoretical overemphasis on marginalized/subordinate or oppositional masculinities (though necessary) that does not address or challenge hegemonic masculinity risks perpetuating norms and perspectives that mask patriarchy because hegemonic masculinity is basically constructed in opposition to femininities and to marginalized and disempowered

The Westminster Press, 1988); and James B. Nelson, *Body Theology* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox, 1992).

³⁹⁵ Tasmin Wilton, *Engendering AIDS: Deconstructing Sex, Text, and Epidemic* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 1997), 32.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

³⁹⁷ Tasmin Wilton and Peter Aggleton, *Outreach Work with Men who Have Sex with Men* (Bristol, Southmead Health Authority, 1991), 154.

masculinities. As Connell states, the privileged existence of hegemonic masculinity is maintained while other forms of masculinities are being disenfranchised and relegated. In this regard, the examination of masculinity is to be undertaken as a critique of hegemonic masculinity and in relation to other masculinities and femininities—thus in relation to the gender order as a whole. Making oppositional masculinities more visible does not necessarily mean challenging and deconstructing hegemonic masculinity, though it is a necessary step to envision and create space for pastoral care and theology. Paradoxically, doing so without taking hegemonic masculinity into critical consideration could make hegemonic masculinities even less visible but more dominant and central in the gender order. Consequently, such a move might produce an unintended and unfortunate consequence of reifying and validating hegemonic masculinity.

Another essential mechanism of hegemonic masculinity to shield its power and dominance is the idealization of masculinity (as generic and universal) in opposition to femininities. This process of idealization is done by degrading femininities and reifying the dichotomy between masculine and feminine. This actually reveals what constitutes hegemonic masculinity in terms of contents. In this binary conceptualization, the masculine is considered “central, perfect and complete” while the feminine is associated with the opposites: it is “marginal, imperfect and incomplete.”³⁹⁸ In her analysis of the “psychology of women,” feminist psychoanalyst Jean Baker Miller indicates that so-called “feminine” psychological qualities were culturally treated only as weakness, helplessness, and vulnerability in a context of inequality and powerlessness without noting their contribution as a necessity for human life.³⁹⁹ Although these

³⁹⁸ Mathew Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 3.

³⁹⁹ Jean Baker Miller, *Toward a New Psychology of Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 27.

qualities lead women to subservience and to complex psychological problems, she asserts that the same characteristics also represent strengths and potentials for a new framework. She thus emphasizes the importance of recognizing the origins and functions of these qualities and of valuing them in new ways.⁴⁰⁰

Finally, the mechanism of hegemonic masculinity is to feminize other non-complicit, masculinities by way of subordination and marginalization. In their article on reconsidering hegemonic masculinity, Connell and James Messerschmidt point out that hegemonic masculinity requires “all other men to position themselves in relation to it.”⁴⁰¹ The lack or absence of the critique of men’s connection to and mimicry of hegemonic masculinity thus perpetuates traditional male gender hegemony and hierarchy. In Korean society, the feminization of men has often been problematized and treated as a sign of the crisis in masculinity (e.g., mama’s boy). As in Freud’s theorization of masculinity, the fear or anxiety of the feminization of masculinity is grounded in a phallic and binary notion of masculine subjects that is constructed in opposition to femininity as a collapsed or “failed” masculinity. The coupling of masculinity with femininity is thus a mechanism to keep non-complicit, non-hegemonic masculinities under control by degrading them, thereby continuing to re-center hegemonic masculinity in relation to other subservient forms of masculinities.

Historian Dawn Hadley’s investigation of masculinity in Medieval Europe debunks strategies for undermining subordinated masculinities by analyzing a number of historical cases. For example, the act of castration meant that eunuchs were no longer male. Based on their physical traits and appearances, eunuchs were thought to be inherently lacking in masculinity or

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 47.

⁴⁰¹ Connell & Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” 832.

effeminate, and became associated with women because there was a common conception that they spent so much time in their company within women's quarters.⁴⁰² She expounds that those in dominant positions frequently problematized the link between different forms of masculinity and homosexual activity. By doing this, they relegated homosexual masculinities to the bottom of the gender hierarchy among men. Such a mechanism of dominance corresponds to the structure of Korean gender hierarchy, in which hegemonic masculinity sustains its hegemony through the feminization of subordinate masculinities such as Chosik Nam. Chosik Nam, which can be translated as "herbivore men," designates men who are "young, earn little and spend little, and take a keen interest in fashion and personal appearance but show less or no interest in sexual relationships with females."⁴⁰³ Though it has emerged as a form of alternative masculinity in contemporary East Asian cultures, including Korea, the image of "Chosik Nam" is often ridiculed and denigrated as "sissy" and "effeminate" in dominant culture. The subordination of a certain version of masculinity thus reveals the hierarchy of masculinities within cultural spheres.

Military service, alongside the family and corporations, has served as a critical space in which Korean men and women are socialized to internalize and embody gender hierarchy. The Korean military continues to be an extremely authoritarian, hypermasculine, and male-dominant space, in which men either become complicit in or subordinated to hegemonic masculinity or claim hegemony based on their rank, physical strength, virility, and aggressiveness. In her article, Korean sociologist Seungsook Moon lays out three dominant practices of hegemonic masculinity in Korean culture characterized by the persistent impact of Confucian tradition,

⁴⁰² See Dawn Hadley, *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London; New York: Longman, 1999).

⁴⁰³ Morgan Neill, "Japan's 'Herbivore Men' -- Less Interested in Sex, Money," *CNN* (June 8, 2009). See <http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/asiapcf/06/05/japan.herbivore.men/index.html?iref=nextin>

militarization, and compressed industrialization: (1) the ability to provide for the family, (2) the distance from daily reproductive labor, and (3) military service. Though Moon claims that mandatory military service constitutes one element of Korean hegemonic masculinity in the context of the ongoing military confrontation between South and North Korea, this idea needs to be qualified and reconsidered. Based on compulsory military conscription system in Korea, all able-bodied males aged 20-35 who pass a physical test are legally required to serve. Men who do not serve in the regular military tend to be identified as physically weak, fragile, and defective, and are thus considered insufficiently masculine. Refusal to perform military service is socially stigmatized as being characteristic of non-citizens, not to mention as shirking a legal responsibility. In this regard, mandatory military service is not an element of hegemonic masculinity, which is largely an aspirational goal for most men. Rather, failure to fulfill the service or exemption often becomes an element of subordinated and marginalized masculinity.

In addition to power relations, the sexual division of labor constitutes a second sphere in which hegemonic masculinity evolves. According to Connell, sexual division of labor refers to “an allocation of particular types of work to particular categories of people,” involving the design of work, which all together become a constraint on individual practice.⁴⁰⁴ She argues that sexual division of labor is to be seen “as part of a larger pattern, a gender-structured system of production, consumption and distribution” that affects both unpaid domestic work and paid work in industry.⁴⁰⁵ Connell treats the issue primarily in the context of workplaces outside the domestic sphere. The male breadwinners/female housewives model, previously unknown in traditional Korean society, was constructed in the mid-twentieth century as a middle-class ideal

⁴⁰⁴ Connell, *Power and Gender*, 99.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

as a result of the process of industrialization, urbanization, and the growth of nuclear families. However, the rigid demarcation between men's and women's work in both public and domestic spheres has become increasingly loose in contemporary Korean society. Even though a growing number of women have been drawn into the workforce, the cultural understanding of men as the main breadwinners still constitutes a significant component of Korean hegemonic manhood, and the preoccupation with the work of production is a critical aspect of Korean hegemonic masculinity.

In many cultures, including the Korean, dominant masculinity has been built around work; that is, what a man does, what he achieves, and how much he earns. According to psychologists Richard Meth and Robert Pasick, work is central to the core of most men's identities in Western/North American culture, and it is directly connected to men's self-esteem, so most men are usually "unaware of how much time and energy they devote to planning, performing, dreaming, and worrying about work."⁴⁰⁶ Hence, when a man loses his job, especially if he is the main breadwinner in the family, the psychological pressure and burden can lead to difficult situations for the family as well as for the man himself. More fundamentally, men's preoccupation with work is a developmental issue. Many boys and men are actually raised to consider work the most important part of their lives. In *Salaryman Masculinity: Continuity and Change in Hegemonic Masculinity in Japan*, Japanese sociologist Hidaka Tomoko examines the construction of masculinities of Japanese salarymen. The term "salaryman masculinity" refers to the masculinity of middle-class white-collar workers who work for a large company. In this book he investigates narratives and life histories of three generations of Japanese salarymen and

⁴⁰⁶ Richard L. Meth and Robert S. Pasick, *Men in Therapy: The Challenge of Change* (New York: Guilford Press, 1990), 35.

demonstrates how their masculinities are shaped and maintained (or changed) through the structures of Japanese society. By exploring the major phases of men's lives, he shows that the gendered experiences of growing up as boys, adolescents, and adults are tightly interwoven with the formation of masculinities as the breadwinner. Tomoko notes that for men in contemporary Japanese society, this salaryman masculinity is experienced not only as giving a sense of security but also as something that causes vulnerability, confusion, and regret.

As discussed in chapter three, feminist psychoanalyst and sociologist Nancy Chodorow explains how mothering shapes in different ways how boys and girls develop their psyches. To review briefly, girls are understood as the projection of their mothers and are almost never separate from the mother, so they more naturally define themselves as connected to and continuous with others and develop greater needs and capacities for relations and affiliation. In contrast, boys are recognized as more separate beings from their mothers and others and develop more independent and rigid ego boundaries than their counterparts. Thus, men's identity in early childhood becomes centered on autonomy and competitiveness, according to Chodorow. Boys grow up hearing messages about manhood that emphasize competition and push themselves to the limit. Boys learn to be successful and competitive, partly by learning the rules of the game and by being aware of their standing relative to others, for example by keeping score. And this pattern is reinforced by competition in academics and sports throughout the school years. For males in most cultures, simply passing through puberty is therefore not sufficient to entering adulthood. To be a man, they constantly have to prove themselves in a highly structured, competitive arena, so manhood is not simply a static developmental milestone but something that men must earn repeatedly. So, to return to my focus on work, through this whole male socialization process in the family and school, work becomes consolidated as a core aspect of

men's identity. The workplace increasingly becomes an exclusive domain for men to prove their masculinity. At the same time, this socialization process teaches them to regard work outside the home alone as the men's role. In contrast, caregiving or reproductive roles at home are not acknowledged as work, let alone men's work.

Finally, to turn to a third sphere where gender is constituted, emotional attachment in human life is a critical component of hegemonic masculinity, as Sigmund Freud underscores. Along with power relations and production, the dimension of "cathexis" illuminates critical aspects of hegemonic masculinity. Freud's analysis demonstrates how the patterning of emotional attachment or charges of emotion shapes the unconscious mind and the images of other people. Though he assumed his theorization to be universally valid, his work "opened up for investigation the social structuring of emotional relations, attachments or commitment."⁴⁰⁷ According to Connell, cathexis concerns dynamics within intimate, emotional, and personal relationships, including marriage, sexuality, and child rearing. Whether it is positive or negative, favorable or hostile, emotional commitments involve a definite emotional relationship. One of the examples that Connell presents is sexuality. The hegemonic pattern presumes and normalizes cross-gender attraction while making a sharp distinction between homosexual and heterosexual relations. Hegemonic masculinity is a homosocial enactment; that is, it is performed for other men, though it also involves the subordination of women.⁴⁰⁸ Hostility and antipathy toward homosexuality is a definitive feature of Korean hegemonic masculinity; therefore, gay men are often considered the antithesis of hegemonic masculinity. In the context of marital relations, heterosexual monogamy is a culturally definitive practice of Korean hegemonic masculinity.

⁴⁰⁷ Connell, *Gender*. 81.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 102.

Another major area of emotional relations is between parent and child. Traditionally, reproductive labor in the domestic life has been done by women, and detachment from reproduction has characterized Korean hegemonic masculinity.⁴⁰⁹ Men's disengagement from caring labor is closely associated with the role of the family provider, which justifies the distance. As noted in chapter one, the connection between masculinity and distance from reproduction has a long history in Korea. Seonbi masculinity as a hegemonic vision of manhood in the pre-modern period and military masculinity after the Korean War were all grounded in the gendered dichotomy between the domestic and the public spheres. In contemporary Korean society, however, men's involvement in domestic and reproductive work has become more visible with the increase of dual-income families and single father families and with the influence of mass media. Yet most women are still expected to do and feel responsible for housework and children. The rise of father movements in Korea such as the Father School, an evangelical men's group and Talsamo, a profeminist group, represents this cultural change, which cannot be thought as distinct from the impact of Korean feminist movement. Seungsook Moon interprets this emerging shift as "the softening of hegemonic masculinity, or the decline of domestic patriarchy" that "does not necessarily lead to women's empowerment" in spite of its positive aspects.⁴¹⁰ She argues that, given its demand for a "fundamental restructuring of corporate life" and structural and psychological resistance, it is unlikely that "this new view of fatherhood will be popularized in the near future."⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Seungsook Moon, "The Production and Subversion of Masculinity," In *Under Construction: The Gendering of Modernity, Class, and Consumption in the Republic of Korea*, Laurel Kendell, ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 99.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 100.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

I find Moon's prospect only partially correct. Men's engagement with reproductive work is socially endorsed nowadays and even highly praised in public and in cultural media as a condition of the new ideal fatherhood/manhood. It has also spread among Korean Christians through evangelical men's movements such as the Father School. Clearly it has been popularized as a new ideal, but this does not mean it is widely practiced. This new ideal is likely to be endorsed and acclaimed only as long as men also successfully maintain their role as chief breadwinner. In other words, even though hegemonic masculinity was constructed as carefree in traditional Korean society, the so-called "relational turn" in Korean culture has reconfigured hegemonic masculinity to narrow its distance from reproductive work. In this neoliberal economy characterized by unlimited competition and excessive amount of labor, however, it is challenging for many people to practice and embody this reconfigured hegemonic masculinity. Voluntarily becoming a highly involved parent while maintaining a strong breadwinning responsibility is thus a privilege given to very few and therefore an aspirational and demanding goal for many. Consequently, the reconfigured hegemonic masculinity still preserves a hegemonic status over other masculinities and domestic patriarchy is maintained.

Men's disengagement from caring labor is not only the role of the family provider, which justifies the distance between masculinity and reproduction but also a developmental issue. In regard to the challenges of reproductive work, the work of Bonnie Miller-McLemore provides profound theological and psychological insights, bringing feminist theology into a critical and constructive conversation with psychological theories of human development. In *Also a Mother: Work and Family as a Theological Dilemma*, Miller-McLemore investigates the

issue of care and generativity.⁴¹² Though her analysis is done mainly in the context of mothering, it also has significant implications for men and fathers. Critiquing male-biased theories of human development, particularly Erik Erikson's psychosocial theory, she claims that generativity as a developmental task is understood to occur in the later stage of human's life. Even though caring labor persists throughout women's lives, the question of generativity is thus an added luxury that is allowed only after men have fulfilled all the requirements of manhood. In this discussion, she contends that male-dominated psychological and moral theory has led us "to think about generativity in terms of producing,"⁴¹³ which here is understood essentially as creating material resources and maintaining economic power. As a result, the tasks of generativity become "unevenly divided, granting men the power to produce, but leaving women with the demanding responsibility of caring for what or how it is produced."⁴¹⁴ She notes:

I question whether most men can truly achieve such a dramatic alteration in their fundamental priorities at this point. How can men ultimately reconcile values for care and mutuality with the deep-seated status given to "becoming one's own man," or a separate, self-sufficient authority not subject to dependence upon or influence from others? How can men relinquish ingrained patterns of climbing to the top rung of the ladder?⁴¹⁵

Most importantly, this volume is about "the dilemma of work *and* love" [emphasis mine] and the integration of "work *and* family" [ditto]. One of the core agendas behind its inquiry is the rearrangement and negotiation of power relations fueled by patriarchy. In other words, it is concerned with how power relations are to be reformulated and restructured in the situation in which the division of the rewards and burdens of work and family has been made along gender lines. Miller-McLemore finds such a division problematic and costly for the wellbeing of both

⁴¹² Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore, *Also a Mother: Work and Family as Theological Dilemma* (Nashville, TN.: Abingdon Press, 1994).

⁴¹³ Miller-McLemore, 51.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 62.

women and men.⁴¹⁶ According to her, it is rooted in the current value system that rewards productivity but ignores the work of procreativity, which would add a redemptive and life-giving dimension.⁴¹⁷ By calling for a rereading of the biblical and theological traditions, she reclaims the values of caring labor for both men and women.

Based on her critique, she calls for women and men to participate equally in caring and parenting. Though this approach is in line with Nancy Chodorow and Carol Gilligan who stress gender balance and co-participation of both women and men as an ideal path for making changes, Miller-McLemore further develops this theme by putting it into the theological and spiritual context. Rather than simply calling for equal participation, she constructs a theological ground for transformed praxis by reinterpreting biblical and theological tradition. Although not a direct focus, her work finally invites men to consider what new fatherhood would look like and what might be the roles of men in fostering a postpatriarchal environment that would make good mothering viable and valuable. She further asks what differences men's transformed practice in family living could or should make in shaping the dilemma of mothers into a mutual task of both women and men whose goal is their mutual flourishing.⁴¹⁸ In the next section, I will discuss how the components of hegemonic masculinity (power, sexual division of labor, and emotional relations) are reconfigured, particularly in Korean families, by returning to the case of the Father School, analyzing it from a feminist perspective.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 113.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 138.

⁴¹⁸ Since she employs the term "integration" in this book, different approaches to conceptualizing about the relation between work and family can be identified in terms of Ian Barbour's famous four typologies to relate religion and science: Independence, conflict, dialogue, and integration. In the introduction, she says that "at the heart of this book lies angry frustration with silence regarding conflicts between working and family," so in this book she clearly does not only intend to name the conflict that has been both intentionally and unintentionally denied and neglected by the conventional/traditional notion about the division of family and work along gender lines, which I think falls into the category of independence. And yet unlike some feminists, who rejected motherhood and family life, she deals with the conflict by moving toward the integration of work and family.

The Religious Reconfiguration of Hegemonic Masculinity: The Case of the Father School

As discussed in chapter four, the Father School (FS) creates a paradoxical space in which Korean hegemonic masculinity is both challenged and reinforced. It reconfigures emotional relations as a critical dimension of hegemonic masculinity. By rejecting the image of the traditional authoritarian and emotionally distant fatherhood, the FS allows men to explore more affectionate, friendly, and caring images and models of fathers and husbands. It proposes a new set of masculine roles and behaviors that could potentially enhance male expressive roles and relationality within the family, though it does not ask whether or how such behaviors could be sustained. In this way, the notion of hegemonic masculinity reconfigured within the FS is distinct from the traditional definition of hegemonic masculinity.

The FS presents men with biblical visions and models that are compatible with its evangelical background and that reflect its new model of fatherhood, thereby minimizing men's defensiveness and resistance to new models. Given its "evangelical"⁴¹⁹ background and orientation, the FS adopts the moderate essentialist, complementarian perspective on gender. Despite the risk of simplifying the complexity of evangelical positions with various permutations, there are three broad evangelical theological discourses on gender and spousal/familial relations: (A) the traditionalist perspective (radical essentialists); (B) the complementarian perspective (moderate essentialists); and (C) the biblical/evangelical feminist perspective. Even though their views differ significantly in terms of biblical hermeneutic strategies, what is common to all is that they seek to legitimize (or reject) certain values and

⁴¹⁹ Evangelical Protestantism has developed into a complex, overlapping mixture of denominations, movements, and audiences. Scholars have argued long, and often unfruitfully, about the proper meaning of the term, and about whom it really represents. To this extent, it is important to acknowledge the complex, multiple evangelical voices that diverge on some critical issues and converge on others.

ideologies of gender and sexuality by centering their debates on the (re)interpretation of certain scripture passages. The complementarian perspective endorses the spiritual headship of the husband as the biblical, divine calling to take a primary responsibility for Christ-like servant leadership and protection and provision in the home. The submission of the wife is validated as the biblical, divine calling to honor and affirm her husband's spiritual leadership and help carry it through according to her gifts.

In this way, spousal and gender relationships are understood to be based on the biblical vision of complementarity with hierarchy (as opposed to complementarity without hierarchy), which this perspective considers to be the form of relationship that is the most nurturing and fulfilling. While criticizing both evangelical feminists and traditionalists, the complementarian perspective does just that: offers "complementarity" in a relationship characterized by relative or partial equality and beneficial differences between men and women as a solution for the great uncertainty among evangelicals. It replaces the language of women as inferior and men as superior with the terms "different" and "role." The complementarian position is fully aware that traditional patterns of gender and spousal relations have been complicated and contaminated by the misuse and abuse of male power and authority against females and children. All these efforts are endorsed and consecrated by conservative evangelical theology that regards men as domestic servanthood leaders just as Jesus Christ in Church. Despite some positive impacts, however, the Father School (FS) remains in its essential nature as a form of protective patriarchy, which operates in two complementary ways.

First, the father school as a protective patriarchy subverts dominant configurations of masculinities; but in so doing, it still sustains the patriarchal order and system. Socioeconomic changes in postindustrial Korea have destabilized the capacity of men to act as the sole

breadwinner in the family, and such changes have made it infeasible for male breadwinners to adhere to the traditional, authoritarian role of the father. With massive changes in economic systems, Korean fathers have increasingly lost the domestic authority that they used to hold and exercise as the principal wage earners. Therefore, in a situation where their instrumental roles can no longer guarantee their authority and dominance, the FS offers a platform to reclaim, sustain, and regain domestic authority by helping strengthen their expressive roles in family relationships.

In her critical study on the fatherhood discourses in contemporary Korean Protestantism, Sookjin Lee, a Korean feminist theologian, explores the structure and characteristics of the Protestant discourses on fatherhood.⁴²⁰ While placing the FS in the context of the rise of neo-conservatism, she argues that Protestant churches in Korea have emerged as a key mediator for the reinstatement of paternal authority and the retrieval of traditional family values that have disintegrated because of the expansion of democratization and consumerism. In particular, the FS has become the spearhead of this process of recovering the lost authority and position of fathers by producing and distributing discourses and representation of fathers who are soft, nice, and gentle. The FS therefore reflects men's desire to regain their domestic authority at the expense of repenting and correcting their cold and indifferent attitudes towards their children and families. In this way, Lee finds structural continuity and similarity between the discourses of the FS and dominant fatherhood discourse in traditional Korean society in terms of their common patriarchal grammar. Although such a "soft patriarchy" could lead to reconfiguring of families in the traditional sense, it is problematic because it exacerbates women's dependence upon men and

⁴²⁰ Sookjin Lee, "Critical Reflection on the Father Discourses in Contemporary Korean Protestantism: Focusing on 'Good' Patriarchism," *Religious Cultural Criticism* 22 (2012): 209-237.

covers up structural shifts such as the failures of capitalism and public policies to respond, for example, to the needs of families raising children.

Second, as a way of protecting a patriarchal order and system, the FS as a form of protective patriarchy seeks to reclaim and reinforce traditional roles of women as wives and mothers in the name of so-called biblical womanhood/motherhood, but this is an implicit, hidden agenda that is not directly addressed within the FS. Protective patriarchy is an affectionate and patronizing ideology that involves a positive orientation of protection, idealization, and affection directed toward women and the family, and this serves to justify women's subordinate status to men. Yet it may obtain women's compliance and acceptance as it works effectively and invisibly to promote gender inequality. This mechanism is especially apparent in the work of the Mother School, which was founded as a response of evangelical women to requests from FS participants. According to the vision statement of the U.S Mother School, the Mother School (MS) began in 1999 because it was requested by fathers who completed the FS and yet did not get support from their wives when they came back home and tried to live a new life as fathers and husbands.⁴²¹ Aiming at "offering the model of biblical womanhood, the Mother School encourages mothers to realize the real meaning of [being] a helping spouse in Christ, to build [a] home by raising children well, ultimately to take care of church and society as a mother of all nations."⁴²² The MS seeks to cultivate among women what they call "biblical" motherhood/ womanhood compatible with the FS's model and to restore and secure the identity of women as mothers and wives.

⁴²¹ "U.S. Mother School," Accessed March 2014, <http://www.fatherschool.org/5mather/mather1.php>

⁴²² Ibid.

In her research study on the Father school, Nami Kim undertakes a discursive analysis of the FS.⁴²³ Based on her critical analysis of the participants' written and oral statements, Kim identifies two different discursive scripts that are operative in the FS: (1) scripts of the wounded father and (2) scripts of the wise mother and good wife. Scripts of the wise mother and good wife, Kim claims, endorse and promote women's re-domestication by accentuating the traditional roles of women as wife and mother. Such cultural scripts are based on the idea that solving family and societal crises and reestablishing a moral society are viable only through women's re-domestication into the position of a wise mother and a good wife in addition to men's restoration of their authority and position in the family. The scripts of wise mother and good wife thus become concretized and organized in the Mother School. By endorsing these scripts, the Mother School bolsters a newly constructed hegemonic masculinity within the FS that allows men to become more involved husbands and fathers, and in so doing to reclaim their privilege and authority as men.

Consequently, the Father School is a paradoxical and transitional space between home and society where Korean men and women challenge, reinforce, and renegotiate old and new cultural norms and expectations for what it means to be a man, father, and husband. Even though the FS provides a safe space for men to experiment and remake their masculine identities and domestic spirituality, it does so in ways that shore up and maintain male authority and gender hierarchy. This critical awareness thus calls for mapping the complex relationships between men, masculinity, and gender and sexual oppression in a more critical and attentive manner. It leads us

⁴²³ Nami Kim, "Lord, I Am a Father!" The Transnational Evangelical Men's Movement and the Advent of 'Benevolent' Patriarchy." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*. vol. 17 (2011).

to the third movement: critical pedagogy intended to formulate the language of possibility and transformative praxis.

Critical Pedagogy: Feminist Theological Insights

In *Dictionary of Feminist Theology*, Letty Russell and Shannon Clarkson note that critical pedagogy is concerned with “the cultural and social production and reproduction of knowledge, ideologies, and class/race/gender identities.”⁴²⁴ The discourses of critical pedagogy seek to reveal dynamics of privilege, domination, and oppression, as well as to foster creative resistance against them. Based on its hermeneutics of suspicion regarding dynamics and relations of domination, such a critical perspective can offer us some concrete methodologies of challenging and dismantling hegemonic masculinity at both the theological and the practical levels. In conversation with feminist critical pedagogies, this section thus explores the possibilities of resisting and transforming hegemonic masculinity with particular attention to the dimension of power relations, one of the components of hegemonic masculinity. Though there is no single theory of power, power has been a central area of inquiry in feminism especially with respect to the conceptualization of patriarchy. To feminist/womanist pastoral theologians the issue of power is critical because “women need to decide for themselves how to claim wise power in order to be effective and healthy.”⁴²⁵ They have challenged our understanding of how the issue of power and difference intersect with the practice of pastoral care and counseling, problematizing the power asymmetries and dynamics between pastoral caregiver and care

⁴²⁴ Letty M. Russell and J. Shannon Clarkson, eds., *Dictionary of Feminist Theology* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 80.

⁴²⁵ Marsha F. Boyd and Carolyn S. Bohler, “Womanist-Feminist Alliances: Meeting on the Bridge,” in *Feminist and Womanist Pastoral Theology*, Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore and Brita Gill-Austern, eds. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 194.

receiver in ministerial and congregational contexts. Further, pastoral theologians such as Bonnie Miller-McLemore highlighted the need to mend “the web” —that is, for attentiveness to the wider political, economic, and institutional contexts in which women are subjugated along with other marginalized groups. Given this insight, the next section addresses the question: At the level of theology and praxis, what kind of work is needed in order to challenge and transform power and domination embedded in hegemonic masculinity?

Unlinking Hegemonic Masculinity from the Divine

In most patriarchal cultures, masculinity is conceptualized in terms of domination in all aspects of life, a dynamic that profoundly affects the lives of men and women in those cultures. In *Constructive Theology: A Contemporary Approach to Classical Themes*, systematic theologians Serene Jones and Paul Lakeland correlate this cultural reality with the reality of theological discourses, in which the nature of God is assumed to be exclusively or even nominally male. They state that “the cultural baggage of this association is the same for God as it is for men: to be successful is to be powerful; it is to be ‘on top’ and dominant, and the evidence of success is in the subordination (or feminization) of others.”⁴²⁶ Along these lines, it is assumed that “the truly masculine man of God displays dominance over as many groups of people, animals, and plots of earth as possible, including (and especially) other men.”⁴²⁷ Jones and Lakeland claim that “when masculinity is synonymous with dominance and femininity with subordination as it is in patriarchal symbolism, then God must be understood as male in order to

⁴²⁶ Serene Jones and Paul Lakeland, *Constructive Theology: A Contemporary Approach to Classical Themes* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 73.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

have any power to sustain, to govern, or to save.”⁴²⁸ If God were anything other than male, it would symbolically indicate God’s subordination to some other more masculine power. Their theological investigation of the link between masculinity and the divine is further extended to the maleness of Jesus.

As discussed in chapter two, the maleness of Jesus and its Christological implications for women was one of the critical theological issues for Asian feminist theologians as well. Like Western/North American feminists, they regarded Jesus’ maleness as accidental — not essential to understanding the person and work of Jesus as Christ. They focused instead on identifying and articulating theologically the more feminine and nurturing side of Jesus and the role of women in Jesus’ public ministry and in the life of churches. In line with this view, feminist theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether insists that while the maleness of Jesus has “no ultimate significance,” it yet holds “social symbolic significance in the framework of societies of patriarchal privilege.”⁴²⁹ By contrast and in opposition to this patriarchal use of Jesus, she identifies Jesus as “the representative of liberated humanity and the liberating Word of God, manifests the *kenosis* [emptying] of patriarchy.”⁴³⁰ In this way, Jesus’ saving work and power are understood as distinct and separate from his gender and his manliness.

Certainly, the interpretations of Jesus’ maleness/masculinity are inseparable from cultural ideals and dominant gender ideologies. In *Behold the Man: Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity*, professor of religious studies Colleen Conway complexifies the theological and biblical approach to Jesus’ maleness by problematizing the biblical accounts of Jesus themselves. While

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 73-74.

⁴²⁹ Rosemary R. Ruether, *Sexism and God-talk: Toward a Feminist Theology: with a New Introduction* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 137.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

acknowledging that feminist biblical scholarship has accumulated research on the influences of patriarchy on the Bible, she emphasizes the impact of cultural ideals and ideologies of masculinity on the various representations of Jesus in biblical narratives. By exploring the representations of Jesus in the New Testament writings in light of Greco-Roman masculine ideologies, she illuminates multiple ways in which biblical writers engaged various rhetorics of ancient masculinity in their descriptions of Jesus. She argues that “the presentations of Jesus expose the contradiction, ambiguity, and ambivalence that were also inherent in Greco-Roman hegemonic masculine ideology.”⁴³¹ She lays out multiple representations of Jesus: the noble and manly Jesus, the hypermasculine and aesthetic Jesus, and the militant Jesus. For example, making the death of Jesus a noble and manly sacrifice based on the Greco-Roman noble death tradition was the earliest and most prominent source for constructing a manly Jesus, in place of the trope of humiliating emasculation. Though the implication of her work might not extend beyond the New Testament period, it demonstrates how early Christian engagement with dominant gender ideologies has shaped contemporary interpretations of Jesus in light of gender and gender ideologies and how gender ideologies are deeply embedded in the religious languages and symbols. The varied and multiple discourses used to construct “a manly Jesus” point to the multiple masculinities of Jesus, which negate one uniform, normative vision or model across time periods or cultures. Just like other masculinities, each of these representations is placed in hierarchy, conforming to hegemonic masculinity of a given historical and cultural context. Connell also argues that “when conditions for the defense of patriarchy change, the basis for the dominance of a particular masculinity are eroded.”⁴³²

⁴³¹ Colleen M. Conway, *Behold the Man: Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 176-177.

⁴³² Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 77.

Conway is joined by other scholars who show how Christianity adjusted its ideals for men in order to sustain its movement. How people envision Jesus has complicated connections to social and political expectations surrounding men's lives. In *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity*, biblical scholar Matthew Kuefler traces a major shift in the dynamic of masculine ideology for Roman men in late antiquity. He argues that the notion of masculinity molded an integral part of the development of Christian ideology and more specifically the intellectual life of late antiquity.⁴³³ According to Kuefler, as the traditional patterns of Roman life were threatened by political and social changes, Christian intellectuals took advantage of the deterioration of the traditional masculine ideal and replaced it with their own. At the same time, they reconfigured Christian ideology as a masculine ideology by stressing certain facets of the Christian ideal that they considered fit into this goal of making Christian belief manly.⁴³⁴ He states:

The new Christian masculinity moved a previously subordinated masculinity into position as a hegemonic masculinity by means of the rhetoric of manliness and unmanliness. In other words, men adhering to a subordinated masculinity (the Christian ideal for men) successfully challenged the manliness of the men adhering to the hegemonic masculinity (the classical ideal for men) in such a way as to appeal to men to transfer their allegiance from the one to the other. Christian leaders accomplished this transfer by claiming that they were better equipped to reaffirm the manliness of men, including their sense of difference from and superiority over women.

The dominance of a hegemonic masculinity is maintained by some men against others who are unable or unwilling to conform to its content. Occasionally, the hegemonic masculinity is replaced by a subordinate masculinity, which becomes a new hegemonic masculinity. Such a dialectic seems to be the case in the history of male-dominated cultures.⁴³⁵ In this manner,

⁴³³ Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, 1.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

gender relations and arrangements change in response to external social forces and pressures as also revealed by the discussion about the historical reconfiguration of Korean hegemonic masculinity. However, the reconfiguration of hegemonic masculinity is not identical with the dismantling or transforming of hegemonic masculinity at a fundamental level. This critical awareness calls for sensitivity and reflexivity to the ways we appropriate Jesus for a masculinity model or model for men.

Pastoral theologians have appropriated Jesus for a variety of purposes. In *New Adam: The Future of Male Spirituality*, for example, pastoral theologian Philip Culbertson presents Jesus, the New Adam, an exemplary model for men who want to change. He emphasizes two aspects of Jesus in terms of his character and behaviors. First, the values revealed in Jesus's life include compassion, integrity, flexibility, humility, pacifism, patience, fidelity, generosity, cooperativeness, intellectual honesty, and dependence on the community of men. Second, he highlights Jesus' bravery in the face of a newness within God's continually unfolding revelation. Culbertson acknowledges that change is difficult, and notes that even Jesus recognized this difficulty in his teachings. For him, Jesus is a model of what sensitive men can be, though he does not go so far as to articulate Jesus as a theologically transformative power, the power by which men can change. The limitation of his approach is that Culbertson's discussion about Jesus is undertaken mainly in the context of Jesus' friendship with other men; therefore, no attention is given to the issue of gender hierarchy between women and men and among men.

It is fundamental to unlink patriarchal and hegemonic masculinity from our theological understanding of the divine. As Jones and Lakeland pointedly explain, the development of the doctrine of God and Christ by men clearly devoted to sustaining their power and privilege has placed "Jesus' maleness [in]... the service of patriarchal masculinity much more than it has

subverted that construction of masculinity.”⁴³⁶ They affirm that a serious ethical requirement of any theologian includes dedication to dismantling various expressions of patriarchalized hubris, including sexism, racism, heterosexism, classism, nationalism, and colonialism, and one of the powerful ways to detach patriarchal masculinity from God is “to free God from the limitations of a single, historical embodiment as male.”⁴³⁷ Reconsideration of God and Jesus’ masculinity is critical for promoting critical reflexivity in the lives of Korean men and families at a theological level given the fact that masculinity and femininity were considered a God-given and inherent nature among Christians.

Implementation of Feminist Critical Pedagogies

With respect to feminist critical pedagogies, a significant majority of feminist literature identifies four aspects: *participatory learning*, *validation of personal experience*, *development of critical thinking and open-mindedness*, and *encouragement of social understanding and activism*.⁴³⁸ Though feminists differ regarding exactly how these characteristics are to be implemented, all acknowledge them as the major components of feminist pedagogies, components that can be drawn on and applied in resisting and dismantling hegemonic masculinity in various cultural and religious settings, for instance, in the context of men’s support groups or consciousness-raising groups. First, *participatory learning* advocates and seeks to foster a network of relationships that balance autonomy and mutuality. In a participatory community, one raises and claims his or her own voice by engaging multiple views and

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 73.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Frances L. Hoffmann and Jayne E. Stake, “Feminist Pedagogy in Theory and Practice.” *NWSA Journal* Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring, 1998): 80.

perspectives, not based on one's social position and relational hierarchy. The power relations embedded in hegemonic masculinity are thus challenged and resisted in this shared mode of critical inquiry.

In line with the tenets of participatory learning, feminist pedagogies stress the significance of validating and encouraging one's *personal experience* as a source of evidence and perspective. As feminist conscious-raising groups acknowledged the power of self-understanding as a path to personal transformation, the affirmation of personal experience is rooted in the commitment to personal change. With this enhanced self-understanding comes an openness to move beyond narrow and gender-stereotyped roles and relationships. Certainly, this process should be accompanied by *critical thinking/open-mindedness*, which is concerned with a critical stance toward conventional categories such as authority and power and an openness to diverse perspectives and experiences.⁴³⁹ In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire uses the term "conscientization" to designate the process of reflection on oneself, one's responsibility, and one's role in a new cultural climate. He says:

The word "conscientization," the process by which human beings participate critically in a transforming action, should not be understood as an idealist manipulation. Even if our vision in conscientization is dialogical, not subjective or mechanistic, we cannot attribute to this consciousness a role it does not have, that of transforming reality. Yet we also must not reduce consciousness to a mere reflection of reality. One of the important points in conscientization is to provoke recognition of the world, not as a "given" world, but as a world dynamically in the making.⁴⁴⁰

Fourth, *social understanding/activism* emphasizes the interest of feminist pedagogies in grasping the nature of gender hierarchy and hegemonic masculinity and cultivating a commitment to act on these insights. This component encompasses a critical awareness of the

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 82.

⁴⁴⁰ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 2000), 106-107.

larger social and cultural contexts within which hegemonic masculinity is embedded and practiced. For the task of challenging hegemonic masculinity is a process that demands both the cultivation of self-reflexivity and the consciousness of transforming reality. As discussed in chapter two on Asian feminist theology, such confrontation demands a commitment to critical self-examination of one's position in the gender hierarchy. At its best, self-reflexivity opens up a space in which individuals come to terms with their own power as critical agents by fostering a healthy skepticism, disbelief, and critical awareness of power as domination and control. It is not simply about offering ways to think critically and to question deep-seated assumptions about gender and power. Self-reflexivity is also about equipping people with the skills and methods of praxis to broaden their capacities to challenge and resist the practice of hegemonic masculinity and to take responsibility for intervening and transforming the patriarchal structure. Feminist pedagogies envision ways for people to be able to frame and transform their relationship to hegemonic masculinity.

In this way, feminist pedagogy engages the ongoing work of emancipatory praxis, which “names and struggles against the forces, the structures, the methods, and the content of subjects that have kept women from naming their own experience, from being partners in the discernment of truth and the construction of knowledge.”⁴⁴¹ It forges both critical awareness and agency through a language of conscientization, commitment to the future, and openness and engagement to transformation. In regard to its attention to deepening of “authentic, just, and life-giving connection,” this feminist-informed pedagogy is more about a way of being in relationship than

⁴⁴¹ Brita L Gill-Austern, “Pedagogy under the Influence of Feminism and Womanism,” in *Feminist and Womanist Pastoral Theology*, Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore and Brita Gill-Austern, eds. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 151.

about techniques and methods.⁴⁴² It should be noted, though, that such a process of transformation cannot happen in isolation. For this reason, feminist pedagogies are concerned with building partnership and creating safe and inclusive community, in which a vision of gender equality and flourishing is shared, and one's capacity to resist in praxis can be strengthened. Also, to practice self-reflexivity from privileged positions, however well-intentioned, still carries with it something of the history of hegemony. Feminist theologian Brita Gill-Austern says:

The extent of our own position of power or powerlessness has a profound impact on what we see. At the heart of feminist pedagogy lies a commitment to a careful analysis of power relations in the contexts of personal, cultural, political, and economic lives. Identifying how the dynamics of power contribute to the exploitation of others and interfere with developing an ethic of care and justice for all persons grounds our work.⁴⁴³

Especially in challenging and dismantling hegemonic masculinity, it should be noted that where we/others stand has a significant impact on what we see and how we practice; therefore, we should be fully aware and critical of our own position of power/powerlessness.

Furthermore, feminist pedagogies entail not only analyzing the dynamics of power, but also the work of redefining power. In *Jacob's Shadow: Christian Perspectives on Masculinity*, pastoral theologian Herbert Anderson draws on sociologist Dennis Wrong's definition of power as "the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others."⁴⁴⁴ In correlation to Jacob's story, he lays out four different ways power is used: force/might, manipulation, deception, and physical power. Power is used to effect changes, and to influence or control others. Based on this limited definition of power, which focuses heavily on physical and mental force, many men such those in Men's Rights Groups (e.g., the Man of Korea) complain about feeling powerless and lacking privilege. This sense of powerlessness, however,

⁴⁴² Ibid., 150.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 162.

⁴⁴⁴ Anderson, *Jacob's Shadow: Christian Perspectives on Masculinity*, 149.

results not from the actual lack or absence of power and privilege but from a relatively limited sense of power to dominate and control. Anderson's solution to this problem is to promote the equal sharing of power between women and men while rejecting the abuse of power that exists in many forms. Though the exercise of sharing power fosters the relationship of trust, this approach to power, especially when considered for challenging hegemonic masculinity, is limited because it assumes that the power asymmetry can be addressed and altered only by those who possess power and their power or determination to share it. As Anderson himself accedes, learning to share power is a "stiff challenge" if men conceptualize power only in reference to hierarchy and "power over."⁴⁴⁵

In this light, we need alternative ways to understand power. Attempts to challenge hegemonic masculinity should involve redefining the prevailing notion of power associated with domination and control over others. In *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, feminist theorist bell hooks addresses feminists' differing and shifting approaches to power and their struggle to determine whether they should transform or adopt and exercise the dominant definition of power in order to change the world. In a critique of the sexist mystification of women's experience, hooks explains that most women, like most men, are taught and socialized to espouse dominating and controlling as the basic expression of power, though their roles in society are assigned differently by sex and gender.⁴⁴⁶ She thus disagrees with conflating male development and the perpetuation of oppression with maleness. Equating the two allows women not to confront their own drive for power and domination over others. According to hooks,

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 149.

⁴⁴⁶ bell hooks, *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1984), 87.

women's validation and exercise of power as dominance and control typically maintains the status quo and assures men that "their masculinity is in no way diminished."⁴⁴⁷ She asserts:

Before women can work to reconstruct society, we must reject the notion that obtaining power in the existing social structure will necessarily advance feminist struggle to end sexist oppression. It may allow numbers of women to gain greater material privilege, control over their destiny and the destiny of others, all of which are important goals. It will not end male domination as a system.⁴⁴⁸

hooks identifies two other forms of power: the power of disbelief and the power of resistance.

The power of disbelief calls for a person to refuse the prevailing definition of power as dominance and control. The power of resistance starts with a person acknowledging that the basic personal power exists with a person belonging to a group, even to the most oppressed and exploited group. Many women, especially non-white women, tend to feel powerless and have not exercised their power (i.e., as consumers) to reject the powerful's definition of their reality.

hooks suggests that we exercise our power to resist oppression and exploitation, in solidarity with one another, beyond individual achievements of success and power. Though she does not adopt the totalizing view of power in the system of absolute male power and absolute female powerlessness, hooks acknowledges the multiplicity and plurality of masculinities in gender hierarchy.

When we take the multiplicity of masculinity into account, hook's argument has some significant implications for challenging hegemonic masculinity. First, it calls attention to the need to confront the desire and drive for power and domination regardless of one's position in gender hierarchy. Having and gathering power as domination through possessions has been a primary way of defining what it means to be a man, and even women are socialized to think of

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 90.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 92.

power that way even though it is not as available to them. Thus, if men, especially those who are in subordinated and marginalized positions, continue to hold onto this dominant definition of power, there seems to be no way out for them to stop feeling powerless. Without redefining and cultivating disbelief in the dominant conception of power, it is difficult for them to acknowledge the power of resistance. As clarified by the case of Men's Rights groups, men who are complicit with hegemonic masculinity would blame feminism or other men with marginalized status for their sense of loss and powerlessness instead of confronting the oppressive nature of hegemonic masculinity. Such a displacement of anger and blame, in turn, puts them into a position to exercise power over women and other subordinated men. In this regard, it seems necessary to articulate how most men who are in a complicit position can be encouraged to participate in the power of disbelief and resistance. Some feminists claim, though, that calling acts of resistance power is misleading because they are basically a form of powerlessness. The reason women do not demonstrate power is because "they get pushed back into line in ways that are forcible, painful, and depriving" whenever they do.⁴⁴⁹

By identifying "the empowerment of clients and the creation of feminist consciousness" as the main goal of feminist therapy, feminist therapist Laura Brown notes that "the development of empowering strategies that are tailored to the particular individual seeking assistance is central to feminist therapy practice."⁴⁵⁰ According to Brown, feminist therapy assumes that the primary sources of emotional distress and behavioral dysfunction are disempowerment and the consequences of powerlessness that one experiences; therefore, the outcomes of treatment

⁴⁴⁹ Cary Nelson and Lawrence Urbana Grossberg, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (University of Illinois Press, 1988), 120.

⁴⁵⁰ Laura Brown, *Feminist Therapy* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2010), 29.

encompass empowerment for the individual client.⁴⁵¹ Turning to the issue of experiencing power and powerlessness, she complexifies the reality of power to include multifaceted dimensions: somatic/biological, intrapersonal/intrapsychic, interpersonal/social, and spiritual/existential. For her, power is construed not merely as “a matter of having or not having” in the usual sense of control of other humans and/or resources, but “as a continuous variable” in one’s life.⁴⁵² The expanded and reconceptualized notion of power now becomes significant in identifying the behavioral and intrapsychic locations where patriarchal cultures lead individuals to experience powerlessness and power. Such a model of power, Brown notes, helps people understand that they have already been powerful in a wide range of ways. In this regard, feminist therapy as “the womb in which such power can grow” seeks to help one to move toward power in the realms where powerlessness has been experienced.⁴⁵³

With respect to the reframing of power in feminist therapy as illuminated by Brown, however, it is somewhat unclear as to how the new and unusual sense of power can challenge and disrupt the realities of power imbalance that actually control other humans and/or resources, not to mention the establishment of egalitarian relationships in family life. Neither is it clear whether and to what extent the redefinition of power, beyond resisting patriarchy, can serve to transform the patriarchal system itself that continuously imposes the old and yet culturally dominant definition of power on women and men and that intentionally and unintentionally disempowers people. In this sense, Brown’s approach to power appears to assume that rejecting the conventional definition of power would be conducive to the transformation of androcentric, patriarchal culture instead of perpetuating power differentials by making the counselee focus on

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 30-31.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 31.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 31, 35.

the change in one's perception of the reality rather than on the change in the totality of the reality. The redefinition and reframing of power centered on the shift in the subjective world of women through empowerment, though it is a critical and necessary process, does not necessarily mean that unequal patriarchal power structures are transformed automatically. To suggest a concrete example for this process, the next section will revisit the Father School, the most visible and dominant forms of men's movement and ministry in contemporary Korean society, and proposes alternative visions and ways to resist and challenge hegemonic masculinity.

A Proposal for an Alternative Vision of Masculinity: The Case of the Father School

To conclude this chapter, this section proposes some general principles along with practical suggestions as a revised vision for the Father School (FS) based on feminist critical pedagogies discussed above. Despite the gross limitations of the FS, I take a revisionist approach in this section as a way of offering a transformed vision for one of the most culturally dominant practices of Korean men. Based on my analysis of its strengths and weaknesses, it also provides a good model for possible change.

First, given the problematic aspects of its male servanthood headship model in the FS, I suggest a co-leadership egalitarian model for the family based on evangelical feminist theology. In fact, the issues of gender and family relations within evangelicalism have remained highly controversial and contested among scholars in religion and theology. With the coming of far-reaching social changes made after the women's movement, evangelicals have encountered great uncertainty about the roles of men and women. This uncertainty, as conservative evangelicals understand it, was created originally by the rise of feminism and subsequently by evangelical feminists, who defended the feminist position while remaining firm in their supreme

commitment to Jesus Christ and their belief in the authority and truthfulness of the Scriptures. Even though the traditional family model served as a type of “identity boundary maintenance device for evangelicals,” a body of literature has also shown conflicting results on the extent to which leading evangelicals share common ground on such hot-button issues as a patriarchal family structure and marital equality, and the degree to which the practices of evangelical couples actually fit such ideals.⁴⁵⁴

Sociologist of religion John Bartkowski identifies four distinct archetypes of Christian masculinity within the Promise Keepers’ advice manuals: (a) the rational patriarch, (b) the expressive egalitarian, (c) the tender warrior, and (d) the multicultural man.⁴⁵⁵ This diversity of gender metaphors suggests that evangelicals have many options to choose from in defining their gendered identity. Despite the availability of alternative gender ideology models, the Father School has espoused a male headship and female domestic understanding of gender, and this has some costs as evangelical theologian Thomas V. Frederick explicates. According to Frederick, there are two main costs for evangelicals in maintaining patriarchal gender ideologies.⁴⁵⁶ The first cost is that patriarchal gender ideology becomes oppressive to (a) those who do not or cannot conform to hegemonic masculinity and (b) to females that do not or cannot conform to privileged femininity. The second cost is the loss of authenticity in participating in the systematic oppression of one sex over the other. Given these costs, I propose that the Father School might consider an egalitarian, co-leadership model as an alternative to the male servanthood headship model.

⁴⁵⁴ Thomas V. Frederick, “An Interpretation of Evangelical Gender Ideology: Implications for a Theology of Gender,” *Theology and Sexuality*. 16.2 (2010): 185.

⁴⁵⁵ John P. Bartkowski, *The Promise Keepers: Servants, Soldiers, and Godly Men* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 45.

⁴⁵⁶ Frederick, “An Interpretation of Evangelical Gender Ideology,” 186-187.

In *Equal Partnering: A Feminine Perspective*, Barbara J. Brothers envisions the constructive use of power and empowerment for working with couples. She presents the concept of “ego equality,” a term that refers to “one’s ability to be a peer and to engage in peer interactions.”⁴⁵⁷ Illustrating this concept as “a basic factor of dyadic systems,” Lynch explains that marital interactions should involve reciprocal responses and reactions to certain behaviors and attitudes that each partner has; thus, “neither husband nor wife can continue the behavior without the other.”⁴⁵⁸ When considered in pastoral contexts, a pastoral caregiver who recognizes the need to restructure the power balance in marriage should consider the multi-dimensional nature of power, based on the recognition that every interaction, including the pastoral caregiver’s, has nuances of power in the transaction process. Family therapist Thelma Jean Goodrich’s edited volume *Women and Power: Perspectives for Family Therapy* recognizes power as a central organizing principle in families. Its focus on power underscores how profoundly the patriarchal nature of our society permeates the way in which the operation of power in the family is often overlooked. The authors indicate the different cultural messages for women and men with regard to access to power, the desirability of power, pursuit of power, and ways of exercising power. It explores ways to address women’s typically disadvantaged position with regard to power, highlighting a particular family situation that pushes us to reexamine assumptions and practices around women and power. It is concerned with how to work with men in order to empower women. Based on this insight, as a first step, the FS should offer men opportunities to rethink how they relate to women (and other men) in terms of power and sexual relations and to develop a greater gender-consciousness by implementing various experiential

⁴⁵⁷ Barbara J Lynch, “Partnership and Ego Equality in the Marital System,” In *Equal Partnering: A Feminine Perspective*, Barbara J. Brothers, ed., (NY: The Haworth Press, 1992), 11.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

methods to bring them into a critical awareness of their personal experiences as gendered beings. Eventually, this movement aims to encourage men to recognize and restructure marital balance, which fosters a union competent to address implicit and explicit power differentials and imbalances in marital/familial relationships.

In addition, I suggest that in its approach the FS balance and integrate the three themes presented by Michael Messner: male institutionalized privileges; costs of masculinity; and differences and inequality among men. The theme of the costs of masculinity, which is concerned with the negative consequences for men's conformity to the narrow definitions of masculinity, such as men's poor health, shorter lives, and emotionally shallow relationships, has been an almost exclusive focus of the Father School. Especially, the current educational curriculum used by the FS overemphasize costs of masculinity to the neglect of the other two themes. The institutionalized power of men is not acknowledged sufficiently. Regarding the first theme, the main focus of most liberal and profeminist groups and movements was to raise awareness of male violence against women and children in various institutions. As I noted in the introduction, domestic violence has been an ongoing problem in Korean society as in other societies. However, this issue has almost been almost silenced among churches and communities because the family is treated as a private and sacred entity. Domestic violence is therefore perpetuated by social values regarding the privacy and autonomy of family life. Given that men continue to commit violence against women and children, other men, and themselves, based on the traditional, narrow definition of what it means to be "real" men, the FS needs to reconsider the current minimal, insufficient education regarding violence and to take it into serious consideration. Importantly, the discussion about violence in the FS should aim to make changes and help hold the perpetrators of violence accountable for their actions, rather than aim to

indulge them. Along with the issue of violence, men's institutionalized privileges should be addressed in broader social, political, and religious contexts.

Critical investigation of hegemonic masculinity is vital because it aims at dismantling male privilege and power through the analysis of how male privilege is constructed and how privilege comes with a price. To ignore the construction of male privilege leads us to overlook gender hierarchy and androcentric system of male power. The price of hegemonic masculinity is paid by both women and men. As discussed in the introduction, the prevalence of violence and the continuing realities of gender inequality in public spheres are the terrible price that many women and children have had to pay in Korean society. Prevailing public hate and prejudices against LGBTQ community are another price.⁴⁵⁹ Feminist pastoral theologian Nancy Ramsay points out that “while the consequence of patriarchy is more invidious for women, the stereotypes for men also eventuate in alienation from self and others. Possibilities for community suffer.”⁴⁶⁰

According to her, how power is arranged has far-reaching impacts on the well-being of all. She pointedly says:

Patriarchy requires of men, not women's mask of a derived identity (too little self), but the assertion of too much self—an inflated identity—that also insures alienation from their own feeling, embodied self as well as from others. If many women need to confess the refusal or fear to be themselves, men often need to confess fears that have also proved isolating and, when coupled with power, dominating. Images of God for men frequently reflect analogous distortions that reinforce controlled, emotionally distant spirituality. For such men, grace needs to become an experience of God's care that invites acceptance of a redefinition of virility so as to include tenderness, mutuality, vulnerability, and a willingness to share power.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ See Youngshik D. Bong, “The Gay Rights Movement in Democratizing Korea,” *Korean Studies* vol. 32 (2008): 86-103; Young-Gwan Kim and Sook-Ja Hahn, “Culture, Health & Sexuality: An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care,” vol. 8 (2006): 59-65.

⁴⁶⁰ Nancy J Ramsay, “Feminist Perspectives on Pastoral Care: Implications for Practice and Theory.” *Pastoral Psychology*, 40 no. 14 (1992): 250.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 250.

In addition, the FS pays significantly insufficient attention to differences and inequality among men, though participants are diverse in terms of their class and age. The theme of differences and inequality among men addresses men's disproportionate share in the power and privileges depending on their race, ethnicity, social class, sexuality, age, and immigrant status. We should not lump all "men" together as a uniform category without due consideration of individual differences and differences in social locations. In the same ways, fathers in contemporary Korean society come in various forms and from various locations. Today's fathers are not always the traditional married breadwinner and disciplinarian in the family, and they can be single or married; externally employed or stay-at home; gay or straight; and a biological, adoptive, or step-parent. They also come with unique challenges in fatherhood. For example, divorced fathers face multiple challenges such as maintaining the same types of parenting roles (most divorced fathers do not receive full custody of their children). Step-fathers and stay-at-home fathers also face unique challenges. While still a relatively small proportion of all fathers, the number of stay-at-home dads is increasing in Korean society. However, due to their violation of the social norms surrounding hegemonic masculinity, stay-at-home dads encounter strong stigma—being perceived as being incompetent, weak, and feminine. Also, despite their increasing numbers, their relative rarity can make them feel isolated from other full-time parents. I suggest that in terms of its direction, the Father School be more open to and inclusive of fathers in diverse locations and life circumstances beyond its exclusive orientation to fathers as the traditional married breadwinners.

Third, as the Father School challenges and seeks to transform culturally dominant understandings of emotional relations, it should further challenge other aspects of hegemonic masculinities grounded in competition, wealth, and economic power in this neoliberal market-

driven society. While referring to the idealized and socially expected ways of being male, hegemonic masculinity emphasizes competition, wealth, aggressiveness, and heterosexuality. This idealization becomes symbolized and internalized in a male-centered culture through various institutions such as the media, family, and religion. Men who are well represented in the culture and hold wealth and class privilege would be able to negotiate masculinity within this domain. In a neoliberal economy, however, involved fatherhood ironically turns into a *counter-cultural* practice for fathers (and mothers) as an economically and socially less privileged status. Many Korean fathers are increasingly expected to become a “caring breadwinner.” Yet despite all those cultural shifts and despite the emphasis on men’s expressive and caring roles, men often feel caught between working overtime in order to earn enough for their family and spending more time with children with less income. Churches should raise a voice in support of public policies that support parents and help transform the culture of fatherhood, policies such as subsidized daycare, available preschool, and paid parental leave. To support these public policies is both a crucial and yet only a beginning step to make structural changes.⁴⁶²

Finally, just like the U.S. mainstream men’s movements, the Father School is limited in that they are generally only one-time events. In order to make changes sustainable in fathers’ lives, there should be some type of mentoring structure that can help fathers continue to connect to their family emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually and flourish in their practice of

⁴⁶² Of course, public policy changes are only useful when people take advantage of them. According to *The Economist*, 2014, “close to 90% of fathers in Sweden take paternity leave. Forty years ago Sweden became the first country in the world to introduce a gender-neutral paid parental-leave allowance. This involves paying 90% of wages for 180 days per child, and parents are free to divide up the days between them in whatever way they pleased. But the policy was hardly a hit with dads: in the scheme's first year men took only 0.5% of all paid parental leave.” Of course, there is always a gap between rules and reality. However, without this policy for parent leave and legal support, it would not be possible for Scandinavian fathers to emerge. See “Why Swedish Men Take So Much Paternity Leave,” *The Economist* (July, 2014). <http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2014/07/economist-explains-15>

fatherhood. The Father School should create ongoing support through creating a network of mentoring for fathers. Fatherhood is not just about certain cultural and social expectations of roles that fathers should play. It is basically about relationship. There are expectations that churches or communities of faith are the best places for fathers to learn about fatherhood as demonstrated by a national survey.⁴⁶³ This study took an in-depth look at how today's mothers view fathers and fatherhood. One of the interesting findings in this survey is that mothers – even those that said that they were “not at all religious” – indicated that “churches or communities of faith” are the best places for fathers to learn about fatherhood. Along with programs such as the Father School, faith communities should offer space to help create and maintain these deep connections. In many churches men's ministry indicates homosocial activities such as a “men's breakfast” or bowling together. Beyond such conventional approaches, churches should expand their imagination for ministries that can meet fathers' need for relationship, the quest for identity, and changes. A network of mentoring for fathers (i.e., a fathers' group) can help them to stay connected to their families emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually. Considering the cultural significance of work for men's identity, fathers also need a safe and non-competitive place to share their work-related stresses and challenges of balancing family and work. This network of mentoring should thus be a safe space in which to disclose their struggles and hopes.

⁴⁶³ Norval Glenn and Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, “Mama Says: A National Survey of Mothers' Attitudes on Fathering,” *National Fatherhood Initiative*, 2009. See http://www.brookings.edu/~media/events/2009/12/01%20mothers%20on%20fathering/1201_mothers_on_fathering_study.pdf

Conclusion

I have conducted an analysis of Korean hegemonic masculinity, using the category of three critical movements: *critical memory*, *critical reflexivity*, and *critical pedagogy*. By applying critical reflexivity to the identity crisis of the field of pastoral theology in terms of its conceptualization of gender and power/difference, I have identified some areas for further developments in a pastoral theology approach to men and masculinities: men as gendered subjects; multiplicity of masculinities in hierarchy; and three interlocking themes for investigating men and masculinity theologically. To take a more holistic and effective approach to men's gendered relations, male institutionalized privilege, cost of masculinity, and differences and inequality among men are all taken together into critical consideration for pastoral theology and the practice of care. Charting the three spheres of Korean hegemonic masculinity has demonstrated multi-dimensional aspects of gendered relations. It thus points to the need for tackling and challenging theologically hegemonic masculinity manifested in multiple dimensions and for investigating the controlling mechanisms of hegemonic masculinity. It is called to continue transforming dominant male god imageries, exploring scriptural sources in support of just love in families, and changing the distribution of labor, public policies, and ideologies in support of diverse family arrangements. Given the situation where implicitly traditional and androcentric visions and models of manhood keep filling this lacuna in contemporary societies, pastoral theology is called to continue problematizing and making men's privilege, hegemony, and power visible and in its theory and practice, just as feminists have worked to "make gendered nature of power visible" in the theological community, as well as in public and ecclesial arenas. This critical examination of power, privilege, and dominant masculinity in the

Korean context especially seeks to expand the global spectrum of experience and to build pastoral wisdom and knowledge from the perspective of a Korean pastoral theologian.

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