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The Myth of Male Power: Why Men are the Disposable Sex (Part Two) Warren Farrell	5
Male Educators' Perspectives on Best Practices for Enhancing the Teaching and Learning of Boys in Single-Sex Classrooms, Grade 7-8 Douglas Gosse	32
A Systematic Deconstruction of the 'Disordered American Boy' Hypothesis J.M. Stolzer	77
The Origin of the Sexual Divide in the 'Genetic Filter' Function and Its Costs in Male Disadvantage Steve Moxon	96
Muscle Dysmorphia and Male Body Image: A Personal Account Timothy Baghurst	125



Report on the Conference on Curricula for New Male Studies
K.C. Glover

131

BOOK REVIEWS

David Benatar, The Second Sexism - Reviewed by:

Miles Groth 136

J.P. Messina 141

Jon Badiali 145

Nigel Saul, Chivalry in Medieval England - Reviewed by: Dennis Gouws 151

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The Myth of Male Power: Why Men Are the Disposable Sex Part 2

WARREN FARRELL



In dialogue form, the author reviews the highlights of the book version of The Myth of Male Power. Farrell takes us into our legal system, world history and religions, the psychology and sociology of success, suicide and love, and the politics and psychology of domestic violence, date rape and sex. He shows that men's corporate and political power has blinded them to the definition of real power: "control over one's life." Men are shown to be the "disposable sex." Their façade of strength camouflages an inability to detect feelings of weakness and powerlessness. Farrell envisions gender studies as helping both sexes make an evolutionary shift from a focus on survival to a proper balance between survival and fulfillment. He proposes "gender transition movement" from the rigid to more flexible roles for men and women.

Key Words: men, boyhood, gender, social roles

Introductory Note: The following is a transcript of conversations between journalist Tom Howard and Warren Farrell that were taped in 1993 when Dr. Farrell's book *The Myth of Male Power* was published. The book remains in print (with an updated introduction for the 2001 edition) and CDs of the script are available privately at <http://www.warrenfarrell.com/cds/html>. Dr. Farrell wrote the basic script of the exchange himself, emphasizing the book's highlights. The dialogue format makes his book even more accessible, as if you are having a conversation with Dr. Farrell at a party and he is in direct dialogue with you about every question you might have about the cross-cultural, psychological, historical and legal issues related to men and women. In these fast-paced exchanges on both the written transcript and CD versions of *The Myth of Male Power*, the book comes alive. While the CD best captures Warren's personable and engaging style, the written script presented here encourages the more careful analysis appropriate for an academic publication. The written script also allows for an easier comparison to the full text of the book version of *The Myth of Male Power* with its extensive endnotes. The reader is encouraged to consult the book's precise notes and government sources on which this dialogue is based.

With Dr. Farrell's permission, this is the first time the text of the conversations has been made available in this form. What has happened during the nearly twenty years that have passed since the book appeared is testimony to the author's prescience. With the loss of blue-collar jobs and a dangerously weakened economy, the situation for men as Dr. Farrell described it in 2001 has worsened, especially for young males. By distinguishing between external power (for example, control over others) and internal power (control over one's own life), Dr. Farrell simultaneously navigates three experiences of male power and powerlessness: the external power (and often oppressiveness) of the few; the *external powerlessness* of *most males*; and the different types of *internal* powerlessness experienced by virtually all males. We often forget that when pronouncements are made about "men" it is not made clear that reference is being made to only the external power of a very small number of corporate and political moguls, not the internal and external powerlessness of the blokes, guys and lads of this world. Finally, Dr. Farrell does not omit reference to boys in his discussion. This is important, since as he makes clear, the stage for the internal powerlessness of virtually all males is set early in a boy's life. This is true not just in the United States, but in all cultures and classes.

New Male Studies is proud to offer this contribution in two parts. In several places, statistics have been updated. The most current data present an even bleaker picture for boys and men and *The Myth of Male Power* helps us understand both why that was so predictable and exactly what needs to be changed to create a healthier masculinity for the future. In brief, Dr. Farrell explains why raising our sons successfully in the past differs from raising our sons successfully for the future.

Warren Farrell is also the author of *The Liberated Man* (1975; updated edition, 1993); *Why Men Are the Way They Are* (1986); *Women Can't Hear What Men Don't Say* (1999); *Father and Child Reunion* (2001); *Why Men Earn More* (2005), and co-author of *Does Feminism Discriminate Against Men? A Debate* (2008). He is currently co-authoring, with John Gray, *Boys to Men*. He lives physically near San Francisco, and virtually at www.warrenfarrell.com.



Warren: I have to relax by just watching a half hour of TV to unwind. I used to watch the news but I couldn't even watch the story on the war and drugs without being aware of how every drug enforcement administration agent that's ever been killed was a man. And therefore, being aware of the fact that the world of drugs is virtually another all male war—at least in the combat zone it is all male. So now I watch sitcoms.

Tom: Why don't we do more about workplace safety?

Warren: In part because safety costs money. Letting men die is a money-saving device. We're in a country where we still care more about saving whales than saving males.

Tom: And when we care more about saving males than saving whales?

Warren: We'll do more to enforce safety for males and less to subsidize "smashface" for males.

Tom: I guess the ultimate example of hiring men on the cheap would be the mandatory draft. No?

Warren: Definitely and this is universal. As Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes put it, "Every society rests on the death of men." When we live in the United States, we can attribute the fact that we are not under Nazi rule in part that almost one out of three American men is a veteran. We sometimes forget the number of men who sacrificed their lives. In one World War I battle alone, the Battle of the Somme, more than one million men were killed or maimed. And that was just on the Allies side. Before men can vote, men have the obligation to protect that right. Women receive the right to vote without the obligation to protect that right.

Tom: Do you think we still send the message to men that they are the sex that should prepare for war?

Warren: Definitely. We still put pressure on men not to make individual choices conscious of immorality but rather we put pressure on them just to sacrifice their lives. Throughout the world the basic message to men still is a willingness to serve your country as President or Prime Minister is not good enough. If you're a man you must be willing to prove yourself, that you are willing to die even if you don't believe in the cause before you may serve your country in a way that you do believe in. I think there is no form of sexism that is more damaging, more unconstitutional, more universal, or more ignored than that form of sexism.

Tom: Well, I understand now that 11.7% of our military consists of women. Doesn't this mean we are moving towards less discrimination?

Warren: Very minimally. We are still psychologically preparing boys to become insensitive by giving them the rewards of money and love when they participate in violent sports when they're young, sports like football, boxing, ice hockey, auto crashing, auto racing, and so on. We still take longer to pick up boy infants than our girl infants, meaning that we're signaling to our sons that complaining won't solve their problems. We still circumcise boys' penises without anesthesia while we never consider doing that to an infant girl's clitoris. And on and on. We're still preparing boys psychologically to not feel.

Tom: So, you're saying that's what creates the psychological preparation that still leaves us with 90% of the Armed Services being men. Will the Armed Services be a higher percentage of women as women have more equal opportunity in the Armed Services?

Warren: Actually the Armed Services have two areas of major discrimination still against women and numerous areas of discrimination against men in relation to women.

Tom: The two areas of discrimination being?

Warren: First, the most important one, is women entering a system of rules that are basically an outgrowth of the male psyche. Women are having to integrate with a group of men who are most inclined to associate women with their responsibility and incompetence. Statements like, "What kind of girl are you, or sissy," I think, indicate that. And second, not being allowed in the most dangerous area of combat does discrimination against a certain percentage of women who want to enter those areas.

Tom: And the discrimination against men?

Warren: By not allowing women into the most dangerous combat positions or the most dangerous positions like cannon artillery specialists and infantry positions and armor tank specialists. All those positions need to be filled by men when in fact these are the least desired positions in the armed services. You know the services are called the college for the poor, preparing people who are poor in life. But there are few jobs in civilian life that are called cannon artillery specialists and there are few help-wanted ads saying infantry experience and post-traumatic stress required. So, a hundred percent of these positions that are the least useful to civilian life are filled by men, while approximately a quarter of the main jobs that train men for civilian life have been lost by men to women, jobs like computer specialist, flight controller, jet mechanic, nurse, teacher. This all leads to a higher percentage of women who reenter civilian life prepared for a constructive life, while at the same time it leads to a higher percentage of men prepared for useless and destructive lives.

Tom: Okay. So, I guess what you're saying is that women get a better chance for certain kinds of training that are more constructive. But, during the war in the Persian Gulf, didn't Congresswoman Schroder say that women share equal combat risks without equal combat pay?

Warren: Yes, not only did she say that, but the popular media also bought that line and the assumptions that women were being denied combat positions in order to deny them equal opportunities as officers.

Tom: Were you implying that there are three myths here? The myth of equal risks, as well as the myths of unequal opportunity as officers and unequal pay?

Warren: Exactly. Let me take the equal risks first. In Panama and the Persian Gulf operations combined, 27 men died for each woman. So, women are still not sharing equal risks to men, and even when you calculate that there are nine men in the Armed Services for each woman, any given man's risk when he enters the Armed Services is still three times as great as a woman's of being killed. This difference is the result of women being placed in zones of indirect combat when they choose to enter combat rather than being placed in the zones of direct combat.

Tom: And the myth of unequal opportunity as officers?

Warren: Women constitute 11.7% of the total military, but 12% of the officers, despite the fact that the first females graduated from West Point only in 1980.

Tom: So, they have not been in the military nearly as long as some men. Amazing. What a contrast to the image the media gives us. And the myth of unequal pay?

Warren: Although the women were only in the less dangerous combat zones, both sexes in the Persian Gulf received \$110 per month extra combat pay. Women received equal pay for unequal risks.

Tom: You're saying that in times of war men entering the Armed Services are required to enter any combat position as needed, while women are given the option to enter or not enter combat, and that this is part of an underlying discrimination of giving women options and men obligations.

Warren: Yes, what we're doing is we're creating two different armies: his army versus her army. His army is an army of obligations. Her army is an army of rights. And this is the basis I think for an enormous misunderstanding in the Armed Services. For example, combat training requires men to devalue their lives. However, training for technical jobs that could be used in civilian life is compatible with valuing one's life. So, when a man enters the Armed Services hazing and harassment are preparation in his role of being devalued. That's why men historically hazed and harassed each other. They're amputating each other's individuality because the war machine works best with standardized parts.

Tom: Are you suggesting here that women object to harassment and hazing because they're trained to see the Armed Services as an opportunity compatible with value in their life, while harassment and hazing are only compatible with devalue life.

Warren: Exactly.

Tom: Is there a solution to all this?

Warren: Well, the abbreviated solution, the only one I have time for here is making a decision of what type of army we want and then giving both sexes equal opportunity and equal obligation.

Tom: You mentioned that male-only draft registration and combat requirements are the two most unconstitutional laws in America. But since we're not in a war situation what are the practical effects of women not having to register for the draft?

Warren: It's creating a moral dilemma for boys that we don't create for girls. Every 18-year-old boy has to face a moral dilemma from which every woman is free. He has to face the fact that if he doesn't sign up for the draft, he can never work at a government job or even get a government loan for a private school, to say nothing of facing five years in prison and a quarter of a million dollar fine. He may be able to break the law by not signing up and getting away with it, but that decision is the end of his innocence. All of this is part of the psychological preparation in preparing a boy for war. And then, once the country goes to war we talk about the importance of not bombing innocent women and children. So what we do is allow women to escape responsibility and then call them innocent for that escape. In a country in which both sexes vote, when that country goes to war all of its adult citizens are equally innocent and equally guilty.

Tom: What about people who say war is caused by men?

Warren: War is caused by our primal fear of not surviving. That's a two sex fear. Even in the war in the Persian Gulf when the United States attacked Iraq, more than three-fourths of women approved as did 87% of men.

Tom: Concerning the innocence you've been talking about, I was fascinated by your connection of female innocence to your belief that men love women more than they love themselves but that they respect themselves more than they respect women. Would you explain that to me?

Warren: Yes. We love what's innocent. That's why we're willing to kiss even puppy dogs, but we respect what protects us. However, the shadow side of protecting is constant exposure to the ugly that destroys the innocent, and as we expose ourselves to the ugly we tend to lose our own innocence. So, when a man falls in love with an innocent woman he falls in love because her innocence allows him to have a reunion with a part of himself that got lost in the process of protecting her innocence. He wants to see his innocent self because that allows him to see his soul directly, the way we see mountains in a land that has no smog.

Tom: What would men cutting themselves off from their feelings and adopting mottos like "When the going gets tough the tough get going" be compatible with men being what you call the suicide sex?

Warren: I think there's no greater proof of the underlying need of both sexes for love than the proof that comes with understanding even when that sex, men, cut themselves off from feelings and are deprived of love how men when deprived of love commit suicide. For example, when a husband whose wife dies is about ten times more likely to commit suicide than a wife whose husband dies, you can get some understanding of the feeling we don't see beneath men.

Tom: Are you saying that what's behind men committing suicide four times as often as women is they're not feeling loved?

Warren: Basically, yes. People who feel genuinely loved and needed rarely commit suicide, either women or men. But for a lot of different reasons women are more likely to feel loved and needed. For example, when a woman and man divorce and so therefore they're both deprived enormously of feeling loved and needed, she usually has custody of the children about 90% of the time. She's more likely to feel loved and needed. She may also feel more stressed out, but feeling stressed out while feeling loved and needed does not lead to suicide.

Tom: Divorce is more likely to disconnect a man from love?

Warren: Yes, men when they're divorced often feel needed as a wallet, but a very high percentage of men feel that their children have turned against them after divorce and that they're obligated to pay money to a woman who hates him and to children who don't seem to love him. Now if he has this situation and he also makes an attempt to get shared custody of the children and he's falsely accused of sexual abuse, we often have a suicide waiting to happen. We have a man, which means the sex most poorly socialized to create a support system not only having his support system wiped out but having much of the community turned against him in this case of accusations of sexual abuse. He is made to feel not only worthless but evil.

Tom: Warren, you often say that men feel they will not be loved unless they have money.

Warren: Yes, a warm and tender and sensitive man who's reading I'm Okay, You're Okay on the unemployment line is really rarely invited home to a dinner.

Tom: I'm afraid that's probably true. But what is it about unemployed men, particularly men who have just been fired or involuntarily lost their job that they would feel the fear of being unloved and unneeded and therefore more likely to commit suicide?

Warren: Yes, in the middle of the Great Depression, for example, men were 650% more likely to commit suicide than women. Even today unemployed men commit suicide at twice the rate of em-

ployed men.

Tom: Well, what about unemployed women?

Warren: Among women there's no difference in the rate of suicide based on whether or not the woman is employed.

Tom: Women do not feel more or less loved based on whether or not they're employed.

Warren: Not significantly enough so to commit suicide over it, and they also have better support systems to work from.

Tom: You know I've heard that the adolescent suicide rate has been going up.

Warren: It has and it's interesting what we haven't heard about is the fact that the suicide rate of boys has recently increased three times as quickly as the girls and among young women their rates have decreased, while young men's rates have increased.

Tom: So, your implication here is that when boy's rates increase more we just hear about the rise in adolescent rates, not boys' rates and then young women's rates decrease while young men's increase we don't hear anything?

Warren: Exactly.

Tom: I think the most astonishing figure you mentioned in the suicide chapter of *The Myth of Male Power* is that boys' suicide increases 25,000% as their sex roles become apparent. Now that's incredible. Why do you think that's occurring?

Warren: I think partially because we're giving girls more options. When I say more options I mean that basically the girl has more ways of getting approval during the years when we all know if you don't get approval it feels like death. Meantime, we still tell boys to play the same old role: perform, pursue, and pay (what I call the three P's).

Tom: So teenage boys' greater socialization to perform is what leads to their greater suicides.

Warren: Almost. It's the demand to perform without the resources to perform and the constant experience of rejection to an already insecure identity that is being further being battered by the commerce of male adolescents, meaning the commerce of putdowns that all of us who have had adolescents know what I mean.

Tom: So it ends up being only the football players that pursue something close to unconditional approval.

Warren: Yes, and it's sort of ironic that some of the biggest "winners" the football players are receiving love by self-abuse. Some boys receiving love by self-abuse create a bit of anxiety, but losing love creates even more anxiety. So these boys are caught between the anxiety of abuse by other boys and the anxiety of rejection by girls.

Tom: Okay, but wait. Is female depression the equivalent of male suicide?

Warren: No, that's a big myth. Reporting depression empowers women. Suicide does not empower men. It empowers women, reporting depression, because it allows women to get help. Suicide leaves everyone helpless. Reporting depression is really part of the solution.

Tom: You know when we think of depression, Warren, we tend to think middle class women, not poor women. Why is that?

Warren: It's because depression is a diagnosis that tends to increase among people with a luxury of being able to worry about something other than survival. It's often the middle-class woman who is married to a man who's successful enough to pay for a psychiatrist to diagnose her as depressed. Few women who are poor have this luxury.

Tom: Now you said that the bottom line of power is the length of life. Tell me about that.

Warren: The length of life is in essence the best summary of the accumulation of our life's stresses subtracted from our life's rewards.

Tom: Isn't part of the difference in life expectancy biological?

Warren: If much of the difference were biological, American men would not have died one year sooner than women in 1920, but seven years sooner today. That's an extraordinary difference, but to me what's even more extraordinary is the fact that we don't even know that or I guess more accurately that we don't care to know it since that this has basically been true for a couple of decades now and the data have been available to us all along. We have cared just not to look at it.

Tom: I wonder what the reaction would be if it was the opposite. But what accounts for this difference do you think?

Warren: When women and men have an approximately equal life expectancy it's usually when they're equally subject to contagious parasitic diseases and to poor sanitation and it's in places where female deaths in childbirth are similar to the male deaths in war. However, in more industrial societies all the problems that affect male and female life expectancy about equally or the problems that effect women more like childbirth have been enormously reduced. So almost all our problems today with diseases come from immune system breakdowns which comes predominately from stress and that triggers whatever biological weaknesses are part of that person's heritage, like heart attacks, cancer, diabetes, and so on. It is since stress has become the key factor that men have died so much sooner than women.

Tom: But we hear more about the stress women endure in their multiple roles. We hear about the Superwoman Syndrome and the female juggling act.

Warren: Yes, I think these are legitimate and these are accurate stressors that a lot of women do experience. But the multiple options of women who are married to successful men allow the women to cater their roles to their personalities. Whereas the male's mandate is to work fulltime, that mandate does not allow him flexibility, the straight jacket that he can't work in a way that suits his personality or be with children in a way that suits his personality.

Tom: So industrialization has broadened women's options and deepened men's mold?

Warren: Exactly, as I mentioned in the beginning of the interview, man's role in the industrialized society has taken him away from home and away from love and also man's role has done a lot more to produce the homes and gardens for women than it's done to produce safer coalmines and construction sites for men. So, we're still in an era where men's disconnection from love away in the workplace pays women to love. Their money pays women to love, whereas no one pays men to love.

Tom: You know we often hear that medical research neglects women, that less money and attention are given to female health than male health. What do you think about that?

Warren: It's not true. No governmental agency focusing on health spends as much on men's health as on women's health.

Tom: Well, I've read that only ten percent of the National Institute of Health, the NIH's budget is spent on women's health.

Warren: But can I bet you that you haven't read that only 5% of the NIH budget is spent on men's health?

Tom: You're right. I had not. So that's what we're not told?

Warren: Correct. What you're also not told is that the other 85% is on non-gender specific health issues—basic science.

Tom: What about more studies being done on men than on women?

Warren: One search of the 3,000 medical journals that are listed in Medline showed 23 articles are written on women's health for each one written on men's health.

Tom: What about what we've heard about heart disease studies being done on men but not on women, such as the study related to the effect of aspirin and heart attacks done only on male physicians?

Warren: It's interesting that everyone in the nation heard about that study, but no one heard about the simultaneous study on the effect of aspirin on heart attacks done only on female nurses, in which four times as many women were included as in the male study.

Tom: Aren't there many other studies done only on groups of men?

Warren: Yes. A high degree of those studies have been experimentation studies, for example, studies on the effects of a highly dangerous drug that were done on only male prisoners, or on military men—the study on LSD and things like that. The reason we do more research on men in prison and men in the military, as well as men in general, than we do on women is the same reason why we do more research on rats other than humans.

Tom: Wow. But isn't there neglect of certain areas of female health, like breast cancer?

Warren: Personally, I think that all health research is neglected as compared to other priorities, but we have to remember that men are almost as likely to die from prostate cancer as women are from breast cancer. Yet our funding for breast cancer research is 660% greater than our funding for prostate cancer research. If it were the other way around, I would be protesting the sexism against women.

Tom: Now what about the neglect of women's health issues such as ovarian cancer and menopause?

Warren: Fortunately, the neglect is being remedied by the Office of Research on Women's Health. But there is no Office of Research on Men's Health addressing any of the seventeen areas of men's health that are now being neglected.

Tom: Seventeen? Some examples?

Warren: Testicular cancer, non-specific urethritis, the development of a male birth control pill, looking at issues that could create and prevent male suicide, posttraumatic stress syndrome, circumcision as a possible trauma producing experience, dyslexia, the underlying causes of male violence, the factors that lead to males being 85% of the homeless, rehabilitation methods in order to prevent recidivism of the 94% of prisoners who are men, sexual impotence, color blindness, steroid abuse, and so on.

Tom: Can I get back to the heart attacks for one moment? Isn't it true that a woman dying of heart attacks occurs at the same rate as men?

Warren: It's interesting that we have all heard that and technically speaking that is true. But what we have not heard is that nearly three-fourths of women who die of heart attacks are 75 years old or older. By that time the average man has already been dead for three years.

Tom: Now I've also heard that men with heart attack symptoms are more likely to receive the most advanced and effective operations. Is that true?

Warren: Yes, that is true, but what we don't hear is the reason. The woman is much more likely to have her heart attack when she is much older, therefore she is more likely to have other complications as well, and therefore surgery is more likely to end her life because of the other complications.

Tom: Therefore surgery is much more dangerous for someone that much older.

Warren: Exactly, and what we are told is that the 50-year-old man who has heart attack symptoms is likely to have those other complications, and therefore is also more at risk for surgery. In brief, when age and other complicating factors are controlled for, studies show there is no difference between the treatment of men versus the treatment of women for heart attacks.

Tom: You know, given all this, it sounds like what you are saying is the real sexism is in the concern that we have expressed for women versus the lack of concern that we express for men.

Warren: Exactly, and the sad thing though, is that when one sex loses, both sexes lose. A woman who loses her husband, her dad, or her son also loses. To put it another way, just when one sex appears to win, both sexes lose.

Tom: You mentioned in your chapter on the "Insanity Track," which deals with men at the top, that these men are not really powerful, because power is control over one's own life and these people at the top often lose control over their own life. Do you feel this is true even of people like lawyers and doctors?

Warren: Yes, I think it is. The alcoholism among lawyers is twice as high as it is among the general population. 41% of lawyers would choose to enter a different profession if they had to do it all over again. Among doctors, first-year residents in pediatrics and obstetrics average 90 hours per week. An additional point. One in ten surgical residents exceed 122 hours per week.

Tom: What happens when men "just say no" to providing this financial womb, as you call it?

Warren: When men "just say no," so to speak, they become invisible, especially to women. Or they become ostracized, often by both sexes. For example, Black men are often the subject of ridicule by Black women and have been for many years. American Indian men or Native American men

were admired until they no longer protected women effectively and then they were confined to the reservations of their defeat. Gay men, the men who will not protect women, have been ostracized by both sexes in nearly all cultures.

Tom: As you pointed before, unemployed and homeless men are not being pursued by women. It would follow that we are far more concerned with women as victims of violence than we would be as men as victims of violence. Is that true?

Warren: Yes, it is true. For every woman who is murdered, three men are murdered. With the exception of rape, the more violent the crime, the more likely the victim is to be a man. Forcible rape constitutes less than four percent of the violent crimes. Violent crimes of which men are the victim constitute 94%.

Tom: Of course, men commit most of the violent crime.

Warren: Yes, it is interesting that when we hear that Blacks are the greatest victims of violent crimes, we consider it racist to say that Blacks commit most of the violent crimes against Blacks so therefore . . . The victim is a victim no matter who the perpetrator was.

Tom: Are we less sympathetic to men because we consider violence a symbol of male power?

Warren: Yes, I think that is the reason that we are less sympathetic, but I would also like to challenge that reason as being inaccurate. Violence is almost always the outgrowth of powerlessness, not power, be it Black powerlessness or male powerlessness.

Tom: Tell me about that.

Warren: My first education on this issue came in the mid 1980's when in Flint, Michigan, at that time a town with a very low rate of rape, murder and spouse abuse. There 30,000 autoworkers were either unemployed or dislodged from their jobs when the General Motors plants shut down. Flint, Michigan, within a year or two, soon had a higher rate of violent crime than New York City. It reported 285 rapes in 1985 alone, which was a staggering figure for a town of only 150,000 people. In brief, people become criminals when there is a gap between their expectations to provide and their ability to provide. When they experience powerlessness they become criminals. Not power.

Tom: You know, Warren, after hearing all this there is one question that really troubles me. Why is it that all of us, both males and females, seem to be so resistant to hearing and understanding how men are hurt?

Warren: Historically, woman as victim attracts men. Man as victim repulses woman. Almost every day we see this acted out. When a woman's tire goes flat, for example, she will suddenly allow a strange man off the highway an opportunity to help her. But if a man's tire goes flat, she rarely stops to help a man despite the fact that when a man's tire goes flat she has much more of an opportunity to look him over first. Historically women dropped handkerchiefs, that is, they played victims. When they dropped the handkerchief, this was a way for them to discover where the saviors were located. When men drop handkerchiefs we pick them up. We see this sort of repulsion to man as victim everywhere. Corporal punishment is still legal in 29 states, but practically speaking, corporal punishment is boy punishment. The same type of thing as with capital punishment, practically speaking it is male only punishment. We consider it racist to hit Black boys more than white boys, but no school protests the propensity to hit only boys.

Tom: Okay, let's look at this point. Feminists have objected to violence against women on TV and in films. Is that a valid issue?

Warren: I think that we are definitely a society that is addicted to violence, but I would like to confront our violence towards both sexes. In fact people who are killed on TV entertainment programs, about 97% are men. In the movies it is about 95% men. Six of our most popular film types are "men die" films. Westerns are men killing men, war movies are men killing men, murder mysteries—men killing men. Women in jeopardy films are mostly men killing men. Mob films are men killing men, and gang films the same thing. We repeatedly pay to watch the murder of men by men.

Tom: Why does it seem like there is a higher percentage of women dying?

Warren: It is because we care so much more about when a woman dies or even when she is hurt. This is why some films focus so much on the woman in jeopardy. It makes us care, but almost always in a "woman in jeopardy" film the woman is saved, when in fact many men usually die saving her. Our concern is for the woman, but the sacrifice is of the man. A man who puts a woman in jeopardy is unforgiven, which is of course what was unforgiven in the film *Unforgiven*. One woman was hurt in that film and about a dozen men were killed in the process of teaching a couple of men that they better not even hurt a woman. Note that I said "about a dozen men" because I am not even sure how many died in the film. The men who died were actually less visible than the one woman who was hurt.

Tom: Part three of *The Myth of Male Power*, perhaps the most shocking and powerful part of the book, is called "The Government as Substitute Husband." You have chapter titles including "Women Who Kill Too Much and the Courts that Free Them." It sounded like a spook until I started reading about the twelve different "female defenses" such as "The Battered Woman Syndrome" which will allow a woman to kill a man and get a reduced sentence or go free on probation, without a man in a parallel situation having that option. Would you start out by first explaining what you mean by "The Government as Substitute Husband?"

Warren: Yes, okay. When divorces left women without a husband as savior, many women started to look for substitute saviors. The poor woman looked to AFDC payments, for example.

Tom: Aids to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC]?

Warren: Exactly. If the government paid more than the man could, she would in essence choose the government over the man, in a sense marry the government. This was especially reinforced by the fact that the government would only give AFDC payments to her if the man wasn't around.

Tom: Would they give AFDC payments to the man if the woman wasn't around and the man took care of the children?

Warren: Basically, no. The requirements for a man to get AFDC payments were much tougher and virtually impossible. This is of course unconstitutional, but it exists. The government did not play substitute wife, either by providing the man any domestic services or by providing the man income.

Tom: But you are saying, then, that in the past years with the rise of the feminist movement that the government has played substitute husband to more middle class women as well.

Warren: Yes. Programs for example like the WIC, which is the Women, Infants, and Children program. These programs were increasingly developed for women, infants, and children, but not for men, infants, and children. As women entered the workplace the government passed more laws to protect women from dirty jokes than they did to protect men from death via faulty rafters at construction sites.

Tom: It's funny, the more things change . . .

Warren: Yes, exactly. You can see this even among New Age women and men. New Age women often went from father, to husband, to guru. Men, we often competed to be their guru. In the name of enlightenment neither sex was looking to change their fundamental role. What had been true among traditional women and men, for example, going from father, to husband, to God the Father, and men competing to be their fathers either as priests or rabbis, really wasn't that much different than it was among New Age women and men.

Tom: I assume you would acknowledge that men make the laws, but it sounds like your saying that although laws were made almost always by men they're not made for men at least when it came to male/female issues.

Warren: Correct. At least that can be said unequivocally prior to women having the vote. For example, in the 1992 presidential election, 54% of the voters were female, 46% were male. Women's votes outnumbered men's by more than seven million.

Tom: Your point being that the voter is in control.

Warren: Basically the legislator is like a chauffeur and the voter is like the owner of the limo. The voter or the owner of the limo tells the chauffeur where to go, so to speak. And it's the chauffeur's job to choose how to get the owner there. The ultimate power is in the owner or the voter who can fire the chauffeur as soon as the contract is up if she or he does not do a good job getting us where we tell him or her to go.

Tom: Well, what about the fact that so many legislators are men?

Warren: The sex of the legislator is less important than the sex of the voter. Ultimately, the voter owns the legislator. The legislator is the servant, the chauffeur. Men are often better protectors of women than women are. Both sexes vote for protectors of females. Anytime women want more women or even all women to be legislators, that's exactly what would happen. Women have 54% of the vote.

Tom: You said that the system protects women on every level more than it does men, even female criminals. Can you explain?

Warren: A man convicted of murder is 20 times more likely than a woman convicted of murder to receive the death penalty. Since 1954 approximately 70,000 women have murdered about 60,000 men. But not one woman has been executed for only killing a man.

Tom: So, the death penalty is a male-only penalty?

Warren: Not quite. Women receive the death penalty a small percentage of the time, but only men actually get executed. There's only been one exception to this, in 1976, at the point when the death penalty was reinstated. That was the execution of a woman who said she preferred to be executed

and who killed, of course . . .

Tom: A woman.

Warren: Exactly.

Tom: Well, is there sex discrimination in sentencing for other crimes?

Warren: Yes. Being male contributes to a longer sentence more than race does or any other factor, either legal or extra-legal. Ironically, sentencing guidelines were introduced to eliminate racial discrimination, not sex discrimination. Although there's about a 70% addition for being male for crimes like burglary or larceny, even when the history of those crimes are relatively equal, the initial sex discrimination occurs prior even to the trial.

Tom: Prior to the trial?

Warren: Yes. For example, if a couple is a partner in committing a crime, prosecutors will almost always give the woman the first option to have the charges against her dropped in exchange for helping them get evidence against the man. So, he ends up with a prison record, she doesn't. Then, of course if they both commit another crime, he can legitimately receive a longer sentence. He had a worse criminal history.

Tom: How is this rationalized? After all, you pointed out that the 14th Amendment guarantees that there not be discrimination according to sex and that both sexes receive equal protection under the law.

Warren: It's rationalized, for example, by saying that the woman is brainwashed by the man. However, even when a woman is in charge, men still do more time. For example, in the *McMartin Pre-school Case*, Peggy McMartin was the school's director and she hired her 19-year-old grandson. Although both were indicted on 52 counts of child molestation and both were eventually to be found not guilty, she, the director, spent less than two years in jail, while he spent nearly 5 years in jail.

Tom: Well, how is it that they spent all this time in jail even though they were found not guilty?

Warren: They were awaiting trial, and it became the longest trial in US history. My question is, Would we have tolerated the longest trial in US criminal history, while a granddaughter eventually found not guilty, nevertheless, spent half her 20s in prison for allegedly touching children?

Tom: I don't think so. Is this tendency to be protective of women versus men true even among boys versus girls when we're talking about children?

Warren: Yes. For example, when two teenagers Marjory Filipiak and Keith Wilkins both pled guilty to be coconspirators in a murder and neither was a hardened criminal, Keith Wilkins got the death sentence and Marjory Filipiak went free.

Tom: Why is that?

Warren: Almost always when a girl is a criminal we look for a way to blame the parents or the girl's background. But when Keith Wilkins, for example, was found to be a victim of child sexual abuse, it didn't deter the judge from giving him the death sentence.

Tom: As I recall, Keith Wilkins was just 16 years old. We hear a lot about the poor prison conditions

that women have to endure.

Warren: In fact while a lot can validly be said about the poverty of prison conditions, female prisoners relative to men are in prison situations which are far more rehabilitative. There's more money per female prisoner and any given man in prison is still 1,000% as likely as any given woman to die by a suicide, homicide or execution.

Tom: To say nothing of the rape in men's prisons.

Warren: Yes.

Tom: With all that you're saying, how is it that some of the commissions on gender bias have reported that it is women who are the victims of discrimination?

Warren: They do it by saying things like: "Women receive longer periods of probation," which is true because women go free on probation, while men get the prison sentences.

Tom: Aren't these government commissions?

Warren: They are government commissions only in the sense that they're paid for by the government, meaning us. But the commissions were formed as an outgrowth of the feminist National Organization for Women and mostly feminist National Association of Women judges. If a political party did this we'd call it a scandal. When feminists do this it's called official. Feminism has in a sense become gender politics' one-party system.

Tom: Amazing. You mentioned a lot of other discriminations in *The Myth of Male Power*, like the fact that we tell women that they have the right to children but tell men they have to fight for children. But maybe one of the most interesting ones was this double standard of community property.

Warren: Yes, do you remember Jim and Tammy Faye Baker?

Tom: Yes, how can I forget!

Warren: Now they both had equal rights to profits in the business, no matter what role Tammy played, but when the business got into trouble Jim got 40 years in prison and Tammy Faye got . . .

Tom: None.

Warren: Exactly. Tammy Faye didn't even have to appear in court. On the surface this appears justifiable if Tammy didn't know what was going on. But if equality means women share legal rights to the profits in a marriage, no matter what role she played and even if she didn't know what was going on or no matter how illegally those profits were accrued . . . And equality also means women share legal responsibility for any illegalities in creating those profits no matter what role she plays. If community property is couple profit regardless of role, it must become couple responsibility regardless of role.

Tom: Any exceptions to this rule?

Warren: Yes. If the man systematically falsifies information despite his wife's questioning. But we cannot make a full partner innocent because of ignorance. No one will suggest making only the mother financially responsible for the damage caused by a child "since the father was ignorant of what was going on." We would say that the father's lack of awareness was part of what created the

delinquency. An unaware father is considered negligent, not innocent. Allowing women to receive the upside of profits but to avoid the downside of prison encourages women to assign their husbands all the financial risks. It reinforces female as child and gives her the incentive to avoid sophistication and therefore leads to her financial dependency. And for that reason in the final analysis community property without community responsibility is really discrimination against women.

Tom: Discrimination against women?

Warren: By keeping her financially dependent.

Tom: Ah. Well, let's move now to the chapter I was mentioning before on the twelve female only defenses called "Women Who Kill Too Much and the Courts that Free Them."

Warren: Yes, and of course, neither women nor men are exempt from killing loved ones. I want to make that clear at the onset. The difference is what happens to them when they do. In all these twelve defenses I'll be talking about a woman who commits a premeditated murder and had the charges dropped or significantly reduced. So far, no man has ever successfully been able to use any of these defenses to successfully do the same, and there are no defenses. Therefore each of these defenses violate the 14th Amendment and the combination creates a female standard of self-defense, versus a male standard which I believe will wreak havoc in the legal system for decades and be affecting for a lifetime our children's fear of commitment, especially our sons' fear of commitment.

Tom: I'd like to get an overview of these twelve defenses. You call one of them the "Innocent Woman Defense." Tell me more about that.

Warren: An example of the "Innocent Woman Defense" comes with a woman named Blanche Taylor Moore. First, she killed her husband with arsenic, then she killed her boyfriend and her father. Then, she intended to kill her second husband before the police even became suspicious. Now this all happened in one very small community. It was the assumption of her innocence that allowed her to escape from serious questioning for a quarter of a century.

Tom: Assumption automatic because she was a woman.

Warren: The underlying problem with the assumption of innocence is the frequency with which the woman kills again. It's ironic that we live in an era in which the release of Willy Horton was enough to ruin a presidential candidate even as we "release female Willy Hortons by not questioning it."

Tom: Okay, tell me about what you call the "PMS Defense."

Warren: The "PMS Defense" freed Christine English after she confessed to killing her boyfriend by deliberately ramming him into a utility pole with a car.

Tom: Ouch.

Warren: This has led to other hormonal defenses such as near my hometown in San Diego where a woman named Cheryl Masip placed her 6-month-old son under her car, ran over him repeatedly, and then, uncertain he was dead did it again, then, claiming post-partum depression. Her sentence: outpatient help, no evidence protested. The "PMS Defense" and other hormonal defenses

really bother me because they assume superficial protection for women that leads to long-term discrimination against women.

Tom: Tell me about that.

Warren: For example, if a woman can murder while she is under the influence of PMS, she can clearly be a reckless driver when she's under the influence of PMS. And if she doesn't know when she's under the influence this becomes a reason not to let women drive. We're back to women as children.

Tom: What would be the male equivalent of a PMS defense?

Warren: Oh, my God. Probably a "TP Defense," like a testosterone poisoning hormonal defense. And you could imagine where they would go with that one. Of course, there is none and there better never be one but the same logic that says women can murder and claim PMS would say men can rape and claim testosterone poisoning.

Tom: Ah, of course.

Warren: I didn't think I could ever live in a society where either one would be justifiable.

Tom: Well, in some ways one of the most amazing defenses used is the next one called the "Learned Helplessness Defense" or the Battered Woman Syndrome.

Warren: Yes. Until 1982 almost anyone who called a premeditated murder self-defense would have been laughed out of court. But when in 1990 the governor of Ohio released from prison 25 women who had been convicted of killing or severely assaulting their husbands, Ohio became the 15th state to allow women who murder their husbands to possibly get away with it by claiming past abuse. Notice that I said "claiming" because they're husbands were dead and could not refute it.

Tom: What's the main issue you have with this "Battered Woman Defense" or "Learned Helplessness Defense"?

Warren: First, any defense must apply to both sexes whenever it is applicable. There are tens of thousands of men who also experience learned helplessness but who are without a learned helplessness defense.

Tom: And you mention in your book the astounding fact that the sexes batter each other about equally.

Warren: Yes, this is one of the most amazing secrets of the last to emerge since 1980. Every study that has ever examined spouse abuse by asking both sexes (not just women) how often they were abused has found that approximately equal amount of men are abused by their wives as vice versa because it doesn't hurt a man as much to be hit by a woman. A woman is more likely to resort to more severely physical violence like throwing boiling water over the man or hitting him with a frying pan. But I don't want to get side tracked here on the studies that prove equality of battering. Even if only 5% of the abuse was female to male and even if it was applicable only to men who escape their female caretakers who experience "Battered Man Syndrome," it would be unconstitutional not to have a "Learned Helplessness for Men" when we have one for women.

Tom: Feminists complain that women are more afraid than men to report their abusers to the authorities.

Warren: Actually, the opposite is true. Despite the 14 separate studies that I just referenced, there are two sex studies finding that women and men are equally as likely to batter. More than 90% of the reports are made by women, which is why we think men are the predominately battering sex. Women, then, are about 9 times likely as men to report their abusers to authorities. Part of male socialization is to “take it like a man” and “take it like a man” is the male version of learned helplessness. Women’s strength is their facade of weakness. Men’s weakness is their façade of strength.

Tom: It’s amazing how much of this we never think about, never see. Can we switch now from death to sex?

Warren: Gladly.

Tom: The first thing you deal with in the “Politics of Sex” chapter is why sexual harassment is such a big issue for women. Tell me about that.

Warren: A lot of women say that men don’t get it when it comes to sexual harassment, and actually they’re right. And the reason is this: when a woman is growing up, her early years she’s focused on and gets a lot of her attention because of her attractiveness or lack of attractiveness. And then she enters the workplace. She’s very attractive and she’s getting her attention because of a lot of attractiveness issues. She begins to think to herself “am I valued as a worker?” Now a man when he’s growing up gets his attention based on things like performance. When he gets into the workplace, he’s still being evaluated based on performance. So the workplace is a fairly easy extension of adolescence for a boy. It is not an easy extension of adolescence for a girl. The best way I can help a man understand this is imagine if you were always getting compliments on your mechanical ability.

Tom: Okay.

Warren: And now suddenly you’re being evaluated by a social worker to see if you’re a good parent, and the social worker is constantly complimenting you how the grease under your fingernails really turns her on because it reminds her of what a great mechanic you are. And you realize you’re going to lose custody over your child if she isn’t focusing on you as a good parent. That’s the equivalent of the woman’s fear that she’s going to lose the ability to get a promotion because the man’s always focused on her sexually when she wants to be evaluated based on her work competence.

Tom: Yet doesn’t the current approach to sexual harassment seem to so many men to be unfair?

Warren: Yes, men see something else happening at the workplace. Approximately two-thirds of women who enter the workplace when they’re single and who get married, marry a man whom they met at the workplace or through a workplace contact. Now most of the men that they ended up marrying are men who were above them at work—number one or number two—men who took the sexual initiative. Now this is also the definition of sexual harassment: a man above you at work who takes the initiative. It can be one of two things: a future potential candidate for marriage or a future potential candidate for a lawsuit. It can be a future husband and a future harasser. And so men feel like when the situation works for the woman, they call it courtship. When it doesn’t work they call it harassment. “You know, what is this?” But when no one is saying the woman will take responsibility and she’ll ask me out, I’m still expected socially to take the sexual initiative and if I don’t I’ll be watching all the guys around me who do walk that thin line between a courtship possibility and a harassment lawsuit. So he’s sort of saying to himself, “When it works it’s called mar-

riage with the woman's picture in the paper, and when it doesn't work it's called a lawsuit and my picture's in the paper."

Tom: Could men be overstating this, though? Isn't it only really harassment when he persists?

Warren: Legally, actually not, and here's the reason. I could ask out a woman who is working for me and it's absolutely true that just one asking of her out can make her feel very awkward and uncomfortable by having to say no to me. In the future because I've made a work experience to a social experience and she's rejecting me, she feels like she's in a hostile working environment, and she's fearing that I will be negative to her. And so it's legitimate that the woman can feel like she's in a hostile working environment after I have socially initiated. But the solution to that is not what she's legally allowed to do, which is to make it into a lawsuit, because right now the lawsuit can be upheld merely when the woman feels like the environment is hostile and it's reasonable that she feels that way.

Tom: In practical terms, though, aren't most lawsuits against men who simply wouldn't take no for an answer?

Warren: I think practically speaking, that's probably true. Yet when we hear about the experiences of the exceptions it makes almost every man just not know where the boundaries are with a given woman. And it's also true that many women acknowledge marrying men to whom at first they had said no, and who had in fact persisted. By today's standards these women are married to people who are legitimate sexual harassers or a [quote] "sexual harasser." But many of these women say that they are glad these men persisted. They're married to these men.

Tom: So, men are going to feel confused.

Warren: Other men, not you and I. I think what makes a lot of men confused is that they see women taking indirect initiatives and they're quite sure they are indirect initiatives but they know that, so they respond to them that they're the ones that could be held vulnerable, and they get this idea reinforced when they see women reading things like *Cosmopolitan* magazine and the article is telling things to women like this and I'm actually quoting from *Cosmopolitan*, "As you pass his desk, drop a pile of papers or a purse. Then, stoop down to gather them up. He'll pick it up. Lean close to him; put your hand on his shoulder to steady your balance." Another example is "If you're interested in him, just pick off a little bit of lint from his jacket, make personal contact, or brush up against him in the elevator, or wear a very tight, short skirt and bend over to pick up something or to look in the file drawer." And the problem with that is if the man responds to a woman who has just picked off some lint off of his jacket, and they're in court and the judge says, "Well, why did you start an issue with her?" and he says, "Well, your honor, she initiated it. She picked lint off of my jacket"—he's not on very strong ground.

Tom: Well, in other words, as this example of things women get from magazines like *Cosmopolitan*, women are being taught to take indirect initiatives to start relationships.

Warren: Yes, and indirect initiatives have historically worked and they still do. But, the problem is that sometimes the wrong man approaches the woman who's leaned over the file drawer in a tight, short skirt and when he approaches her discomfort may make it feel like a hostile environment to her. Legitimately so, and he becomes vulnerable to a lawsuit.

Tom: Because in her mind he was the wrong man not the one that she wanted. Well, is there some-

thing deeper going on here?

Warren: Yes, but first I want to make it clear that a lot of sexual harassment lawsuits are legitimate, and at the same time it's also true that something deeper is going on here. What we may be having with sexual harassment lawsuits are further updated versions of the female selection process of making it hard for men to go through hoops to see which men are willing to take risks. Since with birth control we were able to minimize the amount of risks that need to be taken by men toward women, these sexual harassment lawsuits and the date rape legislation are a way of seeing whether men can jump through new hoops without getting caught and without stumbling.

Tom: This time risking their careers.

Warren: This time risking their careers. Correct. Historically speaking, one of the reasons that women said "No" was that they found out which men were interested enough to keep pursuing them and which men got past their nose with finesse. That was a woman's way of testing which were the men who could overcome life's barriers. If he could overcome life's barriers, he's going to be a good breadwinner. If he was a salesperson and the first time he got no for an answer and said, "Okay, you don't want the product? Goodbye," she knew she didn't have a breadwinner on her hands.

Tom: So, what's your underlying objection to sexual harassment legislation in its present form?

Warren: I believe that we need to be re-socializing both sexes simultaneously, not just blaming men. We need to be encouraging women to take their own initiatives and risk rejection. And the same time we need to start saying to men, When a woman says "No," stop. We need to have women take responsibility for the consequences of her "No." Don't keep telling her in essence when you say "No," I'll keep trying harder. We need to encourage both sexes to take different types of sexual responsibility than we've been trained to take it in the past.

Tom: Do you think there are other areas of misunderstanding around this whole issue?

Warren: Maybe a hundred or so! I think two of the ones that are really important are dirty jokes and the whole hazing issue. We're often told that dirty jokes are the male method of intimidating women. In fact, men tell dirty jokes to peers to bond to peers not to intimidate peers.

Tom: Tell me about that.

Warren: When a boss tells a dirty joke, it's often his unconscious way of getting staff to not take him so seriously, and therefore, not to be intimidated.

Tom: Ah. Well, what about hazing?

Warren: Hazing has a fascinating background. Men haze each other as an unconscious way of teaching other men to survive attacks to their vulnerable areas. That's what you see when adolescent boys put each other down or haze each other. That's what they're training themselves to do: to handle attacks without being defeated by those attacks. So, a short guy, for example, would be a victim of jokes like: "Which is higher: your IQ or your size." Historically, men knew that if a man was preoccupied with his vulnerability he was not able to be a protector because he'd be preoccupied with himself. So, all novices and all tough high status organizations were hazed before they could be accepted as part of a team. Men always tested men before they trusted men. If a woman isn't being hazed, she's not being tested, and therefore, she's not being trusted.

Tom: Now wait a minute now. Are you telling me that you think hazing is good?

Warren: No. It used to be helpful for men to disconnect from their feelings in order to be able to handle their job. But, if we want men to be free to also have jobs that are fulfilling, we have to be okay with men not spending time disconnecting from their feelings and denying what they want to be. I think we must realize, though, that male hazing was not an outcome of men being powerful, but it's an outcome of men making themselves part of the machine, part of a team, like in the military and not taking things personally was a part of that. I think women are more inclined to protest criticism and hazing because fewer women have ever been trained to think of themselves as a replaceable part, especially in the workplace. So, historically the defenses that men created to be able to handle hazing was their armor, but it was their armor that allowed other people not to have to wear armor.

Tom: Another myth of power.

Warren: Very much so.

Tom: Tell me, though, what is the single most important solution a woman can employ who believes she is being harassed?

Warren: Tell the man directly, privately and compassionately, how it makes you feel—how it makes you feel less productive and less valued. Almost every woman I know who has approached a man and told him in this way has found the man apologizing.

Tom: Okay, we've got now way through this whole minefield of sexual harassment. Let's try the politics of rape. The first thing you challenged in the chapter on rape was the belief that rape was the outgrowth of male power.

Warren: Correct. The reason any given Black man is three times as likely to be reported a rapist as a White man is not because Blacks have more power than Whites. You remember the Flint, Michigan, example we talked about before? I think that's a really clear example that rape does not derive from power. It derives from powerlessness.

Tom: Okay.

Warren: But basically we are a society that addicts men to beautiful women . . .

Tom: We addict them?

Warren: We bombard them with thousands of images of beautiful women. If we did this with cocaine, we'd all consider this an addiction. And suddenly after we addict the boys to beautiful women, we deprive them of what they're addicted to. And it's that one two punch that leaves men feeling powerless, leaves men feeling addicted and then deprived.

Tom: And then we're amazed when the men who are most deprived and have the least to lose seem to strike out to get more of what they're deprived of.

Warren: Exactly.

Tom: But haven't we been told over and over again that rape has nothing to do with sexual attraction?

Warren: We've been told that, and it's not accurate. When a woman is older she is much less likely

to be raped than when she's younger. If I say much less likely, I mean 8,400% less likely. She's 8,400% more likely to be raped when she's younger than when she's much older.

Tom: In other words, when a woman is very young and at the height of her sexual attractiveness, she's far more at risk of rape, so there must be something as far as attractiveness is concerned going on, and why she is more at risk.

Warren: That's exactly right

Tom: Tell me about that and the assertion that we've heard so much that rape is really just an act of violence.

Warren: It is an act of violence but it's not just an act of violence. Violence is the reason and result of a whole series of things that we do to men and women in society around the issue of sexuality. It's the result of a society that addicts men to beauty and beautiful women and addicts men to sex with beautiful women and then it deprives men of the sex with the beautiful women that they've just addicted them to, which of course, creates anger. It tells men that sex is dirty and then it says to men, you guys have initiated the dirt. And then it wonders why we don't trust men who initiated something that is dirty. So, it's made men insecure by having to initiate something at the age of thirteen or fourteen. They have to initiate sex before they even know what sex is and before they even understand what a woman is. Then, during the days of their greatest amount of fragility of identity they have to be put their identity on the line and risk rejection. They are the only sex that has to do that by expectation not by option. So, we tell men, "We've addicted you to the sex with the beautiful women, we're going to deprive you of what you're addicted to. We're not going to trust you, initiate the dirt, and then wonder why they get angry, feel rejected, feel fragile, feel insecure, feel powerless, and eventually strike out."

Tom: So, it sounds like what you're saying is rape is a result of anger and it is an act of violence, but it also has been very much factored into it whether or not a man is feeling sexually attracted to a woman.

Warren: Yes, it's part of the whole imitation of expectations and addictions that we do to men combined with the deprivations, and it's all of that together that we have to address if we're going to stop rape.

Tom: Well, is part of what you're suggesting that we need to do in order to reduce rape is to reduce a constant ideation that men get with images of female beauty and sexuality?

Warren: Yes, if I was at a PTA meeting and I said, "Listen it's harmless, I'm sure. We're going to introduce to your children every day images of cigarettes and cocaine. No problem, right?" I mean the parents would say, "Wait a minute. This is going to addict our children to cigarettes and cocaine, right? And we don't want children to grow up this way." But we do this every day with beautiful women's sexuality and then we wonder why our boys are addicted to it. We don't even think about the fact that it might be related to what we're doing.

Tom: I remember in the book that you point out that all of the images that boys see from a very young age in magazines and television commercials are always of females, are always the very young, attractive females. Boys are constantly bombarded with images that say, "See you, male, that is the kind of woman that we want you to be addicted to, that you're supposed to be going after." But what I wonder when I know that you have a lot of empathy for the women's position on

these issues, isn't date rape a valid issue?

Warren: Of course. Going out with a woman doesn't mean you can have and should be able to have sex with her. It should be something that is a matter of communication between the two sexes. I also feel that on college campuses in particular we've taken that "woman as victim" situation to the extreme where we're making women into children. For example, college campuses, especially the most responsible and brightest ones are increasingly adopting policies that allow women to drink in the evening, say yes to sex, and then declare the following morning that she was raped based on the rationale that because she drank, she was under the influence and therefore, she was incapable of consenting. I have to tell you, I think that is the most blatant form of woman as child legislation that I have ever encountered.

Tom: Woman as child?

Warren: Yes, it basically denies that the woman made a choice to drink. When people make a choice to drink and drive, we don't say the accident wasn't their fault because they were put under the influence. The shocking thing is that this is happening at universities training the best and brightest women, supposedly being trained to take the most responsibility, for example, in the world of business. We should be trained to take the most responsibility sexually and not the least. Being under the influence is no excuse to avoid responsibility, the responsibility to make the choice to be under the influence and the responsibility for what comes afterwards. Men feel under the influence the moment they see a beautiful woman. Perfumes even promise to put men under the influence. Allowing women to not take responsibility because she is under the influence opens the gateway for allowing men to not take responsibility to have sex with a beautiful woman because he's under the influence.

Tom: Let's take a look at another part of all this: the statistics that show huge increases in the rate of rape. What's going on here?

Warren: The rape rate has actually been decreasing. It decreased until we changed the definition of rape to include date rape and even unwanted sexual activity. So, we used to define rape as stranger rape. Now it's defined by many feminists even as unwanted sexual activity. But the problem with that is even college surveys of college students who are men find that 94% of men feel that they have had unwanted sexual activity and even by the age of college years. So, what we've done is claimed that there's an increase in rape when in fact what we've done is changed and broadened the definition. So, if we had asked that same question back in 1960 or 1950 we probably would have gotten even higher statistics along those lines.

Tom: It sounds like one of the things that you're saying is that when we make this definition so broad we risk trivializing the whole issue.

Warren: Right. Well, soon we will have the meaning of the word rape be something that doesn't have the same impact on someone's mind. We will become very desensitized to it because of the overuse of it.

Tom: One of the really shocking sections of your book concerned false allegations of rape. Tell me, if you would, the findings from the US Air Force Study.

Warren: Yes, first of all, false allegations of rape are basically the male experience of rape because it just ruins his life to be accused of rape falsely. And I must say that probably the most shocking

finding of my book concerned the Office of Special Investigations of the US Air Force investigation of 566 cases of alleged rape that discovered that 27% of the women eventually admitted that they had lied.

Tom: 27%.

Warren: Yes, they usually admitted it just before or just after they took a lie detector test. The Air Force, then, took these 27% of women who admitted they had lied and developed 25 criteria that were common to these women. And then they went back and they reviewed all the remaining cases with these 25 criteria in mind. They had three independent reviewers from inside and outside the Air Force review all these cases, and if all three reviewers agreed that the rape allegation appeared to be false based on these 25 criteria they ranked those rapes as likely to be false as well.

Tom: Okay.

Warren: And when they did that they got 60% of rape allegations as likely to be false.

Tom: That's amazing.

Warren: It's amazing and it's also sad for both sexes because these women who are supposed to be the ultimate example of women in this country who are taking responsibility by saying that they are willing to put their lives on the line for their country.

Tom: Can you share the main motivations given by that 27% of women who eventually acknowledged that they had made false allegations? What did they say about why they did that?

Warren: There were about eight motivations listed and the main ones were spite and revenge that the women acknowledged were to compensate for feelings of guilt of shame. One woman I read about in the Air Force Study had gone to a party and she had sex in the backyard that evening after she met the man, but somebody saw her. She felt humiliated and she felt her reputation was going to be ruined so she said, "Well, he raped me." I became aware of this whole issue first when I met a man when I was hiking up where I have a cabin in the mountains in Iowa, and he had been Sailor of the Year in 1980. As we started talking and I told him what I was doing, he told me he had his career ruined by a false allegation that was motivated by a woman who had fled home to avoid a drug test in the Air Force, and when she was confronted by her parents she didn't know what to say, so she told her parents that she had been raped and that's why she left the barrack sites. Her parents, of course, were furious. They complained to the Air Force, and the woman was believed so quickly and unquestioningly that by the time the truth came out all the top brass were backed into a corner and none of them wanted to admit that they were wrong. So, no truth could catch the lie.

Tom: Next topic: rape shield laws, those laws that shield a woman's sexual past from being used against her in court without shielding a man's sexual past from being used against him in court. What's your reaction to all that?

Warren: Rape shield laws are really an amazing and a flagrant violation of our constitutional right to due process because they shield one party more than the other in a trial and therefore deny one party a fair trial, and they're also, therefore, a violation of 14th Amendment's Equal Protection of the Laws Clause.

Tom: I wonder if we should have you on the Supreme Court. What about laws that protect the iden-

tity of the women accusing the man of rape?

Warren: I think we have to ask ourselves in that type of situation: “Why are we protecting only her identity if the very purpose of a trial is to determine who is victimized, not to assume who is victimized?” It undermines the very purpose of the trial and that’s why it violates due process protection as well. The result is that somebody can be acquitted of an accusation of date rape and yet still be held in our minds as guilty, with his reputation ruined to the degree that almost no parent today would feel very comfortable with his daughter going out with him. And at the same time the person who accused him, even if it was a false allegation, had the option of keeping her identity a secret forever. She takes no risk. He, even if he is a victim of a false accusation, is ruined. Once we understand that it’s possible for a woman to make a false accusation and that a false accusation is to a man the equivalent of being raped, meaning that it can ruin his career and even make his family suspicious of him, and leads in many cases to suicide, then to protect one party and expose the other is not only unconstitutional, it’s also inhumane. I think that we would only ever think about doing that to a man.

Tom: Well, why would such flagrant violations be allowed by people who are sophisticated in the law?

Warren: Because even sophisticated people believe so strongly in female innocence that we were only able to conceive that a woman accusing a man of rape could have nothing but pure motivations, and therefore, once you start with that belief, any additional stress we put on somebody with pure motivations would be adding to the victimhood. So, our instincts to protect an innocent woman are so much stronger than our instincts to give a fair trial, and they are stronger than our instincts to allow men equal protection of the law, which is why so few people question male-only draft registration or the twelve female-only defenses.

Tom: What do you see as the solution to rape?

Warren: I think the most important single change we can make is re-socializing women to initiate sexually, to take responsibility for saying what they do want, not just what they don’t want. Simultaneously, I think we need to re-socialize men to pay attention to women’s “No’s” and make a woman who doesn’t mean her “No” live with the consequences of not being able to enjoy sexual contact.

Tom: We’re getting really close to having to sum all this up, Warren. What do you think are some of the most important things that you’d like people to get out of your book *The Myth of Male Power*?

Warren: That’s so hard to ask someone who’s worked on this thing for ten years. I think, first, understanding the wound that unifies all men is really the wound of our disposability, the belief that we will be more lovable if we risk our lives as soldiers and the death profession just to make more money, rather than to respect ourselves enough to know we can become lovable merely by loving.

Tom: You mention also that Stage Two technology has reversed what humans need to do to survive.

Warren: Yes, basically Stage Two society has created the opportunity for the species to survive without killing, and that’s wonderful. But, it’s also created the technology to end our species if we do kill. And so far what we’ve done in responding is by changing only what women do to survive. For example, we’ve used birth control to create female biology, not only as female destiny but also as male destiny. She can choose to abort or to sue for support.

Tom: And she's the one that has the choice.

Warren: Exactly. Choosing to abort is female biology as female destiny; choosing to sue for support is female biology as male destiny.

Tom: What do you think will be the single biggest dilemma facing the men's movement?

Warren: Unfortunately, the fact that there are very few political movements that are filled with healthy people and yet, at the same time, there are few healthy changes that have occurred without political movements.

Tom: I know we've talked about this already, but tell me again, why do you think we are so resistant to understanding when men are victimized?

Warren: I believe it's because men's victimizers' status camouflages men's victim status, and because we, as men, have not spoken up and we can't expect the world to hear what men have not said. We haven't spoken up in part because training to be a man is training to cut ourselves off from the feelings that we don't get in touch with and what we want to speak about.

Tom: Cutting ourselves off from feelings leaves us with this inability to express how we feel.

Warren: Yes, and with a women's movement without a men's movement, would be like without having a movement of management without labor, and labor without management. Anytime you have one movement without some natural resistance to it, you lead to power which corrupts and absolute power that corrupts absolutely.

Tom: If a significant men's movement does surface, what do you think will be its main issues?

Warren: I think first confronting what I call the "Ten Glass Cellars of Male Disposability," the suicide we talked about, the men in prison, the homelessness (85% being men), the men in the death professions (94% of the people who die in jobs being men), men's earlier death from all 15 major diseases and accidents, violence against men in the form of circumcision, corporal punishment and capital punishment, to say nothing of the draft. I think a second big issue will be fathers confronting their experiences of taxation without representation, that is, divorced fathers experiencing themselves being taxed for their children without equal representation of their children's lives. But most of all, I hope I'll live to see the day when we get beyond a women's movement or a men's movement and we have a genuine gender transition movement. I know that that's going to require us to care as much about saving males as we care we care about saving whales, and as much about helping men become Stage Two men as we care about women becoming Stage Two women. I'd love to see that day before I die.

About the Author



Dr. Warren Farrell has been chosen by the *Financial Times* as one of the world's top 100 thought leaders, and by the Center for World Spirituality (in 2011) as one of the world's spiritual leaders. His books are published in over 50 countries, and in 15 languages. They include two award-winning international best-sellers, *Why Men Are The Way They Are* plus *The Myth of Male Power*. He can be reached at warren@warrenfarrell.com

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Male Educators' Perspectives on Best Practices for Enhancing the Teaching and Learning of Boys in Single-Sex Classrooms

Douglas Gosse



Overall, Canadian boys have greater literacy problems than girls. Boys also voice more disengagement with school, account for most suspensions, drop out of school, and commit suicide at significantly greater rates. Minority boys are particularly at risk. The results of this study arise from four weeks of

data collection in an inner city school, grades 7-8, in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Most of the students are of African, Caribbean, and South Asian immigrant backgrounds, where English is not the primary language at home, and whose families live below the poverty line. Methods include semi-structured interviews, observations, document analysis, and an in-depth literature review on boys and learning within single-sex and co-educational settings, and thematic analysis. I sought the perspectives of the principal, and two teachers of grades 7 and 8, all boys' classes, to determine effective teaching and learning approaches and strategies within these demographics. Results indicate that these minority boys display: enhanced engagement, participation, and sense of belonging; fewer office referrals and better attendance; a challenging of hegemonic masculine traits, such as homophobia and professed boredom with school subjects often dismissed as 'gay', 'sissy', or 'girly', including language arts and, especially, music; greater opportunities for positive peer and male adult role modeling. These benefits are contingent on a shared vision between the principal and key homeroom teachers, joint development of a positive school and classroom ethos, high expectations, and overt commitment to differentiation.

Keywords: single-sex schooling, minority boys, differentiation, teacher expectations, ethos



Introduction

Overall, Canadian boys have greater literacy problems than girls (Pan Canadian Assessment Program, 2009; The Education Quality and Accountability Office, 2011). Boys also account for most suspensions (Zheng, December 2009), voice more disengagement with school (Statistics Canada, 2008a), and drop out of school in far greater numbers (Bowlby, 2007). While young men and women are equally likely to attend vocational college, young Canadian men are substantially less likely to attend university, and to graduate once admitted (Card, Payne, & Sechel, 2011; Frenette & Zeman, 2007). Furthermore, Canadian male youth are more often victims of assault, and commit suicide in significantly higher numbers than their female peers (Statistics Canada, 2008b, 2010).

Toronto, Ontario, is the biggest city in Canada with over 2.6 million residents, and about 6 million in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Approximately half the population of Toronto was born outside of Canada, making it one of the world's most cosmopolitan cities. With approximately 600 schools, 15 000 teachers, and 250 000 students, the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) is the 4th largest school board in North America. In 2009, the TDSB established a Boys' Education Steering Committee (BES) to explore social and educational trends regarding boys. In 2012, the Boys' Education Steering Committee (BES) became the Gender Education Committee (BEC), and addresses the socio-emotional and academic needs of diverse girls and boys.

The intent of this report is to complement the TDSB director's 'Vision of Hope' —Dr. Christopher Spence (2010) calls for narrowing the gender gap, increasing boys' achievement, and the promotion of safe and caring schools. Furthermore, the public, and educators, are looking for ways to better educate boys, and prepare them for the future. Therefore, these research findings may be useful to educators, administrators, parents-guardians, and pupils, who are exploring single-sex options for boys.

Methodology

Data Collection

During April-May, 2011, I spent approximately four weeks in an inner city school within the TDSB. For anonymity, I use pseudonyms for the name of the school, its principal, and the teachers who participated. I conducted interviews with the principal and several teachers. I observed them for several days each in their classroom, on duty, before and after school, and during intra- and extra-curricular activities, from sports and music to a Young Men's Club. Additionally, I attended a "Stand Up: Young Men's Conference" for two years consecutively, during May 2011 and again in May 2012. I also returned to the school in mid-May 2012, and met with all participants herein described. I showed them this account, and asked questions for clarity and precision.

School Description

The Edward Blake Academy in downtown, inner city Toronto, Ontario, Canada, has grades K-8, with a school focus on student responsibility and academic success. The building is newer, but the demolished school of the same name and site, has a long history. The majority of students are from lower-income and immigrant families; about half of families earn less than \$18,000 annually. Many are of African, Caribbean (often referred to as 'the Islands' in Toronto), South Asian (e.g., Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh) background, and Asian background, with a smaller Caucasian populace, but a myriad of ethnicities exist. There is a significant Muslim population. There are approximately 200 pupils in grades 7-8, spread amongst 6 classrooms, 3 classrooms per grade level, with one classroom per grade allotted for single-sex boys' classes, one for all girls, and one co-educational.

Participant Description

For this report, I focus on the principal, and two male teachers of grades 7 and 8 in the boys' classes. The principal, Mr. Morgan Grey, is a fit, energetic, middle-aged man of Caribbean ancestry, who taught for several years, before assuming a principalship. His mother tongue is English. He was raised in Ontario by immigrant parents who did not hold a university education themselves, but who encouraged their son in this regard. Mr. Grey finished an undergraduate degree in the humanities. He then worked for several years at a detention centre for young offenders, mostly boys. He decided to enrol in a teacher preparation program, and later became a specialist in both special education and physical education. He is currently earning a master's degree in education, and keeps abreast of academic literature on diversity and educational leadership. He is married to a woman, and they have two adolescent children.

The grade 7 teacher, Mr. Arturo Morales, is also a fit middle-aged man, who immigrated to Canada as a young teenager, from South America. He speaks fluent Spanish and English, too, the later with a slight accent. Subsequent to coming to Canada, he completed high school in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and then earned an undergraduate music degree. Before completing his teacher

preparation program in Toronto approximately 15 years ago, he was a musician for years. He has been teaching ever since, mostly in inner city schools, and has been in a single-sex boys' classroom at the Edward Blake Academy for the past two years. He is married to a woman who works in the communications field. They have two school-age children.

The grade 8 teacher, Mr. Matteo Rossi, is an athletic middle-aged man whose mother and paternal grandparents were born in Europe. He has a sister who was a teacher, but is now a school principal overseas. His mother tongue is English, but he speaks Italian at the intermediate level. He is married to a woman teacher, and they have one young child. Mr. Rossi went to an all boys' Roman Catholic school, and completed an undergraduate double major in biology and cultural anthropology. Afterwards, he worked at an after school program, where he engaged the pupils in both physical education and the arts. Upon completion of his teacher preparation program, he supply taught, and took long-term occasional positions. He completed extra courses in Special Education, and then taught children with learning disabilities. Subsequently, he taught elementary school for several years. For six years, he has been employed at the Edward Blake Academy, first teaching primary, and for the past two years, like his colleague, Mr. Morales, single-sex classes for boys.

Interpretation of Data

My observation notes and the interviews I conducted with the principal and the two grade 7-8 teachers amount to several hundred pages. I use thematic coding to make sense of the data. I am influenced by an extensive literature review I conducted not only of boys and schooling in the TDSB, but also single-sex and co-educational schooling for boys provincially, nationally, and internationally. In particular, I am influenced by international research and endeavours to improve boys' learning and social trajectories from Australia, England, and the United States; the "Recommended International Resources" sections at the end may be consulted for these, along with "Recommended Canadian Resources" and "Other References".

The Ethos or Climate of Single-Sex Education for Boys

The Principal's Vision

A. Background

The ethos or climate of school are particularly important in improving boys' engagement and achievement, as demonstrated in Great Britain (Office for Standards in Education, July 2003). The ethos or climate includes the values, character and culture particular to a given school. Students can be proactive and engaged, or passive and alienated, and this is largely a result of the environment in which they develop and function (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In school, the principal has a key role in creating an environment conducive to student growth and development, taking into account the students' home lives, ethnic communities, and neighbourhoods.

At the Edward Blake Academy, the overriding vision is to enhance the engagement and achievement of all pupils. Within this, the school community is trying to address the needs of struggling boys. Indeed, the principal promotes a climate, and a vision, of shared commitment and en-

thusiasm, not only amongst teachers, but also amidst the boys themselves, in single-sex classrooms:

Mr. Grey [the principal] has a philosophy that filters through the whole school...which is great, because you know we're a big part of their [pupils'] lives.... it's not just the curriculum...it's about the connections we make with them, the students...and find ways to engage them. – Mr. Morales

I think he's [Principal Grey] a visionary and he's really promoting the differentiated instruction at different levels, not just with the single-sex classes, but at different levels throughout the school. –Mr. Rossi

The principal, then, along with teachers, are agents of belonging, and this is no easy task.

The TDSB has been proactive in addressing problems facing diverse male pupils, producing reports, such as, *Equally prepared for life? How male and female students perform in Toronto District School Board (TDSB) Schools* (Organizational Development/Research and Information Services (TDSB), 2009), and *How male and female students perform in the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) Schools* (Sinay, 2009). Mead (2006) contends that poor Black and Hispanic boys in the United States are greatest at risk in reading. In the TDSB, some students from the English-speaking Caribbean, Central and South America/Mexico, and Eastern Africa, as well as some speaking Portuguese, Spanish, and Somali, appear to be disproportionately at risk for underachievement in school (Brown, Fall 2006), although it should be noted these factors are not causative.

Being himself cognizant of research on boys' lower achievement, and disengagement, in the TDSB and beyond, Mr. Rossi says: "[Mr. Grey]...being quite the visionary, thought that we could try this here...and he approached me and I was all for it...I believe we should try some different things."

Mr. Grey, as principal and curriculum leader, points out the need for further desegregation of the data: "[A]nd so you know, there is much data that indicates [some] boys of colour are not doing very well socially and emotionally...but that they are also not doing very well academically."

In sum, undertaking the initiative of single-sex education within a school requires: (i) the acknowledgement and awareness of current data, and (ii) a willingness to further desegregate the data, to include factors such as gender, race, class, ethnicity, disability, geographical location, and language and culture. To lead to fruition in programming, the principal must show vision and commitment, and be able to engage teachers who share this willingness to work towards common goals—in the case of the Edward Blake Academy, improving the engagement and achievement of boys at risk, many of whom are visible minorities, and from lower socio-economic and immigrant backgrounds, where English is not the primary language at home.

B. Community Engagement

In order to select pupils for the single-gender classes, the principal involved both teachers and parents-guardians from the onset:

First year selection was basically just teachers' input. Who do you think would benefit from an all boys', and all girls' class? But it was a mixture...we wanted to have a balance of strong and weak kids, of kids in between. Then we told the parents, "Your kid's been selected. Do you agree or disagree?" The majority all agreed and, as a matter of fact, we have tons that

wanted to get into the all girls' class...and then the second year ... we still selected based on our meetings at the end of the year, and if parents had special requests that they wanted, then we tried to honour them. – Principal Grey

For a vision that will alter school culture to be implemented, decisions cannot be unilateral. Therefore, the principal's involvement of the teaching staff and parents-guardians from the onset was essential for long-term sustainability.

Both prejudice (discriminatory beliefs) and discrimination (the acts of carrying out prejudices) are core to the problematic social engineering of our school system. French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu's notions of linguistic and cultural capital show how social inequalities are perpetuated. Linguistic capital (how pupils' speak, their vocabulary, verbal tones and speech patterns) and cultural capital (pupils' tastes in clothing, music, pop culture, plus their modes of social networking, reading practices, and study habits, for instance) are primarily referenced with regard to middle-class Canadian society. Linking cultural capital to poverty and poor achievement, Cahis (2005) says:

More often than not, the poor achievers come from families where one or two parents have to work several jobs simply to put food on the table. Reading and studying with a child is simply not an option for these parents, and many kids are forced to live without present parental role models or guardians. In Toronto, like all big western cities, poverty and the lack of decent social housing force immigrant families to live in ghetto-like conditions where hundreds of other poor families struggle to survive.

The linguistic and cultural capital of sub-groups who deviate from middle-class norms is often invalidated, thereby contributing to disenfranchisement in school, and beyond, for those pupils and their families. For instance, certain pupils may speak English but with semantics and a phonology that differ from standardized North American English. Consequently, due to social prejudice and discrimination, their particular form of English may be treated as inferior. Pupils' linguistic and cultural capital may not correspond to subject specific expectations, and modes of communicating. In social studies class, for example, exposure to travel may enhance the learning of middle-class and above pupils, whereas pupils from lower socio-economic conditions generally do not have the same travel opportunities, as at the Edward Blake Academy. Collectively, linguistic and cultural capital form social capital, prerequisites for success in higher education, but poverty inhibits the acquisition of this social capital. Additionally, stereotypes, and negative self-fulfilling expectations, may hinder pupils from realizing their full potential. Therefore, the next section deals with the core school ethos, or climate, of high expectations.

High Expectations

Of all the animals, the boy is the most unmanageable.— Plato, *Laws* 808.

Every genuine boy is a rebel and an anarchist. If he were allowed to develop according to his own instincts, his own inclinations, society would undergo such a radical transformation as to make the adult revolutionary cower and cringe.—Henry Miller, *Books in My Life* [Vol. 1], 1969, p. 82.

It is ingrained in Western culture that boys are energetic and may be disruptive. Paesano (2010a), herself an experienced and accomplished teacher of all boys' classes, advises that teaching boys requires: learning to appreciate and maximize upon the abundant energy; having an endless supply of patience, and; altering ideas of acceptable noise levels.

In Ontario, a larger percentage of female students (53%) indicate that a parent, guardian or other adult at home "very often" encourages them to try their best at school, compared to 47% of boys; 85% of females and 79% of males said a parent or guardian expected them to continue their education after high school (The Education Quality and Accountability Office, 2011, p. 12). Low-income and minority students may encounter less opportunity to learn, inadequate instruction and support, and lower expectations from their schools and teachers (Dragnea & Erling, January 2008). The adage that 'boys will be boys' can result in problematic lower educational and social expectations contributing to negative self-fulfilling prophecies, particularly for poor and minority boys—our expectations can, and do, become realities (Gosse, 2005b, 2012):

Starting in primary school, when I yearn for more active learning, play, and levity, I am punished. Especially if I am not White. And/Or from a low social class. And English isn't my native tongue.

I have a much greater chance of being segregated in a remedial reading class, or behaviour difficulties class. Especially if I am not White. And/Or from a low social class.

If I act 'effeminate' or display so-called feminine traits such as caring, compassion, and gentleness, I risk being punished. These are human traits.

I am expected to be competitive with members of my sex and only to confide in a female mate. Therefore, I am permitted few if any intimate friends of either sex.

When I report assault or abuse, whether sexual, physical, or verbal, there are few if any social services available to me, other than to treat me as a potential criminal. Especially if I am not White. And/Or from a low social class. And English isn't my native tongue.

I have less chance of attending university than many women – at least many of the White, middle-class ones. Especially if I am not White. And/Or from a low social class.

As a teacher, daycare worker, father, or youth club volunteer, I am vulnerable to suspicions of being a pedophile.

Even though I am more likely to be the chief breadwinner in my family, I am often seen as an exploiter and privileged.

My health is not good. I am more likely to die of prostate cancer than a woman of breast cancer, and have higher incidences of lung cancer, heart disease, and suicide.

I am more likely to be an alcoholic, drug addict, be in a car accident, commit suicide, end up on the streets, and injured or killed in the workplace.

When I marry, I have only one respectable choice—work full-time. If I stray from full-time work, I am viewed as a parasite.

I can never truly attain manhood. It is impossible. This undying stress is with me every moment of every day.

I created the above list to show constraints facing many males in education and broader society, via study of an educational novel, *Jackytar* (Gosse, 2005a). With its reader companion, *Breaking Silences & Exploring Masculinities: A Critical Supplement to the Novel Jackytar* (Gosse, 2008), teenage boys, and their teachers and families, can explore: father son relationships; the different journeys from boyhood to manhood; how boys and young men negotiate masculinity, gender, and identity in their communities; how males may come to embrace ‘integrity’ as a core belief system, and means of interaction; how homophobia and misogyny have historically been part of being ‘masculine’ and; how gender, race, and social class expectations can inhibit growth and navigation in today’s society, or conversely, be edifying and nurturing.

Boys’ identities are complex and intertwined. Booth, Elliott-Johns, & Bruce (2008) contend that

the problems of gender difference are connected to a range of factors situated in the society in which the boys live, the complex interactions of the variables in their lives, the nature of the individual, the culture of the peer group, the relationship of home and schooling, the philosophy of the school, the availability of resources, the strategies the teacher incorporates in the classroom program, and the changing nature of literacy (p. 12).

With widespread fears and contempt for males evident in our social institutions from education to law, and in popular culture (see Gosse, 2011a; Kay, 2011; Nathanson & Young, 2001, 2006), like Connell (1996), and many others, I assert that there are multiple types of masculinities, and ways of being male, beyond the hegemonic, stereotypical, and derivative. I further propose that many of these types and ways of being male may be subordinate and subjugated, including in relation to girls and women, as well as boys and men.

In addition to biological and evolutionary research on gender, we can also examine the ‘active (de)construction’ of gender, e.g., how males and females explicitly and implicitly encourage boys and girls, and each other, to behave in certain ways, such as boys being encouraged to engage in outdoor, active activities when young, rather than reading inside. Correspondingly, I share Connell’s conviction that ‘divisions of labour’ and ‘patterns of emotion’ should be examined, and core to any endeavour to educate boys. Divisions of labour might include asking: How are jobs typically allotted in Canada? Which jobs result in the most injuries and fatalities? Which occupations are mostly male or female dominated? How are these trends changing? ‘Patterns of emotion’ could incorporate examining historical ways that men express emotion: the male code of ‘actions vs. words’; interactions between males and between males and females, and differences and similarities therein; the roles of heterosexism and homophobia in society; and tenets and costs of the insidious ‘boy code’—society expects boys to act stoic, to repress emotions mistakenly seen as feminine, such as being caring or compassionate—and to attain autonomy at all costs (Pollack, 1998, pp. 23-25). The new curriculum of our schools should be cognizant of these gendered, racialized, and class dependent expectations.

Furthermore, in a school context, students for whom teachers have higher expectations may receive more praise, detailed feedback, eye contact, and individual attention (Tauber, 2009). Teachers may also make prejudicial decisions based on gender and race. In a recent Canadian study, intermediate teachers generally described boys as immature, messy and more disruptive than their female peers (Riley, 2009). As boys journey throughout primary and elementary school and into the intermediate grades, whilst undergoing lower expectations and denial of scant resources, such beliefs may become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Boys tend to be praised less, and punished more often than girls, and receive far more suspensions. Boys are far more likely than girls to receive a diagnosis of ADHD, too. Many long-time teachers, and parents-guardians, believe that boys tend to be more active by nature, while some academics contend that gender is a social construction. In all probability, gender may be a bit of both.

It has also become de rigueur in our culture for boys to believe that it is “cool to be a fool” (C. M. Spence, 2008); in other words, our pop culture is full of negative images for boys. Portrayals of boys and men, from television to movies and sports, tend to be brutish, buffoon, and often aggressive, especially in sexual, predatory ways. For Black, Hispanic, and Aboriginal boys, these negative portrayals may be even more exacerbated. Furthermore, when together in classrooms, boys and girls may enact gender stereotypes in order to impress one another, and gain acceptance and popularity, i.e., some boys may try to look ‘cool’ by not being studious, or by acting foolish or disengaged, whereas some girls may act ‘ditzy’, and downplay their intelligence and motivation.

At the Excellence Boys Charter School of Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, 100% of the pupils in grades 3-5 scored advanced or proficient on the 2009 New York State Math Exam. Nearly 90% of them scored advanced or proficient on the 2009 state-wide English Language Arts (ELA) Exam. Most of the pupils are African American, and from low-income families, who historically tend to face numerous barriers to academic success (Kleinfeld, 2009; Mead, 2006), from low literacy levels, to high dropout rates from high school, and meagre university attendance. However, at Excellence Boys Charter School, high expectations are the norm, and pupils are encouraged to play hard, to work hard, and to be role models for one another (Excellence Boys Charter School of Bedford-Stuyvesant, 2012):

At the same time, students expect excellence from one another. This means that it is “cool” for boys to be smart, curious scholars who show excitement for school and enthusiasm for learning. Free from social pressures and stereotypes, students at Excellence Boys help each other succeed and feel safe taking responsible academic and personal risks. There are no limits to life’s possibilities for our students.

Furthermore, in studies of literacy, male students tend not to identify with a female fictional protagonist, whereas girls identify with a male or female protagonist (Elliott-Johns & Booth, 2009). This suggests that gender norms of the “strong”, “autonomous” and “stoic” male may be even more entrenched for boys. In other words, there may be fewer acceptable options for boys to enact their identities, and qualities or behaviours associated with what is commonly considered feminine, can result in social ostracization. These highly policed behaviours for boys may include showing compassion, sensitivity, a fondness for the arts, or even being industrious and studious. In order for our boys to be better able to function and evolve as full human beings, this harmful ‘boy code’ needs to be addressed, in single-sex and co-educational settings. We need to move from it is “cool to be a fool” to it is “cool to be in school.”

Single-sex classrooms may allow boys to drop this “cool pose” often adopted in co-educational classrooms (Cox, 2006). The Ontario Ministry of Education (2009) states:

As students enter adolescence, they are making what some researchers assert is the most challenging transition of their lives. To send them on that transition equipped with self-knowledge of what they are good at, what they enjoy, how to learn something that is challenging for them, and conditions under which they can do their best work, is to provide the best possible support for their success in school and beyond . . . Differentiated instruction is effective instruction that is responsive to students’ readiness, interests and learning preferences.

Since teenage boys and girls undergo so many physical, emotional, and social changes, Principal Grey believes that being in a single-sex classroom may afford them freedoms that otherwise might be mitigated. Teachers at the Edward Blake Academy share this view:

We can create a classroom where students feel more comfortable to be themselves, and not have that added distraction . . . [in a co-educational classroom] they may have girls in the class who they feel intimidated by, or have a crush on, or for whatever reason . . . so basically, we’re trying to make them [boys] feel more comfortable in participation. - Mr. Rossi

[Being in a single-sex classroom] it’s a lot more open, I find, than the giggling, and the uncomfortable things that happen when you have 12 or 13 year olds [together]... they’re in an awkward age... I think for the girls, just as much as the boys. In a way, they won’t feel comfortable speaking about issues. - Mr. Morales

This belief is shared by Paesano (2010a):

They [boys in a single-sex classroom] can let go of some of the gender stereotypes that surround them and influence their behaviour and attitude - such as needing to be in charge, to appear disinterested in school, to joke around and not take anything seriously, to not show intelligence, and to not like reading and writing.

Therefore, single-sex classrooms may contribute to a safer, less threatening, and more focused and respectful learning environment, vital to student achievement, and core to differentiation (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2008). Expecting all boys to try their best, and providing positive role models in a caring school ethos, where learning and diversity are valued, is foundational for success.

Role Models for Boys

In Harper’s (2012, p. 15) study of young Black men who achieved higher education in the United states, participants were asked what differentiated them from their Black male peers. Most believed that their Black male peers had the same potential, but “had not encountered people or culturally relevant experiences that motivated them to be engaged, strive for success, and persist . . .” There are several primary ways that male role models contribute to boys’ education at the Edward Blake

Academy, and in which role models may be conceptualized, including: diversity among teachers, key homeroom teachers, boys as peer role models, the Young men's Club, and the Conferences.

Diversity Among Teachers

In Canada, the total of full-time and part-time teachers stands at 108,267 male and 267,788 female (Elementary-Secondary Education Project, 2008). Nationally, there is also a majority of female school principals and administrators of elementary and secondary education at 53%, or 15,335 females and 13,680 males (Statistics Canada, 2006). However, being a male teacher does not guarantee that one may best respond to the needs of diverse boys, whether in Australia, Canada, or elsewhere (Gosse & Facchinetti, 2011). Correspondingly, being a teacher of colour does not guarantee that one may best respond to the needs of students of colour (Villegas & Davis, 2007).

Yet, being male and/or a person of colour, may allow a teacher to better appreciate similar social and cultural experiences as some of their pupils. Harper (2012, p. 10) reports, "Many participants [Black males who achieved higher education in the United States] felt teachers, especially White women, were incapable of engaging meaningfully with more than one or a few Black male students at a time..." Still, the educational workforce underrepresents Canada's gender and racial diversity, and the number of teachers of colour is falling (J. Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli, 2009). In the United States, where approximately 90% of the teacher workforce is White, dialogue concerning the deficit of teachers of colour has been occurring for some time (Hammer, 2010; National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force, October 2004).

Therefore, having male teachers teach the boys, may serve to disrupt the idea that teachers can only be White, middle class women, like most teachers and educational administrators. Principal Grey expresses similar concern regarding the lack of equitable representation:

If you only see that one type of person in that profession, then you might not think that you can do that profession...we are really trying to close the achievement gap. - Principal Grey

Students may come to realize that educated and caring people, such as their teachers, can also be male, immigrant, former English Language Learners (ELL), or minorities, like many of the pupils themselves. Also, contrary to popular belief, some male teachers report a less authoritarian, and more humorous, playful teaching and classroom management style, compared to that of some of their female colleagues (Gosse, 2011a). In an all boys' class, Paesano (2010b) highlights that teachers should incorporate humour and laughter into the classroom daily. Male educators, as role models, may then further show pupils that being kind, nurturing, studious, hard working, creative, and expressive, are worthy qualities to which the boys may aspire, as they grow to become active, contributing Canadian citizens. Thereby, male teachers may break traditional, hegemonic male stereotypes, and serve as positive role models.

Principal Grey practices what he preaches. He has a strong mentorship with a number of the boys, including some that have long left his school. In one anecdote, he says:

There was this one boy in grade seven a number of years ago. He was so disengaged in school. He wasn't trying very hard. He couldn't get along with his teachers. He was in with the wrong crowd. I had him follow me around for two weeks straight—to all my meetings, as I go in and out of classes, the extracurricular activities. We discussed at length some of his problems

and how he could overcome them. At the end of the two weeks, he was a transformed boy. A different person. He still checks in with me about once a week. He either calls or drops by. Now he's finishing his high school credits, and applied for college. He's a changed person. – Principal Grey

Indeed, a study by the Training and Development Agency for Schools of the Department for Education (2008) in London, England, found that male primary school teachers have acted as fundamental role models to one in two men (48 per cent). Furthermore, 35 per cent of men felt that having a male primary teacher challenged them to work harder at school, and 22 per cent believed that male primary teachers helped build their confidence while they were young. The men surveyed reported that they were more likely to approach male teachers with issues of bullying (50 per cent), problems at home (29 per cent), and questions about puberty (24 per cent). This suggests that many male teachers can, and do, bring positive qualities to the education workforce.

Homeroom Teachers Are Key

Perceived caring is related to student motivation (Wentzel, 1997). Rather than rotary, a key homeroom teacher teaches the majority of the subjects, allowing him to maintain consistent expectations with the boys, to act as a positive role model, to establish regular routines, and, especially, to uphold a caring environment, as endorsed by the principal:

I think also there's a disconnect between . . . when you go from all of a sudden geography to art, to media, to whatever [with a different teacher] . . . and I think that the most important thing is that one caring adult that you're with the majority of the time. – Principal Grey

Also, some boys may not have a male role model at home, and it may not be until intermediate school that they encounter a regular male teacher. Therefore, the role of the homeroom teacher is pivotal.

Differentiation is evident at the classroom level when appropriate challenges are available for all students (Policy and implementation, 2004). Knowing students well via the homeroom teacher model is conducive to differentiation. Mr. Rossi says:

The sense of community is really important. And try to have fun. So, for example, I try to greet my boys at the door as often as I can. You know, when they come in from French, I literally stand at the door and say, "Good morning" to them on a one to one basis. Just, "Good morning. How are you?" and when they leave, I say, "Have a good day." Yesterday, for example, we had the DPA [daily physical activity] at the end of the day . . . I had some kids that played soccer...kids that were playing basketball . . . so I made a point of going to them, and saying, "Have a good weekend. We'll see you Tuesday". I really try to promote that sense of community, you know, to have fun. I make sure that with regards to the lessons that you plan, you're going to have some fun with that. To try to do diverse [things] and to try to peek their interest in things that they like . . . so you are going to get a group of boys that like sports, another group that like cars, and maybe like action adventure [all within the same classroom], so try

to cater to their interests. – Mr. Rossi

When students are encouraged to take ownership for their learning, in an environment in which they feel cared for, supported, and socially connected to teachers and peers (Urdan, 2006), whilst supplied with meaningful and appropriately challenging work, they are likely to become more motivated, too. Knowing the strength and weaknesses of the boys, and willingness to take them under your wing as a homeroom teacher, can have transformative properties regarding motivation. Mr. Morales says:

There were two kids that were on the verge of dropping out of music. I was going to put them in another class because they were falling asleep the whole time. They were fooling around and it wasn't any fun for me. It wasn't any fun for the band. And then I invited them over for lunch a few times [in the classroom] and showed them the notes. They were different kids. They just sat with me. They go, they're like, "Oh, this is actually fun!" – Mr. Morales

Similarly, Mr. Rossi offers advice for a teacher contemplating a placement in an all-boys' class, "Be creative, respectful, and have fun."

Being a homeroom teacher and role model, then, implies getting to know the students, while striving to create a personal rapport, in a climate that is cheerful and affirming. Paesano (2010b) echoes that building a community where all feel welcome and validated, regardless of past experiences, academic level, socio-economic status, religion, or race, and being available for help and assistance, are effective strategies for teaching boys.

Boys as Peer Role Models

Being in a single-sex classroom, some are concerned that hegemonic male stereotypes may persist, or even be enhanced. However, Mr. Rossi says, "we have students who could function well in both classes [single-sex or co-educational] . . . but who possibly have skills that would be used as a mode."

Likewise, while Mr. Morales acknowledges the 'gangsta' persona, and its mass pop cultural appeal to many boys, in his grade 7 class, the quieter and 'nerdier' boys can achieve respect and status, thereby positively influencing other boys:

Take for example, perseverance. They [the hard working boys] become a declaration to the rest of the class. If you're building something, it's not always the person that you think is the coolest, that is actually doing really well...they have a certain admiration for each other in that respect. Playing an instrument is the same thing. – Mr. Morales

Paesano (2010a) similarly says,

They can learn to rely more on each other as peers, give each other assistance, actively listen and add on to what each other says, and to show that they can care about the people around them. They can work to create a true community of learners.

Teacher responsiveness, school responsiveness, and a supportive social environment are predictors of students' motivations and academic competence (Marchant, 2001). Every morning, Mr. Morales

arrives at school early, and tutors a group of boys in music, and during breaks throughout the day, as well. Not only does this demonstrate dedication and strong teacher responsiveness, but a supportive environment is built and daily re-affirmed, as well. Mr. Morales reports an additional benefit—the boys gain admiration from other boys in the class due to their commitment and growing ease with musical instruments.

Likewise, at the Excellence boys Charter School of Bedford-Stuyvesant (2012), boys are taught that it is ‘cool’ to be smart, to persevere, and to be positive role models for each other.

The Young Men’s Club

The Young Men’s Club presents an opportunity for boys in grade 7 and 8 to get together on Fridays with Principal Grey, and a couple of teacher volunteers. The boys are free to talk about whatever they want, and may receive guidance from each other, and their adult mentors. As Principal Grey says, “informal talking is curriculum itself.” The pupils and mentors may talk about relationships with girls or boys, life in general, or even about their mom, dad, and siblings. Sometimes they have excursions. Sometimes they just hang out and play basketball. At the first meeting of the school year, the teenager boys worked on an art project, where they drew self-portraits. They were given chart paper, pencils, markers, and crayons, and then made pictures in different quadrants, to represent the following categories:

They drew pictures to represent their connectedness to friends and family, and also how they envisioned what success might look like in the future, for them. For ‘mottos’ for instance, some said words to the effect of “Live every day to the fullest” or “Always try your best.” The club then engaged in a discussion of the different categories. The idea was to get the boys to express themselves, to gain comfort with one another, and to indulge in the arts. In addition, the exercise developed the boys’ metacognition, their overt knowledge of self, and critical reflection on their relationships with each other, their family, and their goals. This activity is in keeping with theories to promote self-worth, positive relationships, and metacognition—knowing about knowing.

At the club meeting I observed, about a dozen boys had gathered. There are normally about 15 attendees, and some of the most popular boys in school had joined. To show the boys’ commitment, Principal Grey says, “...if they don’t come it is because they are on a school trip, or something to do with the school.”

Principal Grey adds: “Last year, it became a popular thing with some of the popular kids . . . the boys this year wanted to be a part of it because they were in grade 6 . . . coming into our school. So they have been asking me about it since the beginning of the year. I really didn’t get a chance to start it until late December.” This demonstrates the growing popularity of the Young Men’s Club, the positive influence of peers, and the students’ desire for mentorship, sense of community, and sense of belonging. The only condition for joining is that the boys have to return a permission form signed by their parents-guardians, and to let their parents-guardians know where they are going to be over lunch.

Perhaps because I was present, initially we had introductions, with each person taking a turn saying his name, and one or two things about himself, such as what grade he was in, and what his favourite subject, or sport was. Then Principal Grey asked them to discuss strengths and weaknesses they had experienced that week. One confided he had better behaviour in class, but that he still

wanted to concentrate more next week. Another said he had successfully completed all his homework, but that he wanted to help out more at home with chores, and so on. Discussion accompanied responses.

Afterwards, a guest speaker arrived, a former semi-pro hockey player. This was the first time they had had an external guest speaker. He shared his life story, his ups and downs, how he attained a university education, and culminated in becoming a successful business consultant. To counteract the popular but erroneous notion that boys, particularly Black boys, should invest their time in sports rather than school, he cautioned them about the astronomical odds of ever making it in the big sports leagues, and also how short-lived many of the sports careers were, including his own, due to injury. He advised them to instead focus on school, and then post-secondary education or, specifically, not to play sports to the detriment of their education.

Two boys were designated to serve soda and pizza slices, one at a time, to their peers. All were well mannered throughout the session, using polite tones of voice, taking turns in an orderly fashion, and saying 'please' and 'thank you.' Over the meal, supplied by the regular sponsorship of the guest speaker, the boys had a question and answer period with him. They gained valuable insights into life's journey—the joys but also hard work, injuries, adaptability, perseverance, and complexities of 'making it' in business, all the while juggling work, family, and a social life.

Towards the end, the club members were planning a trip to a new, modern and spacious home in Ajax, Ontario, not far from Toronto, to show the boys what they might aspire to. Many of the boys live in downtown apartments, and have never had the opportunity to see spacious and well-appointed houses, such as these.

Young Men's Conference

The "Stand Up: Young Men's Conference" for two consecutive years, has been held in May 2011 and 2012 at George Brown College in downtown Toronto. Co-organized by a dedicated team of TDSB educators, including Gary Crossdale, Ainsworth Morgan, and Elizabeth Schaeffer, approximately two hundred and seventy boys gathered, mostly Black and Asian boys, but some Caucasian, too. "Redefining the Colour of Success" was an official theme of the 2012 conference, and present in advertisements for the event, and on commemorative mugs for the presenters.

Indeed, while it should be recognized that boys are not engaged and achieving in school in a uniform manner, the following has validity (Younger and Warrington, 2005a):

There are typical patterns of behaviour to which many boys conform... although boys are not an undifferentiated group, there are broad similarities within sub-groups which allow us to make valid generalisation (p. 9).

An advertisement for the 2012 conference stated that in the TDSB, approximately 40% of students born in the English-speaking Caribbean, and 45% of students born in East Africa, achieve or exceed the provincial standard in English, mathematics, and science in grades 7 and 8. Young men from these backgrounds represent one of the largest groups of students at risk of failing the grade 10 literacy test, and graduating from high school. They can sometimes feel powerless to navigate the barriers to their success.

In keeping with a proactive approach, and a spirit of adult male mentorship, Principal Grey says of the conference:

I think there are quite a lot of dads that are not necessarily in the scene in a way that might be productive...or they might be in the scene sometimes...when you're at the age of 12, 13, 14 ... that is, when you're looking for direction on what it is to become a young man...So, then, we decided we were going to make it [the TDSB Stand Up-Young Men's Conference] a grade 7 and 8 event for boys ...to address these issues that are happening with young men of colour.
– Principal Grey

The participants come from seven of Toronto's downtown public schools, and many are of a lower socio-economic background, and immigrant families. These eager boys have the opportunity to engage with successful men of colour from a variety of professions, including business, sports, entertainment, medicine, politics, the restaurant business, and so on. During lunch, the boys were also able to select a free book of their choice. The boys also donned conference t-shirts, on which were written in bold letters, "Empowered. Responsible. Successful."

The presenters shared their personal stories of perseverance and success, and discussed their strategies for overcoming barriers. The hope is that the student participants will leave the day with a feeling of empowerment, responsibility and with a desire to be successful. Principal Grey explains:

So those 50 men [presenters], basically take groups of kids, and tell them a little about themselves—a little bit about their life story, what they do now, and the obstacles that they faced. They give the kids a little bit of advice, and tell them to believe in the things that they are doing, to have goals and things of that nature. So we think that sometimes, those messages, coming from somebody else, as opposed to the teacher, or just a parent, can be helpful, particularly if that person—and this is more for the Black boys, looks like them. – Principal Grey

A major focus throughout the conference is on sustaining education. Presenters, some of whom used to be professional athletes themselves, downplayed the likelihood that many of the boys would move on to professional sports leagues—the chances are astronomical. Multiple presenters cautioned the boys that education is the path to success. They advised the boys to focus on school, to ask questions, and to choose their friends wisely, rather than succumbing to negative peer pressure. In 2011, one speaker told the audience during a plenary session, "There are more Black cardiologists in the USA than MBA players."

A major theme was that of developing communication, relational, and networking skills. Repeatedly, the boys were informed that they needed good reading, writing and overall verbal-linguistic and mathematics skills, to succeed in many fields. During one session, the boys were asked where they thought they'd be in 10 years. The boys ran the gamut in their responses. One said he'd like to become a filmmaker, another a reporter, while another joked, "Living in my mom's basement." The latter comment generated discussion. Admittedly trying to be funny, the boy was nonetheless cautioned to focus on school, to try his best at academics, while keeping his sense of humour.

In a session with presenters who are currently high school students themselves, the older teenagers asked the boys to look around, and to form relationships that would elevate them. The boys were told to build routines, and not to procrastinate. They were advised to never be embarrassed to ask questions to teachers, or others, when they didn't understand, and to seek out extra help. In 2011, Canadian spoken word artist Dwayne Morgan presented at the conference. In 2012, in keeping with peer-mentorship, grade 10 teenager from Regent Park, Mustfa Ahmed, also performed spoken

word; a form of poetry that uses alliterated prose or verse, and occasionally metered verse, to express social commentary. Ahmed said, “It’s nice to have male role models because I haven’t really had that in my life” (cited in Skinner, 2012).

On May 2, 2012, Michael Lutrell “Pinball” Clemons, was the concluding plenary speaker of the day. Standing 5 ft 6 in (167 cm) tall, Clemons, now a Canadian citizen, was told from an early age that he did not have what it took to make it in football. He also came from the projects in Florida, and said, “There was a lack of hope in my community.” Nevertheless, he went on to earn a university degree, and to become a renowned football player, coach, and contributor to children’s organizations, such as the Children’s Miracle Network. Clemons ignited the boys’ enthusiasm, sending the message that education is the number one determinant in quality of “your life, health, wealth, freedom, and family” (cited in Frauts, 2012).

His address, like that of other presenters, acknowledged the insidious roles that racism, poverty, and lack of opportunity can play. However, he also stressed optimism, hope, high expectations, and the conviction that the boys could succeed with belief in themselves and support from each other, and their mentors, whom they should actively seek out. In sum, as one of the boys said, “...the thing I take away from this is, that if they can do it, why can’t I?” Another boy is quoted as saying: “[The mentors] taught me to have a good work ethic, to never be late and to always study and be ready for whatever’s coming next” (cited in Skinner, 2012).

Establishing meaningful relationships with university-educated adults who possess social capital, figures significantly in the success of young Black males to attain higher education in the United States (Harper, 2012). In order to sustain the conference, and the longevity and quality of the mentor-protégé relationship, a proposal is underway with conference planners and TDSB external partners. The idea is that adult mentors will engage youth in life-skills, academic, and career planning on a regular basis. For instance, adult mentors may bring the boys to work, and some of the boys may eventually volunteer or intern in their workplace.

Approaches and Strategies

In a single sex setting, Principal Grey perceives that, “there are less office referrals for sure from them... the attendances are better in that [single-sex] class.” These desirable outcomes arise in part due to the high expectations and shared vision, as outlined above, but also due to concerted efforts to vary the approaches and strategies for engaging the boys, and enhancing their overall classroom, school, and broader socio-educational experiences.

During my fieldwork—observing, taking notes, and conducting interviews, I was able to engage in multiple contexts, not only with Principal Grey, and teachers Rossi and Morales, but also with pupils, and other teachers, whom I encountered in the hallways, on the playground, at events, and during breaks. My overall synthesis of these interactions, has led to several key themes. The community at Edward Blake Academy has been able to proactively and successfully engage diverse boys. Indeed, a structured academic program in a learner-centred environment can provide hope for students at academic risk, and other students who are likely to be lost to the academic educational system (Alfassi, 2004). While high expectations and appropriate role models are key to creating a single-sex environment conducive to teaching and learning, these efforts cannot stand alone, and must be coupled with high-yield teaching and learning strategies and approaches, as follows.

A. Intra- and Extra-curricular Activities

Children's involvement with extracurricular activities has long been correlated with positive outcomes, such as increased academic achievement, pro-social behaviours, and lowered drop-out rates (Guèvremont, Findlay, & Kohen, 2008). At all ages in Canada, more girls than boys are involved in non-sport activities, such as music and performing arts, clubs, and community groups (O'Regan, 2011). Research in Australia indicates that some parents-guardians prefer their sons to play sport, rather than engaging in a broad range of activities. However, extra-curricular activities are linked to leadership opportunities, awards and formal recognition, problem solving, communication skills, team values, individual and group responsibility, and development of a sense of community (Freeman, 2004, pp. 8 & 48). We need to provide boys with ways of engaging in extra-curricular activities beyond sports, as a normal part of their school experience, and development. The costs and logistics of doing this far outweigh the costs of many boys continuing to feel disengaged, dropping out of school, and unable to pursue post-secondary, or university education.

1. Field Trips

Fields trip, like participations in other extracurricular activities, provide opportunities for students to enhance their social capital, that they many might not otherwise experience in their families and communities. Principal Grey was able to allot \$500 extra to the budget of teachers of single-sex classes, to be used as discretionary funds. The teachers often used these funds towards field trips, and tried to minimize the costs to families.

Mr. Morales says, "I do field trips. I like to go to places where I think that an experience that many kids normally would not have." He took the boys cross-country skiing, since the costs of downhill were prohibitive, and the boys "...loved it!"

Mr. Morales organizes an annual end-of-year barbeque at his own house, and arranges transportation for many of the boys, thereby showing his caring and compassion. He also took them to see a Toronto Male Leafs game. The grade 6 boys' single-sex teacher serves in the Army Reserves, and was key in organizing a trip to Base Borden for the boys in grade 6-8.

Mr. Rossi took the grade 8 boys on a hiking trip to the Scarborough Bluffs and Rouge River. They also went to the Science Centre, where they participated in a morning seminar on "forces and machine" to compliment their science unit, and then they were free to explore other exhibits in the afternoon. At the Art Gallery of Ontario, they explored the Maharaja's dynasty from India.

Mr. Rossi says: "They're [the boys] very comfortable telling me, 'Oh I'm not crazy about doing basketball for gym,' or, 'Oh, I'm not crazy about that field trip that you have planned.'" Mr. Rossi and his class, along with the grade 8 single-sex girls' class, and their teacher, co-organized an excursion to High Park in June, too. They went hiking, played 'Capture the flag', and also played soccer and football. The teachers meet in August and discuss who will do which activities, as they short and long range plan.

In 2010-2011, Mr. Rossi took the grade 8 boys to the Young Men's conference. In 2011-2012, he is now teaching grade 7 instead, with Mr. Morales following his boys as the grade 8 homeroom teacher. Therefore, in 2011-2012, Mr. Morales accompanied the boys to the Young Men's Conference.

2. Health and Fitness

In Ontario, the percentage of students indicating that they do the following “every day or almost every day” when they are not at school is as follows (The Education Quality and Accountability Office, 2011, pp. 11, 24): 23% of girls and 12% of boys read by themselves; 5% of girls and 36% of boys play video games daily, with 4% of girls and 23% of boys spending 3 or more hours playing video games daily; 17% of girls and 27% of boys work at a paid job and; 23% of girls and 38% of boys participate in sports or other physical activities. Therefore, it is not surprising that coaching, and the fitness room, attract many of the boys at the Edward Blake Academy.

a. Coaching

Mr. Morales coaches the boys’ soccer team, too, and assists with the volleyball team. Mr. Rossi is equally active in coaching. In September, he and a colleague have the children participate in the Terry Fox National School Run Day, to raise money for cancer research. He coaches boys’ basketball in the winter (with the same colleague), skiing, and jogging during lunch hour, and track and field in the spring, the latter two being co-educational. Often, I observed Mr. Rossi coaching track and field on a little used, one way street outside the school, during lunch hour.

One of the teachers revealed that it can be challenging to have some of the boys’ parents attend some of the sporting tournaments. Some parents were quite educated in their countries of origin, but have barriers acquiring certification and upgrading in Ontario. Some work part-time, and tend to their young children. Others work full-time, but multiple jobs, often low paying, in the service industry, for instance.

b. The Fitness Room

Every morning, a group of several boys gather in what is called the Fitness Room. Principal Grey created what he calls, the “F.I.T. program: Fitness, Integrity, and Team.” He created this program to “...try and engage kids more into school...to try and get them here earlier...it’s what we do to get them more focused...and kids of that age don’t necessarily have access to weight lifting.” A colleague who teaches primarily boys, as is typical in a behavioural class, also supervises and mentors here.

He bought much of the equipment from his own pocket, getting deals on Craigslist, and also via donations, once word got out “...and people wanted to donate things.” Some of the students have been part of the “F.I.T. program” since grade 7, and are now in high school, but still return to use the room.

Every morning, Principal Grey arrives at the Edward Blake Academy at 6h30, and opens the ‘fit room’ at 7h00, along with the teacher of the behavioural class. The room is open until 8h15. All pupils are welcome in the morning, but there are primarily boys, with only one girl. However, the room is open during lunch hour for the teachers who run a fit club for the girls. Every morning of late, the principal and vice-principal run a fitness program for the boys called ‘Insanity’, which consists of bursts of maximum-intensity exercises with short periods of rest.

The fitness room attracts a variety of boys, including those who are ‘at risk’, meaning they were on a modified program in elementary school, are achieving below the provincial average, lacking motivation and experiencing problems with attendance, or in danger of eventually dropping out of school. Principal Grey says, “...sometimes it will be the more at risk kids, and when they came in, and you know, saw that the principal’s working out, and he’s teaching us different things, that’s kind

of like a link to, “Oh this guy’s pretty cool! He’s just not like your typical principal.”

The Arts

In Ontario, the percentage of students indicating that they participate in art, music, dance, or drama activities “everyday or almost every day” stands at 22% of females and only 13% of males (The Education Quality and Accountability Office, 2011, p. 24). However, the successful Excellence Boys Charter school provides an extensive extra-curricular program that consists of rich offerings in athletics and the arts (Excellence Boys Charter School of Bedford-Stuyvesant, 2012). Likewise, the acknowledgement that arts are important to boys’ education is echoed at the William Blake Academy.

A. Music and Artwork

In keeping with the vision and leadership of the principal in supporting single-sex education, and the rapport a teacher can establish with his class, Mr. Morales teaches his own class band, and acknowledges that, “the principal was really good and kind to allow that.” He says: “the whole class plays instruments.” In fact, Mr. Morales, having an undergraduate degree in music, and having worked for many years as a musician, is adept and dedicated in instilling a love of music into the boys in his class.

All the boys in his class are members of the “Boys’ Band.” As of June 2012, Mr. Morales has now taught all the boys for two years at the Edward Blake Academy, and some of them for 3 years, since some were his pupils at his previous school. Again, this reflects the idea of the key, homeroom teacher model who can be consistent with expectations, and progressively build rapport with the boys over time. Mr. Morales teaches the boys how to play the clarinet, saxophone, trombone, baritone, phormone, tuba, trumpet, or steelpan—the latter in the role of flute. The Boys Band performs at school concerts, and also at an alliance of community groups and social agencies, that is active in their community. As mentioned in the section on “Boys as Peer Role Models”, the boys gain admiration, and respect, for those peers who persevere, and hone their music skills, several of whom come regularly for extra help.

In keeping with the focus on music, Mr. Rossi says, “We had a Samba group come to the school to try and get them interested in playing drums . . . so some of them are taking that up, and they do that here once a week.”

In the Young Men’s Club, as stated, the boys also employ the arts as a means of self-discovery and dialogue, such as during the first meeting, when they all sketched self-portraits. The walls of the classrooms, and the bulletin boards both inside and outside, also contain drawings that accompany the boys’ original works of prose or poetry.

B. Language Arts

1. Focus on Oral, Reading and Writing Skills

At the Young Men’s Conference, presenters told the boys over and over to work on improving their language arts—reading, writing, and speaking, in particular. All presenters that I observed told the boys that reading was core to success. One of the groups of presenters, composed of 4 high school

students who were 'at risk' in intermediate school—that is, showing lower marks than the provincial average, were on an Individual Education Plan (IEP) in elementary school, had poor attendance, or showed lack of motivation—but had since found their path, extolled the virtues of working hard, and reading. Said one:

You know what? The kids in my school who achieve the best marks, you know what they're doing during the first half hour of lunch? They're either reading, or asking the teachers for help, or doing homework! They're not playing basketball out in the yard... and they're getting A+.

When asked who their role models were, another high school presenter said, "Malcolm X. I read his biography and it changed my life." This shows the transformative power of literature and storytelling. A role model is not necessarily in person, but may be in a book.

During another session, there were 10 adult male presenters, and 23 boys, along with their teachers. Collaboratively, with the boys' feedback, they decided to each take a group of two or so boys, and engage in a half hour face-to-face meeting. Afterwards, they re-assembled for a whole group discussion. One of the adult presenters had become a successful business analyst in a major Canadian corporation. The business analyst sat with two of the 13-year-old boys and shared his educational journey, with all the ups and downs. At one point, he confided that he was terrified of public speaking when he was their age, but that he practiced over and over. Now, he has presented thousands of times in front of people. The message that perseverance was desired, along with strong communication skills, rang loud and clear.

Furthermore, it is significant to reiterate, that some contend that boys may be less intimidated in single-sex settings. In the classroom, Mr. Rossi says, "I see more participation. I see less reluctance. Even if they know that they're [the boys] not very strong in a subject."

2. Public Display of Poetry and Prose

Outside of the boys' grade 8 classroom, during my first week or so, I noticed remarkable poems posted on the bulletin board. As a former intermediate English teacher, I was struck by the sophisticated imagery, the artful usage of symbol and metaphor, and the heartfelt yet subtle interplay of mood and atmosphere. The boys had written about their own identities, many addressing intersections of religion, race, family and peer relationships, and showing insightful self and social awareness. I spoke to Mr. Rossi about them. He said: "Every single one was a three minus or a four [the provincial average is 3, with 4 being above the usual grade level]. I gave out more fours for that assignment than any other assignment." Afterwards, Mr. Rossi mentioned my compliments to the boys, which I recapped, and the boys applauded each other.

Indeed, we must challenge the myth of the emotionally defective male (Lander & Nahon, 2008), for given the chance, boys can be deeply reflexive and expressive, including in artistic forms, such as poetry. Being in an all male environment may afford boys the added comfort to share their emotions, thoughts, and histories in multiple ways, including poetically, whereas in a co-educational setting, certain boys may balk.

3. Drama

During a grade 8 Health class, I witnessed boys engaging in drama, for which the theme was an exploration of relationships. Mr. Rossi called the boys to the carpeted area to the far right hand corner of the room. He reminded the presenters who had prepared scripts, not to turn their backs to the audience, so their voices would carry.

In the first scenario, a boy wanted to go with two special friends, i.e., girlfriends, on a date to a movie. Mr. Rossi, leading the discussion, asked them to be open and honest, and reassured them that there was no right or wrong answer. They discussed music videos, where often several young women surround rappers and hip-hop artists, as decoration. They discussed this pop cultural phenomenon and related it to a male 'coolness factor' that creates gender stereotypes. Three boys role-played the scenario. One played the boy, and two other boys played the girls. Part of the scenario involved the two 'girls' speaking to each other about liking the same boy, as well as the boy being upfront to each girl about his true feelings. This was performed in a respectful manner, and the audience had mature reactions, and subsequent teacher guided dialogue.

In a second scenario, two boys role-played a situation where they were good friends who liked the same girl, and were at odds. The class discussed resentment in such situations, and fears of opening up. They discussed how many people would do anything to avoid confronting the person in those types of situations. They also role-played the two boys discussing the conflict, and trying to reach an amenable solution, followed by more guided discussion.

Pertaining to both scenarios, the boys freely discussed how sometimes they don't know how to react when girls use "waterworks" [cry], or do the "puppy dog part". With whole group discussion, the boys determined that facing up to the challenge in conflicts, even when afraid, and talking with the other person(s), required courage. They also concluded that trying to maintain dialogue, even when emotions run high, can be conducive to conflict resolution.

4. Mass Media Critique

In Mr. Morales' class, they use a wide range of topics and resources to engage students:

"I want them to be hooked on reading. That's one of the basics to start out. With regards to other material that is going to connect them, or engage them, I'm thinking the news, anything that has to do with sport, because there are stories there that we can talk about. There are stories that we can read about. There's all the disasters that have been happening—national disasters, we did a whole thing on the tsunami in Japan. So there's geography involved in that. There's a bit of science involved in that, and there's just the general interest...huge stories that are engaging for the students to find out about...the other thing is that literacy could be part of a documentary that we watch."

The cross-disciplinary approach displays a consciousness of differentiation, and also of topics that may boys can relate to: sports and the news, including natural disasters, and in a way that integrates geography and science. Some critique the focus on narrative fiction in language arts programs, noting that many boys tend to favour non-fiction (Booth, 2002). Similarly, the Ontario Ministry of Education (2009) recommends providing a balance between fiction and non-fiction.

On several occasions, I observed similar phenomena in Mr. Rossi's class, where they use daily newspapers for discussion, and reader response oral and written activities, from debate to reflective

writing. Likewise, I saw libraries in the classrooms, which had multicultural literature, both fiction and non-fiction, a number of which were about or from the boys' countries of origin, in addition to some mystery series, (auto)biographies, and graphic novels. There was also a selection of scientific and geographic periodicals that I observed several of the boys reading in the classroom, and in the school library. In fact, Mr. Morales says that he is "conscientious . . . about getting books that are reflective of the community that we serve."

Interestingly, I observed as the grade 7 class began to watch the movie, *Juno* (2007). Mr. Morales told the boys that it was written by a woman—Diablo Cody, and from the viewpoint of a pregnant girl, so it was important to see their perspectives. He also noted that the actress, Ellen Page, was from Nova Scotia. Here is a snippet of the dialogue that took place at the beginning of the film, while the class waited, as two of the boys adjusted the television and DVD player:

A boy asks, "What's abortion?"

Boy responds, "When they kill the baby."

New boy, "When they put a needle in the stomach."

This controversial film has been hailed as a pro-choice film, but also one that reflects contemporary popular cultural images of the irrelevancy of [young] fathers. Mr. Morales said he'd like to return to that discussion once the boys had seen some of the film.

Subsequently, the boys had several themes to verbally discuss, and also respond to in journal and essay form. For instance, the boys explored whether *Juno* was a stereotypical girl. They critiqued her relationship with her father, and his advice to "...find a person who loves you for who you are". Therefore, they were able to study male and female gender roles, experiences, relationships, and stereotypes, and to make personal connections.

Mr. Morales and Mr. Rossi also advocate for the 4MAT system—a variation of Bloom's Revised Taxonomy (Gosse, 2010-2011; Schoenfeldt & Salsbury, 2009)—for asking higher and lower-order questions, and which can also help in planning appropriate expectations for lessons. The teachers had both posted 4MAT charts on their walls (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 15), and the boys seemed well used to this strategy, and able to apply it independently during seat and group work. In addition, Mr. Morales indicates noteworthy improvements of students in language arts, "This [referring to his records of English Language Arts assessments] is the beginning of the year, and you see that the scores if you look at this now...you'll see the difference."

In sum, the arts—from sketching and drawing to drama and the language arts, may be used in single-sex classrooms to critique restrictive gender roles, and to enhance intrapersonal, interpersonal, communication, and artistic skills. Students should be encouraged to develop their artistic ability, and to take pride in their achievements (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1998).

The Ethos of the Boy-Friendly Classroom and School

A. Competition

The view that many boys are more competitive, and tend to thrive with competition, is widespread. In the United Kingdom, evidence suggest that boys respond to lessons containing a clear structure, a variety of activities, and an element of fun and competition (Office for Standards in Education,

July 2003, p. 4). “Boys thrive on team competition and relish a battle against a buddy”, says Leonard Sax, director of the National Association for Single Sex Public Education (cited in Boesveld, 2009). Mr. Rossi shares this view, “It’s definitely more competitive... and I can tell you, that I don’t see much of that component with the rotary co-ed [classes]...” Indeed, I found two areas in particular in which the boys relished in friendly competition—marks, and sports and play.

1. Marks

Boys spend approximately 17 hours per week playing video games. As mentioned, only 5% of girls and 36% of boys play video games daily, with 4% of girls and 23% of boys spending 3 or more hours playing video games daily, too (The Education Quality and Accountability Office, 2011, p. 11). These video games entail competition with one’s self, other people, or characters (Blair & Sanford, 2003). Therefore, the penchant of many boys for a competitive spirit can be embraced in a single-sex classroom.

They want to do well. They LOVE when they get a great mark on a math test or if I return a writing assignment, they’ve gotten a 3 or a 3+ or a 4. They like to be able to say in a joking way say, “Oh, I did better than you, or whatever.” - Mr. Rossi

This friendly competition for better marks is equally present in the all boys grade 7 classroom:

They compare who got the better mark...they trash talk each other out about it but [laughter]... I find that to be healthy ...and they push each other in a way, right, because one of them wanted to beat the other one so badly, that he would come in the morning and get extra help. - Mr. Morales

Likewise, Mr. Morales sees “a big push for chess in the class”. I observed several boys playing chess during recess and lunch hour. The boys also stage chess tournaments where they use a point system. Within a pyramid structure, the winners progressively compete with each other. This simultaneously helps their mathematical and logical thinking skills. Additionally, Mr. Morales encourages them to consult books or manuals on playing chess, which they also discuss. This simultaneously improves their skills in language arts.

2. Sports and Play

During my time at the Edward Blake Academy, the intermediate boys held their Physical Education classes outside, since the weather was good. They tended to play either basketball or soccer, and were adept as setting up teams and self-regulating.

This self-regulation and penchant for setting up competitive, team sports, carried over into the playground, whether before or after school hours, or during recess and lunch hour.

Most of the intermediate girls clustered in small groups of 3-6, talking and scarcely moving. Some clustered around the school entrance, several groups near the school walls, and others in groups peripheral to the playground equipment. Just a few boys also clustered and chatted, like the vast majority of girls. Several girls played hopscotch, but these were among the most physically active.

However, the vast majority of boys either played soccer in a large group of about twenty, at

the far end of the playground in a grassy area, or played around the three basketball hoops, numbering several dozen in total. Approximately four girls engaged in basketball regularly, compared to several dozen boys, and their participation was sporadic.

Therefore, overall, boys are able to compete with marks, chess, and via the various sports in which they are engaged during Health and Physical Education, on school teams, or on the playground. It must be noted that when disputes arose, on occasion, pupils conferred with their teacher, but they generally settled disputes themselves. Also, in the friendly competitive spirit of the boys' playing, they normally lost track of scores, and no one seemed to mind.

(B). Communicative Learning

Development of boys' oral communication skills, and social skills, go hand in hand in a single-sex or co-educational environment, but in a single-sex environment, as stated, the boys may feel freer. Along with important direct instruction by the teacher (The Education Quality and Accountability Office, 2008), in a boys' class, there are also possibilities for cooperative learning strategies (see Think Literacy, 2003). In this section, communicative learning runs the gamut of icebreakers, mixed-groupings, acceptance of gender variation, and the regulation of homework.

1. Icebreakers

Icebreakers are a common cooperative learning structure (Kagan & Kagan, 1997). Furthermore, Mr. Morales advocates for icebreakers at the beginning of the year. For instance, they use a 'interpreter' game, where a reporter interviews an alien, and pretends to interpret the alien's answers, which is very popular with the boys. The boys also enjoy, Zip Zap, Zop—the boys stand in a circle. Someone begins by pointing to another person in the circle and saying "ZIP!" That person then points to yet another person and says, "ZAP!" That person points to another person and says "ZOP!" This continues, but the words must be said in order: ZIP, ZAP, ZOP. If someone makes a mistake and says a word out of order, that person is out of the game.

2. Mixed-Groupings

Seemingly unmotivated students can become willing participants in academic tasks if the tasks are tailored to their interests, or if students are given the opportunity to fulfill social needs by working with friends on the task (Urdan, 2006). Morales experiments with heterogeneous groupings, in which students have varied levels of competency.

They all have different experiences and they bring different things to the class. So how does that mix? Coming to the class at first, I was putting them in different groups, and trying different combinations. –Mr. Morales

In the United States, as in Canada, with current foci on literacy and numeracy (Toppo, 2007), fuelled by standardized testing, science and social studies may sometimes be neglected. Many boys may be partial to these subjects and may therefore be deprived. However, I observed science class during which the boys were guided by Mr. Morales, who gave them a choice of building model as or high buildings, after instruction on strength, stability, form and function, triangular structures, etc. The

majority of the boys worked collaboratively in groups, and cut their own wood, too. I observed not only the application of mathematics and science skills, but also interpersonal and verbal-linguistic skills, in keeping with the Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences. This in-class project reaches the highest level of Bloom's Revised Taxonomy—creating.

Mr. Rossi notes the importance of direct instruction, and also group work:

I try to give the class a three part lesson. More teacher-directed in the intro part, and then of course, they do the hands on and the sharing, and the exploration part...and then the consolidation would be an assignment, or whatever it is we take up. I try to do a little bit of both [direct and indirect instruction]... so a lot of teachers do a lot of group work as well.

Teachers' focus on direct, targeted instruction and clear, precise strategies, has led to improvements in boys' literacy in a widespread Ontario study, too, where "... boys' writing improved during activities that were highly motivating and grounded in the real world, coupled with direct instruction about the writing form and supported with the use of visuals such as anchor charts, word walls, and graphic organizers." (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 49).

Furthermore, Mr. Rossi attempts to alter the pace throughout the day. One typical afternoon, for instance, the boys had French class first with a specialist teacher, followed by three periods with Mr. Rossi. They proceeded with carrying on with their math work, with groups at each corner of the room, two groups in the middle, and one to the side; the boys were mostly on task, and speaking in normal voices. They not told to be quiet, which is significant, since the culture of many schools may be categorized as oppressive, in the onus on quietness. Mr. Rossi helped pupils who came to his desk, and he also circulated, lending a hand and providing feedback, as needed. After the scenarios on relationships that were role-played in pairs, and then discussed in the whole group, the boys had Daily Physical Activity, or DPA, as they called it. The boys quickly lined up, and Mr. Rossi led them outside, where they played basketball and soccer, until the end of the day.

3. Acceptance of Gender Variation

The ways in which gender is enacted can vary widely among populations of boys, and there can be plenty of overlap between many boys and girls, too, in their various behaviours. For boys, homophobia is a common way of policing traditional gender expectations and norms. However, breaking the insidious Boy Code in a single-sex classroom, can result in an increased level of comfort where ordinarily taboo topics, such as homosexuality, may be better addressed:

The children are a lot more comfortable talking about them in an all boys' class...for example, we had a conversation about homophobia...and we had a conversation about sex...the kids that normally don't feel comfortable talking about these issues had a bit of a voice...Out of the two years with this class, there has not been a single incident in the class where one boy has taunted another with regards to how they express themselves that way [gender variance or homophobia]. - Mr. Morales

Likewise, regarding whether the grade 8 single-sex class boys were ever teased, or disrespected, for being 'effeminate', 'sissy', or 'gay', Mr. Rossi says:

The group [pupils from the TDSB Triangle Program] came in to talk about [homophobia] . . . and we know it exists out there...and we know that it does happen . . . and whether it's because they know that it would upset me...that I'm going to talk to them for about, you know, half an hour about the inappropriateness of all of that . . . so for whatever reason, they're not doing it in here...there's been zero taunting with regards to that topic in this class. The boys are very inclusive. – Mr. Rossi

The Triangle Program is Canada's only high school program for LGBTQ youth ("Mission Statement of the Triangle Program," 2012), and forms one third of the Oasis Alternative Secondary School: there is also an Arts and Social Change Program, where teachers deliver an arts and social justice curriculum, and the Oasis Skateboard Factory, where courses are offered with a skateboard and street art focus, and students earn credits by operating a socially responsible entrepreneurial business.

In the grade 7 class, Mr. Morales arranged for a TDSB school social worker to visit and talk to the class about the experiences of LGBTQ students. Mr. Morales has a longstanding relationship with this social worker:

He's been coming to my class and, well, all the other classes for maybe for three years now. It's REALLY good because he's very open and really breaks the stereotypes for the kids . . . he brings along another student who's in his twenties... the way he carries himself, you would never be able to say that this guy- on the street, that he's gay . . . because for them, gay means somebody who's going to come on to you . . . somebody who is feminine, and all the connotations are sexual, so . . . [we have] a conversation about, you know, who are gays, and who are lesbians, and . . . it could be a teacher, could be a doctor, could be anybody—students, you know—and they have families... they [gays and lesbians] are members of society. – Mr. Morales

The boys learn that LGBTQ people vary along a spectrum of what is considered 'feminine' and 'masculine'. Discussion of the common but erroneous conflation of homosexuality with pedophilia, and making connections to membership in communities of which the pupils are part, heightens awareness and acceptance of diversity, and also reflects a sense of belonging to a salad bowl society, particularly evident in Toronto.

Therefore, the rigid conformity to gender norms, by which homophobia is a instrument, that prevails in many co-educational schools across North America may be lessened in a single-sex classroom, when the collective ethos is one of exploration and acceptance of diversity.

4. Homework

In Ontario, 67% of girls often or always complete their mathematics homework, compared to 56% of boys (The Education Quality and Accountability Office, 2011, p. 10). According to a Statistics Canada report by Frenette and Zeman, (2007), 8.5% of boys spend no time on homework, compared to only 2.5% of girls. Similarly, only 30.3% of boys spend at least 4 hours per week on homework, compared with 41.2% of girls. In a Quebec study, among families with two parents, 46% of boys in secondary school spend less than 1 hour per night on homework, compared to 34% of girls (Bouchard, St-Amant, & Gagnon, 2000).

Homework should be meaningful, and some improvements as compared to co-educational

classes, are evident, as related by Mr. Rossi, "...probably a little better." Mr. Rossi makes regular phone calls home: "...I phone home right away...the phone call home tends to be the best one." He calls home when he sees a pattern of homework not being completed more than once per week. Additionally, he is proactive in conducting face-to-face parent-guardian-teacher interviews: "...and I use of course, the parent-teacher interview time to talk a little about the importance of homework. I pull out their folders, and let the parents see what has been completed, and what hasn't been completed." This is usually during yearly scheduled times, normally corresponding to report card release, throughout the school semesters.

Some teachers find it a good practice to make two positive update phone calls home, for every call addressing a problem. When asked about his approach for monitoring homework, Mr. Morales says that writing notes to parents-guardians in the pupils' agendas is "... not that useful. I find that phoning them helps." For some pupils and parents-guardians, phoning home as a means of conferencing, is a weekly routine, while for others, Mr. Morales, says, "I never call because there's no issues whatsoever."

Significantly, Mr. Morales confides that he tries to get "...the parents involved, especially the fathers. They come here. We sit down. We talk and then the parents see what's happening with their son in the class, right?"

Sometimes the pupils may have told his parents-guardians that he had no pencils, or that there wasn't any homework, and face-to-face conferencing, with the boy present, has proven effective. Mr. Morales is astute in getting the fathers involved, for homework still remains associated with mothers, and thereby, he is fostering better school-home communication, and also breaking the gendered boy code.

Conclusions

In conclusion, as an option, some boys do benefit from single-sex education. The social capital of boys may be enhanced via creative applications of the arts, along with appreciation of their own multiple identities. There may be fewer referrals to office and better attendance. Dropping the 'cool pose' and subverting the boy code—many elements of which are antithetical to school success, is another major outcome. Mr. Rossi summarizes:

I've seen some really positive changes in most of the boys . . . I would say 95% of the class for sure, that the level of distraction . . . not having the girls component in here . . . has allowed them to be more comfortable . . . So I see more participation. I see less reluctance. - Mr. Rossi

This ethos of collective respect, and exploration of diversity, is also reflected in the acceptance of transgressions of rigid gender norms by the boys, and the apparent reduction of homophobia, which is rare in Canadian schools.

Furthermore, certain organized activities and events, from the Young Men's Club, F.I.T. Program and Fitness Room, to the Young Men's Conference, and end-of-year barbeque at their homeroom teacher's home, create a more inclusive environment, boosted sense of belonging, while providing the teenage boys with positive male role models. The principal and homeroom are dedicated to coaching sports, such as volleyball, and track and field. Equally, they create rich outdoor

excursions to places most of the boys might never otherwise visited, such as the scientific and cultural trips to museums and centers. The education team aims for positive life experiences, both in and out of the classroom.

Indeed, when asked about the effects of the single-sex classes in his school, Principal Grey says:

I think it's significant. I really think that it kind of changed the culture of the school. I think it's given a little bit more focus and really made the learning environment a little bit different. And I think you know, overall as a principal, I'm always trying to get a positive school culture and climate. – Principal Grey

This telling comment underscores the crucial role of the principal in creating group vision, and carrying out a mission—at the Edward Blake Academy, this vision is to enhance the engagement and achievement of all pupils, including struggling boys.

At the Edward Blake Academy, as with other single-sex classes and schools in Canada, and internationally, there is likely a Pygmalion Effect—higher expectations, enhanced sense of community, and joint purpose, may encourage the teachers, families, and pupils, to strive for, and attain, better engagement and achievement (see Campbell et al., 1977–2012; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968); It is equally important to note that high expectations should work in tandem with positive role modelling, and high-yield teaching and learning strategies for differentiation, and addressing the boy code. A principal who is visionary, hand-on, a strong communicator, and supportive, is important to the success of the program.

Environment, ethos, or climate, are too often neglected when educators contemplate effective ways of differentiating teaching and learning. We are quick to examine content—what we teach, the process—how we teach, and the product—what we accept as evidence of learning (Tomlinson, 2009), but the environment, climate, or ethos—the socio-emotional atmosphere and support we foster, seems to fall by the wayside, in too many cases. However, developing respectful relationships among students, and between students and adults, is core to an environment conducive to learning, and differentiation (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2006).

There can be much empowerment in a single-sex classroom, and school setting, in which: (i) consistent high expectations are linked to attentiveness in class, homework completion, attendance, and an increased striving for progress and achievement; (ii) extracurricular activities, from sports to the arts, augment students intellectual, interpersonal and communication skills, crucial for self-development and leadership in the 21st century, and; (iii) elements of the damaging 'boy code' can be broken down, so that it becomes cool to play a musical instrument or participate in drama, to display expertise and leadership in the construction of a model bridge or building, and to engage in friendly competition for higher grades. Ultimately, education should not be cookie cutter—one size does not fit all. There is much to be lauded at the Edward Blake Academy, particularly the creativity and drive of educators who toil to improve the social and educational trajectories of all their students. Canadian boys of all races, classes, genders, sexual orientations, abilities, geographical locations, and languages and cultures, merit scrutiny, approval, and approaches and strategies that maximize their full potential in the 21st century.

Appendix: Evidence of Success in Single-Sex Classes for Boys

Key Themes	Sample Anecdotal Evidence	Strategies and Approaches	Academic, Artistic and Professional Sources
Homework and accountability	<p>"...probably a little better..." – Mr. Rossi</p> <p>"...I phone home right away...the phone call home tends to be the best one. [when incomplete more than once per week] – Mr. Rossi</p> <p>"...I find that phoning them [parents-guardians] helps." –Mr. Morales</p> <p>"...and I use of course, the parent-teacher interview time to talk a little about the importance of homework. I pull out their folders, and let the parents see what has been completed, and what hasn't been completed." – Mr. Rossi</p>	<p>Make regular phone calls home. For every phone call home about problems, call two extra parents-guardians to tell them how well their children are improving, or progressing.</p> <p>Conduct face-to-face parent-teacher interviews.</p> <p>Provide additional tutoring before, after, or during school hours.</p> <p>Use anecdotal records to chart students' homework completion and patterns.</p>	<p>Assignments are often graded for neatness and organization over content, which disfavours boys (Tyre, 2008).</p> <p>Parent-guardian school engagement results in children attaining higher grade point averages, better scores on standardized tests, better attendance, improved behaviour, and better social skills (Sinay, Zheng, & Priesley, November 2009).</p> <p>Setting unapologetically high expectations for each boy scholar in both academics and behaviour is core to their success and character development (Excellence Boys Charter School of Bedford-Stuyvesant, 2012).</p>
Fewer referrals to office and better attendance	<p>"...there are less office referrals for sure from them... the attendances are better in that [single-sex] class." –Principal Grey</p> <p>"I've seen some really positive changes in most of the boys ... I would say 95% of the class for sure..." –Mr. Rossi</p>	<p>Enhance the ethos or climate in explicit ways.</p> <p>Praise the boys for progress and achievement.</p> <p>Try not to make negative gendered assumptions about boys, such as, "Boys are more unruly than girls."</p>	<p>A better school climate must proactively build on addressing the roles of homophobia and shaming in boys schooling and lives (Neu & Weinfeld, 2007).</p> <p>Boys may be treated more harshly for the same offences as girls, including bullying (Lingard, Martino, Mills, &</p>

		<p>Approve boys publicly, and via displays of students' work, such as essays and poetry on bulletin boards inside and outside the classroom.</p> <p>Embrace being a key homeroom teacher for most subjects for continuity and consistency, rather than having rotary overkill.</p>	<p>Bahr, 2002). The view that boys are 'more naughty' may result in a negative self-fulfilling prophesy.</p> <p>Homework inciting the boys to read all kinds of texts, along with a 'reading buddy' scheme whereby older boys read to younger boys, and teacher directed discussions and modeling of responses to texts, may contribute to improvements in literacy, but also concentration, behaviour, and attendance (Younger & Warrington, 2005a).</p>
Students as peer role models	<p>"...we have students who could function well in both classes [single-sex or co-educational]...but who possibly have skills that would be used as a model..." Mr. Rossi</p> <p>"Malcolm X. I read his biography and it changed my life." –High school student presenter at Young Men's Conference, in response to a question about who his role models were.</p>	<p>Assign students heterogeneous group work, so stronger students may help those who are less confident, or have different skills—experiment with various groupings, and roles, e.g., materials organizer, time keeper, task minder, etc. Do not exceed 4 members in a group.</p> <p>Supply and recommend non-fiction and fiction, for literature has the power to transform lives. Boys may identify more with male protagonists.</p>	<p>Lesson using cooperative learning and cooperative discipline strategies (Albert, 1996; Schwartz & Pollishuke, 2005; Think Literacy, 2003) can result in higher engagement, investment, and achievement, as pupils take on responsible and leadership roles.</p> <p>Bildungsromans, or educational novels of one's journeys through life, such as Jackytar (Gosse, 2005a), and Breaking silences & exploring masculinities, A critical supplement to the novel Jackytar (Gosse, 2008), may</p>

			transform and inspire young men, and be used as a tool to probe the boy code. Likewise, non-fiction, such as biographies, or auto-biographies, may also inspire boys, who find in them positive male role models.
		Establish a peer reading program, whereby older boys read to younger boys, and vice versa.	A reading program, involving positive male role models (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2004), from firefighters to stay-at-home dads, or a buddy scheme of older students to younger boys (Younger & Warrington, 2005b), can show variance of gender norms, and engage boys in purposeful literacy activities.
Broaching taboo or intimate topics regarding sexuality and identity	<p>“...they are a lot more comfortable being with each other ... I guess the connection with me and what I allow to happen in the class... the fact that we can talk about let’s say things that are more intimate ...we had a conversation about sex...” –Mr. Morales</p> <p>“...the children are a lot more comfortable talking about them in an all boys’ class...for example, we had a conversation about homophobia...</p>	<p>Engage the class in discussions/debates. Teach the boys how to lead a discussion or debate in small groups, and whole groups.</p> <p>Invite guest speakers, such as graduates from the TDSB Triangle Program, or equity or social workers, to talk about diversity and human rights and dignity. Optimally, discussions of diversity should permeate the curriculum, not just on special days or</p>	<p>Storytelling and fiction have the power to transform lives, and can help us rethink prejudicial beliefs, such as homophobia or racism (Gosse, 2005c).</p> <p>Digital media can also work towards this same goal.</p> <p>Novel study, writing circles, storytelling, auto-biography, and digital technology can be used to broach what are often taboo topics for some,</p>

	<p>the kids that normally don't feel comfortable talking about these issues had a bit of a voice..." –Mr. Rossi</p> <p>...it could be a teacher, could be a doctor, could be anybody—students you know, and they have families, ... they are members of society." –Mr. Morales</p>	<p>sessions, but these can nonetheless vary the pace, and ignite curiosity.</p>	<p>such as being LGBTQ, and coming out (Queer Curriculum Ideas, 2012).</p>
Breaking the 'boy code'	<p>Mature and engaged discussion surrounding relationships in grade 7 health class.</p> <p>Comfort level with levity, playfulness, boys' energy, behaviours, and noise levels.</p> <p>"...you know, whether it is someone with a disability, whether it is a gender thing, or someone's choice of partner... if you're a good teacher and you can build community in your classroom, I think the essential thing to teach boys in particular is</p>	<p>Employ drama techniques, e.g., role-play, improvisation, tableau, and mime.</p> <p>Incorporate humour and laughter into the classroom daily.</p> <p>Apply Bonzo's (2002) 10 [positive] male archetypes to curricula to reconceptualize masculine identities with pupils:</p> <p>Pilgrim: the archetype of male wanderlust.</p> <p>Patriarch: the masculine form of care, nobility, and self-sacrifice.</p>	<p>Both male (Brozo, 2002) and female gender stereotypes can be analyzed.</p> <p>Being patient, playful, embracing and maximizing boys' energy, and altering notions of acceptable noise levels and behaviours (Gosse, 2011b; Paesano, 2010a), are important qualities for a teacher to embrace when teaching boys.</p> <p>Should not presume 'patriarchy' or 'male power'—make connections to race, class, sexual orientation,</p>

	<p>empathy...if you can teach that [empathy] in the community of your classroom, you're going to break down those so-called stereotypes of masculinity..." — Principal Grey</p>	<p>King: trustworthy and wise, he engenders excellence in others, generosity, dignity and exposure. Warrior: brave, edifying, and honourable and should contrast with greed, selfishness, and lack of humanitarian spirit, Magician: evokes amazement through intuition and cleverness. Wildman: lustiness, unpredictability and independence. This is a primal archetype. Healer: mystical, spiritual, and bringer of wholeness to people and societies that are incomplete and suffering. Prophet: a spiritual figure who battles falsehoods, and speaks for a cause Trickster: irreverent, funny, and satirical, he is impish and pokes fun at pomposity, ostentation, and self-righteousness. Lover: he is caring, giving, and intimate, full of primal energy, passion, and appetite for human hungers, such as food, well-being, reproduction, creativity, and meaning.</p>	<p>disability, etc. (Gosse, 2012). Critique male sacrificial and subordinate masculinities.</p> <p>We all drift in and out of sites of privilege, and lack or power (Gosse, 2005a, 2008); this may be achieved via critique of gender roles and male archetypes in action movies, and other media (Gosse, 2011c)</p> <p>In single-sex settings, girls may develop higher self-concept in math and science, and boys in English (Sullivan, 2009)</p>
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Heightened kinaesthetic activities	<p>In the playground, the vast majority of the boys played basketball or soccer in teams, and engaged in friendly competition, before and after school, and during recess and lunch hour.</p> <p>Boys have been taught teamwork in Health and Physical Education</p> <p>Boys have become largely self-regulating</p>	<p>Optimize opportunities for Daily Physical Activity (DPA).</p> <p>Include a mixture of direct instruction, and mixed-group work.</p> <p>Coach or share in coaching sports (co-coach), which also builds spirit and enhances school ethos or climate, and student-teacher rapport.</p>	<p>Many boys crave kinaesthetic movement and active learning (Spence, 2010). My observations during recess and playground time bear this out.</p> <p>Some contend that gender differences account for boys' penchant for activity (Weil, 2008). Gender constructivists contest this.</p> <p>Self-regulation, self-efficacy, self-determination, and strong self-esteem, are directly linked to positive ties forged with teachers (Nichols, 2006)</p>
Enhanced interest, motivation, and competition in academics	<p>Differentiated pacing and input-output of teachers—boys seemed interested and focused.</p> <p>“They want to do well. They LOVE when they get a great mark on a math test or if I return a writing assignment, they’ve gotten a 3 or a 3+ or a 4. They like to be able to say in a joking way say, “Oh, I did better than you, or whatever.”—Mr. Rossi</p> <p>“This [referring to his records of English Language Arts assessments] is the beginning of the year, and you see that</p>	<p>Differentiate tasks, and the pace of lessons, e.g., vary teacher led instruction with ‘turn to your partner and share’ (TYPs), student written response, pairs of 2, small group work, and alone work.</p> <p>Use concept maps on walls, white board, or chalkboard. These can be class generated, or small group generated.</p> <p>Embrace the competition in class for marks, rather than treating it as abnormal or unhealthy, e.g., keep anecdotal records of student</p>	<p>Boys tend to respond well to teachers who set clear limits and high expectations, direct work strongly, show enthusiasm for their subjects, use humour and reward good work (Office for Standards in Education, July 2003).</p> <p>Concept maps may be used for sorting, sequencing, comparing, etc. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2003)</p> <p>Monitoring for fatigue and boredom (Kronowitz, 2008), and switching the types of in-class structures, can</p>

	the scores if you look at this now...you'll see the difference." –Mr. Morales	effort, progress and achievement, and give overt verbal and written praise. Also, display student work, read sample work aloud. Do not use sarcasm or put-downs.	be effective in keeping boys focused and motivated.
Enhanced sense of community and belonging	<p>"Sometimes it will be the more at risk kids [who go to the fitness room mornings], and when they came in, and you know, saw that the principal's working out, and he's teaching us different things, that's kind of like a link to, "Oh this guy's pretty cool! He's just not like your typical principal." – Principal Grey</p> <p>"...if they don't come [to the Young men's Club] it is because they are on a school trip or something to do with the school."</p> <p>The enthusiasm, cheering, attentive-ness, and camaraderie evident at the Young Men's Conference among the boys, educators, and presenters.</p> <p>"Potential. That's all I see. Potential. You know I don't give up on them, right." – Mr. Morales</p>	<p>Create or contribute to a "F.I.T. program: Fitness, Integrity, and Team" in school as a role model or mentor.</p> <p>Create or contribute to a Young Men's Club, or a similar program for boys.</p> <p>Enhance leadership opportunities, such as the Young men's Conference, which can be on a school level. Teenage boys may also peer mentor and tutor, showing by example that achievement and effort are linked, and that positive relationships are vital to success.</p> <p>Acknowledge all the positive male role models in school and society. Emphasize the accomplishments and progress of boys.</p> <p>Couple high expectations with differentiated approaches and strategies for teaching and learning, as outlined herein.</p>	<p>Raising Cain exploring the inner lives of America's boys (Thompson, 2006) shows concerned adults how they can help boys cultivate emotional awareness, giving them the support to navigate the social pressures of youth. Too often, boys' interests, games, and modes of expression are pathologized in school, or seen as inferior.</p> <p>Black male student success in higher education: A report from the National Black Male College Achievement Study (Harper, 2012), shows how young Black men in the United States get into university, pay for university, transition to university, become engaged, and respond to racism. Parental high expectations, mentors, an influential teacher, and opportunities to travel or establish meaningful relationships with university-educated adults who possess social</p>

		<p>capital, all figure significantly in their success.</p> <p>Care should be taken not to pathologize boys and men. 'WiseGuyz', run by the Calgary Sexual Health Centre (Biel-ski, 2012), 'Boys2Men' in the TDSB (Toronto District School Board, 2012), and 'Rock and Water' in Australia (Ykema & The Gadaku Institute, 2000) and the Netherlands, all have transformative potential, and can crack the 'Cool Pose' and 'Boy Code'.</p>
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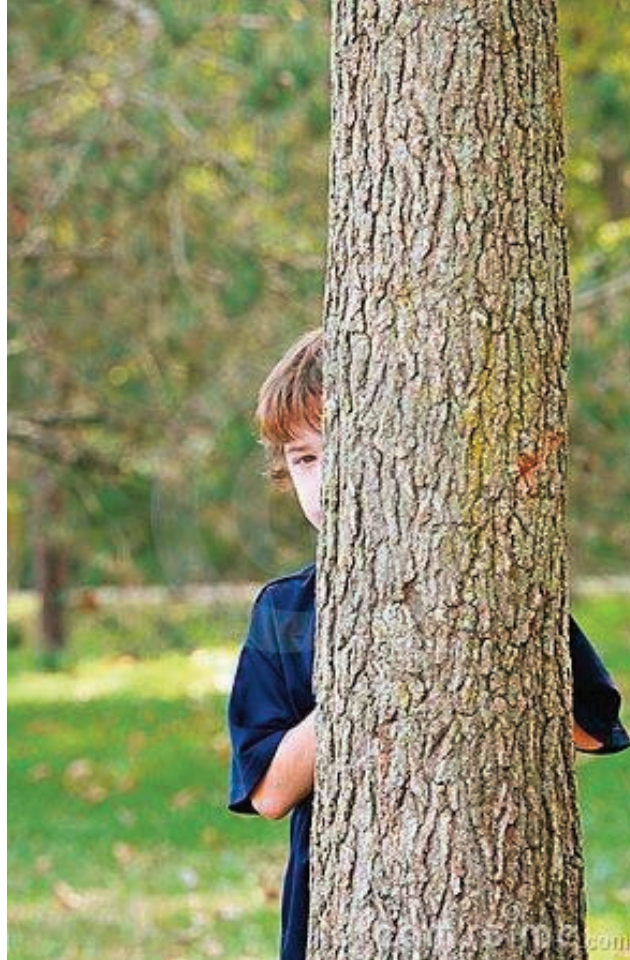
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A Systematic Deconstruction of the “Disordered American Boy” Hypothesis

J.M. Stolzer



The labeling and drugging of boys has reached epidemic proportions in the United States of America. Data indicates that approximately 12-14 million American boys have been officially diagnosed with a psychiatric disorder and the vast majority of these boys are prescribed daily doses of psychotropic medications (Baughman, 2006). Conduct Disorder, Oppositional Defiant Disorder, and the most commonly diagnosed psychiatric condition in boys, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), are being diagnosed at alarming rates in young males across America. Throughout recorded history, males and females have followed divergent development trajectories. Human males, across cultures and across time, have been documented to be more active,

more territorial, more defiant, and more aggressive than their female cohorts. Distinctly unique male behavioral characteristics that were, since the beginning of hominid evolution, considered to be highly adaptive and essential to the survival of the human race, are now being operationally defined by the American Psychiatric Association as indicators of psychopathology. Grounded in bioevolutionary theory, this paper will challenge the validity and reliability of boyhood psychiatric diagnoses, and will explore in depth the multifarious correlates that are intrinsically related to the labeling and drugging of boys in America.

Keywords: boys, ADHD, Oppositional Defiant Disorder, Conduct Disorder, males, bioevolutionary theory



Historical Review

Across mammals, across cultures, and across historical time, males have been documented to be more active, more defiant, more aggressive, and more territorial than their female cohorts (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002). According to anthropological data sets, distinct male characteristics such as hunting, aggression, accelerated activity levels, and dominance posturing were essential to the survival of the hominid species. In order for his genetic line to survive, it was critical that primordial man be highly proficient in combat, hunting, building, protectiveness, and spatial processing (Jensen, Mrazek, Knapp, Steinber, Pfeffer, & Schowalter, 1997). Evolutionary psychologists have postulated that ancient male behavior patterns that ensured the survival of the hominid species have remained constant throughout evolutionary time, and that current neurological functioning and behavioral response patterns are the direct result of the individuals' past responses to bioevolutionary contingencies (Buss, 2004; Kahn & Kellert, 2002). According to the scientific literature, there is no doubt that male response patterns, though qualitatively and quantitatively distinct from female response patterns, helped to ensure the survival of the human species throughout evolutionary time (Jensen, et al, 1997). These unique response patterns have been, across cultures, across mammals, and across time highly valued throughout the mammalian kingdom, and have been highly sought after, particularly with regard to resource allocation (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002). Male bioevolutionary contingencies have remained constant for millions of years - of this there can be no doubt. What *has* been altered is our collective definition of male normality. For the first time in recorded human history, we are witnessing a medical paradigm that pathologizes the very essence of maleness, and the majority of Americans have accepted this pseudo-hypothesis without question (Stolzer, 2010).

In order to fully understand the unique developmental trajectory of the modern human male, we must first understand the evolutionary history of the male, including his phylogeny and ontogeny. Tinbergen (1951) conceptualized instincts as fixed action patterns that are elicited by specific evolutionary based stimuli. Response patterns such as heightened activity level and engaging the flight or fight response are not merely examples of evolutionary determinism, but are in fact mechanisms which can be documented in males across diverse geographical locations, and across mammalian species. Such response patterns have never been recorded as pathological in

the scientific record, nor have they ever been conceptualized as symptoms of a psychiatric disorder until relatively recently (Buss, 2004).

Throughout human history, there has been a division of labor among males and females that can be traced to the Pleistocene age (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002). Gathering and the nurturing of children, which took place close to the familial sphere, was typically the work of females. Conversely, males were the hunters and the protectors, which led them far from home and required inordinate amounts of physical activity. Since these unique male attributes have been an essential component of the hominid species for millions of years, it should come as no surprise that boys in the 21st century are highly active, more likely to engage the fight or flight response, and are more likely to engage in aggressive behavior patterns. Natural selection would most certainly favor those males who were the most highly active and most physically equipped to defend themselves and their families (Buss, 2004). From an evolutionary perspective, the value of a particular behavior pattern and the likelihood that this behavior will survive over evolutionary time is ranked by the behavior's ability to maximize benefits in terms of survival, competition, and reproduction (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002).

Those with a vested interest in perpetuating the pseudo-hypothesis that particular boy behaviors indicate neurological pathology (i.e. "ADHD," "Conduct Disorder," "Oppositional Defiance" etc...) simply refuse to take into account the role of evolutionary contingencies. We can no longer afford to ignore the role of natural selection as it relates to boy behaviors that have recently been classified as psychiatric disorders. Heightened activity, running, jumping, climbing, defiance, aggression, refusal to sit still, and the inability to be confined for hours within four walls are not indicators of psychiatric pathology, but are in fact remnants of our bioevolutionary heritage - remnants that cannot be eradicated (Wilson, 1993).

According to the constructs of evolutionary theory, males evolved in distinct ways because of the external pressures they faced in primitive environments (Santrock, 2005; Stolzer, 2008). E.O. Wilson (1993) has hypothesized that for 99.9% of our time on earth, young males roamed large areas, spent the majority of their time unrestricted by adults, and were continually immersed in the natural elements. The confinement of young males in institutions called schools - surrounded by concrete, artificial light, books, computers, and desks - is clearly not congruent with the human male's evolutionary past. We can, if we so choose, refer to the defiance, fidgeting, boredom, and inability to remain seated that is rampant in schools across the country as symptoms of a psychiatric disorder, or we can look to the scientific record to explain these normal and adaptive response patterns that occur in restrictive and unnatural environments across all mammals.

Correlates Related to the Labeling and Drugging of Young Males

From the 1600's until the 1950's, ADHD, Conduct Disorder, and Oppositional Defiance Disorder did not exist in America (Baughman, 2006). In the past, psychiatric disorders were extremely rare in young children as childhood and adolescence were collectively understood to be unique and short-lived developmental stages that would pass with coming maturity (Stolzer, 2010). Across all human cultures, infancy, early childhood, middle childhood, and adolescence were viewed as quantitatively and qualitatively distinct from adulthood, and it was universally understood that these particular developmental stages were fraught with behaviors that would be considered mal-

adaptive in adult populations. In 21st century America, psychiatric diagnoses have skyrocketed, as it is estimated that one in five American children have been labeled with a psychiatric diagnosis - and the vast majority of these children are male (Baughman, 2006). The current method of treatment for “psychiatric illness” in child and adolescent populations is daily doses of dangerous and addictive psychotropic drugs. In the following sections, correlates related to the meteoric rise in boyhood psychiatric diagnoses will be discussed.

Attachment Disruption

The unprecedented rise in psychiatric diagnoses in America is the result of a multitude of converging variables, one of which is the monumental shift that has occurred with regard to attachment processes in American children. It is a scientific fact that across mammals, across cultures, and across time, mothers have been the primary nurturers of their offspring (Bowlby, 1988). However, currently in America, approximately 77% of all American infants are in full time non-parental care (Fogel, 2010). Never before in the history of the mammalian Kingdom have we witnessed the majority of young being cared for by uninvested, unrelated strangers with limited exposure to maternal care. As a direct result of decreased maternal care, ancient and universal mammalian behaviors such as exclusive and long-term breastfeeding, co-sleeping, and remaining in close physical proximity to one's offspring throughout infancy and early childhood have been systematically eradicated in modern day America. At the present time, we have no way of knowing how such fundamental alterations impact the behaviors defined as psychopathology in young males (Bowlby, 1980; Erickson, Sroufe, & Egeland, 1985). What is certain is that those intent on promoting the labeling and drugging of young males have refused thus far to take into account recent alterations in maternal response patterns, and have neglected to admit that such profound alterations may in fact be related to the startling rise in boyhood psychiatric diagnoses over the last 20-30 years. Scholars have suggested that when ancient mammalian maternal behaviors are dramatically altered, emotional, cognitive, biologic, and social processes may be altered in *both* the parent and the child, thus resulting in the parent's willingness to accept a psychiatric label for their young sons (Stolzer, 2005).

There is the common misconception that the advent of the “working woman” has made primordial maternal response patterns impossible in modern day America. However, anthropological data indicates that women have worked for thousands of years while practicing ancient mammalian mothering (i.e. exclusive and long-term breastfeeding, co-sleeping, and remaining in close physical proximity to their young during early infancy and early childhood) (Stuart-macadam & Dettwyler, 1995). Clearly, it is modern day dictates that have decreed that mothering and working must not occur simultaneously. Working in and of itself is not inherently incompatible with mothering; rather, it is our culture that has drawn the line between the public and private spheres. Mothering has been collectively defined in western cultures as a private sphere activity, while working is defined as public activity (Carbello & Peltó, 1991). According to this dichotomous worldview, ancient maternal response patterns are forbidden while in the public sphere, thus perpetuating the cultural practice of paying an uninvested, unrelated stranger to care for our young during the majority of their formative years (Stolzer, 2005; Stuart-Macadam & Dettwyler, 1995).

Behaviorism and Feminism

For decades, American institutions of higher learning and the United States Department of Education have been flooding the American consciousness with the constructs put forth by behavioristic and feministic theory. The underlying assumption of both theories is that human beings are born as “blank slates” (e.g., humans can be shaped and molded at will). In essence, males and females are, by their very nature, androgynous. Bartkey (1990) sums up the prevailing behavioristic and feministic theoretical constructs by stating “human beings are born (bisexual) into our patriarchal society and then, through social conditioning, are transformed into male and female gender personalities” (P.50). Every major university in the United States has gender studies programs that adhere to this reductionistic paradigm, while conveniently ignoring the fields of ethology, neurology, anthropology, neuroendocrinology, genetics, and bioevolutionary science. In addition, public schools across the nation ardently promote feminism and behaviorism and their message is the same: male and female behavior patterns are strictly products of environmental reinforcers and the differences that can be detected in males and females across the world are simply manifestations of social conditioning.

Cultural relativism as it relates to gender differences permeates academic instruction from elementary school through doctoral programs in the United States. However, over the last decade, scientific data sets have continued to indicate that gender is multifaceted, and that certainly, neurological, hormonal, and bioevolutionary processes impact human behavioral patterns (Buss, 2004). Published data has indicated that infants come into the world not as “blank slates,” but as hardwired with particular tendencies, knowledge, and attributes (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002). This can be documented in the literature focusing on language development as data confirms that children do not acquire language through simplistic, behavioristic constructs such as operant conditioning, but rather possess an innate tendency to speak (Pinker, 1994). Although feminist scholars vehemently object to the term “innate” when referencing gender differences and have since the 1960’s insisted that gender differences are the result of distinct socialization processes (Eagley, 2001), mounting scientific evidence collected via neuroimaging studies confirms that male and female brains are quantitatively distinct (Kandel, Schwartz, & Jessel, 1995; Polanco & Koopman, 2007).

Why are the theories of behaviorism and feminism the cardinal theories accepted at universities across America? The answer is political correctness. Perhaps it is time we take a stance against theories that cannot be substantiated using scientific data. Masculinity and femininity are *not* merely social constructs that can be reconstituted at will (Buss, 2004). Clearly there is empirical evidence that documents that innate and quantifiable hormonal and neurological differences exist in males and females (Gurian, 2001; Jensen, et al, 1997; Polanco & Koopman, 2007). We as a nation must demand that scientifically validated information be disseminated via universities, and in particular, in teachers colleges across the United States. It is common knowledge that the majority of American teacher colleges do not require that teachers, counselors, or administrators be educated in gender differences (i.e., brain differences, learning styles, activity levels, social processes, etc...). Instead, educators in the United States have been inundated with behaviorism and feministic theory which adheres to the belief that male and female children are the same neurologically, socially, intellectually, behaviorally, and emotionally (Stolzer, 2008). It has been known throughout human history that males and females follow divergent developmental trajectories. At present time, this fact is systemically ignored, and has resulted in millions of American boys being labeled as psychiatrically disordered and being prescribed daily doses of dangerous and addictive

psychotropic drugs for behaviors that can be scientifically documented across mammals, across time and across cultures (Jensen, et al, 1997; Stolzer, 2005).

The Hurried Child Syndrome

Throughout the majority of human history, childhood was a time of non-structured exploration, discovery, and heightened activity level. Young boys routinely roamed in packs and covered large, outdoor areas. Adult supervision was minimal with experiential learning occurring as a result of natural and logical consequences. Play time was neither initiated or controlled by adults, and the natural world is where children developed physically, intellectually, morally, emotionally, and socially (Kahn & Kellert, 2002). Over the last 20-30 years, childhood has been dramatically altered in the United States of America. The average American child begins full time daycare at six weeks of age (Fogel, 2010). Beginning in infancy, every moment of the day is structured, and the majority of developmental experience occurs indoors. As the child grows, piano lessons, soccer practice, and a myriad of other structured activities are scheduled. The child is continually being monitored by adults and is constantly being told when, where, how, and why he is to behave.

For 99.9% of our time on earth, humans have lived as hunter-gatherers and our very existence was intrinsically intertwined with the natural world (Wilson, 1993). Children were continually immersed in nature- the sun, the soil, water, sand, rocks, vegetation, and all manner of biophilia- both animal and vegetable. Piaget (1929) postulated that childhood is a time in life when humans are particularly attuned to seek out and learn from the natural world, and if stripped of these esoteric experiences, serious pathology could result. In an attempt to have the brightest, most cognitively competent, well-rounded children, parents have inadvertently denied their offspring the experience of the natural world. Children in America are routinely driven and picked up from school and social and athletic events. Walking to the swimming pool or the baseball diamond has become a thing of the past due to frenzied schedules and the fear of abduction. American parents typically work until 5:00 or 6:00 pm so the outdoor, unrestrained exploratory freedom of the past has been replaced by more time in structured, indoor, adult controlled institutions.

Nature, which was for millions of years the dominant feature of childhood, has now been replaced by structured schedules, adult-maintained indoor environments, T.V.'s, computers, iPods, and cell phones (Stolzer, 2010). Walking and running, which has been a central feature of hominid existence throughout evolutionary time, has been replaced across America with riding in cars, buses, trains, and other means of automated transportation (Miller, Rosenbloom & Silverstein, 2004). Altering our bioevolutionary past has impacted human beings on a vast scale. Obesity is now reaching epidemic proportions in child and adolescent populations across America, and psychiatric diagnoses are rampant- particularly in young males.

E.O. Wilson (1993) has theorized that the natural world is the most compendious and critical environment that children will ever encounter. What is clear is that American children have lost contact with the natural world, and this loss has created unintended and unexpected consequences. Sebba (1991) hypothesized that the natural world attracts, stimulates, and retains a child's attention to such a degree that it positively impacts maturational processes and psychosocial health. Sebba goes on to state that from the perspective of a child, human built environments

are boring, mundane, and foreign. Conversely, in the natural world, a child continually encounters awe, wonder, and instability, which induce sustained focus and interest rather than inattention, distractibility and defiant behavior patterns (Sebba, 1991; Stolzer, 2010).

In short, the amount of time that children are exposed to nature and unstructured, rigorous physical outdoor activity has been dramatically altered in a relatively short time span. The reductionistic medical model that insists that boyhood neuropathology is the impetus of all behavioral problems has yet to examine the role of nature deprivation and the hurried child syndrome. Perhaps ADHD, Conduct Disorder, and Oppositional Defiance are not the result of a disordered brain (i.e., a “chemical imbalance”), but rather, are the direct result of the frenzied, unnatural world that we have created for ourselves and for our children in 21st century America (Stolzer, 2005).

The American Education System

According to the United States government (2010), an astonishing 7 out of 10 students who have been officially labeled as “learning disabled” are male. Furthermore, 80% of the students who have been classified as “psychiatrically disordered” are male, with the most commonly diagnosed disorder being Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Interestingly, 98% of referrals for behavior and/or learning disability diagnoses come directly from the United States public school system (Baughman, 2006). This should come as no surprise as there is clearly an economic incentive to label children. In 1991, the federal government amended the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) to include behavioral and learning disorders. Prior to this amendment, schools received additional monies only for children with physical disabilities such as blindness, deafness, and physical mobility issues. The inclusion of behavioral and learning disorders to this amendment served two purposes; first, it provided an economic incentive for individual schools to label children with learning and/or behavior disorders, and secondly, this amendment caused the rates of learning and behavioral disorders to skyrocket, particularly in young males (Baughman, 2006).

The World Health Organization has stated emphatically that childhood and adolescence are normal developmental stages, therefore it may be extremely difficult to differentiate between “abnormal” and “normal” behavior patterns in child and adolescent populations (Breggin, 2001; Stolzer, 2008). In addition, the Surgeon General of the United States is on record stating that the diagnosis of psychiatric disorders is problematic as there exists no definitive biological, cognitive, metabolic, or neurological test that can confirm the existence of such disorders (Baughman, 2006). In spite of the numerous questions surrounding the validity and reliability of psychiatric diagnostics, the United States continues to lead all other nations in the labeling and drugging of young males.

Teachers, administrators, parents, and counselors across America have bought into the hypothesis that a “chemical imbalance” in the brain is responsible for fidgeting, messy schoolwork, defiance, refusal to sit quietly, and heightened activity level, although no scientific evidence exists to support this hypothesis (Baughman, 2006; Stolzer, 2010). Increasingly, a boy’s “acting out” behavior in school is thought to stem from a psychiatric disorder, while familial attributes, evolutionary predisposition, lack of teacher education in the area of gender differences, overcrowded classrooms, and lack of outdoor, rigorous physical activity are conveniently ignored. For the first

time in American history, we are witnessing teachers in the public school system taking on the role of psychologist, psychiatrist, and/or neurologist. Let us not forget that teachers are not now, nor have they ever been, trained as psychologists, psychiatrists, or neurologists. Teachers are trained in curriculum and instruction (with a decidedly behavioristic/feministic bias)- not in diagnosing supposedly complex neurological disorders of the brain (Breggin & Cohen, 1999; Stolzer, 2008).

It is interesting to note that the rates of learning and behavior disorders vary considerably from school to school. In America, private schools do not receive federal monies for children with learning and/or behavior disorders, so the rates of these “disorders” are extremely rare in private schools (Baughman, 2006; Stolzer, 2008). The vast majority of “disordered” students are found in the public school system, with males disproportionately diagnosed and medicated. The highest rates of psychiatric disorders are clustered among children who are eligible for Medicaid insurance and those who are multi-racial. In addition, ADHD diagnosis vary significantly across America, with California reporting the lowest rates (2.1%), and North Carolina reporting the highest rates (15.6%) (Centers for Disease Control, 2011).

While prevalence rates of ADHD continue to soar across America, longitudinal data has indicated that being diagnosed and drugged for ADHD causes a plethora of unexpected problems. According to the 2009 Raine Study, children with a diagnosis of ADHD perform significantly worse at 14 years old on measures of depression, self-perception, social functioning, academic performance, school enjoyment, and attention than those without a diagnosis. Furthermore, data from this study demonstrated that children receiving stimulant medications were found to perform at a below-age level by a factor of 10.5 times when compared to same age peers who were not receiving stimulant medications. Data contained in this study also found that externalizing behaviors and attention problems do not improve significantly with the use of stimulant drugs (Government of Western Australia, 2009).

In spite of the fact that life has changed dramatically over the last 10,000 years, human brains evolved in particular ways in order to adapt to environmental contingencies encountered throughout evolutionary time. Humans have lived as part of the hominid species under the influence of particular cultural constraints for 10,000-12,000 years, which according to evolutionary psychologists, is not a long enough time period to have significantly altered the way the brain functions (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002). Our evolutionary past is still with us today, and this fact is glaringly evident in the modern-day school system. Young males, across mammals and across evolutionary time, have never been known to be sedentary. Hunting, combat, roaming large areas, and heightened switching of attentional focus were, and continue to be, the hallmarks of the young male. From an evolutionary perspective, the American public school system is at odds with the males’ bioevolutionary history as the majority of tasks required in schools have no relationship whatever to the ancient environments encountered by primordial males (Brown & Bjorklund, 1998). Geary (1995) refers to those human attributes that were selected during evolution as “biologically primary abilities,” and include such things as heightened activity level, hunting, protectiveness, and engaging the fight-or-flight response. Conversely, “biologically secondary abilities” are culturally constructed and require memorization, tedious repetition, external motivation, and are not related in any way to the survival of the fittest, or in particular, to natural selection.

Modern day school systems mandate biologically secondary abilities, including inordinate amounts of extended seat work, prolonged periods of attentional focus on the boring and mundane, docility, rote memorization, and regurgitative learning (Bjorklund & Pellegrini; Stolzer, 2010). This unnatural focus on biologically secondary abilities, which is rampant in the American

school system, conflicts with the young males evolutionary based tendencies towards rough and tumble play, nature exploration, dominance hierarchies, and heightened activity levels, and has been correlated with the high incidence of learning and/or behavior disorders in young males (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002; Jensen, et al, 1997; Stolzer, 2008).

As a direct result of the sweeping acceptance of feministic theory across America, many individuals believe that it is the female student that is at a distinct disadvantage in the modern day public schools system, yet there exists no peer-reviewed, scientific evidence to substantiate this claim (Stolzer, 2008). Data from the United States Department of Education (2010) confirms that female students 1. receive better grades from Kindergarten through 12th grade in all subject matters, 2. are enrolled in more rigorous academic programs in high school, 3. outnumber males in advanced placement classes, 4. have higher academic aspirations than males, 5. are more likely to study abroad, 6. are more likely to attend college, 7. are more likely to be an honor society participant, and 8. are more likely to receive an associate degree, bachelor's degree, master's degree, Ph.D, and medical degree (Peter & Horn, 2006; US Department of Education, 2010). Furthermore, young males are significantly more likely to be diagnosed as learning and/or behaviorally disordered, to be prescribed psychotropic medication, to be suspended from school, to re-take a grade, to drop out of high school, to engage in criminal activity, to engage in substance abuse, and are significantly more likely to commit suicide (Breggin, 2002; Stolzer, 2008; US Department of Education, 2010).

Numerous researchers have questioned the validity and reliability of psychiatric diagnoses in young males, and have pointed out that fidgeting, defiance, the inability to remain seated, excessive running, jumping and/or climbing, and the inability to pay attention to that which bores them are not indicators of psychopathology, but rather are normal, evolutionary based developmental processes that occur in young males across cultures, across mammals, and across historical time (Baughman, 2006; Breggin, 2002; Panksepp, 1998; Stolzer, 2010). There is no doubt that these historically documented boy behaviors are in direct conflict with the expectations of the modern day public school system. Contemporary public schools require docility, passivity, extended seat work, and inordinate amounts of attention to the boring and mundane- attributes which have never been recorded in young males at any time in the scientific record. Couple these expectations with the sweeping reduction in recess and physical education classes, the pervasive indoctrination of feminism and behaviorism across teachers colleges, the lack of understanding of esoteric gender differences (neurological, social, intellectual, and emotional), overcrowded class rooms, the financial incentive to label children with learning and/or behavior disorders, and the widespread acceptance of a pseudo-theory that defines normal-range boy behaviors as "psychiatric disorders", and one can clearly see how we as a culture have been deluded into accepting the legitimacy of the "Disordered American Boy" hypothesis.

Brain Research

For decades, feminists and behaviorists have been asserting that the multifarious gender differences that have been documented across the globe are merely reflections of societal conditioning. According to this reductionistic hypothesis, gender is simply a social construct that can be shaped and molded at will. However, with the advent of the MRI, the CAT scan, and the PET scan, empirical, quantitative data has demonstrated that there are significant differences in the neurological

functioning of male and female brains. While it is certain that outliers exist, the fact remains that for the majority of human beings, male and female brains are hard-wired quite differently (Bear, Connors, & Pardiso, 1996; Donaldson and Young, 2008; White, 2005).

Research has confirmed that the basal ganglia, which controls movement, is engaged more rapidly in males. The pre-frontal lobes, which have been empirically linked to impulsivity control, are not fully developed in males until 20-23 years of age. In addition, the fight or flight response is more aggressively and rapidly engaged in males, and the amygdala, which is associated with aggressive outbursts and alerting the brain to danger, is significantly larger in males (Donaldson & Young 2008; Gurian, 2001). Mounting scientific data continues to dispel the very core of the feminist/behaviorist agenda, which is to perpetuate the scientific fallacy that males and females are essentially the same- neurologically, socially, psychologically, and cognitively.

It is an undisputed fact that all human fetuses begin life as a female. Sex differentiation occurs only when the maternal ovaries flood the fetus with large amounts of the hormone testosterone, thus resulting in the biological male. This flood of testosterone dramatically alters the fetus, and in doing so, forever encodes particular developmental, neurological, hormonal, and psychological attributes into the developing male (White, 2005). During puberty, the male body is once again flooded with testosterone, and for the second time, the male undergoes immense physiological, hormonal, neurological, and cognitive changes (Gurian, 2001). For years scientists asserted that the sex chromosomes (male, xy, female, xx) were responsible for the numerous gender differences that can be documented. However, later research confirms that it is not the sex chromosomes, but the vastly different gonadal secretions that occur during fetal life that are responsible for gender differences in the brain (Carruth, Reisert, & Arnold, 2002).

While it is true that males and females possess all of the occurring human hormones, estrogen and progesterone are the dominant female hormones, while testosterone is the dominant male hormone. These distinct hormones effect all of the neurological systems, and in doing so, create the vast gender differences that have been documented across cultures and across mammalian species (Buss, 2004). According to published data, testosterone increases aggression, competition, self-assertion, self-reliance, defiance, and territoriality (Jensen, et al, 1997). At around 10 years of age, testosterone levels in young males rise and fall dramatically over the course of a day, which often times results in aggression, defiance, and competitive drive. By adolescence, the average male has 20 times more testosterone than the average female (Gurian, 2001). Researchers have found that distinct hormones affect behavior patterns in clear and measurable ways. It has been documented that prenatal testosterone has a significant effect on increasing risky behavior, movement, and physical reflexes (Arnold, 2009). In addition, testosterone levels have been found to influence the divergent play behaviors that have been documented in boys and girls (Auyeung & Baron-Cohen, 2009). Girl play tends to be socioemotionally focused, while boys tend to exhibit rough and tumble play styles that involve more bodily contact, dominance, and continual physical activity (Gurian, 2001). As a direct result of these distinct play differences, children segregate by gender across the globe (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002).

During the early 1960's, it was hypothesized that the function of child's play is to prepare them for adult roles. However, more recent research suggests that it is distinct neurological differences that resulted from millions of years of natural selection that have produced the profound differences in boy and girl play styles (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002). Evolutionary contingencies play a monumental role in shaping male learning, play, and behavior, and have for millions of years endowed males with attributes that were not only highly sought after, but ensured the survival of the human species (Buss, 2004). Although these unique male attributes can be scientific-

cally documented, we are now immersed in a medical paradigm which pathologizes male learning and behavioral patterns, and has resulted in the labeling and drugging of millions of young males across America (Baughman, 2006; Stolzer, 2010). Perhaps the time has come to overtly challenge those theories which refuse to acknowledge the anthropological, neurological, and bioevolutionary data. It is time now in the 21st century to understand and respect that males and females are inherently different- neurologically, emotionally, cognitively, and socially, and to demand an end to politically correct hypotheses which cannot be scientifically validated.

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM IV)

ADHD

According to the latest Diagnostic and Statistical Manual IV (2000), the major symptoms of ADHD include; inattention, fidgetiness, squirming in one's seat, not remaining seated when expected to do so, excessive running, jumping or climbing, difficulty playing quietly, appearing to be "on the go" or as if driven by a motor, and talking excessively (p. 86). Symptoms of this "disorder" typically worsen in environments that require sustained attention and that lack intrinsic appeal (e.g., listening to the teacher, doing assignments, or working on monotonous, repetitive tasks). According to the DSM IV, symptoms of this "disorder" are minimal or absent when the child is receiving frequent rewards for appropriate behavior, is under close supervision, is in a novel setting, or is engaged in especially interesting activities (p. 86-87).

This is abject lunacy. What the American Psychiatric Association has done is to create a disease out of a cluster of behavior patterns that only 25 years ago was called "boyhood". Across all cultures, across all historical time periods, and across every mammalian species, the young male fidgets, is inattentive, squirms, runs, jumps, climbs, and appears to be "driven by a motor". Symptoms worsen in environments that are boring, monotonous, and lack intrinsic appeal? Then perhaps we should consider doing away with boring, monotonous classrooms that do not meet the cognitive, social, and physical needs of boys. This solution seems much more humane than the current cultural practice of dosing boys with dangerous and addictive drugs on a daily basis for years on end in order to alleviate normal-range boy behaviors. Clearly, young males engage in behaviors that exacerbate the average adult- of this, there can be no question. However, to operationally define these historically documented boy behavior patterns as a "psychiatric disorder" is not only scientifically fallacious, it is an affront to human intelligence.

Conduct Disorder

The symptoms of "Conduct Disorder" as outlined in the DSM IV (2000) are as follows; "aggressive conduct, nonaggressive conduct that causes property damage, deceitfulness, theft, and/or violation of rules" (p. 94). The DSM IV states that the child with conduct disorder is "likely to minimize their conduct problems, so the clinician must rely on additional informants" (p. 94). Other symptoms of conduct disorder include bullying, frequent fighting, and intimidating behavior. Children are diagnosed with 1. mild conduct disorder (few, if any conduct problems in excess, which include lying, truancy, and staying out after dark without permission), 2. moderate conduct disorder (the number of problems and the effect on others are intermediate between mild and severe), and 3. severe conduct disorder (many conduct problems in excess of those required to make the diagnosis are present) (p. 95).

The above diagnostic criterion are highly subjective, and are open to individual interpretation. What is the operational definition of "few"? What exactly does "intermediate between mild and severe" mean? And how does one quantify "in excess"? Do clinicians take into account envi-

ronmental factors that may precipitate symptoms of “Conduct Disorder” (e.g., living in particular environments where threatening and aggressive behavior is most certainly self-protective)? Are any of the clinicians diagnosing “Conduct Disorder” familiar with the literature that documents that aggressive, threatening, and territorial behavior is normative in young males across cultures and across mammalian species? “Normative” does not imply that these types of behavior patterns do not require swift and severe consequences. The term “normative” simply means that there is no pathology present in males who exhibit these behaviors patterns as these types of behaviors have been documented for hundreds of years in scientific literature. The DSM IV (2000) states that Conduct Disorder has increased significantly over the last decades, and is much more prevalent in urban settings, and in young males. Furthermore, “Conduct Disorder is one of the most frequently diagnosed conditions in outpatient and inpatient mental health facilities for children” (p. 97).

Across cultures, across time, and across mammalian species, young males have engaged in aggressive acts, bullying, theft, destruction of property, fighting, and intimidating acts. With regard to humans, laws were written so that the above mentioned behaviors could be prosecuted in criminal courts. Throughout recorded human civilization, if a person broke a law, the person was tried according to the law of the land, and if convicted, the person was sentenced for their offense. They were not labeled as “psychiatrically disordered” nor were they required to take psychiatric drugs, or to be hospitalized in a mental institution for their “disorder”. Clearly, in modern day America, we have moved away from the “punishment fits the crime” model (i.e., the criminal justice model), and are now immersed in the perilous and unpredictable world of psychiatric labeling, which includes daily doses of dangerous and addictive psychiatric drugs, and a lifetime sentence of being labeled as “psychiatrically disturbed”, as once a psychiatric label is affixed, it is permanent (Baughman, 2006).

Oppositional Defiant Disorder

According to the DSM IV (2000), Oppositional Defiant Disorder is defined as a pattern of negative, hostile, and defiant behaviors lasting at least 6 months, during which four or more of the following are present:

1. Loses temper
2. Argues with adults
3. Often refuses to comply with adults’ requests
4. Deliberately annoys people
5. Often blames others for his mistakes
6. Is often touchy or easily annoyed by others
7. Is often angry and resentful
8. Is often spiteful or vindictive (p. 102).

The hallmark of this “psychiatric disorder” is a recurrent pattern (lasting at least 6 months) of defiant and disobedient behavior directed toward an adult authority figure. Stubbornness, resisting directives, and an unwillingness to “give in” to adults or peers are also, according to the DSM IV (2000), indicators of “Oppositional Defiant Disorder”. “Manifestations of this disorder are almost invariably present in the home setting, but may not be evident at school or in the community. Symptoms of this disorder are typically more evident in interactions with adults or peers whom the child knows well, and this may not be apparent during clinical examination” (p. 100).

By the DSM’s own admission, “Oppositional Defiant Disorder is a “disorder” that comes and goes, depending on the people that the child or adolescent is surrounded by. Theoretically,

this disorder is totally and 100% curable if the child remains in the company of those who do not provoke “oppositional defiant” response patterns. Furthermore, this criterion is highly subjective, and would most certainly vary depending on the individual rater. Four of these behaviors and a child has “Oppositional Defiant Disorder”? If he displays three of these behaviors, he does not have the disorder? Clearly, this type of diagnostic criteria is simplistic and relativistic at best, and at worst is medical fraud due to the lack of reliability and validity of diagnostic procedures. What is the current medical recommendation for having the audacity to be defiant, disobedient, and stubborn? The answer is an official psychiatric label coupled with daily doses of psychiatric drugs that will synthetically alter the brain so as to induce conformity, docility, and passivity.

Risks Associated with Psychotropic Drugs

The overwhelming majority of American boys who are labeled with a psychiatric disorder are prescribed daily doses of psychotropic drugs in order to control undesirable behaviors (Baughman, 2006; Stolzer, 2010). While it is certainly easier to medicate millions of boys than to address the multifarious correlates related to the behaviors that have recently been defined as “psychiatric disorders”, the fact remains that there are serious adverse effects associated with the use of psychotropic drugs. All classifications of psychotropic medications are classified as Schedule II drugs along with morphine, heroin, cocaine, and methamphetamine, as these drugs have been proven to be extremely addictive and to cause a wide range of physiological atrophy (Baughman, 2006; Breggin, 2002). Following is a listing of the side effects associated with psychotropic medications prescribed to children and adolescents: disorientation, weight loss or weight gain, personality changes, apathy, social isolation, depression, insomnia, increased blood pressure, cardiac arrhythmia, tremors, weakened immune system, agitation, fatigue, visual disturbances, drug dependency, nervousness, aggression, liver dysfunction, hepatic coma, angina, mania, irritability, anxiety, hostility, muscle spasm, seizures, suicidal ideation, homicidal ideation, and drug induced psychosis (Breggin & Cohen, 1999; Novartis Pharmaceutical Corporation, 2012; Stolzer, 2010).

Unexplained death is another adverse reaction that has occurred, particularly among young males and those individuals who are chronically hospitalized in mental institutions (Breggin & Cohen, 1999). It is imperative that the doctrine of informed consent is implemented so that each patient (or parent of the patient) is fully aware of the risks associated with psychotropic drugs. With millions of young males currently labeled and drugged for psychiatric illnesses that did not even exist a generation ago, we can no longer afford to remain in blissful ignorance concerning the plethora of dangerous side effects associated with these classifications of drugs. (For a further review of the risks associated with psychotropic medications, see *The Physician's Desk Reference Manual*).

Conclusion

Modern day Americans are the first human beings in recorded history to witness the mass psychiatric labeling and drugging of children and adolescents. Never before have human beings intentionally inundated the developing human brain with psychiatric medications in order to control undesirable behavior patterns. In spite of the overwhelming scientific evidence that documents that the developing brain is more susceptible to the adverse effects of psychiatric medications, and that the earlier a drug is introduced, the higher the potential for adverse effects, we continue to witness a meteoric rise in prescriptions for psychiatric medications across America, particularly in young males (Baughman, 2006; DeGrandpre, 1999; Stolzer, 2005).

First and foremost, we must recognize the illegitimacy of the most commonly diagnosed “psychiatric disorders” in young males. Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder? Or is it simply being a young mammalian male who has a short attention span, delights in running, jumping and climbing, refuses to pay attention to the boring and mundane, and is on the go constantly, as if “driven by a motor”? Throughout recorded history, young males have been exuberant, inattentive, highly active, fidgety, squirmy, loud, easily distracted, and messy (Breggin, 2001). This is not a “chemical imbalance” of the brain that requires dangerous and addictive drugs. This is boyhood in all of its messy, running, jumping, climbing and inattentive glory. Take heed, this stage will not last forever. In its place will emerge the tired, conforming, focused, workaholic man who longs for the days of unbounded, inattentive, energetic rough and tumble exuberance that he knew once upon a time.

Conduct Disorder? Oppositional Defiant Disorder? According to the bio-psychological literature, symptoms of these disorders actually are beneficial in many instances. Boys learn differently than girls, and in the case of dominance posturing and rough and tumble behaviors, boys are learning social signaling, assessment of other individuals competence and strength, and are learning how to establish leadership roles (Pellegrini & Smith, 1998). Male children and adolescents respond differently to environmental stimuli, and according to evolutionary developmental psychologists, these distinct male behaviors are apt to be misinterpreted by those who lack an intrinsic understanding of bioevolutionary-based behavior patterns (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002).

Other studies suggest that with regard to young males, dominance behaviors are found across all cultures and across all mammalian species. These behaviors, through admittedly not valued in the current day public school system, have been significantly correlated with popularity (Vaughn, 1999; Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000). Interestingly, cooperation and conflict resolution are more common in young males in “open field situations” (where young males feel free to leave the group at any time). Conversely, when young males feel that they are “in a corner” or that they are trapped in a particular environment, aggressive behaviors escalate (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002).

Numerous scholars have postulated that aggressive behaviors play a critical role in the evolution of social intelligence (Cummins, 1998). In order for young males to develop optimally, they must understand where their place is relative to others, and it is crucial that they learn what behaviors are acceptable and what behaviors warrant a consequence. In addition, researchers have documented that aggression is not in and of itself pathological, but rather, has been highly adaptive over the course of evolutionary time (Cummins, 1998). Aggressive, defiant, and dominant behaviors are extremely common throughout the mammalian kingdom, and are typically displayed to try and establish leadership within a particular group. It is normative for young human males to desire a leadership role, and to compete fiercely for resources (both tangible and intangible). According to published data, once the dominance hierarchy is clearly established, that is, there is no longer a question of who the leader is, rates of male aggression decrease significantly (Strayer & Noel, 1986).

Since its inception, bioevolutionary theory has looked to the construct of the survival of the fittest to explain aggression in young males. According to the DSM IV (2000), aggression, defiance, dominance posturing, temper flares, and noncompliance are indicators of a “psychiatric disorder”. However, for over 150 years, the scientific literature has documented that natural selection would *clearly* favor those males who used aggression most effectively to secure various resources, to procure leadership positions, and to continue their genetic line (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002).

It is well known that males are more physically and verbally aggressive than females (Macoby, 1998). Conversely, females have been documented to use relational aggression at much higher rates than their male cohorts, but currently, the members of the American Psychiatric Association (APA) have not, as of yet, voted that these females behavior patterns are indicative of a

psychiatric disorder. Female aggression patterns typically involve gossip, nonverbal cues, ostracizing of other females, rumors, and intentional damaging of other's reputations. While male aggression is more physical in nature, female aggression lasts for longer durations, and in many cases, continues for years unabated (Cricks & Grotpeter, 1995).

Researchers have postulated that these divergent styles of aggression are due to distinct bioevolutionary, neurological, and hormonal contingencies that have been documented across cultures and across historical time (Maccoby, 1998). It is only recently that male behavior patterns have been operationally defined as "psychiatric disorders", but fortunately, this newly formed "Disordered Boy Hypothesis" has not gained widespread acceptance in other cultures nor have biologists, zoologists, or ethologists accepted this hypothesis with regard to non-human mammals.

It is an absolute certainty that the behaviors that the DSM IV has classified as "psychiatric disorders" exist, of this there can be no doubt. Running, jumping, inattentiveness, squirming, fidgeting, defiance, and aggression are behaviors that young males have exhibited since the beginning of the hominid species. Furthermore, these behaviors have been documented across all cultures and across all mammalian species (Buss, 2004; Jensen, et al 1997; Stolzer, 2008). What *has* been altered dramatically over the last 20-30 years is the collective definition of what constitutes normative boy development. Americans have accepted unequivocally the "Disordered Boy Hypothesis" and the plethora of psychiatric drugs that have been put forth to remedy the "chemical imbalance" that causes these "disorders". Let us remember that there are absolutely no confirmatory neurological, metabolic, cognitive, or physical abnormalities present in the boy who has been diagnosed with a psychiatric disorder (Baughman, 2006; Breggin, 2001; Jensen, et al, 1997). The only diagnostic tool available is a subjective checklist of behaviors, behaviors that were for the vast majority of human history, considered to be normal.

According to pediatric neurologist Baughman (2006), boys who are diagnosed with a psychiatric disorder are normal in every sense of the word, that is, until psychiatric drugs are introduced, after which time neurological atrophy occurs. Baughman (2006) is adamant that in order to diagnosis a medical condition, a physical abnormality must be present (i.e., there must be evidence of an abnormal phenotype) as this is how diseases are confirmed throughout the scientific community. With regard to boy disorders such as ADHD, Oppositional Defiance, and Conduct Disorder, there is no confirmatory diagnostic test, nor is the specific etiology of any of these disorders known at this time (Breggin, 2002; Novartis, 2012). Furthermore, there exists no longitudinal data that can confirm the effectiveness of psychotropic drugs in child and adolescent populations, nor has the safety of these drugs been established in controlled trials (Baughman, 2006; Novartis, 2012).

The "psychiatric disorders" that millions of American boys have been diagnosed with were not discovered by science as is the case with all legitimate diseases. Rather, ADHD, Conduct Disorder, and Oppositional Defiant Disorder were *voted* into existence by the American Psychiatric Association's committee members (Baughman, 2006). Interestingly, the "psychiatric disorder" known as homosexuality was voted into existence, and was included in the DSM until it was voted out of existence in 1978 (Breggin & Cohen, 1999). Legitimate disorders that can be voted in and out of existence? This is ludicrous. Physicians, researchers, clinicians, parents, and concerned others must demand that the field of medicine is driven by empirical, quantitative data, not by pseudo-science that is rooted in political correctness and economic gain.

Perhaps Americans actually prefer the chemically altered boy brain over the non-chemically altered boy brain (Breggin, 2002). Young males have, over the course of historical time, engaged in behaviors that frustrate and aggravate adults, particularly when large groups of young males congregate together, as is the case in the vast majority of public schools across the country. We can continue to define boy behaviors that irritate adults as "psychiatric disorders" if we so wish. We can continue drugging millions of American boys in order to alleviate inattentiveness,

fidgeting, squirming, defiance, aggression, running, jumping and climbing- but at what cost? The pharmaceutical companies, the medical establishment, and the public school system all profit economically from the Disordered American Boy hypothesis, while the boys themselves suffer neurologically, socially, cognitively, and emotionally (Baughman 2006; Breggin, 2001; Government of Western Australia, 2009).

“Disordered American Boy”? Or could it be our newly constructed disordered American culture that is immersed in the medical model, attachment deprivation, feminist/behaviorist theory, and frenzied schedules? Couple these factors with nature deprivation, the lack of understanding of bioevolutionary processes, the pervasive dismissal of neurological data, the lack of teacher training in esoteric gender differences, and an economic incentive to label children with a myriad of psychiatric disorders, and it is clear why the majority of Americans have accepted the “Disordered American Boy” hypothesis without reservation. Curiously, it has taken the most affluent, most highly educated civilization the world has ever known to decree that boyhood is a disease, and that psychiatric drugs are the cure. Perhaps the time has come to challenge this decree. Our boys are counting on us.

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The Origin of the Sexual Divide in the 'Genetic Filter' Function: Male Disadvantage and Why It Is not Perceived

Steve Moxon



The sexes properly understood from biological principles interact not in terms of dominance/submission but male deference to females in recognition of the female as the 'limiting factor' in reproduction through being the principal direct investor in offspring. The corresponding function of

the male is to act as the 'genetic filter' to purge accumulated deleterious genetic material. This entails males necessarily contesting intrasexually for dominance rank as a measure of "good genes" (the criterion of male attractiveness), the relative lack of which leaves most males subject to "policing" by both sexes in order to restrict their sexual access to females. Added to the costs incurred in fierce competition, this amounts to a serious disadvantage for most males. The polarisation in specialism stems originally from a small size difference in gametes. The distinction between the sexes is not "sexual conflict." Competitiveness is entirely intrasexual and much stronger in males. The sexes have starkly contrasting though fully complementary sociality. The implications of this analysis for the social sciences and politics are wide-ranging.

Keywords: males, genetic filter, sexual conflict, dominance, mate value, male disadvantage



The Origin of the Sexual Divide

How the distinction between the sexes arose is a question separable from the major debate as to how sexual reproduction evolved in the first place and how it persisted without falling foul of selection pressures. All three questions have become entwined with the realisation that sexual selection on the male is the key. Differential male mating success purges genetic mutation from the gene pool so well that it compensates for sexual reproduction requiring two parents to make each offspring rather than just the one needed as in asexual reproduction. Actual data show this,¹ as previously modelled.² This is the famous 'twofold cost of sex'. The evolution of sex and the evolution of the sexes may well be as much of a chicken-and-egg affair as is the persistence of sex. For simplicity of exposition this complex dynamic is glossed over here.

The thorny question about the evolution of sex had in any case roughly settled down to an acceptance of two theories that are not mutually exclusive, being opposite sides of the same coin. Sexual reproduction is required primarily to deal with the accumulation of gene replication error, that is, deleterious mutations and genetic recombination and also, conversely, to produce and retain mutations and genetic recombination that are enhancing to the organism in the context of changed selection conditions driving new adaptation. The accumulation of replication error is self-evidently the crucial problem facing any system of iterated replication, as the case in photocopying where if each successive print is used as the new original very quickly the print becomes unreadable. Clearly this is the foundational problem for any biological system, relying as it has to on genetic coding that must be copied at each new generation. Inasmuch as sex deals with this, there is a paradox in that the process of genetic recombination dilutes the deleterious genetic material so well that the great majority of individuals neither die nor malfunction sufficiently to be unable to reproduce. Sex would seem actually to exacerbate the problem of accumulating 'bad' genes in the gene pool.³

Here is where the distinction between the sexes is vital, albeit not why the sexes arose initially. I will address the latter question first. It is thought that the sexes originated through an amplification of a random small size difference in gametes, the sex cells that fuse to form a zygote (fertilised egg). The larger gamete is the one by definition denoted female. Ancestrally, so far as can be deduced from phylogenetic data, gametes were isogamous (all the same size). That is, there were no distinct mating types, so there was no male and female. Indeed, there are quite a number of extant 'primitive' life forms that are now known to show isogamy. Anisogamy (different sized gametes) has been assumed to be the result of some form of 'sexual conflict' (either intra-genomic or a 'parasitism' of male gametes on female), but it is now shown in models to produce increased fitness for both resulting mating types. Anisogamy evolves if large zygotes are favoured and the difference in gamete sizes maximises the encounter rate between gametes and hence the number of zygotes produced.⁴ This would be the usual condition: large zygotes were favoured because this shortens the time taken to grow into an adult, and the gamete encounter rate is maximised in an equilibrium where one gamete type is both highly numerous and motile, to complement the other relatively sedentary gamete type containing the tissue and resources required to produce a large zygote.

There is an alternative new theory that the sexes existed (and in some species still exist) despite there being no size distinction between mating types. This is the theory advanced notably by Nick Lane of mitonuclear co-evolution,⁵ whereby sex precedes isogamy rather than being a result of isogamy giving way to anisogamy. Note that this is not incompatible with the anisogamy theory given the separable, complementary questions of the persistence of sex as opposed to its origin, and chicken-and-egg dynamics. Mitonuclear co-evolution stems from the unusual separation of mitochondrial genes (those controlling and coding for organelles within the cell that are responsible for meeting the energy requirements of the cell) so that most are in the cell nucleus and the rest in the cell cytoplasm. The crucial need for these to work in tandem necessitates (for reasons beyond the scope of the discussion here) their inheritance through one and not both sexes. This explains why it is that mitochondrial genes are always passed down the female line. Just as with the anisogamy theory of the origin of sex, mitonuclear co-evolution explicitly contradicts the earlier notion of sexual conflict.

The Male 'Genetic Filter' Function

However anisogamy arose, the adult larger gamete producers (adult female organisms) will expend more effort and resources in gamete production, and by extension provide more effort and resources once their gametes are fused with the smaller gametes as zygotes. The implications of this are profound when it comes to the problem of how to rid the organism of accumulated gene replication error (deleterious mutation and recombination).

Being so encumbered, the adult females are unavailable or much less available to deal with the accumulation of gene replication error and, conversely, to deal with the business of retaining beneficial mutation and genetic recombination. An elimination/retention mechanism is essen-

tial, and therefore just as the adult females specialise in producing gametes and nurturing zygotes, so it would seem, the smaller gamete producers (adult males) are obliged to specialise in the vital function of combating gene replication error. Just as any size differential polarises, so did these specialisms.

This function has to be in effect quarantined on the male side of the lineage, and has been dubbed the male 'genetic filter'⁶ or 'mutational cleansing'.⁷ It would appear to be the essence of being male, and is evident in what we can call a principle that across species there is always more selection acting on males than on females. This was long regarded as being obvious and not an empirical question, and there is plenty of indirect evidence for it.⁸ Methodological issues had to be overcome in order to test it, but data now confirms it is the case.⁹ New modelling reveals that sex cannot persist at all unless there is more selection on males than on females.¹⁰

The defining feature of the male therefore appears to be not small size but the 'genetic filter' function, making this the male principle. It has been thought that what demarcated the sexes is the Bateman Principle, which is the rule that it is always the female that directly invests the most in offspring. There are well-known apparent exceptions. Some species seem to have evolved 'sex reversal' in that the male has evolved to be the nurturing parent, as in many ground-nesting bird species and seahorses. This is because in these species there is a particularly serious predation risk for offspring and collaterally the mother, thereby requiring a lot of extra energy by the female to invest in egg production in anticipation of heavy attrition. The extra investment here is a further burden on the female, which already is the sex that is the 'limiting factor' in reproduction. It makes sense to offload onto the male some or most of the energy expended in parenting. In turn, males become choosy about their partners, and females evolve the brightly-coloured sexual display normally the preserve of males. Even so, it is still the case that the female is the major direct investor in offspring. Bateman's Principle still holds.

Either way, there is no problem here for the 'genetic filter' model, there being no requirement that the investment function of the female invariably be in effect quarantined on the female half of the lineage to correspond to the 'genetic filter' function of the male. If there are circumstances whereby some of the offspring investment burden can evolve to be transferred to the male as part of increasing selection pressure on the male, then this is simply to extend the scope of the 'genetic filter' function, thereby serving overall reproductive efficiency (see below). If it turns out that there are exceptions to Bateman's Principle, then it would be an imperfect generalisation, and an approximation to what is a principle, namely, that there is always more selection overall on the male than on the female.

In the operation of the 'genetic filter' it is imperative that those males carrying deleterious genetic material are eliminated from the local reproductive group, taking their genes with them out of the gene pool. Given a particularly heavy loading, males either do not survive or are so mal-functional as to be incapable of reproduction. But most males will be capable of reproduction notwithstanding a significant loading. The problem is that inherent in the recombination process, which is a key part of sex, is a great dilution of deleterious genetic material. For the reproductive group to properly achieve reproductive efficiency, a 'genetic filter' mechanism is required that is not merely an all-or-none simple elimination threshold. It needs to impact on most if not virtually all of the local male population through the mechanism itself producing a gradation of reproductive potential (the levels of physiological fertility and sex-drive) corresponding roughly to the indi-

vidual loading of deleterious genetic material.

Note that there is no invocation of group selection here. Though it is beyond the scope of this discussion to unpack, a proper understanding of the situation would be from a population genetics perspective of the whole gene pool and over time, through the operation of 'lineage selection',¹¹ which works by exploiting the architecture of the selection process itself, such that when selection favours opposing traits on two different time scales, the longer time scale wins out. This occurs not through selection acting on the trait itself but on genes that act to 'suppress' the trait that is to the short-term benefit (but long-term cost) to the individual. This depends on lineages being sufficiently distinct, which is what occurs in models of population structure supporting co-operation.¹²

Implications for Social System and Dynamics

The 'genetic filter' mechanism would seem to be the basis of sociality in general (beyond mere coralling against predation) in dominance and for the resulting self-organised dominance hierarchy. Inconsistencies in data reveal that the operational model of dominance and dominance hierarchy (that the function is to minimise conflict or to apportion resources) is in error, in that trying to ascertain dominance rank through one measure of access to resources does not correspond to another,¹³ with the dominance hierarchy being evident in sparring completely at odds with any ascertained in respect of access to resources.¹⁴ The function actually is narrower: to skew sexual access according to mate value. This appears to be what is achieved in dominance hierarchy being inextricably bound up with differential reproductive self-suppression through mediation by the stress hormone cortisol.¹⁵ Males in effect self-suppress to an appropriate degree their own propensity to seek sexual access.¹⁶ Males within the reproductive group are intrinsically motivated to compete with same-sex others for rank, and the resulting stress from losing contests produces higher basal cortisol levels. These varying basal levels in individual males in turn differentially depress sex drive and the physiology of fertility correspondingly. The stress that causes sustained cortisol levels fully impacts on low mate-value males, but not on males of high mate value, because although the competition to attain high rank is itself stressful, in high-status males some of the types of brain-located cortisol receptors are blocked.

In reinforcement, female mate choice keys into dominance hierarchy through preferencing high-status males. Rank in the dominance hierarchy is in effect a summation of indicators of an individual's loading with (or, conversely, freedom from) deleterious genetic material. So it is that male mate value is said to be in terms of 'good genes' rather than 'fertility', as it is for females. This stark distinction in the basis of attractiveness according to sex is beautifully illustrated by recent findings¹⁷ regarding MHC (Major Histocompatibility Complex), which is the key factor in immune response. It is now shown that a woman seeks a man whose MHC is highly heterogeneous (heterozygous), indicating her partner's MHC hybrid vigour and therefore his immunocompetence. On the other hand, a man seeks a woman who possesses MHC contrasting with his own so as to maximise offspring immunocompetence. The female is looking for MHC diversity within the male

not MHC dissimilarity between herself and her prospective mate, as the male does. Thus, the female is selecting 'good genes', whereas the male is selecting according to 'fertility' criteria in order to provide a reliable vehicle for his 'good genes' to get through to the next generation.

In common with females of all species, human females function essentially as vessels for male genes. To be an effective 'gene-vessel' little is needed other than youth, and all females are youthful for a stage of their lives. This lack of markers of worthiness vis-a-vis fellow 'gene-vessels' might be expected paradoxically to fuel the sort of internecine conflict seen between political groups whose mutual enmity seems to be in direct proportion to how nearly identical they are (as famously for many decades in university 'broad Left' coalitions). To an extent this is evident. Women compete with each other to attain 'size zero' and vastly overuse expensive cosmetics, but competitiveness requires a motivation to compete, and the members of political groupings have this in being mostly male. Females have a much reduced basis of mutual competition in comparison to males. Not only are they not part of the 'genetic filter' mechanism, but males are not at all in limited supply. Males are not a limiting factor in reproduction as are females, given that males have the ability to impregnate large numbers of females almost simultaneously, whereas females can be impregnated only once before then being reproductively 'off-line' for several years during pregnancy, gestation and lactation.

Necessary Male Disadvantage

The whole system described works to ensure locally the maximisation of reproductive efficiency (this apparently being the trajectory of evolution—non-teleological, of course), but within this system most males are 'losers' to a greater or lesser degree, with only a small minority being particularly successful. As is evident in any human culture, many men are left entirely without any access to sex, with many others restricted to a single short-lived or sham monogamous partnership with a low mate-value female. Even this is achievable usually only by responding to demands of provisioning and fidelity. What is more, great costs are incurred in the fierceness of male intrasexual competition and these impact even on the minority of males who succeed in achieving high status (notwithstanding that a physiological effect of elevated rank is the blocking of some types of cortisol receptor), but in particular impact on all males 'losers'. A minority of men are rewarded with the lion's share of access to females through serial monogamy and multiple simultaneous mating ('mistresses', 'affairs', and 'casual' partners). For the majority of males there is the combination of relative lack of success with high costs of competition. By contrast, females are not skewed between 'losers' and 'winners' to anything like the same extent. In particular, very few females are consigned to reproductive (sexual) oblivion. Females in various ways share the minority of high mate-value males, and/or impose costly demands on males below this echelon, whilst eschewing all males of low status, even to the extent, in the case of human females, of intentionally becoming non-pair-bonded mothers (single parents) imposing support costs on the whole reproductive group through using the redistributive tax/benefits system to burden the very males they entirely reject. Females do not suffer the sort of costs of competition males sustain.

That the costs shouldered by males in carrying out the 'genetic filter' function are spread across all males helps to explain why they are not apparent. Humans have no problem seeing the costs to females of rearing offspring, despite childcare usually being perceived by the females themselves as a benefit and not a cost. There is no corresponding view that males incur costs through competition despite apparent readiness to thus engage. Furthermore, males have no option but to compete, often on territory on which they hardly stand much chance of succeeding and cannot show any reluctance to compete without losing face and thereby status.

The upshot of this is that the sexes are incomparable to an extent that despite some females being 'losers', it makes little sense to talk of females in such male terms. And this begs the question (to which I will return) of why we perceive the sexes in an upside-down and far too generic fashion: as all males being 'winners' and all females being 'losers'. It is a comprehension of social reality that hardly could be more false.

Sociality of all forms is effectively a co-operative breeding system whereby all individuals of both sexes collude in the interests of the long-term fecundity of the local population, even to the extent, in the case of males, of accepting individual genetic oblivion if required. This makes sense as mentioned above in terms of lineage selection. No group selection model is implied. At root, rather than competition there is co-operation. Competition is evident on the surface and necessarily is entirely intrasexual. There is no basis of it being intersexual that could have any biological function. A more pejorative view would be a conspiracy, as it were, between females generically and a minority of males against the bulk of the male population. Such a view would be in keeping with a contemporary mindset of power relations, and from such a perspective hardly could be more obvious. Yet the current dogma is that the social system is based overall in a supposed oppressive relationship between the sexes, although on what competitive basis is never made clear. It is presumably an oppression perpetrated by (what is said to be clear from the data on outcomes in education, employment, health, life expectancy, suicide, homelessness, loneliness, and so on) the major disadvantaged sub-group, males, more specifically the bulk of necessarily lower-status males.

This extraordinarily implausible proposition is facilitated by an understanding of social system in terms of the distribution of resources, which is a failure to understand the primacy of reproduction and goes against a proper understanding of the nature of dominance and dominance hierarchy as outlined above. Resources are instrumental and very much secondary to reproduction, mere indicators of male mate value rather than having inherent value. Given that, for males, rank gained through contest to determine the degree of sexual access entails the sort of intrasexual competitive ability that would confer access to and control over resources, then resources effectively denote status, the criteria of male mate value. Resources cannot denote female mate-value, given that the criterion here is with respect to fertility (in human terms, youth and beauty), which has nothing to do with resources. Of course, a woman can utilise the resources of her pair-bonded partner to indicate her own mate value, just as a man can indicate his own mate value through the youth and beauty of the woman 'on his arm'. But in both cases the indication is only indirect, and is of less use in the female case, given that female attractiveness is much the more immediately apparent. It is simply appearance, which is assessed by males in a split second. A woman can make use of resources to put herself in the path of high-status males, but given that the female and not the male is the 'limiting factor' in reproduction, men will very actively seek out

the sort of women they desire and with whom they have a realistic chance of pairing. Using resources in this way is likely to only marginally improve a woman's mating prospects. There is, therefore, little basis for females to be motivated to acquire resources, and every reason that males are just so motivated. Females have consistently sexually selected males who can thus signal their possession of 'good genes' and females can latterly then exploit this as the basis of male provisioning, obviating much of the need to acquire even basic resources by their own efforts. So another question is begged as to why we express concern if women do not have resources in similar amounts to resources possessed or controlled by men.

The Myth of Intersexual Dominance and Submission

That the male oppression notion is erroneous is confirmed by multiple sorts of evidence. In line with the profound functional distinction between the sexes and the male 'genetic filter' function being manifest notably in dominance and dominance hierarchy, human sociality from toddler age on exhibits a complete partitioning between all-male coalitions and dominance hierarchy and all-female personal networks of twosomes and threesomes, with cross-sex play a rarity.¹⁸ This breaks down only when adolescent cliques or crowds are formed to facilitate sexual pairing, and here the only dominance apparent is signalling co-opted for courtship purposes. Given that dominance is a key male attribute females find attractive, the courtship ritual has evolved to employ dominance, but this is not dominance behaviour per se, just the amorphous signalling of it. Keying into dominance hierarchy, male in-group psychology in being readily evoked by any symbolic grouping¹⁹ appears to have evolved in the service of defending the whole natal community, given that it facilitates identification with any symbolic grouping, taking on board all members of the group. As this occurs irrespective of sex, it can include in addition to all of the males in a hierarchy all associated women and children. And far from this being dominance based, research reveals that in-grouping is more about in-group 'love' than out-group 'hate'.²⁰ In any case, if in-grouping could be the basis of any intersexual hostility, it can only be in the female-to-male direction, given that whereas male in-grouping features no same-sex preference, female in-group psychology features a fourfold same-sex preference.²¹ Female in-grouping psychology by contrast to its male form would seem to be based on the evident female personal network in being a chain of extension from family and/or friends and appears to function to share assessments of male mate value (the 'good genes' complement of individual males) and perhaps also (given human female exogamy) to facilitate bonding with stranger females within a female's non-natal community of her pair-bonded partner.

Dominance is no more apparent in cross-sex competition scenarios, which in any case have to be contrived, given that they do not appear to occur naturally in earnest. Sports are always sex-segregated, and workplace competition is formalised rather than being interpersonal per se. Research on this in behavioural-economics²² is hidebound by social science frameworks of interpretation, notably 'stereotype threat' theory, which in a first-ever review of all studies is shown to be without any foundation.²³ Freed of these, sense easily can be made of the data (that in the presence of the opposite sex, male performance is improved whereas female performance is depressed)

in terms of sexual display and the psychological non-salience of intersexual competition. Boys tend to up their performance above what it would be competing with fellow males, especially if the competition mode is male-typical, such as a sports track/field event, so as to effectively communicate the possession of 'good genes' to the female co-competitor. It is hardly an expression of dominance to the female. Correspondingly, female performance dips, and not just for female-atypical activity such as sports track/field events (in which the female body cannot be sexually displayed well), but in pretty well any competition scenario, given that competition generically is female-atypical. This is hardly to express submissiveness to the male.

If there was any such thing as psychologically salient intersexual competition (competition in earnest) then there would have evolved underpinning neurohormonal mechanisms similar and to a similar extent in both sexes. But testosterone- and cortisol-based mechanisms in males are not the same as in females. The scenarios and patterns in which they rise/fall/remain elevated, differ.²⁴ For females, what is salient is the task; for males it is the opponent.²⁵ Where for males the challenge is achievement, for females there is instead perceived risk of failure.²⁶ Males are biologically engineered (as it were) for competition, but females are not, or nowhere nearly as much. This is not to say that females do not compete, but that they compete in different, usually less intense ways, and, of course, intrasexually rather than intersexually.

Experiments reveal how human males non-consciously communicate status information between each other immediately upon first meeting, using non-verbal signalling²⁷ and by sub-speech vocal signals²⁸ in regulating the male hierarchy, so much so that if you filter out these sounds in a laboratory, then males have great difficulty communicating.²⁹ There are no data showing that males thus communicate with females, nor females with each other. The brain centre involved is the so-called 'mind's eye',³⁰ which is known to process how one compares to another individual, and is therefore the obvious candidate brain region for processing in regard to dominance hierarchy. Not only dominance, but deference (non-engagement in dominance/submission terms) is also communicated. Some data³¹ suggest interpretation in terms of deference rather than dominance/submission being communicated by males to old people and women.

Most compellingly, there is experimental work showing that the core behaviours of sex and dominance are diametrically opposed and controlled as such according to an algorithm whereby the basic default behaviour is not dominance/submission but sexual (specifically, male agentic sexual). Dominance/submission behaviour is never engaged in without first sexing (that is, identifying the sex of) the other individual encountered, so as to ensure that the appropriate behavioural mode is engaged, specifically so that a dominance/submission mode is not engaged unless the other individual encountered is of the same sex. This makes it impossible to display dominance (or submission) across sex.

In 'gene knockout' studies,³² silencing the expression of a gene denoted TRP2 renders individuals incapable of sexing any conspecifics encountered, prompting invariable failure to engage in a dominance/submission mode and always to engage in sexual behaviour. All other individuals encountered are treated as being female, regardless of the sex of either of the parties. Whether male or female, an individual who is unable to sex another encountered conspecific individual, attempts sexual mounting, even if the other is a male. Males and females with TRP2 'knocked out' behave in the very same way (even females actually engage in male sexual mounting behaviour), and both to fellow females and to males. Males attempt to mount fellow males as well as females.

This starkly reveals the controlling decision rules for any and every individual to be the following: default initiation of male-agentic sexual behaviour, unless either (a) I am myself male and the other individual is also male or (b) I am myself female, whereby if (a), then I engage the dominance/submission behavioural mode, or if (b), I then engage in the female sexual mode (an arched-back receptive posture to facilitate sexual penetration).

This is clearly so foundational that it must be highly conserved across species but overlaid, obviously, with other behaviour and cognition in higher mammals and primates. The problem that experiment necessarily for ethical reasons is restricted to relatively lowly mammals (as here, if you had not guessed, on the mouse) is little obstacle to the wider applicability of the findings. And it is no matter that TRP2 presumably is not the only gene involved. Likely it is one of many integrated in a hierarchy of regulatory and coding genes, and possibly at some remove from the genetic nub but connected as some necessary but hardly sufficient component. So what we might term 'the sex/dominance modes algorithm' could be uncovered by manipulating other genes singly or in combination. The point is that we now know that the algorithm exists as a basic platform of sociality. It makes perfect evolutionary sense given that sex is the most important behaviour, and it is male behaviour that is key in male-female encounters, given that females can conceive simply by being inert, whereas males must accurately locate the female genital opening and actively penetrate with a penis.

The complete dissociation between sexual and dominance/submission behaviours is also evident in ethological studies. In species where both males and females are in a dominance hierarchy, it is usually noted that there are separate same-sex hierarchies, but for a few species it is sometimes stated that the sexes are together in one unisex hierarchy, though with all females subordinate to all males. This conclusion stems from observing juvenile males apparently first besting females before beginning to tackle adult males, but this is to ignore the more obvious and simpler interpretation in line with all of the other evidence, that it is merely play fighting and not actual dominance contest. Similarly, a small minority of species are claimed to be 'female-dominant', but investigation reveals that apparent male submission is only in the context of feeding and that therefore there is not submissive behaviour at all but deference (best understood as the signalling of non-engagement in a dominance/submission mode) by males to females to facilitate female feeding priority,³³ in line with the female being the limiting factor in reproduction.

The female sex cannot be wholly dominant to the male sex in any species if indeed it is dominance at issue, because the attributes that would tend to confer dominance are very much male attributes and therefore most males, if not the overwhelming majority of males, would outrank most females. Conversely, in the great majority of species that by the same rationale would be deemed 'male-dominant', it would be expected that at least a few females would outrank a few very lowly males. That the skew of one sex to high rank and the other to low rank supposedly is always so total that it is 100%, immediately indicates that what is at play is something entirely other than dominance/submission. The total separation must be inherent in what distinguishes the sexes, more than strongly suggesting that dominance/submission is an erroneous interpretation of intersexual interaction.

Intersexual Violence as Mate Guarding

The supposed quintessential arena of an intersexual dominance interaction in humans is domestic (intimate partner) violence, but the common perception of it in no respect accords with its actual nature.³⁴ Most is not male- but female-perpetrated. If unilateral, then more than twice as likely,³⁵ or three times, and if the violence is serious, then the sex differential is threefold more likely female-on-male,³⁶ or even sixfold.³⁷ A giveaway as to the reality is the near parity rather than a sex-differential in injury rates: only slightly greater (1.5 times greater) female than male injury,³⁸ or at parity.³⁹ In respect of serious injury the sex differential actually reverses and profoundly so.⁴⁰ There is no trace of the skew expected given the combined factors of much superior male upper body strength facilitating powerful hitting, coupled with female body frame weakness rendering an extreme susceptibility to injury. If the sexes were even equally responsible for domestic violence and of similar levels of seriousness (never mind if it were the predominantly male violence as routinely portrayed) then the disparity between the sexes in injury rates should be a whole order of magnitude greater or 20:1.⁴¹ That it is not leads to the only possible inference that perpetration must be largely by women. If domestic violence is to be taken as indicative of an intersexual dominance interaction, then its direction is the opposite of what would be expected.

Even the data on the tiny subset of domestic violence that is spousal homicide does not contradict this conclusion, because not only is the sex differential still well under what would be expected (just 2:1),⁴² but it would appear to be in part an artefact of the failure to include the bulk of mariticide (husband-murder), this being largely undetectable. Whereas uxoricide is typically overt in the extreme, with the husband usually or often also killing himself and therefore unavoidably detectable, perpetration by women typically is either indirect via third parties (lover, male friend, male relative or 'hit-man') or by subtle methods at some remove (notably hard-to-trace poisoning), both modes reflecting sex differences in modes of aggression and serving to maintain the family otherwise intact (complete with the murdered husband's assets).

The deep biological principle of the female being the 'limiting factor' in reproduction manifests itself in a major way in an intimate partner context in the very well-attested inhibition felt by normal, non-psychotic men and the demonstrable absence of inhibition felt by women. Recent research shows this to be even stronger than is popularly supposed, in that whereas men lower their aggression, women are not merely uninhibited but actually raise their levels of violence. That in respect of non-violent behaviour there is no sex-differential reveals it to be intentional. Men act to minimise physical harm to women while women act deliberately to physically harm men.⁴³ Taking together all forms of intersexual violence (to include the non-intimate) the direction is predominantly female-to-male by a margin again so wide as to be a multiple.⁴⁴

Domestic violence does not fit a dominance/submission model at all, because the basis of any negative interaction between sexual partners is what researchers dub 'control', which is exercised by both sexes equally according to some researchers,⁴⁵ although in using male modes of 'control' as the only criteria, female modes are ignored, thereby greatly under-stating female 'control'.

The 'controlling' partner typically is the female according to other researchers⁴⁶ (this being in 90% of couples in the USA).⁴⁷ 'Control' is mate guarding in biological terms, which is the appropriate terminology in that the phenomenon in all its aspects can be made sense of only in biological terms, and that mate guarding as the basis of domestic violence is confirmed.⁴⁸ Mate guarding has no connection to dominance/submission, and that it is predominantly carried out by women is understandable given the very different trajectories of mate value according to sex, men's status typically rising and usually at worse flat-lining whereas women's attractiveness falls steeply with age. In the wake of recent findings regarding mate guarding, this would appear to be the basis of human pair-bonding.⁴⁹ Clearly, women employ mate guarding to try to prevent partners from straying, but in general terms, across the animal kingdom the problem that mate guarding appears to have solved for females is to counter the receipt of unwanted sexual interest from low mate-value males. Females would seem to acquire consorts and pair-bonded partners perhaps not so much to acquire over a longer term the 'good genes' of a male individual as to displace the 'bad genes' they otherwise risk acquiring from low-status males.

The Notion of 'Sexual Conflict'

With dominance/submission and mate-guarding despatched as respectively not existing at all and being female-on-male rather than the other way around, there remains the notion that some more general conflict between the sexes is primitively foundational. But this hypothesis is destroyed by the new model for the evolution of anisogamy (and also 'mitonuclear co-evolution') described above. Contrary to what hitherto had been assumed, no 'sexual conflict' (either intragenomic or in a 'parasitic' relationship between different mating types) is required to explain anisogamy.

'Sexual conflict' is a concept widely invoked and currently fashionable in biological sciences, possibly to curry favour with social scientists in the attempt to render biology more amenable to them. Whenever it is employed, however, it is immediately apparent that the phenomenon at issue resolves to intrasexual competition. Indeed, intrasexual competition is explicitly included as part of 'sexual conflict',⁵⁰ rendering the concept a misnomer. Another reviewer concedes that "the extent to which these behaviours are adaptations to intra-male competition or to conflict with females over mate choice is not clear".⁵¹ Intrasexual competition is a full and more parsimonious explanation that leaves 'sexual conflict' superfluous and a conceptual error, a pejorative understanding all too apparent as an inappropriate importation to science from contemporary politics.

Supposedly there is an intersexual 'arms race' in respect of adaptations that one sex in some way attempts to circumvent the mate choice criteria of the opposite sex and the other sex tries to counteract this. But the supposed 'arms race' actually is a progressive ratcheting up of overall reproductive efficiency of the reproductive group as a whole, which as previously mentioned, is a proper understanding in terms of population genetics and 'lineage selection', not 'group-selection'. Models (sometimes explicitly) are given in terms of individuals because of a mistaken assumption that otherwise a naïve 'group-selection' cannot be avoided.

Any adaptation that confers some advantage to males in terms of sexual access/reproductive output inevitably is a focus of competition between males and competitive selection by females. It is in the female's interest to mate preferentially with those males possessing such an advantage and to effectively compete against other females in this respect. That an adaptation may be seen as some form of 'cheating' ('dishonest signalling') does not alter this, because the very facility to be able to thus circumvent opposite sex mate choice criteria itself is a quality requiring the very kind of attributes that are an expression of male 'good genes', even if it is just an indication of a pugnacious and fearless attitude. In any case, females hardly lose out through selecting males with successful new adaptations, given that the genetic underpinning is passed on to offspring males who will in turn be more successful in mating. Females compete with each other to better detect 'dishonest signalling'. Males can respond by refining the 'dishonest signalling' so as to compete with other males. The ratcheting up of 'dishonest signalling' and corresponding 'dishonest-signal detection' is a merry-go-round that requires such refined qualities in both sexes that mate-choice actually becomes ever more discerning, ever more an accurate assessment of male 'good genes'.

There is no possibility of adaptations that confer mating success becoming dislocated from indicating 'good genes'. The most famous case of 'runaway' sexual selection well illustrates this. The peacock's cumbersome and all too visible train of feathers continues to be fully a display of male 'good genes', because a peacock has to be very well genetically endowed: first, in order to invest the energy and material to produce such a seemingly wasteful adornment; second, for the feathers to appear in good condition and to be vigorously displayed in comparison to rivals; and, third, to be able to avoid the greatly increased risk of predation that such an unwieldy sexual ornamentation entails. The peacock's tail hardly is an attempt by males to circumvent female mate-choice criteria. On the contrary. That indicating male 'good genes' has become 'meta' is no undermining of indicating male 'good genes'. To imagine such undermining would lead to an argument that male dominance rank in being but a crude summation of various parameters of 'good genes' is something of a fraud to circumvent female mate-choice criteria. But again, far from undermining it, it facilitates female mate-choice. As is further discussed below, female mate choice necessarily entails great redundancy in a parallel and overlapping assessment. Any new form of display by males in widening the scope of assessment serves to assist females in determining 'good genes' from 'bad'.

This perspective is recognised by reviewers of the 'sexual conflict' perspective at least to an extent. Mulder & Rauch realise that:

More fundamentally, of course, the identification of winners and losers is a flawed pursuit. There are winners and losers in each sex. . . . Furthermore, the costs and benefits of mating systems are not distributed homogeneously within each sex; some males are big winners and others are big losers. . . . Generally, we should think of sexually antagonistic contests as dynamic and ongoing. In this view, neither sex "wins," at least not for more than a short spell . . . winners being individuals who are particularly successful not only in manipulating or controlling the behavior of the other sex, but in competing with their own sex.⁵²

Gorelik & Shackelford likewise start to get there in the end, when they state that “as the coevolutionary arms race between men and women advanced, enhancement of deceptive tactics placed women under selection pressure to be attracted to men who were skilled at deception (as these men were more likely to sire reproductively successful offspring). In this way, instances of sexual conflict may sometimes evolve into instances of sexual cooperation”.⁵³

Reviewers have come to realise that in moving away from a snapshot view there is a balance between the sexes, yet they persist in the view that there is intersexual rather than intrasexual conflict in failing to drill down further to the underlying dynamic that the outcomes mirror.

Sex Dichotomy and Overlapping Variance

That clearly there is no such thing as intersexual dominance/submission and that the very notion of ‘sexual conflict’ is a figment of analysis exposes these notions to be a facet of the pro-female/anti-male mindset also evident in the assumption that in everything men are advantaged and women disadvantaged. Though the sexual divide (from the separate male ‘genetic filter’ and female direct offspring-investment functions) looks more a dichotomy the more it is examined, being reflected in every facet of male-female cognition and behaviour, there are also sex differences only of degree. These are cited in support of a notion of a male-female continuum, with the oft-mentioned fact that there is often more variation within than between the sexes. But many apparent sex differences in degree are conflation of sex dichotomies that should have been separately teased out or conflation of a sex dichotomy with what is indeed a continuous variable across sex. In either case there is obscured the sex dichotomy that is the foundational factor rather than what may overlay it. Yet even in the case of a continuum, a sex dichotomy is nearly always evident, because of the male ‘genetic filter’ function driving fierce male intrasexual competition.

Almost any outcome that can be measured reflects male intrasexual competition, and not only does this indicate a spread of loading of ‘good genes’ but also the decisions of males regarding where to place their efforts. Rather than spreading effort across the board and risk succeeding in no arena, males appear usually to select particular arenas suited to them individually and reduce effort in or withdraw completely from what they find to be unfavourable pasture. This can be through experience, but also males can avoid prospective loss in status by not even beginning to compete unless they have good reason to believe they will be successful. This selectivity in effort is facilitated by a male ‘cognitive style’ to focus,⁵⁴ underpinned by almost order of magnitude sex differences in IQ-related white and grey matter, females having far more brain ‘connectivity’ tissue (white matter) and males far more brain ‘processing’ tissue (grey matter), in this respect.⁵⁵ The sex dichotomy in competitiveness thereby manifests strongly as a sex-dichotomous variation (distribution) of almost any outcome that can be measured.

There is a sex-typical distribution pattern whereby males tend to inhabit the extremes whereas females tend to cluster around the median. This reveals major sex differences even in respect of measures where there may be no aggregate sex-difference, although on almost all measures there is an aggregate sex difference, which even if it is a minor one greatly amplifies the

polarising effect so that it becomes the overwhelming feature of the distribution.

Overall intelligence is a case in point. There is debate as to a small IQ sex difference in favour of males (though possibly much greater, owing to the construction of IQ from its inception to obviate any sex difference), but ignoring this and also that the components that make up general intelligence are themselves bound to be sex-dichotomous (as in 'cognitive style'), nevertheless what we see are far more males classed as 'genius' but also far more males who fall into the 'dunce' category. Of course there are more males in the rest of the distribution, nearer the median than at the poles, but not overwhelmingly so as we see with females.

This male-polarised/female-centring pattern is behind why males are regarded as advantaged and females disadvantaged. In focusing on the highly visible, highly over-represented male high performers, low-performing males are ignored. Likewise, the absence of low-performing females is ignored, and focus instead is on the absence of corresponding female high performers, and their clustering in the mid-range.

'Policing' Males

A pervasive misperception to the detriment of males would be expected to stem from the need to 'police' (to use the term as employed in biology) males to ensure they do not try to subvert the extent of sexual access they have by virtue of their ranking according to their place in the skew produced in the operation of the male 'genetic filter' function. Cummins⁵⁶ recognised the need for a 'violation detection' mechanism to operate specifically regarding dominance hierarchy, and developed theory and found evidence of a 'violation detection' mode of reasoning that was implicit (being fully apparent even in early childhood), applying only in social scenarios. Here, instead of a simple weighing up of conflicting evidence, reasoning changes to the seeking of exception, so that notwithstanding the weight of evidence in support of a target individual, a single piece of counter-evidence switches the conclusion. This has been dubbed 'deontic reasoning'—reasoning about the obligations, permissions and prohibitions that are part and parcel of membership of a dominance hierarchy.

Cummins' work fits within a large literature on 'cheater detection', which is shown to be activated more in respect of low-status individuals,⁵⁷ specifically males of low status⁵⁸ (which was dismissed in a later paper making a counterclaim on the spurious grounds that it was inexplicable by any theoretical position), and specifically by other low-status males.⁵⁹ There is a volume of literature on the very early emergence of seeking out rule violation in young children⁶⁰ who do not display such cognitive facility when it comes simply to ascertaining truth rather than compliance.⁶¹

Controversy bedevils one area of this research, namely, much claiming and counter-claiming that there is greater recognition of the faces of 'cheaters'. This may be resolvable in terms of considering a particular (less specific) mode of memory. The debate is too complex to briefly review, save to point out that the theory framework here may be awry, not merely in that it is not obvious whether the 'cheater' or the 'cooperator' would be expected to be the better recalled but in that the whole notion of the 'cheater' (or 'defector') is framed in the context of the large body of

experimental work seeking the basis of cooperation to overcome self-interest, thereby to explain the evolution of 'altruism'. Aside from 'altruism' being a misnomer (given that any instance appears to be 'enlightened' self-interest, that is, selfishness over the long run), the assumption is that there is no pre-existing fundamentally biological social structure and dynamics that encapsulate cooperation. Yet it is clear that this is very much what evolved early in animal evolution to be conserved up until and including the human species, as outlined here. The crucial need to take into account the already existing social structure and dynamics is the very issue Cummins addresses as her starting point.

A 'policing' psychology does not (necessarily) have to manifest very much in detecting and punishing actual transgressions, because a dynamic of 'policing' males likely would evolve for it to be internalised, so that low-status males avoid the costs of transgression ever arising. Individuals surely in the main 'police' themselves. After all, it is apparent that individuals differentially self-suppress their fertility and sex drive, as outlined above. Furthermore, transgression can be headed off by all of the individuals within the reproductive group adopting a prejudicial attitude to males whose low status renders them candidate transgressors. It is simpler to evolve an in-built prejudice towards low status males. And given that what is at issue is sexual access, then the obvious form this can take is for such males to be regarded as unattractive. This is precisely what is found (and showing large effect sizes) in studies in respect of memory of the faces of 'cheaters' and individuals of low status.⁶²

Assessment of attractiveness linked to a 'looking for the exception' style of reasoning about evidence is surely to be expected, given that the most critical judgment is mate choice by females. For this to be effective there must be assessment of not one but several (if not very many) indicators of male mate value that cover different and overlapping qualities. Information redundancy is a requirement here, because multiple cross-checking would reliably throw up any anomaly there might be, thus revealing the male's quality as not what it otherwise seems, enabling the female to avoid making a mistaken mate choice. It would appear that this is what the research on 'cheater detection' may have been uncovering. The actual psychological systems may well not fit the conceptualisations in behavioural economics. Researchers can have the wrong focus on the phenomena they are uncovering, so that they find small if statistically significant effect sizes that are taken to be in support of a social constructivist orientation, when actually this is a confound with what would be far bigger effect sizes if the phenomena were properly understood with non-confounded biologically based parameters teased out.

The Biological Level of Analysis

It is often countered that a biological analysis of human affairs is inappropriate, being too 'reductionist', but this is scientifically and philosophically illiterate. Attempts at 'non-biological' understanding posit 'social conditioning' as if somehow this could be separated from biology and does not beg the question of an infinite regress to biology in asking who or what in turn socially conditions the 'social conditioning' if it isn't the biology. The standard riposte that culture (and explicit

psychology) is the level of analysis trumping any other is not merely empty but has it backwards. Culture is the manifestation of implicit psychology and as such is no less a part of biological evolution than is the biology underlying it, culture evolving as very much part of biology to function to feed back so as to fine-tune and reinforce it.⁶³ Culture consequently never flies off at some novel tangent to escape biology. Alternative terminology does not change this insight, for example, when culture is dubbed niche, as in 'niche-construction theory', which the European Science Foundation concluded is simply a restatement of Dawkins' concept of the 'extended phenotype',⁶⁴ the definitive notion that all is biology. Culture is falsely envisaged as if it were some separate environment with major independent causal impact, showing noncomprehension of Information Theory, whereby instead of the organism being seen as at the mercy of the environment, it is properly understood to actively seek out what it has evolved to consider relevant stimuli. This goes for the environment generally, not only that part of the environment the organism has itself constructed.

There are no social phenomena requiring a supra-individual level of analysis,⁶⁵ and therefore culture is always resolvable to biology in a way that is not the 'greedy' reductionism of which Dennett warns,⁶⁶ the notion of irreducible 'social fact' being merely an assertion by Durkheim. So whereas a 'bottom-up' understanding from biology is reliable, a 'top-down' attempt from 'sociological' constructs is usually an ideological exercise in tautology. By starting from a complex elaboration of biology rather than with the root biology, there is then no escaping any evolved self-deceptions and blind spots that are bound up with the very phenomena at issue.

Being, in effect, machines to reproduce, humans are conscious of only a very tiny fraction of brain neural processes, and consequently have no explicit context by which to assess the actual nature of the very little of which they are conscious. It is not just that the brain is built on a 'need to know' basis, as it were, but that it is instrumental that humans evolved not to cognise in ways that might be counter-productive. It is not merely that the brain has to be capable of deceiving others, which as the most effective form of deception entails self-deception. Inherent contradictions in motivations and how they are manifest, and the sheer complexity of neural processes, require a profound opaqueness if not self-deception to see how the brain cannot but function. It would be counter to any individual's interests to be aware of, overwhelmed with and embarrassed by the nuts and bolts of the modes of intrasexual competition, for example, or the contrived, staged nature of courtship. Conscious reflection on these psychosocial phenomena is, in one way, an overarching explicit internal 'debate' at such remove as never to be on the 'inside' of such phenomena, as it were. At the same time (as we know from systems biology) the brain is a complex whole system without any locus of control, meaning that there is no separation between the workings of the brain and the brain's self-examination. Furthermore, consciousness is not at all as it seems: it is not efficacious. Given famous experimental work showing that decision-making precedes awareness of it, consciousness would appear to be nothing more than an epiphenomenon of the integration of complex neural processing. Moreover, this seeming facility to 'debate' within the brain itself in being a biological product has evolved, like culture, to feed back and fine tune and reinforce the underlying biology, which hardly, then, would be undermined or transcended.

Philosophical Failure

A philosophical failure to grasp this 'hall of mirrors' is at large in the tenor of the times that somehow we are finally escaping biology, by which supposedly we were somehow 'unnaturally' hide-bound up until now. That this is an unsustainable position is highlighted by the philosopher John Gray,⁶⁷ but it is a trap into which several key evolutionary thinkers (Dennett, Pinker and Dawkins) have fallen.⁶⁸ Even putting aside the self-contradiction and the scientific and philosophical illiteracy behind such an aspiration, the manifestation of this complaint as some imagined 'war of the sexes' is to say the least implausible in regarding only one sex as 'trapped' and the other sex (or essence of that sex) as somehow being the very agent of that 'entrapment', as opposed to a dance in which both sexes are equally engaged. With males necessarily evolving largely through female mate choice, and vice-versa, the sexes hardly can be other than complementary. The conceptualisation that costs and benefits are polarised so that females sustain all of the costs and males enjoy all of the benefits is based on the assumption that all costs arise from direct investment in offspring, when this is clearly false. As outlined above, the sexes have radically different key functions, with the male functioning as the 'genetic filter' for the whole lineage. It is not that female direct investment in offspring is mirrored but weakly by males. The profoundly different functions of the sexes are both forms of heavy investment in offspring, albeit indirect in the case of the male. All biology ultimately is investment in offspring. There are all too obvious major costs in being male, and all too obvious major benefits or cost avoidances in being female. The question is begged as to why we are or have become blind to these, even to the point of the blindness becoming an ideology.

Ideology, in itself also being part of biology, is ideation distorted to further biological ends, which can only render still more extreme any inherent prejudices in mutual reinforcement with their biological base. The contemporary political pro-female/anti-male mindset, with the notion that there is an entrenched historical or still more in-built opposite anti-female/pro-male prejudice that must be combated, cannot but have very deep biological roots. It is never explained how it can be that suddenly, at last, humanity supposedly has become enlightened. There is obvious confusion here. The supposed entrenched anti-female/pro-male mindset entails a prior mindset that is its opposite (or at least 'gender [sic] neutral') to which supposedly we are returning. More plausibly, of course, it was ever thus and what we see today is a manifestation of usual elitism (the very biologically based social dynamics that are denied) now couched in an "I'm more 'progressive' than you" one-upmanship. The problem is that the biological roots of all this, by virtue of their depth are opaque to our awareness and thinking. As we cannot know what they are directly, then we can only deduce from the various lines of evidence. It cannot be assumed that anything is as it seems. As I have outlined, all most clearly is not as it seems. There is anything but an in-built anti-female/pro-male prejudice. It is indeed in ideological imagination by way of manifesting the very biologically based social dynamics that a social constructivist orientation purports to not exist or to be so overlaid culturally as to be irrelevant.

A Proper Synthesis

Space permits only the briefest outline, from one or two angles, to skim the surface of a perspective on the sexes from biological principles, congruent with the converging lines of cross-disciplinary evidence, instead of the tight internal consistency with no external validation and a stubborn data-proof denial that is the standard social science model. This new perspective applies neatly to any and every interface between the sexes to facilitate a comprehensive theory of male/female interaction transforming understanding of all aspects of men and women. It can be used to more fruitfully review the many specific topics merely touched on here, and thereby inform new research directions and whole new programmes. Much research in psychology effectively is of little use through predication on bogus assumptions about 'power' as being about resources, and the sex of subjects and targets as being irrelevant, within an unfalsifiable social constructivist model. The failure to engage with a tenable, deep biology based theory of social structure and dynamics denudes it of the empirical foundation such a theory deserves as it continues to look superficially unpromising at the side of an orthodox edifice of self-fulfilling prophecy. But the richness of insight already starting to be provided on ground softened up by the flowering of evolutionary psychology more than hints that in the offing is a major new direction, that if not a 'paradigm shift' is a proper synthesis of mostly what has long been known viewed in a new light.

Footnotes

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Muscle Dysmorphia and Male Body Image: A Personal Account

Timothy Baghurst



Muscle dysmorphia is a proposed psychiatric condition in which an individual feels inadequately muscular and lean, and makes efforts to increase their muscularity and leanness sometimes ignoring the deleterious effects it may have on their physical, psychological, and sociological well-being. The purpose of this narrative is to provide a personal account of muscle dysmorphia experiences and how its influence has guided past and continuing research. Furthermore, an analysis of the current characteristics of muscle dysmorphia with suggestions for possible additional characteristics is discussed.

Keywords: body image, muscle dysmorphia, male body image, bigorexia, weight training, anabolic steroids, muscularity



This could be described as a memoir detailing my experiences with muscle dysmorphia and male body image, but I would prefer that it is not. The word “memoir” often implies something final and complete, something done at the end of one’s career or life. I hope I am not near the end of my life, nor do I consider my work complete. To me, then, this is more of a narrative.

I am English, but I had the fortune of growing up in West Africa where body image culture was very different to that in the West. However, living in a boarding school replete with various worldwide cultures I was not immune to the westernized view that boys and men should appear muscular and lean. I was about 13 before I began to realize that those boys who were larger seemed to receive more attention from the opposite sex. I had always been very thin, and I was jealous of the attention the more muscular boys received both from the girls who wished to date them and the boys who wanted to be like them. Well, I wanted to be like them too!

Our school was small, and the concept of a gym was laughable. We did not have any weight lifting equipment and we were never taught anything about strength training or weight lifting in physical education. Thus, I did not become familiar with gyms until I attended college. In my school, those who did have “weights” had literally acquired heavy things from the local scrap yard. At 14, my best friend and I decided to do the same. We ventured to the yard and managed to scavenge a metal bar and a large nut of some kind that weighed about four or five pounds. Excitedly, we returned home vowing to pack on pounds of flesh.

As one might imagine, our success was a little more limited than we had envisioned. Doing sets of 100 is not really conducive to developing muscle mass. This was a frustrating time. I was very thin and wanted to gain weight but never seemed to be able to do it. I did not know why and thinness was something I had become very aware of.

Other than the desire to appear attractive to the opposite sex, I felt the pressure from others to gain weight. I vividly remember eating a meal when a friend of the family encouraged me to have seconds because to her it looked like I needed it. I began to feel that I was not accepted for who I was and that in order to attain approval I had to do something about my size. This feeling was reinforced one day when my parents were entertaining. I came out of my room in a tank top and the man they were speaking to saw me and started laughing. I was ashamed! He may not have been laughing at me or my physique, but that did not matter. I vowed to do something about it. I wanted respect!

Having just arrived in England from West Africa, I began my freshman year in college as a 6 foot, 140 pound waif. Part of the enrollment process was being cleared by a nurse. When I went to visit her she went through the usual checkups and then asked me if I was eating. Of course I was eating! However, she then told me she thought I might be anorexic. Although she had a point – a BMI of 19 put me on the lowest border of normal – it was again reinforced to me that I did not weigh enough and there was something wrong with me.

I was first introduced to the gym in college. I remember peering through the windows and seeing huge guys walking around. I wanted to be like them! Because I was embarrassed about my

size, I began working out when no one was around. I did not want anyone to see me exercising if I could help it, but once I became a little more familiar with the gym scene I did not mind working out in the presence of others. During those years I became a gym rat.

Early on, I knew relatively little about training, nutrition, and exercise. However, I would regularly work out six or seven days a week, often spending a couple of hours at the gym. I took supplements that I did not understand but promised me muscle growth and leanness. Despite my relative ignorance, I did gain weight and muscle mass. When I graduated from college three years later, I was a lean 175 pounds and felt reasonably good about myself. My strength and physique increased my confidence, and I felt more powerful. I liked the jealous glances that gym “noobies” would give me and it felt pretty “cool” when someone would come up asking me for weight training advice.

Still, feeling reasonably good about myself was not good enough. When I entered my first graduate program I was still unhappy with my muscularity and leanness. There were still people who were lifting more than I was and they were more muscular and lean, too. I remained dissatisfied and committed myself to the gym even more than before. I did not always wear heavy clothing as someone with muscle dysmorphia is supposed to do according to some research. However, bulky clothing did make me feel bigger and I would take them off only when I had my pump on.

The number of hours I spent in that gym must have been in the thousands. However, it is interesting to consider that for all the time and positive conversations I had in that gym, one negative one stands out overwhelming all others. One day I needed some help spotting me as I lifted. I asked another gym member and as I completed the set he exclaimed, “Wow. That’s a lot of weight for someone your size.” I was crushed. He had meant it as a compliment, but to me it was not. Even though I had continued to gain size and leanness, I was not yet accepted.

Initially, my experience during my masters program was a frustrating one. I did not understand why I could not accept my physique. I am naturally an ectomorph, but wanted that mesomorph physique. Most probably saw me as a mesomorph, but I did not. Although the use of steroids was a temptation, and there were those in my gym who used them, I have never and will never use them. I could not cross that boundary between illegal and legal, no matter how frustrated I felt with my physique. If I was to attain my goals, I was going to attain them on my own. Using illegal substances would simply cheat me out of the satisfaction of knowing I had overcome my own problems.

Another one of the criteria on which muscle dysmorphia is based suggests that an individual will put his physique above social, recreational and occupational activities. I was no exception, and to some extent still struggle not to work my life around my workouts. There were places I did not go, things I did not eat, and events I did not participate in because they interfered with my training schedule. I knew I was giving up something, but I valued my physique over almost everything.

Much of my understanding of how I felt and the direction of much of my future academic research and career changed when I heard a guest counselor speak in 2002. I talked to her about what I was experiencing and she knew exactly what I was talking about. She suggested I do some reading on the term muscle dysmorphia. I was elated! As I began reading the early research into muscle dysmorphia, I was encouraged by the knowledge that it was not just me, and that I could pinpoint what was going on.

Due to various circumstances, I found myself in another masters program in the United States. My reading on muscle dysmorphia had led me to the seminal book on male body image,

The Adonis Complex (Pope et al., 2000). I devoured the book and determined to complete my thesis on something related to muscle dysmorphia. It should be explained that my educational background is in kinesiology, not psychology or psychiatry. Thus, by focusing my research on male body image, I was studying in areas unfamiliar to my professors and they could provide little knowledge of the literature. That did little to deter me, however, and my interest was piqued by the study by Pope et al. (1997) comparing the changing physiques of action figures over time. Thus, for my thesis I repeated their study using more stringent statistical analysis. I then took both original and current action figures into school to see which figures preadolescent boys preferred and why. The findings of Pope et al. (1997) were supported (Baghurst, Hollander, Nardella & Haff, 2006) and I discovered that current action figures were preferred overwhelmingly due to their larger physiques (Baghurst, Carlston, Wood, & Wyatt, 2007). I must say I was not surprised by the findings overall, but that the boys preferred the current action figures for their size by such a large margin to other characteristics did concern me. After all, if boys play with action figures and are admiring their large physiques that are often unattainable even with the use of steroids, will they always be unsatisfied with their own physiques, given that these action figures are promoted as societal heroes. The findings from both of these studies were published and received unexpected additional attention in the media.

The success of my thesis encouraged me to continue this line of research during my doctorate. In all of the research that I had read on muscle dysmorphia, bodybuilders were a prime target for researchers. It makes sense, since bodybuilders train for the primary purpose of increasing muscle mass and being as lean as humanly possible. In my time as a weight lifter I had met many bodybuilders and had attended bodybuilding competitions. I learned that competitive bodybuilding was divided into natural and non-natural competitions. Natural bodybuilders are drug tested whereas non-natural bodybuilders are not. Sometimes natural bodybuilders are also required to pass a lie detector test. To that point, all prior research had suggested that steroid use was a feature of muscle dysmorphia, yet I knew from my own experiences that it was possible to have characteristics associated with muscle dysmorphia without ever having taken steroids. With so many studies using bodybuilders as a sample without considering whether they did or did not take steroids, there was a clear gap in the research. This was the catalyst for my dissertation.

My doctoral dissertation compared the characteristics associated with muscle dysmorphia of collegiate football players, competitive bodybuilders, and those who weight train for physique (Baghurst & Lirgg, 2009). However, unlike previous research that did not differentiate between bodybuilding groups, mine did. To me, the results were not surprising. Overall, bodybuilders had the highest scores associated with muscle dysmorphia, but there was no statistical difference between natural and non-natural bodybuilders. Something that did surprise me was that the football players had the highest levels of physique protection (covering up their physique).

From the beginning of muscle dysmorphia research in the 1990s, both physique protection and steroid use (or supplement use that has a detrimental effect on health) has been identified as components of having the condition. I knew from my own experiences that it was possible to be extremely unsatisfied with one's physique, yet never having taken steroids. Also, there were many occasions where I did not mind working out without protecting my physique. I may still have been somewhat ashamed of my physique, but I still wanted to see my muscles in action when I exercised. Also, having others evaluate my physique helped to spur me to keep improving my physique. Here was my evidence that maybe my experiences were a more accurate appraisal of what muscle dysmorphia actually is!

Although no one has yet to follow up and either support or refute my findings, this has led me to question how muscle dysmorphia is defined (Baghurst & Kissinger, 2009). Should the criteria that are generally associated with muscle dysmorphia be revisited? The current belief is that many men experience dissatisfaction with their physique, but that muscle dysmorphia is quite rare in the general population. I question whether it is less rare than might at first be thought. Men appear to have more body image dissatisfaction today than at any time previously. This is in part evidenced by the number of men frequenting the gyms in addition to the booming supplement trade.

If factors such as steroid use and physique protection are removed from the characteristics of muscle dysmorphia, it could be argued that many more men than previously thought have or do experience muscle dysmorphia. Indeed, if the characteristics, as described by Pope et al. (1997) are considered, there is plenty of room for interpretation in these criteria.

There are so many questions yet to be answered concerning male body image and muscle dysmorphia. Having spent so many hours in gym settings, I have an advantage over many – though not all – muscle dysmorphia researchers who can only make judgments based on clinical settings or the experiences of others. Most gym attendees who would score very high on characteristics associated with muscle dysmorphia will not be taking steroids or a supplement clearly documented to adversely harm their bodies. Very rarely do I see someone working out in full sweats outside of the colder months. Does this mean that no one in my gym can have muscle dysmorphia?

With respect to physique protection, there is some validity in the argument that an individual may be extremely concerned about being evaluated by others. However, based on my own experiences, I believe that the fear of evaluation stems from the evaluation of body fat, not muscularity. This would help to explain why many exercising men wear shirts and cutoffs to put their “guns” on show while hiding the belly fat under their shirt. They may be much more uncomfortable if they were asked to exercise without that shirt! Thus, the concept of physique protection should not be thrown out, but fat protection may be a better fit.

Researchers in this area also need to consider whether the frequency of body fat and weight measurement is related to other muscle dysmorphia characteristics. In addition, mirror checking frequency should also be considered, as this is a common practice by men in the gym setting. Mirror checking has been noted in some research, but it has not been pursued as a characteristic of muscle dysmorphia. These concepts clearly need further research before they can be included or excluded as characteristics of muscle dysmorphia.

Although I remain unsatisfied with my physique my understanding of muscle dysmorphia has allowed me to put my own concerns in perspective. That being said, I continue to work out as much as I can and watch what I eat. I have given up experiential opportunities and have missed or rearranged meetings (I never said that!) to ensure that my work outs were not interrupted.

Soon I will be competing in my first triathlon as a Clydesdale (200 pounds or more). I will be competing nearly naked, which does not excite me in the least. I am bigger and leaner than most in my gym I am told, but I remain unconvinced. I have never looked at myself in the mirror and loved what I saw. Although I know that my physique is not perfect, I will not let what I think or what I think others think about my physique interfere with my goals.

I have learned to accept that my life does not always afford me the opportunity to pursue my ideal physique. My understanding of muscle dysmorphia has afforded me some peace knowing that perfection will never be attained. Perhaps muscle dysmorphia follows many other clinical

conditions and addictions: you never quite get over it, but you learn to manage it. I hope that I, along with others researching in this field, will be able to identify other characteristics of muscle dysmorphia so that it can be accepted as a legitimate clinical condition for which effective treatment or management strategies can be developed.

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NEWMALE STUDIES JOURNAL

Report on the Conference on Curricula for New Male Studies

K.C. Glover



The University of South Australia will offer the first graduate courses and degree programs in male studies beginning in Fall 2014. The development of the curricula for these programs is described in this account of an international meeting of academics, healthcare providers and policymakers that took place at Wagner College, New York City, in Spring 2012.

Keywords: male studies, curriculum development, gender, male sex, online courses



Beginning May 10th and concluding on May 14th, The Conference on Curricula for New Male Studies, exploring and discussing the creation of a new academic discipline, was hosted at Wagner College on Staten Island, New York. Participants included Dr. Miles Groth of Wagner College, Dr. John Ashfield of the Australian Institute of Male Health and Studies, Dr. Gary Misan of the University of South Australia, Dr. Rob Kenedy of York University, Dr. Dennis Gouws of Springfield College and the University of Connecticut, and K.C. Glover, Assistant Editor of *New Male Studies: An International Journal* (NMS). The conference was convened by the University of South Australia in conjunction with their Centre for Rural Health and Community Development and the Australian Institute of Male Health and Studies (AIMHS).

After an introductory meeting on May 10th, formal discussions began on the morning of the 11th with Dr. Gary Misan presenting on the present situation of Male Studies in academe. Differences between Men's Studies and Male Studies were quickly reiterated. The objective of the new program was stated as such:

to equip allied health, human services, education, and general industry professionals with knowledge and skills to more effectively engage and work with males to improve their health and wellbeing

to provide research or major supervised project work opportunities to university graduates, in order to contribute to the field of male health and male studies, in both academics and enhanced health and psychosocial outcomes for males

Much of the discussion was dedicated to the technical aspects of establishing a new post-graduate degree in Male Studies including the articulation of programs, including a graduate certification, graduate diploma, honors, masters and doctorate programs. Furthermore it was determined the correct number of units each program would require in order to coincide with the requirements of a legitimate degree. Also under discussion was the preliminary drawing up of syllabi for individual classes within the programs. While named Male Studies, it was stressed that Male Studies would be "not designed for men, but to educate about men." In closing it was discussed how working in coordination with the journal (NMS) as well as an international faculty of experts would assist in the sustainability of the new degree.

Afternoon discussions began with a presentation by Dr. Rob Kenedy on the background of Male Studies and its relation to Men's Studies, second-wave feminism, and equity feminism. Male Studies is sometimes characterized as a backlash against feminism or a reactionary movement against increases in women's rights. Those who subscribe to "gender feminist" ideology have emphasized this view publicly. The designation "gender feminist" is meant to denote a movement that became popular as a result of extreme members of third-wave feminism asserting the superiority of women and the degradation of men in a climate of political correctness that serves to protect their views from valid criticism. In academic settings the movement has become entrenched in "Cultural Studies" programs, including Gender studies (formerly Women's Studies) and Men's Studies. Advocates

resort to purely social constructivist views of gender made popular by Michel Foucault and a selective use of empirical data meant to fortify their views, often at the expense of honesty. These views have leaked into popular culture helping to contribute to a climate of misandry. Those involved with Male Studies question this “climate of opinion” and seek to establish an interdisciplinary as well as more academically rigorous way of talking about gender issues. In this way it hopes to include the voices of men who have been silenced by the “moral panic” invoked by gender feminism.

Evening discussion began with the first presentation on the disciplines to be involved in the Male Studies curricula. Dr. Miles Groth presented an overview of his course on the psychology of boys and men. Psychology was presented as a unique perspective in that much of the discussion in gender studies surrounding men has focused on behavior and outward action, in contrast with inner experience, an area psychological investigation can provide. The course begins by looking at the embodied experience of male being, how the male body contributes to the unique existence of males. Psychosexual (Freud) and psychosocial (Erikson) perspectives on male development are presented to introduce students to the early years of the life of boys. David Gilmore’s *Manhood in the Making* presents the anthropological ubiquity of manhood in cultures worldwide as well as deepens the psychological perspective with the questions it brings to light about the male and his place in cultures. Warren Farrell’s *The Myth of Male Power* is included to question assumptions of male superiority and present students with a new way to think about power in gender studies, namely, as power over one’s own life. Mythic perspectives from two Jungian psychoanalysts, Luigi Zoja (*The Father*) and Eugene Monick (*Phallos*), offer deep psychological insights into the experience of having a father and fatherhood and a male’s relation to his own phallus, respectively. Contemporary issues are explored, most notably by looking at Roy Baumeister’s *Is There Anything Good About Men?*, which seeks to honestly answer whether men really are necessary in today’s world. In addition the syllabus provided offers a bibliography of substantial work done in the field of male psychology, as well as a list of films about boys and men.

The conference resumed on the morning of the 12th with the second presentation of disciplines for Male Studies, with Dr. Rob Kenedy presenting on sociology. The presentation focused on the social status of fathers and families. One of the major issues of our society today is the decline in fatherhood and the absence of fathers from parenting. Instead of attributing this to some sort of moral inferiority on the part of men, the ways in which court systems have been set against men are explored. With divorce cases often depriving men of much of their wealth and child custody cases depriving them of their children, men are often faced with a toxic environment that threatens their well-being following relational breakdowns. Fathers, if they have chosen to stay in the first place, have become increasingly expendable, save for their wallets. The court systems have become influenced by gender feminist ideology, which sees fathers as unnecessary or secondary parents at best. False allegations of physical or sexual abuse are accepted uncritically if made against fathers. Psychological issues that arise out of losing children are dismissed as strategies to manipulate children or seen as reactions to patriarchal privilege being denied them. A more positive approach toward fatherhood needs to be taken in order to encourage men to stay on as fathers.

The afternoon session saw the third discussion of disciplinary perspectives, this time the humanities and fine arts. Dr. Dennis Gouws presented on how male-positive methodologies can be utilized in an academic environment when teaching in the humanities and fine arts. Male-positive

methodologies would:

explain how patriarchal and chivalric models for male behavior have both impelled males to be pleasers, placaters, providers, protectors and progenitors, and assumed that the male body is primarily an instrument of service to others;

examine how men experience gynocentrism (exclusively women-centered advocacy and practices) and misandry (the hatred of, and prejudice against, males) as inhibitors of masculine affirmation;

value various embodied masculinities; and

formulate both positive male identities and post-hegemonic masculinity male interactions.

A sample course would introduce students to male literacy, looking at males in literature as well as introducing students to contemporary men's issues. Survey and elective courses were also discussed, ranging from exploring chivalry to how males are represented in the visual arts.

The evening presentation focused on a fourth and final disciplinary perspective to be discussed focusing on men's health and wellbeing. Dr. John Ashfield presented on medical clinics and how they treat and reach out to men. Courses in Male Studies focusing on male health would hope to instruct those who want to work with men in practices that do not alienate men and would encourage them to return for help with their health issues. Contrary to the belief that men do not care about their health, men will seek out help when an environment is male-friendly. The inclusion of the physical sciences within Male Studies is in line with its promise for an interdisciplinary approach, one that is lacking in gender studies. Gaining insight into male health, both physical and psychological, opens up opportunities for greater discussion on the issues facing men and boys in society.

The morning of May 13th began with a discussion of men on college campuses. The presentation, by K.C. Glover, was intended to provide a report on the state of college men internationally. Men now make up fewer than forty percent of college students in America. It is argued that the campus has become an unfriendly place for most males. College and university men's groups where young men can meet and discuss issues pertaining to their unique experience in the world have begun to form on campuses in America and the United Kingdom. Best practices for maintaining these groups as well as encouraging men to become involved on campus were briefly discussed. Much attention was paid to how college men's centers may assist those involved in obtaining a degree in Male Studies. While a degree in Male Studies will first be online, an eventual position within universities would allow for more interactive learning and add the potential for community engagement.

A brief discussion then began about the future of the Male Studies with reference to a vision of Camille Paglia in her book, *Vamps & Tramps: New Essays*. In it she advocates for sex studies, "based on the rigorous study of world history, anthropology, psychology, and science" (Paglia, 102). This interdisciplinary approach would replace the outdated gender studies, with its focus on social constructivism and postmodern cronyism. While focusing on males, Male Studies, with its interdisciplinary approach, has the potential to bring about a return of academic integrity to discussions

about sex.

The afternoon and evening discussions once again focused on technical issues such as the creation of syllabi for courses, electives within the degree, and requirements for graduating with a degree in Male Studies. The degree was fine tuned in order for proper submission to the University of South Australia as a proposal for an official degree. Discussions also included the adding faculty in the areas of law, economics, and anthropology. The creation of an international faculty with knowledge in various disciplines will assist in the teaching of well-rounded students who know how to apply their knowledge in various fields involved with the assistance of males.

May 14th saw Dr. John Ashfield delivering closing remarks and discussing prospects for research, curriculum design, and pedagogy involved in Male Studies. After five productive days of presentations and discussion, the groundwork for the establishment of Male Studies as a field of study and as a degree concluded. It is predicted that the degree will be available internationally in 2014. The degree will be aimed at those who work with males or who are entering fields that require an understanding of them, but with its interdisciplinary focus will also provide an opportunity for those who have grown tired of ideologically driven, social constructivist courses focusing on males.

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Book Reviews



David Benatar, *The Second Sexism: Discrimination Against Men and Boys*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. ISBN: 978-0-470-67451-2. US \$29.95

Ironically, perhaps the chief benefit of the feminist movement will have been to bring the reality of anti-male sexism to full social consciousness. Drawing attention to females as a group of human beings with distinctive features has required drawing attention to males as their unique complement. In the process, culturally systemic and heretofore unacknowledged discrimination against most males has become vividly clear, albeit so far to only a small number of scholars. David Benatar's seminal work provides both evidence for endemic anti-male sexism and why it has been overlooked. The author shows how and why "second sexism is the neglected sexism, the sexism that is not taken seriously even by most of those who oppose (or at least claim that they oppose) sex discrimination" (p. 1). Thanks, first, to the early 20th-century suffragette movement and, more recently, to "third-wave," "ideological" or "partisan" (p. 14) feminism, we now recognize, acknowledge and are positioned to correct discrimination against boys and men that, it turns out, is part and parcel of the story of how life in community has become workable and developed in nearly every culture. Wherever there is manhood (which is ubiquitous, as we know from the work of anthropologist David Gilmore in his *Manhood in the Making*), there is anti-male sexism. And now, thanks to Professor Benatar, we have an incisive, comprehensive discussion of the phenomenon that feminism has unwittingly brought to the forefront.

Professor Benatar's work sheds penetrating light on the situation of boys and men, who

not only comprise the (to use Warren Farrell's term) "disposable sex" (as they always have) but now also (most notably within the last forty years and especially in liberal democracies) are the targets of misandry (systematic discrimination against males) and as such have come to constitute in our time the more neglected and harmed sex. The thesis of the book is "establishing that there is a second sexism" (p. 42). This Professor Benatar does. The author's goal is to compel us to take seriously the situation he has identified and clarifies with subtle, refined and fair arguments. There is no guarantee this will happen, although any reader capable of following Professor Benatar's arguments must rationally be compelled to do so on the basis of his arguments. That such awareness has been lacking is cause for global shame. Professor Benatar makes clear the most important reasons for the lapse, which has not been accidental. That such discrimination has been justified and even valorized by the invocation of notions such as chivalry and heroism has only delayed awareness of male sexism.

David Benatar, who is professor and head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Cape Town, accomplishes two things in his book, which if any integrity remains in academe is destined to have as wide a readership there as the 1949 volume by Simone de Beauvoir that Benatar's title echoes has had. First, he demonstrates that all but a handful of males are at a disadvantage in contemporary cultures and that they always have been. Second, he shows that in recent years the disadvantages to which boys and men are subject have been institutionalized as forms of wrongful discrimination on the basis of a non-essential feature of their being, namely, their sex.

With *The Second Sexism*, the area of gender studies has been liberated from the ideological grip of the social sciences and a field in academe known as cultural studies. Professor Benatar has also raised the theme of anti-male sexism to a level of discourse above the often self-apologetic pleadings of self-help advocates and pop social science where a number of efforts were made (beginning as early as the 1970s) to reveal the precarious situation in which boys and men find themselves. Moreover, the author reveals hidden presuppositions and distortions in widely read research that have been perpetuated since gender first became a topic of interest to scholars (other than grammarians) beginning around 1960 when the British sociologist Alec Comfort first used the term "gender" as a euphemism for sex.

The writing is jargon-free. As a philosopher, Professor Benatar is attentive to conceptual nuance and clear, precise usage. His background in analytic philosophy is evident. As an epistemologist, he examines with care and rigor the basic concepts of his topic. Above all, he foregrounds the ethical issues at stake in the discussion of gender in general and in particular in considerations of the second sexism. Professor Benatar has no interest in advocating an ideology and shows that from the start a certain ideology has been the hidden agenda of "gender studies" (which began as "women's studies"), even while objectivity in empirical research was claimed and promised by those publishing in the area.

The Second Sexism opens with an ominous caveat: "I am under no illusions. My position, no matter how clearly stated, is likely to be misunderstood" (p. 16). This is because Professor Benatar realizes that his most anxious and strident critics will be representatives of orthodoxies and, as such, will be driven by a kind of religious zeal of the sort that since the Middle Ages has endeavored to make philosophy the handmaiden of theology and, in turn, religious movements. Indeed, it can be claimed (although Professor Benatar does not do so) that especially third-wave feminism has the features of a religious movement. Substitute "political commitment" for "religious belief" and it becomes plausible that its devotees' strongly held beliefs and commitments displace and often ignore reasonable arguments adduced against their claims. The author's optimism and con-

fidence in what Freud famously called the “quiet voice” of reason will be attractive and energizing to those who are proponents of genuinely egalitarian values and harmony among human beings living in community and have wearied of the hectoring rhetoric of much of the material published as gender studies.

After making careful distinctions among disadvantage, discrimination, and wrongful discrimination, Professor Benatar defines sexism (which he acknowledges is a not unambiguous term) as “wrongful discrimination on the basis of sex” (p. 5) and states that “the really important conclusion for which I need to argue is that males are the victims of wrongful discrimination (or even merely wrongful treatment) on the basis of their sex” (p. 10). This is a sexism that “typically remains invisible” (p. 13) but is made visible in the pages of the present volume. It should go without saying that nothing Professor Benatar says in his book should be construed as “hostile to egalitarian feminism” (p. 14). “What I shall say,” he writes, “will be antagonistic only to partisan feminism” (p. 15), whose supporters “are interested only in advancing the interests and protecting the rights” of women (p. 14). Others have termed this “ideological feminism” (Paul Nathanson and Katherine Young in their path-breaking series of books on misandry) or “gender feminism” (Christina Hoff Sommers).

The first part (Chapter 2) of the book details “a range of disadvantages of being male” (p. 18), including conscription and being compelled to engage in combat, boys’ exposure to excessive violence (including excessive corporal punishment boys during the early childhood years), sexual assault at all ages, circumcision during infancy, practices recently introduced into school curricula (especially at the elementary level) that alienate boys, legal changes affecting family life (child custody conventions exercised by judges, decisions regarding paternity), social attitudes toward certain forms of private life (male homosexuality), violations of bodily privacy (especially in the criminal justice system and the military), the documented decrease in males’ life expectancy over the last century, and practices affecting terms of imprisonment of males and the greater frequency of capital punishment of men. Professor Benatar then (in Chapter 3) considers generally acknowledged and uncontested basic differences between the sexes and the effects of certain widely held general beliefs about males that have led to the disadvantages he enumerated in the first section of the book. In the most substantial section of his text (Chapter 4), Professor Benatar examines each of the examples of disadvantage presented in Chapter 2, tracing how they have been converted into forms of overt “wrongful discrimination.” In Chapter 5, the author responds to objections that have been raised to the evidence for male sexism he has presented. Considering in turn each area of disadvantage described (conscription and combat, violence, circumcision, education, sexual assault, bodily privacy, custody, life expectancy and imprisonment), he re-examines them in view of the “inversion,” “costs-of-dominance” and “distraction” arguments against his claims typically invoked by his critics. In the penultimate section, Chapter 6 of *The Second Sexism*, the author examines in contrast to equal opportunity initiatives “sex-based affirmative action,” arguing that “those affirmative action policies and practices that involve giving preference to people of a particular sex are not an appropriate response to sexism” (p. 19), whether it be of the first or second sort. In the concluding chapter, Professor Benatar begins by asking two sensitive questions: “Does feminism discriminate against men?” and “Are men worse off than women?” He responds to these highly charged questions with a view to the evidence he has provided throughout the book and he does so with evenhanded care (pp. 239-254). The book concludes with a justification for why the second sexism must be taken seriously and suggestions about how one might approach eliminating it.

To appreciate the importance of taking the second sexism seriously, readers might begin with the final pages of the concluding chapter (pp. 254-259). There they will see that with respect to male sexism to date, the starting point of the path from disadvantage to wrongful discrimination has been systematically obscured. We see, for example, that the glare of the social system of practices known as chivalry and the socially idealized mystique of self-sacrifice subsumed by the notion of heroism have blinded us to what these in general socially approved and encouraged attitudes (to which males are encouraged to aspire) have meant for most men's lives, namely, the sacrifice of real power, which is power over their own lives. In response to this section of the text, I was prompted to think of recent insults added to the injury of the lives of boys and men, including having stripped fatherhood of its dignity, considering boys to be inferior versions of girls, and failing to welcome young males to life on college and university campuses, the latter having led to discouraging young males from taking part in campus life, other than as athletes. Other readers will think of other issues, such as the emotional consequences of men's losing custody of their children. As Professor Benatar notes, until recently the custody of children went to fathers when a marriage was dissolved.

The Second Sexism develops ideas first presented in 2003 in an article published in an issue of the journal *Social Theory and Practice* that included four responses to Professor Benatar's thesis and his reply to them. As in his reply, the author here successfully answers the objections raised by his commentators there and by others (pp. 173-211). Of particular interest in the chapter on arguments leveled against him is a discussion of the "distraction argument," one that is frequently used by critics of the thesis of a second sexism. The distraction argument "clearly has a political agenda rather than philosophical agenda. It is more concerned about the political potency of recognizing the second sexism than about its philosophical status. Whatever one might think about the political duties of philosophers, these should certainly not override the philosophical tasks of honestly and accurately understanding the representing the issues, even if this is not politically convenient. Truth, and the philosophically sophisticated pursuit of it, should not be sacrificed in the name of a political cause" (pp. 201-202). Professor Benatar's admonition about the priority of the pursuit of truth over advocacy for a political cause must be taken seriously in academe in general and not only with reference to gender studies. Indeed, one major reason for considering this book to be of great importance is its intellectual provenance. It is a work of philosophy about a topic of general importance to all disciplines. It brings to bear on a set of pressing social issues a much to be desired perspective and methodology at a time when volume after volume of high-brow journalism pass themselves off as works of serious scholarship and when the term *research* has become a shibboleth for academics who in effect write only for each other and in confirmation of what they and their target audience have already accepted as givens—a sort of gender scholasticism. The life of the mind, by contrast, is about challenging claims, including one's own, by submitting them to critical scrutiny.

Quite a lot of space is devoted to conscription as an example of a social practice that has perennially put males at a disadvantage. Professor Benatar is unambiguous: "The disadvantages men suffer in being conscripted are the products of wrongful discrimination" (p. 102). He observes that apart from the ethical issues inherent in male-only conscription policies where they are in effect, "the use of gender stereotypes to pressure men into volunteering is also morally problematic. This is because such stereotypes go beyond whatever biological differences there might be between the sexes. They coerce men to do what they would otherwise not elect to do. After all, there would be no need to pressure men into enlisting and fighting if they would do it anyway" (p. 122).

It is nearly always overlooked that no matter what Hollywood might have suggested in the heyday of war movies (which were produced in order to bolster support for ongoing engagement in a war in which the United States was already involved and presumably to increase morale among the families and friends of soldiers already deployed and in combat), *most men* have no interest in fighting with each other. The discussions of men and combat are important parts of Professor Benatar's book (pp. 26-30 and 102-122) and are essential reading. The topic of conscription is, of course, closely related to that of the association of men and boys with violence in general (pp. 30-36 and 122-128). These sections of Professor Benatar's book are central to understanding the context of what he has to say in general about the disadvantages to which men are subjected and required by a code of masculinity to accept. The discussion of men and violence is put into perspective by Professor Benatar emending commonly held impressions about the extent to which men are victims of domestic violence (pp. 36-41, 132-134 and 185-186). There is a great deal of misinformation abroad about this topic and Professor Benatar is among those (including Murray Straus, whose work he cites) who are setting the record straight, for example, by presenting corrected data and revealing acknowledged errors of computation or interpretation in well-known publications and in the pronouncements of high-profile media figures in the entertainment industry, journalism and academe.

My enthusiasm for this work is based on the timeliness of its contribution to the discussion of boys and young men worldwide, but especially in Western liberal democracies (which are the focus but not the sole cultures examined by Professor Benatar) including the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and most countries in the European Union. It is also based my appreciation of the nature and quality of the author's approach, which is philosophical. Finally, it should be noted that David Benatar's area of special competence is ethics. His discussion of the second sexism is decidedly one that exposes deep ethical concerns about the well-being of boys and men that we *must* not avoid addressing. Not to see that there are moral issues at stake here places those who either do not see or refuse to see that such is the case by default are in a position that requires them to show they are not themselves susceptible of being charged with holding an immoral position by ignoring what is patently the case. At the very least, such persons will have omitted to concern themselves with issues that demand the attention of anyone who is committed to justice.

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Book Reviews



David Benatar, *The Second Sexism: Discrimination Against Men and Boys*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. ISBN: 978-0-470-67451-2. US \$29.95

The idea that males might suffer disadvantage as a result of wrongful discrimination on the basis of sex (in a word, as a result of sexism) strikes many as wrongheaded, a proposal unworthy of further consideration. In certain respects, this sort of reaction is understandable. Historically, it has largely been females, not males, but (arguably) at the hands of males, who have been the victims of the most objectionable types of discrimination. From having been denied suffrage and education, to having been barred from certain types of free expression, to being constrained by oppressive gender roles, it is undeniable that women have suffered immensely as a direct and indirect result of wrongful discrimination. Indeed, it is not yet clear that women today are free from such discrimination or its lasting effects. Until recently, when they have been advanced, claims that men are likewise (though perhaps not to the same extent) the victims of wrongful sex discrimination have been relatively informal. When they have been raised, they have not been taken seriously. David Benatar, in his most recent book, *The Second Sexism*, seeks to change this fact. His book presents a challenge to those who scoff at the mention of sexism against males, by attempting to establish that males, in today's world, suffer as a result, often indirect, but sometimes direct, of sexism. Benatar's study proceeds in four main stages, each of them careful to separate the normative arguments from the descriptive facts, and each careful to avoid resorting to the kind of "emotive polemics" typical of so many contemporary treatments of gender issues (p. 20).

First, Benatar anticipates objections to the use of the concept of sexism to refer to wrongful discrimination against males. Many, he thinks, will object to the idea of a "second sexism" for con-

ceptual reasons. Sexism, according to these objectors, must refer to something systemic, it must involve “the domination of one sex by another” (p. 5), and such domination must be an *essential* feature of the discrimination at hand. But, the argument goes, it is clear that any existing discrimination against males does not meet such criteria. While Benatar thinks that we have good reason to reject such a definition of sexism (it might entail, for example, that Western democracies are post-sexist), this point is not central to his case. It is of sufficient moral importance, on his view, to establish that males suffer as a result of wrongful discrimination on the basis of sex. While he thinks that we ought to recognize this as sexism, he understands that some people will disagree. Such disagreement, he thinks, does not diminish the value of his project. He trusts that even those reluctant to deem such discrimination “sexism” will consider its existence worthy of moral opposition (p. 10).

Second, he considers a host of statistical disadvantages that attend being male across the globe. For example, males remain, almost universally, the only human beings forced to engage in military combat. Though practices involving mandatory military service are out of favor in contemporary liberal democracies, it is possible that they will be reinstated. (Indeed, arguments that the draft ought to be reinstated are increasingly popular.) Additionally, not all countries are liberal democracies, and in some (upwards of 80, according to Benatar), conscription is still practiced in some capacity (p. 27). Even where conscription is no longer practiced, males constitute an overwhelming majority of combatants in war. To make matters worse, argues Benatar, combat is not the only way being a male carries with it disadvantage with respect to violence. Males, too, are the victims of the vast majority of other types of aggression and violence (p. 31). The exception, predictably, is sexual assault. But regarding sexual assault, men suffer the disadvantage of having their accusations of sexual assault taken lightly, and sometimes even ignored completely (pp. 31, 37-41). And that is, for male victims of sexual assault, a significant disadvantage.

Benatar also makes the surprising case that, in most Western democracies, males suffer educational disadvantage. He does *not* thereby deny the possibility that females still suffer educational disadvantage, nor does he take a side on which sex currently suffers greater educational disadvantage. He needs only to show that it is not the case that “Girls [currently] suffer all (or almost all) the disadvantages” with respect to education (p. 47). To make this case, which he admits is still controversial, Benatar points to, among other things, the fact that “a greater proportion of females than males have enrolled in college every year since 1982” and the fact that men constitute the vast majority of high school dropouts (pp. 48, 47). Benatar claims that males suffer other sorts of disadvantage as well, from greater rates of incarceration and suicide, to challenges regarding custody battles, emphasizing along the way that his account of male disadvantage, detailed as it is, is far from exhaustive (pp. 61, 260). Benatar is careful throughout to keep in mind that disadvantage suffered on the basis of sex does not wrongful discrimination make.

Accordingly, he next argues that at least some of the disadvantage males suffer is a result of societal or cultural beliefs about males, beliefs that are exaggerated at best, and factually mistaken at worst. Among these beliefs, count those, defended prominently by Kingsley Browne, that argue that the practice of conscripting only males is justified because sex serves as a reliable proxy for selecting the best combatants (p. 103). Count also those beliefs that are invoked to justify the fact that we do not take seriously the charges of male victims of sexual assault, because men are sexually “more voracious” than women (p. 83). Given the questionable status of such beliefs and their incapacity to generate normative conclusions one way or another, their invocation as a justification for the differential treatment of men and women constitutes a form of sexism, or at least wrongful discrimination on the basis of sex (pp. 77, 102). That the differential treatment of males is often justified by appeal to claims about the differences between men and women constitutes sexism, precisely because these beliefs are culturally pervasive and mutually reinforcing, such that the differences they describe are, plausibly, largely the result of the beliefs themselves. Many of

them are analogous to the sorts of beliefs that were taken to justify the exclusion of women from the workplace and from higher education in years past.

Benatar is careful to emphasize that discrimination need not be explicit. Sometimes, he writes, “discrimination is explicit: men but not women are forced into the military or into combat; the law permits the hitting of boys, but not girls; males are overtly targeted for violence but females are spared. Sometimes, however, the contribution that discrimination makes to disadvantage is less direct . . . For example, people hold various prejudices about men . . . unconsciously . . . [that] contribute to treating men in ways that cause disadvantage” (p. 163). The lesson here is that discrimination is often hard to detect and that it often occurs in more or less normal social contexts as a result of factors that are not attributable to anyone in particular.

Despite careful argumentation, Benatar does not always succeed in making the transition from disadvantage to wrongful discrimination. For example, Benatar claims that males are the victims of most violent crimes (pp. 32, 122). While this is surely right on the evidence, there is nothing here to suggest that the statistical disparity between male and female victimhood is linked to wrongful discrimination against men. It is not clear that, regarding non-gender-related violent crimes like murder and assault, the victim’s sex is a factor in determining who will become a victim of such crimes. (Notice also that the two categories of violent crime that do seem, on the face of it, to be gender-related, sexual assault and domestic violence, are the two types of violent crimes of which women, not men, are the main victims.) Benatar might claim that the statistical difference in victimhood with respect to more generic types of violence is an instance of the sort of disadvantage that results from indirect discrimination. Perhaps males, due largely to cultural beliefs about males, are pushed to join gangs, or are pushed into other dangerous activities that are largely associated with violent crime. Benatar *could* go this way, but he does not here provide any evidence for believing that this sort of discrimination, however indirect, is what explains the fact that males are much more frequently the victims of violent crime. To the extent that the transition from disadvantage to wrongful discrimination is not made, there is a lacuna (albeit not an unfillable one) in his argument.

Nevertheless, to achieve his goal, that is, to convince us that males sometimes suffer disadvantage as a result of sexism, he need not succeed in showing that *all* of the types of disadvantage he outlines, in the end, constitute sexism. That is, even if we reject some of his arguments as insufficient to demonstrate that certain disadvantages are instantiations of sexism-caused disadvantages, we can still accept the more modest conclusion that *some* of the disadvantages men suffer result from sexism.

Having demonstrated that males suffer disadvantage on the basis of their sex and that at least some such disadvantage is wrongful, Benatar finally considers the possibility that males might, as a result of the second sexism, be deserving of affirmative action. First, Benatar distinguishes between “equal opportunity affirmative action,” which aims “to ensure that opportunities are genuinely equal,” and preference-based affirmative action, which essentially “involve[s] some kind of preference based on a person’s sex” (pp. 214, 215). While affirmative action of the equal opportunity variety is perfectly acceptable, indeed, even required, the preference-based variety does not fare so well on analysis. He argues that to give preference to some on the basis of their sex is an inappropriate response to sexism, whether that sexism is of the first or second variety. He considers two common arguments in favor of preference-based affirmative action, ultimately rejecting each in turn. The arguments he considers are the argument from compensatory justice, which he deems the “rectifying Injustice” argument (p. 215) and the argument from consequentialism (p. 228). Neither is successful in ridding affirmative action of what about it is most unpalatable about its practice, namely, the fact that it institutionalizes sex-based discrimination. Each undermines the purpose of the hiring and admission processes, which serve the important societal function of resource allocation. But Benatar is far from advocating a do-nothing attitude with regard to sex-

ism, whether of the first or second brand.

Benatar argues that the number one thing we can do to eliminate the disadvantage that results from the second sexism (and, indeed, sexism more generally), is to take such disadvantage seriously. We ought to recognize it where it exists and employ equal opportunity based affirmative action to decrease the disadvantage that follows from such discrimination. We should stop the foolishness that is based on a race to greater victimhood and recognize that our boys and our girls, our men and our women, are all likely disadvantaged, to some extent, unnecessarily on the basis of their sex (p. 246). There is no prize for being worse off in this regard, and a thoroughgoing commitment to equity requires that we take all such wrongful discrimination quite seriously, no matter who the victims turn out to be. Benatar's analysis brings much needed clarity to contemporary debates in gender studies, whose discourse runs the risk of becoming stagnant and dogmatic against a constantly changing social backdrop. Benatar does well to remind us that it is not only females who are constrained and disadvantaged by the roles that they have been socially encouraged to take up.

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Book Reviews



David Benatar, *The Second Sexism: Discrimination Against Men and Boys*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. ISBN: 978-0-470-67451-2. US \$29.95

In *The Second Sexism* David Benatar takes on the question of discrimination against males in a preliminary yet scrupulous fashion. More precisely, the book makes a case for the very existence of discrimination against males, a problem that, as Benatar indicates, has been largely ignored and often flatly denied. The book is intended to demonstrate that discrimination against males is a legitimate problem worthy of both further research and, it is hoped, rectifying action. From the viewpoint of this reader, Benatar succeeds in this task admirably through strong argumentation, straightforward clarity, and attentiveness to opposing positions.

The book is divided into seven chapters, each of which deals with a set of issues related to the book's theme, discrimination against men and boys. The first chapter is introductory and outlines the structure and aim of the text and clarifies several preliminary issues. First, Benatar articulates what he means by "second sexism" (and sexism generally) as well as his own definition of wrongful discrimination, which he argues for in contrast to other conceptions of the notion. After noting that sometimes discrimination is acceptable and even desirable as a way of recognizing differences between things, he provides a formula for distinguishing *wrongful* discrimination, which occurs "when people are treated differently without there being a relevant difference between the people that justifies the differential treatment" (p. 4).

Benatar also offers a brief overview of the general positions that are taken on the theme of the book by giving an account of the broad categories these positions may fall into and their relation to his position. The two notable groups that would oppose Benatar's position are the so-called

partisan feminists, who seek to further the interests of women alone rather than equality between the sexes, and *gender-role conservatives*, who hold that men (and, presumably, women) *ought* to behave in a certain way and fit definite, established gender roles. The introductory chapter thus lays the foundation for the arguments that follow by both fixing the terms of the debate and identifying the primary positions to which Benatar is responding.

The second chapter catalogues a variety of the ways in which males are disadvantaged. This chapter does not yet discuss *discrimination*, but merely male disadvantage, leaving the arguments for cases of discrimination against males for a later chapter. Benatar is extensive in his presentation of male disadvantage, though not exhaustive. He limits his examples to clear and reasonably arguable cases of disadvantage, leaving out cases that may be more subtle or difficult to justify. Two of the most notable disadvantages that males experience are conscription and violence. With regard to the former, Benatar observes that throughout history it has been well nigh exclusively males who have fought wars and have been forced to do so by conscription. Where women are conscripted, Benatar argues, they are treated more leniently, most notably with regard to combat, of which males bear all or most of the burden. Second, Benatar demonstrates how males are much more likely to suffer violence *outside* of war. He notes that some studies indicate that twice as many men than women are victims of aggravated assault and more than three times as many men than women are murdered. He also dispels the claim that men are almost always the perpetrators of domestic violence, citing data that show women to be just as and, at times, *more* violent than men in domestic disputes. These are just a few of the disadvantages that Benatar presents in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 briefly treats the possible causes for male disadvantage and beliefs about the sexual differences of males. Benatar suggests that beliefs about males “partly explain why they are discriminated against.” However, he remarks, explaining why people do something is not the same as *justifying* it. On this point, Benatar draws attention to a distinction that is often neglected, that between instrumental and intrinsic value. The motive for raising this distinction is to combat the argument that women are more valuable due to their reproductive capabilities. Benatar notes that this is *instrumental* value, the value that something has when it is useful for a given end, such as the ‘survival of the species.’ Women may indeed be more valuable in *this* sense, but this does not amount to their being any more *intrinsically* valuable than males, for in all other significant respects males and females are, allowing for individual variation, more or less the same in their sentience, human capacities, and so on; that is, men and women are of equivalent *moral* worth. Benatar also distinguishes between *descriptive* beliefs and *normative* beliefs; that is, between beliefs about the way males *are* and beliefs about how they *should* be. After presenting some beliefs about males of both sorts and observing that there is often an overlap between the two, Benatar questions the truth of these beliefs, why they may or may not be true, and the implications of the answers to these questions. Among the issues addressed in this regard are the basis of sexual difference and the relation of biology and socialization (“nature-nurture”) as sources of sexual differences and beliefs about them.

Chapter 4 presents Benatar’s arguments for those cases in which disadvantage may be discriminatory and wrongfully so. This chapter makes up the heart of the book and contains the most salient points of Benatar’s argument. Each of the kinds of disadvantage presented in the second chapter is now taken up in the context of the question of discrimination. For each brand of disadvantage, Benatar makes the case that and to what degree its origins and practices are discriminatory. For example, picking up on the disadvantages of conscription and combat from Chapter 2, Benatar argues that these are in large part due to discrimination. He notes the assumption that when conscription is necessary, it is men who ought to be conscripted. Also, with or without conscription, men bear the bulk of combat burdens but, as Benatar later argues, these “burdens are distributed on the basis of sex” and their distribution to males alone, or nearly alone, is not justi-

fied (p. 103). To make his case, the author picks the strongest argument contrary to his position, articulates its essential points, and examines each of them at length. The argument cited is one by Kingsley Browne. Two of the main points of Browne's argument addressed by Benatar are the claim that men are more militarily effective and that sex may be used as a proxy for selecting militarily effective individuals. This is just a small portion of only one of the issues treated in this chapter. For the rest, Benatar responds to many popular views on the various sorts of male disadvantage held by both reputable scholars and many lay people in Western culture.

Benatar devotes the Chapter 5 to responding to objections to his arguments. To do this he outlines and replies to three common sorts of argument directed against his position. The first of these he calls the "inversion" argument, wherein discrimination against males is "inverted" to look like discrimination against females. Second, he presents the "costs-of-dominance" argument, which claims that male disadvantage is due to the supposed dominance of men. Lastly, there is the "distraction" argument, which holds that giving attention to discrimination against males will distract attention from the supposedly more serious discrimination against females. A final possible objection may be raised against the definitions that Benatar gives of sexism and discrimination. Benatar responds to this sort of objection at length, arguing both for his definitions and against competing definitions.

Chapter 6 is a reply to the question of affirmative action and its legitimacy as a method for rectifying the injustices of discrimination. Benatar is careful to clarify that he is here concerned principally with *sex-based* affirmative action and does not address the problem with regard to race or any other context. Benatar argues *against* sex-based affirmative action and does this by responding to several common arguments for such. These fall into two general categories, one based on the rectification of past injustice and the other on the rectification of present discrimination. The former seeks to compensate currently living individuals of a disadvantaged group in the present for sufferings of *other* individuals of that group that occurred in the past. Benatar notes that compensation is due to the *sufferer* rather than to another person who happens to be classed within the same group. The latter argument holds that where a group is still disadvantaged affirmative action must be employed to rectify the current imbalance. However, Benatar argues, in the case of sex-based discrimination against women that is supposed to justify affirmative action for women there are often unfounded inferences and conclusions. One such inference is that where there is a statistical disparity, there is necessarily discrimination. However, much of the time, at least in Western liberal democracies, women are not in fact being discriminated against in the areas in which they are claimed to be. Benatar takes on this problem on at length, presenting a variety of cases and possible explanations *other than* discrimination, and suggests correcting these rather than applying affirmative action. It must also be remarked that Benatar does not support affirmative action for *either sex*, as he holds it to be an overall improper method for rectifying discrimination, at least in its sex-based forms.

The final chapter serves as a conclusion that summarizes Benatar's position and raises some questions about a few related issues. Two of these issues are the questions of whether or not feminism discriminates against men and whether men are worse off than women. To the first Benatar answers that feminism does not *cause* discrimination against males, though in some cases it may exacerbate it. To the second question, Benatar answers that although it is difficult to tell which sex is worse off, the determination of such a matter is not essential either to his argument or to acting to rectify discrimination. Rather, he suggests that issues of discrimination against both sexes be addressed in any case, regardless of who 'has it worse.' That is, unfair or unjust discrimination remains so independently of comparative claims, just as the fact that when one person suffers less (if such can be determined) than another, that person still suffers and should be given appropriate aid. In closing, Benatar emphasizes the need to take the second sexism seriously and calls for more research into male disadvantage and corresponding discrimination, as well as ap-

appropriate action to redress the problems derived from such discrimination.

Overall the book stands strong in its arguments while maintaining a spirit of scholarship and debate. It is striking how honest and straightforward Benatar is in his assessments and arguments. He pulls no punches, presenting the data he has uncovered and arguing clearly for his position. A distinguishing feature of the book is its clarity. Benatar goes to lengths on many occasions to clarify precisely what he is and is not saying and the reasons for doing so. He also takes the time to define the terms essential to his argument *and* to argue for their legitimacy. Moreover, in contrast to many of his opponents, Benatar applies his principles, assumptions, and definitions both to himself and others without bias, lending his work the additional merit of consistency. From a formal standpoint the work is clear and sound, while remaining humble and open to criticism.

That said, Benatar spares no expense to show just how faulty the arguments of his opponents are. In his arguments against contrary positions, Benatar unveils them as anything from mistaken and misleading to downright ridiculous. One of the milder cases in which another position is at least misleading is that of a study by Amartya Sen and Jean Drèze. Benatar reveals that their argument is a “sophisticated form of the view that lost female lives are more noteworthy than lost male lives” (p. 191). He does this by illustrating that their claims about the excess of “missing women” are based on an arbitrarily set baseline for the female-male ratio. Benatar observes that this baseline is not in fact based on birth ratios but on additional qualifications that conceal a tacit normative claim that there *should* be a higher ratio of females to males. The ratio set by Sen and Drèze may be reversed to show more missing *males* depending on how one chooses to represent the data. Moreover, in either case, he observes, the ratios are just that and do not provide us with absolute numbers and so may deceive us about how many missing men *or* women there may be in a given country.

In the case of both the milder and more extreme deficiencies of other positions Benatar maintains scholarly clarity and consistency. However, at times his arguments do fall short of being exhaustive. He admits that for better or worse, his arguments are limited only to those essential to making the case for the fact of discrimination against males and, as such, do not go into a full analysis of all the data or opposing positions. It is also not uncommon to find Benatar forced to admit a lack of evidence to support stronger claims that he might like to make. For instance, in the context of domestic violence, Benatar must admit that there are not enough data to support the claim of some of his opponents that wives “almost never” stalk their husbands. At the same time this also prevents Benatar from being able to claim the contrary and say that or how much wives do stalk their husbands. While it is unfortunate that information is sometimes lacking, Benatar draws attention to this and owns up to his and others’ inability to make certain claims. A general example of this occurs towards the end of the book, where Benatar draws attention to the lack of research on the second sexism, which makes it difficult to know or make claims about the precise extent or manner in which it is manifested.

A recurring issue both in his opponents’ positions and also in some of the concrete manifestations of the second sexism is *inconsistency*. From the fourth chapter on the radical inconsistencies and one-sided biases of courts, legislation, feminists and others become so apparent that it is almost becomes tedious to continue reading. One almost is compelled to say, “Here too? Give me a break!” For instance, Benatar draws attention to the ridiculous claim that the courts’ leniency towards women in sentencing is due to the fact that “male hegemony would be threatened because unpaid family labor performed by females would be eliminated” (p. 193). Benatar observes that even if this is at all true such labor would not be eliminated but only marginally reduced. Moreover, he notes the absurdity in thinking “hegemonic white males’ would prefer to avoid this marginal reduction in unpaid family work to a comparable reduction in their *own* chances of being incarcerated” (p. 194). In other words, this ridiculous belief amounts to saying that males feel that losing someone to make sandwiches and wash the carpet is *worse* than incarceration.

“Hegemonic males” truly must be a stubborn bunch, choosing rather to suffer incarceration and its attendant disadvantages than to give up the domestic “power” of having a “domestic laborer,” if such exist at all.

One of the more notable ways in which Benatar reveals inconsistencies in some positions is by attempting to apply their assumptions and principles to the case of male disadvantaging. When this is done, it often becomes immediately apparent that most feminists, at least, would reject the reversal in a heartbeat if it disadvantaged women. However, where the application of such a principle or belief disadvantages males unfairly, it is not even worthy of mention. A notable example of this is Benatar’s observation that “many defenders of affirmative action are not satisfied unless men and women are roughly equally represented – in desirable positions, that is. They treat the mere differential as evidence of discrimination, yet they make no such inference when the differential favors women” (p. 228). Along with other, similar instances, Benatar makes it clear that bias and inconsistency are highly prevalent in some areas and with some groups of people. Despite his exposure of such glaring inconsistencies, Benatar maintains the rigor of argumentation without giving way to baseless claims, generalizations, or childish mudslinging. This abstention only lends more credence to his arguments, for he is not only arguing soundly, but also being philosophically rigorous throughout his demonstration.

Taking account of the book’s merits, there still remain some problem areas. One of these, touched on above, is the lack of information in many areas that makes arguing either for or against Benatar’s position difficult on some finer points. This becomes most apparent in his discussion of the nature vs. socialization debate, where he admits that “answers to this question must be very general... because we lack sufficient knowledge to determine with any precision what the relative roles and interactions are [between socialization and nature]” (p. 96). This simply indicates a need for more research on the issues (p. 259).

Benatar provides a brief discussion of sexual difference, observing biological differences and granting that there are or may be psychological differences between the sexes. However, his conclusions are fairly vague and may be summed up as saying, “men and women are not that different.” This conclusion is not in itself problematic or necessarily incorrect, but the issue is not treated in depth within the text, despite its significance for the problems at hand. The issue is highly significant for Benatar’s argument, however, since it is essential for determining what may be considered discrimination and whether such is wrongful or not.

Another set of unquestioned assumptions are *moral*. The clearest instance of this is Benatar’s endorsement of what he calls “egalitarian feminism,” which is concerned with the equality of the sexes. This may well be worthy of concern, however it is not clear why this is so. Benatar makes claims throughout the book that suggest how things *ought* to be with regard to sexual equality that are, presumably, founded upon this basic moral position. The reasons for such an ‘ought’ are left undisclosed and not discussed, perhaps due to the lack of novelty of the imperative towards equality. While I generally agree with his positions on such matters, for instance the imperative toward equality between the sexes rather than the advancement of a one-sided agenda, these positions are not themselves argued for in any detail.

One final critical remark is in order. Given the focus of the book on the problem of *discrimination*, the phenomenon of discrimination as such is not dealt with extensively and is relegated to a problem of definition. While Benatar does present a reasonable definition and argue for it, it is unclear precisely how discrimination becomes as prevalent and, at times, systemic as seems to be the case. Benatar suggests that “[s]ex discrimination is not simply about what individuals do. It can also be the product of systems and structures” (p. 133). Again, this may be so, but it is unclear precisely how a *system* may favor one sex over another. Discrimination seems to be something that is enacted by human beings, not by inhuman things such as systems, unless we are comfortable suggesting that computers discriminate between os and is. If so, it is not clear if the

phenomenon of discrimination is the same for humans as it is for computers or systems generally. This begs the question of precisely what it means to “discriminate.”

Benatar’s extended argument for his definition of discrimination in Chapter 5, compelling though it is, remains a problem of terminology rather than one of the phenomenon of discrimination as such. In his criticisms of other definitions what seems to be at stake is setting the criteria for calling a particular occurrence an act of “discrimination.” The amount of controversy over the definition of the term indicates a general scholarly lack of clarity about any “real” occurrence and gives the impression that discrimination is a word subject to arbitrary meanings then fitted as a label onto actual occurrences that conform to the chosen meaning. Discrimination as a phenomenon, event, or act remains undetermined and Benatar’s discussion of “discrimination” as such is left to a matter of terms. His definition impacts the rest of his argument as it delineates what may and may not qualify for the title of “discrimination” and so determines what may or may not count as discrimination against males. As I have said, I see no problem with his definition itself, although the very question of definition is, at least here, somewhat abstract and removed from actual events and relegated to a matter of mere scholarly debate. Perhaps this is not relevant since the aim of the book is only to demonstrate the existence of discrimination against males as it has been defined.

On the whole, I am now convinced that there is discrimination against males and that the second sexism is a legitimate problem worthy of attention. Benatar has done good and sound work on a topic that has been little explored thus far. If readers can approach Benatar’s work with an appropriately open and reasonable mind, the book may be a great aid in bringing to light a pressing and important problem. *The Second Sexism* is a strong and early step on the way to the awareness, amelioration, and treatment of a widespread and unaddressed problem that affects a not insignificant portion of the human population.

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Book Reviews



Nigel Saul, *Chivalry in Medieval England*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press (2011).

Chivalry has declined since it first dignified medieval men's pursuit of excellence. On its inception in twelfth-century Europe, chivalry offered knights new opportunities for camaraderie, heroism, and comity in battle; moreover, it both occasioned an ethic for men's individual conduct and modelled a renowned, embodied masculine character for men who aspired to success at court. Chivalry required discipline and accomplishment; its measure was, therefore, personal and performative. Its core traits—bravery, honor, courtesy—influenced gentility and gentlemanliness, which from the fifteenth century onwards increasingly gauged the conduct of armigerous and professional men. Once its persistent impact on British masculinities finally dwindled in the early twentieth century, chivalry meant little more than men's benevolent placatory or protective deeds. This meaning has endured and has consequently reinforced disturbing assumptions about twenty-first-century male disposability. Men have traditionally appeased women; men have also subordinated themselves to customary gynocentric societal assumptions of women's parental superiority—the still-current chivalric rescue maxim, *women and children first* means just that—and men have steadfastly enlisted, or have been conscripted, to serve and protect in various armed forces. The atrocities of World War One rendered chivalric heroism unconvincing, but men still disproportionately sacrifice themselves as combatants. Some might claim that chivalry is dead; its spirit endures, however, and is deadly to men.

The two exemplars of medieval chivalry that interest most twenty-first-century readers are courtly love and literary romance, and in his *Chivalry in Medieval England*, Nigel Saul argues that these types were incidental to its development. Saul regards the predominantly-masculine arenas of war and economics as central to its engendering by a newly-confident military elite conscious of its commonality. Disciplined, principled fighting men earned wealth and honor; their ethos was voiced in historical texts, romances, and the visually symbolic language of chivalric heraldry. At first glance Professor Saul's analysis seems to argue for an orthodox Marxist division of society into base and superstructure (the actions of a newly-powerful knightly class determining the nature of its cultural expression); however, his treatment of twelfth-century knightly "self-consciousness" (p. 66) and various medieval Englishmen's motives for seeking military honor ("adventurers, free-booters, mercenaries, self-seekers and chancers" as well as "warriors like Chaucer's Knight, for whom financial considerations were largely secondary" [p. 128]) suggest a sensitivity to the complexities of cultural and material reciprocity. Unlike Maurice Keen's *Chivalry* (Yale University Press 1984), which argues for the "fusing" together of material and cultural elements into "something new and whole in its own right" (p. 16), Saul's *Chivalry in Medieval England* consistently distinguishes the lived experience of chivalry from cultural representations of the argument; it consequently affords new opportunities for male-positive recontextualizations of courtly love and literary romance.

In his examination of Marie de France's *Lais*, for example, Saul notes that the conventions of courtly love originate in "the particular circumstances of twelfth-century society" (p. 265): because of primogeniture and the twelfth-century church's making marriage a sacrament, landless young knights resorted to charming wealthy women for their material and sexual satisfaction. The gynocentric framing of the knight-lady relationship might be better understood as vassalage, a socioeconomic circumstance whose transactions acknowledge courtly love's hierarchical referent rather than evincing a reverential elevation of women. Men could negotiate these conventions to marry up, and (as Saul's account of Sir Ralph Monthermer's and Richard Calle's marriages suggests) they did.

By emphasizing gratuitous fighting, often to please women, literary romance misrepresented the martial circumstances of chivalry, which Saul describes as a "tough down-to-earth business" (p. 148) that "involved more than the enacting of ritualized combat and the performing of brave deed to impress ladies" (p. 153). Instead it consisted in "the honing of fighting skills in the lists, the building of group solidarity" in tournaments, and "the encouragement of bravery in the quest for honor" (p. 153). Medieval noblemen cherished their honor, which Saul succinctly defines as, "the value which a nobleman placed on himself and the expectation that that value would be recognized by others" (p. 187). Its chivalric measure was personal and performative, expressing itself "principally in terms of action and display" (p. 187), deeds which sometimes involved violence but often comprised personal restraint and public acts of grace originating in Norman codes governing the humane prosecution of war and treatment of prisoners. Disagreeing with scholars like Richard W. Kaeuper who, in *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford University Press 1999), argues that chivalry encouraged "heroic" (p. 8) violence, Saul argues it was a "moderating force, providing a code of polite behavior which prevented disputes from tipping over into violence" (p. 178). Kaeuper, in his well-researched book relies on romances to buttress his argument but concedes that "we cannot expect [chivalric] literature [...] to serve as a simple mirror to the social reality of the world in which it emerged" (p. 33). Saul skeptically asserts: "It is clear that we cannot take the fictions of the romances as directly mirroring the values and norms of chivalric society" (p. 196). He acknowledges the brutal violence inherent in military and court-tournament chivalry; however, he notes chivalric honor's role in tempering violence rather than enabling it.

Chivalric bravery, honor, and courtesy were valued by men who shared the harrowing experience of military conflict, men who might have been on opposite sides but who were brothers in arms.

Chivalry suffered successive declines in the thirteenth, sixteenth, and the early-twentieth centuries. Saul attributes the first two of these declines to financial considerations that lead to the bankrupting of knights in the thirteenth century and the indifference of a nascent gentry class in the sixteenth. Mark Girouard has argued, in *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (Yale University Press 1981), that the chivalric code could not comprehend the atrocities of technology and scale inherent in “the concept of total war” (p. 293) that enveloped combatants during World War One. Both his and Saul’s books convincingly emphasize a need to investigate the material realities of men’s experiences rather than relying on scholarly and literary commentaries on them—a lesson yet to be learned in most twenty-first-century conversations about men and gender.

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