

WEBS AND HIERARCHIES

WEBS AND HIERARCHIES:
INDIVIDUATION IN
MUNRO AND HEMINGWAY

By

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the reproduction of universal gender differences through the construction of masculine and feminine identities, the development of unconscious personality traits in an environment where women mother, and the role of external influences such as sex-role ideology and socialization outside the home using feminist developmental theory and two texts, Hemingway's The Nick Adams Stories and Munro's Lives of Girls and Women.

Chapter 1 establishes masculine and feminine characteristics of gender identity through a close examination of Dr. Henry Adams and Ida Jordan, the parents of the two protagonists.

Chapter 2 looks at the development of unconscious gender traits through the development of Nick Adams and Del Jordan. The role of the mother-child relationship and the father-child relationship in the creation of personality will also be examined.

Chapter 3 examines the result of this process, the mature Nick Adams and Del Jordan, in their respective environments outside the home, paying particular attention to the protagonists' responses to social expectations of role behaviour.

In conclusion, this study contends that gender and personality traits are reproduced through social organization and socialization and may be reinforced through literature.

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INTRODUCTION

This study will examine the texts of Ernest Hemingway's The Nick Adams Stories (1927) and Alice Munro's Lives of Girls and Women (1971) from the perspective of their differing portrayals of the process of individuation. (Lives of Girls and Women is a novel of stories centering on the development of Del Jordan, a young girl growing up in small town Ontario around the time of the second world war. Del is forced to confront not only the social expectations of feminine identity, but also her own expectations of feminine identity. Del does this through her connection to literature as she is the implied author of the text. Although Del is the protagonist, her mother also occupies a key role in the fiction. Because of the continuous presence of the mother, this text provides an excellent context for a close examination of the mother-child relationship and its role in a person's development.) (21)

In contrast, the mother-child relationship is less central in The Nick Adams Stories. However, Nick too must deal with social expectations of masculine identity. This particular collection of Nick Adams stories arranged in chronological sequence, which Philip Young describes in the Preface as a "meaningful narrative" (5), provides an opportunity to follow Nick Adams from child to soldier, veteran, writer, and parent in the settings of Michigan and the battlefields of Europe. Nick's struggle to develop takes place on a more

individual level than that of Del. He feels fewer familial and especially maternal pressures.

While the two texts were written more than a generation apart, I have chosen them because both provide the reader with detailed accounts of protagonists struggling to achieve a state of individuation. Although the Hemingway collection is more comprehensive in its account of the formation of masculine identity, progressing well into the adult life of its protagonist, the first person point of view of the Munro work provides the reader with an intimate perspective of the feminine experience of individuation. Both collections, interestingly, share early positions in their respective authors' canons. Hemingway created the majority of the Nick Adams collection, one of his first published works, at a young age. Similarly, Lives of Girls and Women, which grew from the story "Princess Ida" into a work describing the development of Ada Jordan's daughter, is Munro's second published book.

The texts will be compared using the framework developed by Nancy Chodorow in The Reproduction of Mothering (1978) and further explored in Feminism and Psychoanalytic Theory (1989) which attempts to account for the "reproduction within each generation of certain general and nearly universal differences that characterize masculine and feminine personality and roles" (Reproduction 43). The differences between genders are said to be universal "to the extent that all societies are constituted around a structural split, growing

out of women's mothering, between the private domestic world of women and the public social sphere of men" (Reproduction 174). The basic sex differences recur in personality because the early social environment created by the organization of public and domestic spheres is experienced differently by male and female children.

The starting point for the examination of Nick's and Del's development is their parents. Dr. Henry Adams, father of Nick Adams, is a medical doctor who appears in three of the stories and one vignette in addition to being remembered by Nick. He is a man who has been described as "henpecked, pompous, stuffy, and intellectual" (Boutelle 135) as well as "cowardly and deceitful" (Hannum 43). His worthiness as a role model is also frequently questioned by critics. He is competent in the realm of medicine, but not so competent in communicating with others, especially his wife. Although he is a loving father, he becomes an uncomfortable figure in Nick's mature world. Dr. Adams is essentially a lonely man who finds comfort in outdoor sports.

Mrs. Ada Jordan, mother of Del, grew up, married, and raised a family in conservative rural Ontario. Unlike Dr. Adams, Mrs. Jordan occupies a central position in the novel, appearing in every story. (Described through her daughter's eyes, Mrs. Jordan is a strong individual who, after experiencing a difficult childhood and running away from home, seeks a new and better

standard of life through garnering social recognition. Wanting to alter both the social expectations and the reality of women's lives, Mrs. Jordan pursues a new definition of femininity by adopting untraditional jobs and activities such as selling encyclopedias and writing letters to the editor of the local paper. Consequently, Mrs. Jordan can be viewed as an unconventional role model. Ada's activities differentiate her from other women in the community and cause her to become a sometimes uncomfortable figure in Del's world. Her efforts focused on achieving differentiation and separation lead her to discover the truth about feminine identity, that it is characterized by dependence and emotional attachment.)

These two characters are compared and contrasted from the perspective of Carol Gilligan's In A Different Voice (1982) which explores the definitions of the differences between male and female gender personalities developed in a setting where women mother. Women's lives are characterized by "social interaction" and "personal relationship" in contrast to the lives of men (Gilligan 9). These characteristics result in a situation where "relationships and particularly issues of dependence are experienced differently by men and women. . . Since masculinity is defined through separation while femininity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender identity is threatened by separation. Thus males tend to have difficulty with relationships, while females tend to have problems with

individuation" (Gilligan 8). Adult gender roles, then, tend to situate women primarily in the domestic sphere. Dr. Adams and Mrs. Jordan are examined in the context of individuation, separation, attachment, and connection.

Chapter 2 explores the role of the parent-child and especially the mother-child relationship in the development of the unconscious foundation of gender identity. Chodorow argues that personality and identity are a result of a boy's or girl's social-relational experiences from earliest infancy (Chodorow Feminism 47). The most important relationship for any person is the mother-child relationship. Children of both sexes first identify with their mother because "women's family roles and being feminine are more available and often more intelligible to growing children than masculine roles and being masculine" (Chodorow Reproduction 174). The result is that boys, in order to feel adequately masculine, must differentiate themselves from not only their mother but also others in a way that girls need not. This need to categorize him self as someone apart continues into manhood. Thus, masculinity is defined negatively as "that which is not feminine and/or connected to women, rather than positively" (Chodorow Reproduction 174). The word negatively is used because, for boys, "identification processes and masculine roles learning are not likely to be embedded in relationship with their fathers or men but rather to involve the denial of affective relationships to their mothers" (Chodorow Reproduction 177). Girls, however, do not define themselves through denial as

much as boys do. Because their identification takes place in a context of ongoing relationship, since "mothers tend to experience their daughters as more like, and continuous with, themselves" (Chodorow Reproduction 43), girls connect the experience of attachment with identification. Women's mothering for girls means "girls come to experience themselves as less differentiated than boys, as more continuous with and related to the external object world" (Chodorow Reproduction 167). The result of how children identify with their mother is that "for boys and men, separation and individuation are critically tied to gender identity since separation from the mother is essential for the development of masculinity. For girls and women, issues of femininity or feminine identity do not depend on the achievement of separation from the mother or on the progress of individuation" (Gilligan 8).

It is not only the family environment that has an effect on identity development and role learning. The decisive factor in reinforcing the unconscious organization of gender comes in the form of social expectations of sex roles outside the home. As Del struggles to prove her autonomy from her mother, she defies social convention. She attempts to negotiate issues of dependence and relationship on masculine rather than feminine terms. However, her efforts at reconstructing her world in masculine ways fail as her world becomes unstable and problematic. Del comes to transpose her view of femininity, which has been always present, but not fully acknowledged, from "an

order of inequality into a structure of interconnection" (Gilligan 62). This becomes evident in examining her relationship with her mother and others and also her relationship with literature and the process of writing. By recognizing her true self, Del achieves a degree of stability.

Nick works very hard employing what he has learned directly and indirectly from identification with his father to ensure his masculine identity is stable. He must keep earning and competing for success and achievement, qualities that provide proof of differentiation. Just as Nick has learned, one must be wary of relationships and intimacy. A close examination of Nick's relationships indicate he is able to repress those affective ties which would endanger him by not allowing him to assert his masculinity.

Nick's and Del's development is traced from the mother-child relationship through the identification process to its final shaping by the influences exerted by social expectations and institutions. In comparing both protagonists to their same-sex parent, one can see that Nick and Del have developed the same characteristics as those parents. Nick, while arguably a more masculine man than his father, shares many common traits with his father in his maintenance of individuation, wariness of intimacy, and a love for the masculine activities of hunting and fishing. (Del, too, makes discoveries about herself and the importance of relationship and attachment are that her mother has also made. In the end, son is like father and daughter like mother, a

statement supported by the theories of Chodorow and Gilligan and reinforced through the two texts.)

CHAPTER ONE: ADULT GENDER IDENTITIES

In order to gain a better understanding of the development of Nick Adams and Del Jordan and the roles they learn, one should examine the parents with whom they identify. The characteristics of masculine and feminine personalities are better illuminated by comparing and contrasting the identities of Dr. Adams and Mrs. Jordan. One can also establish what threatens these identities as well as what provides stability to them in terms of personal behaviour and social organization.

A distinction that captures the difference in feminine and masculine attainment of sex-role identity is the claim that "girls and women 'are' while boys and men 'do'; that feminine identity is 'ascribed' and masculine identity 'achieved'" (Chodorow Feminism 33). Women, then, should be able to attain a stable identity more easily after marrying and having children. Their role is now established. Men, in contrast, must keep earning their identities through "success at work, getting promotions, and as a provider" (Chodorow Feminism 33). Failure, then, can wipe out success for men, introducing a measure of instability into their roles.

The continuing struggle for stability is one in which the Hemingway hero often participates. Joseph DeFalco recognizes Hemingway's attempt to struggle with his hero: "This plan to view man's relationship to his culture, to the

other men in that culture, and ultimately to the cosmos, he carefully develops through his short stories" (Hero 15). The hero is to attempt to resolve his "inner turmoil" through the "ideal of individualism" (185). DeFalco also identifies another significant aspect of Hemingway's theme of individuation: "That is, the hero is constantly forced to adjust in some manner to the prime manifestations of the irrational: pain and death in the world" (Initiation 31). The ultimate goal to be achieved from enduring primal conflicts is for the Hemingway hero to achieve what Linda Wagner describes as "a plateau of semi-stoic self awareness--one that presumably few achieve" (230). Although Dr. Adams is not intended to be the hero of The Nick Adams Stories, in his father's role of guide for his son (DeFalco Hero 61) one can still see that this man wages a battle for individuation. In his role as a father, Dr. Adams is expected to be a strong role model of masculine behaviour for Nick.

Keeping in mind that Dr. Adams is supposedly acting as a guide for his son, one might think that he is not the best role model, for he has certainly not achieved that plateau of stoic self-awareness. He is a character who is more often attacked than praised. Hannum writes, "Dr. Adams has been attacked not only as a medical doctor, but also as a parent, husband, and man, and widely blamed for Nick's maladjustments" (39). Some of the more common charges filed against him include cowardice and deceit. The attention paid to his faults far outweighs that paid to his achievements. The nature of these

charges implies that Dr. Adams falls short in maintaining a stable masculine identity.

The short story, "Indian Camp," set in the wilderness, is the first story in the Nick Adams collection. Dr. Adams, accompanied by his son and brother, is called to an Indian camp to perform a demanding emergency procedure: "'Doing a Caesarian with a jackknife and sewing it up with nine-foot, tapered gut leaders'" (19). This circumstance, coupled with the doctor's bedside manner, reveals a method unconsciously used by men to achieve success. The specific incident which could be described as a conflict between the doctor's pull toward his own self-fulfilment as a medical professional and the fulfilment of his obligations toward others concerns the patient's screams:

"Oh, Daddy, can't you give her something to make her stop screaming?" asked Nick.

"No, I haven't any anaesthetic," his father said. "But her screams are not important. I don't hear them because they are not important." (18)

Through his refusal to hear her screams the doctor denies his patient is a real person with real emotions. By reducing the patient to an object, Dr. Adams gains more power, an important element in his need to differentiate himself from others. Dr. Adams needs power: "...it is important for men to gain power and to insure that the attributes of power and prestige are masculine" (Chodorow Feminism 35). Both the comments of the doctor and Uncle George

imply Dr. Adams has succeeded: "'That's one for the medical journal, George'...'Oh, you're a great man, all right'" (19-20).

This incident also calls into question the doctor's sense of morality, the essence of which is "the exercise of choice and the willingness to accept responsibility for that choice" (Gilligan 67). The moral ideal is not cooperation or interdependence, but an independent decision. Dr. Adams appears not to take any factors into consideration other than his duty to perform a medical task. While Dr. Adams may appear selfless by unhesitatingly performing this emergency procedure with unusual equipment and in an unconventional setting, one can argue that Dr. Adams is not as generous as he appears to be. He is not merely performing his duties out of obligation; he is performing them to win favour, to win success. His self-interest is manifested in his reaction to the delivery of the baby: "He was feeling exalted and talkative as football players are in the dressing room after the game" (19). His reaction can be construed as an "excessive, unreflecting, self-absorption in the task at hand, an obsession, with a buoyant enthusiasm, but at the same time, a failure to consider the thoughts and views of others" (Hannum 43). No remarks are made about the patient or the baby. He makes the choice to perform the duty, completing it successfully, but does not care about the results of his choice on others.

This situation also reveals a great deal about the code of masculinity and its connection to morality. One must not become overly concerned with the human element of situations. To become caught up in care and concern for others might impede one's decision to make the right choice. The doctor's lack of concern for the woman's pain implies the task is more important than the person: "You see, Nick, babies are supposed to be born head first but sometimes they're not. When they're not they make a lot of trouble for everybody" (18). Dr. Adams is there to solve the problem, not to sympathize with the patient or her husband. Too much concern or emotion can be damaging to the masculine identity as in the case of the death of the "proud father." This is demonstrated by the doctor's remark about the patient's husband, the father of the new baby: "Ought to have a look at the proud father. They're usually the worst sufferers in these little affairs" (20). One must be careful about becoming overly close to others. This fear of attachment explains the nature of masculine goals:

Instead of attachment, individual achievement rivets the male imagination, and great ideas or distinctive activity defines the standard of self-assessment and success.
(Gilligan 163)

Dr. Adams, then, must possess a high standard of self-assessment. He also experiences much success as indicated by his elation when he delivers the baby. Also, historically, respect has always been paid to doctors because of

their healing powers. The power of healing in the medical profession contributes to a separate identity for Dr. Adams: "Power and separation secure the man in an identity achieved through work, but they leave him at a distance from others, who seem in some sense out of his sight" (Gilligan 163). The distance from others results in a masculine concept of morality which focuses on what is right and wrong, not on what effects this action will have on others. Dr. Adams's reaction to the subsequent suicide of the husband is not one of concern for man, but concern that his son not see this violation of the code of masculinity. The message from the death is clear: "those who feel emotion die, those who reject it are practical men" (Schwenger, 104).

Clearly, Dr. Adams is used to being a success in the public world. The world outside his medical profession provides another context in which to examine his identity in the form of the logging incident. His assumption that "the lumbermen might never come for them because a few logs were not worth the price of a crew to gather them. . . . if no one came for them they would be left to waterlog and rot on the beach" (22) places him in a difficult position as he gathers the logs. His concern is not so much that he is stealing as he could lose face in front of the workers he had hired to cut the lumber. He tells one of the workers to call the lumber driftwood (23). The doctor does not directly acknowledge that the logs are stolen. He is not prepared to accept the responsibility for such a choice. Instead, he shifts the responsibility from

himself to his workers: "'If you think the logs are stolen, leave them alone and take your tools back to the camp'" (24). The moral conflict here for Henry Adams is not whether he is stealing the logs, but if he has enough self-respect to defend his position to his male companions. The reactions of "his face was red" (24) and "he turned away and walked up the hill to the cottage" (24) convey the message that he is not occupied with any guilt from actually stealing, but with shame for not defending his honour. He will not take responsibility for deciding if the logs are stolen. He fails in this particular competition to maintain his honour. Now Dr. Adams is faced with the decision whether to acknowledge another fact, his cowardice.

This moral dilemma and its repercussions are carried over into the domestic sphere and his relationship with his wife. Given the social organization of public and domestic spheres and the power accorded to men by this organization, one does not expect the same kind of confrontation as that between the doctor and Dick Boulton to take place within his marriage. However, there is little companionship in the Adams's marriage, only an apparent struggle for power. Dr. Adams is attempting to protect himself by denying what is feminine, that is, any kind of attachment to or need for others. The evidence of separate beds and separate rooms indicates a void of some kind between husband and wife. The conversation between the two depicts a man attempting to maintain his sense of separateness and individuality from his

wife by withholding information. His brief staccato answers of "'No'" and "'Nothing much'" (25) to her questions along with his fabrication of an explanation are blatant efforts to keep his wife at a distance.¹ Critics have cited charges of cowardice against Dr. Adams for not standing up to his wife. Dr. Adams is a coward in this situation only if one expects the marriage to be structured hierarchically, a construction which would place the man as the head of the household and, therefore, the more powerful person in the relationship. The charges that Nick views his father as a coward after this incident (remember Nick has not seen the confrontation with Dick Boulton) would indicate Nick's perception of relationships is also structured hierarchically, a perception which will be examined later. Marriage, at least for the doctor, does not appear to be an ideal state because he has failed to fulfil this social convention of the man as the head of the house. His lack of communication of the facts of the incident combined with his responses to his wife's questions demonstrate a desire to maintain a distance and to maintain rigid boundaries

¹ Some critics such as Joseph M. Flora and Philip Young have described Mrs. Adams as a castrating figure. Yet, as one compares the two encounters, Dr. Adams with Dick Boulton and Dr. Adams with his wife, Dr. Adams is only viewed as a dominated figure in the incident with Dick Boulton. Mrs. Adams does not attempt to dominate the doctor, she only wishes to express concern and care for her husband. She does not disempower him in any way. The other scene where the nature of Mrs. Adams' character is called into question is in Nick's memories in "Now I Lay Me." Despite the charges she is manipulating the doctor through her treatment of her possessions, one can see her as doing her tasks as expected in the socially constructed role of the housewife.

between himself and others. Affective ties of caring and sacrifice, expressions of need and concern for others, are not part of the continual process of establishing individuation. His rejection of affective ties, namely, his relationship with his wife, also implies his rejection of the "danger of entrapment and betrayal, being caught in a smothering relationship or humiliated by rejection or deceit" (Gilligan 42). Ironically, Dr. Adams's behaviour, considered masculine in his own eyes, renders him as childish in the reader's eye: "Her husband did not answer. He was sitting on his bed now, cleaning a shotgun. He pushed the magazine full of the heavy yellow shells and pumped them out again. They were scattered on the bed" (25). His behaviour is one displayed by many Hemingway heroes, "a rejection of maturity, particularly as it manifests itself in the role of fatherhood" (Whitlow 5). Dr. Adams must continually compete for his identity.

Mrs. Adams's behaviour expresses a very different concept of marriage, one which involves caring and sharing, as her attempts to communicate with her husband reveal:

'Tell me, Henry. Please don't try and keep anything from me. What was the trouble about?'

'Well, Dick owes me a lot of money for pulling his squaw through pneumonia and I guess he wanted a row so he wouldn't have to take it out in work.' (25)

Mrs. Adams is displaying concern for her husband, concern considered threatening by her husband. Her concern is completely rejected. There is no sense that she wishes to control her husband, only that it might benefit him to express his feelings. The factor which might contribute to a negative portrayal of Mrs. Adams is her disapproval of his stealing the lumber, a not unexpected reaction.

Unlike Dr. Adams, Mrs. Jordan is not described as a "lonely dominated figure" (DeFalco Initiation 38). Rather, she is a woman who seeks connections. Marcia Allentuck says of Munro's novels that they are "preoccupied with the emotional dependence of women" (340) just as, in contrast, Hemingway's fiction is preoccupied with men achieving a stoic level of independence. The women in Munro's novels struggle to free themselves from emotional dependence, as is visible in first Ida's and then Del's struggle to achieve a measure of autonomy, whether it be through financial independence or education. Intent on denying their connections or their needs for connections, mother and daughter grow to realize just how important these attachments are to everyone, especially to women. Dr. Adams and his son Nick, on the other hand, are preoccupied with maintaining their individuality, thus ensuring that they are not harmed by intimacy or relationships, especially the relationship of marriage. It is far safer to be by one's self than to be married. Yet the need for love is one that cannot be repressed, which is why

men marry. However, one must ensure that there are escapes from these threats to identity. Both men find solace from the dangers of intimacy in the outdoor activities of hunting and, especially, fishing. The value the men place on these activities which carry no threat of loss is easily recognized. In addition to providing a means of escape, these activities also provide outlets to achieve individual success, thereby ensuring that the male identity remains unthreatened and intact.

(When the reader first encounters Mrs. Jordan, she is hardly the embodiment of conventional femininity. In fact, Mrs. Jordan exhibits desires for a self that is detached and separate from her present setting:

The Flats Road was the last place my mother wanted to live. As soon as her feet touched the town sidewalk and she raised her head, grateful for town shade after the Flats Road sun, a sense of relief, a new sense of consequence flowed from her. (6)

A new setting might mean more freedom to Ada. Determined to sever the ties between herself and the Flats Road at all costs, she even uses words to create a separate space for herself on the Flats Road: "My mother corrected me when I said we lived on the Flats Road; she said we lived at the end of the Flats Road, as if that made all the difference" (6). Ada Jordan does not only create spatial boundaries, but also behavioural boundaries: "My mother was not popular on the Flats Road. She spoke to people here with a voice not so friendly as she used in town, with severe courtesy, and a somehow noticeable

use of good grammar" (7). Even her concept of morality, "siding with the poor everywhere," must be divided into Flats Road and what is not Flats Road charity: ". . . and so she had to exclude the Flats Road people from the sadly oppressed and deprived people, the real poor whom she loved" (7). Mrs. Jordan wishes to alter the physical limitations placed on girls and women. She moves from the familial home to Jubilee, a more promising space than the Flats Roads: ". . . it was a house that belonged to a town; things about it suggested leisure and formality, of a sort that were not possible out on the Flats Road" (58). Even Del's reaction to the move confirms there is a sense of connection in the move: ". . . I loved the order, the wholeness, the intricate arrangement of town life, that only an outsider could see" (58).)

(Once Ada Jordan separates herself from the Flats Road, she becomes a woman in search of connection with a space that is more powerful than her previous one, the masculine and public world. She attempts this through altering the role constructed for her by society: ". . . unlike other mothers in the town, she diverges from the traditional maternal role to take on such unusual activities as selling encyclopedias door to door and writing letters to newspapers espousing feminist causes")(McMullen 157). Indeed, her behaviour after moving to Jubilee not only espouses feminist causes but also practices them in attempting to cross over the border between the public and domestic spheres:

Because of their child-care responsibilities, women's primary social location is domestic. Men are involved with particular domestic units, but men find a primary social location in the public sphere. Public institutions, activities, and forms of association link and rank domestic units, provide rules for men's relations to domestic units, and tie men to one another apart from their domestic relationships. Public institutions are assumed to be defined according to ... social criteria. It is therefore assumed that the public sphere, and not the domestic sphere, forms 'society' and 'culture.' (Chodorow Reproduction 9)

The repercussions of an acknowledged structural split between domestic and public worlds means the development of asymmetry because "these spheres operate hierarchically . . . culturally and politically, the public sphere dominates the domestic, and hence men dominate women" (Chodorow Reproduction 9). This is an asymmetry Mrs. Jordan is trying very hard to change. Her efforts are concentrated on change of identity through social recognition. She strives for the happy independence of the men in Jubilee in contrast to the females who are "completely dependent upon the other sex for their definition" (Bailey 113). Her first effort to effect change, selling encyclopedias, is not warmly received by either her daughter or her female contemporary. It is interesting to note that Ida is selling knowledge, a quality which enables men to dominate the public sphere. She receives two benefits from her efforts, knowledge and financial independence. Her relatives especially see the job as impeding her ability to

complete her domestic duties which by Auntie Grace's and Auntie Elspeth's reactions are judged to be more important:

Now my mother was selling encyclopedias. Aunt Elspeth and Aunt Gracie called it 'going on the road!'...'Not much time for ironing,' they might continue compassionately, examining the sleeve of my blouse. 'Not much time for ironing when she has to go out on the road.' (54)

In spite of her going on the road, Ada is still unable to break cleanly into the public sphere. Her brother criticises her choice of goods to sell: "You won't sell books to farmers. . . . Money is not in things like that. It is in property and investments if you know what you are doing. . . ." (73). Uncle Craig does not think Ada knows what she is doing. Another effort she makes is through joining the Great Books Club in her search for a quality which is "warm and lovely," presumably when one achieves the ends of prestige with the knowledge. However, it is not enough to want to become better educated, one must already be educated. Not surprisingly, Mrs. Jordan finds the Great Books Club to be frustrating in that she is silenced by her "backwoods[sic] education" and the dictatorial Dr. Comber. Her last attempt to encounter knowledge is through the furtive technique of correspondence courses.

Attempting to break into the public sphere proves to be more difficult than Mrs. Jordan perhaps expected. She turns to constructing a separate and differentiated self through social recognition in the activities of Jubilee. This construction includes giving a ladies' party for the wives of the lawyers,

bankers, and judges of Jubilee and joining the Great Books Club. However, she still does gain success as the "genteel" women of Jubilee reject her. A more forceful attempt is made to construct a separate self through her letters to the editor. Yet, Mrs. Jordan is not motivated completely by egotism, but by the concern for her fellow women. She is not only trying to invade the public sphere for her own benefit, but also for the benefit of all women as her letters advocating that "prophylactic devices should be distributed to all women on public relief in Wawanash County, to help them prevent any further increase in their families" (147) demonstrates.

One must question how successful Mrs. Jordan's attempt to enter the public world has been. Her job selling encyclopedias does not impress either her aunts or her brother. Her quest for knowledge through the Great Book Club has also failed. However, the most telling evidence of her lack of success is in the comments Ada makes after withdrawing from the book club. She measures things in domestic qualified terms rather than public quantified terms. Her remarks indicate that she is still ensconced in the domestic sphere: "Also there had been an unpleasant smell in their house which she had not mentioned to us at the time, and the toilet, which she had to use after drinking that red wine, was hideously scummy yellow" (62). The most clear indication of a conflict between the definitions of what is feminine and what is masculine taking place within Ada is contained in the question: "What good is it if you read

Plato and never clean your toilet?" (62). Mrs. Jordan, having been raised in a feminine, domestic world where mothers and, by extension, other women are seemingly powerful and prestigious, is now attempting to cope with the limitations social conventions place on women in a world where "masculine values are important and where males dominate society" (Chodorow Feminism 41). At the same time, Mrs. Jordan's remark demonstrates her resignation to her role in the home.

(The conflict between female gender personality and male gender personality is one Ada has experienced since her childhood: "Soon she was through school, she had passed her entrance exams and she wanted to go to high school in town. But her father said no, she was to stay home and keep house until she got married" (65). At that time, she managed to escape the immediate domestic sphere of her family by running away: ". . . she defied her father, she walked a distance of nine miles to town, hiding in the bushes every time she heard a horse coming, for fear it would be them, with the old wagon, come to take her back home" (65). Yet, this escape from "dark captivity, suffering. . . struggle, disappointment, more struggle, godmothers, and villains" (67) through her ambition is only temporary. Society does not tolerate male assertiveness in women as Del will learn. Her marriage to Del's father places her again in an asymmetrically constructed society. Del sees that for all her mother's attempts there is no "burst of glory, the reward" (67). That gender

asymmetry places women at a disadvantage and sometimes in an unalterable position is demonstrated by Ada's lack of success and later by Del's similar struggles.

Ada warns her daughter to be cautious about depending on men for definition of her role in society:

There is a change coming in the lives of girls and women. Yes. But it is up to us to make it come. All women have had up till now has been their connection to men. All we have had. No more lives of our own, really, than domestic animals. (147)

Mrs. Jordan recognizes the boundaries heterosexual marriage places upon women, financial dependence and being forced into the role of helpmate and care-taker. Thus, Ada Jordan attempts to give her daughter masculine or, at the very least, untraditional feminine values to aspire to: "But I hope you will use your brains. Don't be distracted. Once you make that mistake of being--distracted over a man, your life will never be your own. You will get the burden, a woman always does" (147). Del thinks her mother is speaking of children and motherhood, but Mrs. Jordan speaks of a quality, implying that it is one now absent in women and one women could benefit from: "'It is self-respect I am really speaking of. Self-respect'" (147). The quality of self-respect implies concern for one's self first rather than concern for others before one's self, suggesting a hierarchical construction of relationships rather than the web-like construction normally used by women. The combination of intelligence and

awareness is a combination Mrs. Jordan uses to emphasize the importance of changing social perceptions while at the same time attempting to instill the values of individuation and autonomy in her daughter. Ada's advice to Del that "assumed being female made you damageable, that a certain amount of carefulness and solemn fuss and self-protection were called for" (147) is questionable in Ada's case. Her attempts to modify her socially constructed role and the ideology surrounding women's work are not tempered with caution, only an awareness that one can be damaged if one remained within the limits of the role.

Furthermore, Mrs. Jordan does not appear to have been damaged in her challenges of social convention and the definition of femininity. For a short time, she manages to defy the hierarchical structure of public and domestic spheres through her assertion of independence and her attempts to create a separate self. In one sense, she has managed to escape Jubilee, yet in another, not all her efforts have been accepted or even supported by those for whom she is including in her mission, other women, or by the onlookers such as her brother and the tyrannical Dr. Comber of the Great Books Club. Now in the space between masculinity and femininity, Ada Jordan fully recognizes the importance of connection and attachment, that it is not always threatening or suffocating, but necessary if one wishes to live a happy life. Mrs. Jordan is also aware of the danger posed by isolation: "a fear that in standing out or

being set apart by success, they [women] will be left alone" (Gilligan 42). To overcome this threat, women build relationships.

Ada's friendship with Fern Dogherty is a very good example of women's needs for relationship. After withdrawing from social life in Jubilee, Mrs. Jordan concentrates on building connections. There is a measure of equality present between Fern and Ada that is not found in relationships between genders such as that of Ada and her brother or Del and her male friends:

Fern Dogherty and my mother were friends in spite of their differences. My mother valued in people experience of the world, contact with any life of learning and culture, and finally any suggestion of being dubiously received in Jubilee. (120)

The other relationship with a member of the same gender which even more effectively demonstrates the need for web-like relationships, relationships which are not based on inequality, but on caring and concern is the mother-daughter relationship of Del and Ada. She experiences Del as an extension of herself: "When I [Del] had failed to win the scholarship, something she had never questioned-- her hopes of the future, through her children--had collapsed" (199). The issue of dependency is central in this relationship as Ada relies on Del to attain the goals she could not.)

What both of these relationships demonstrate when combined with Ada's departure from her husband is that "women have a different and a more

complex set of relational needs in which an exclusive relationship to a man is not enough" (Chodorow Feminism 77). Ada's marriage to Ben, although satisfying in at least Del's perception, does not provide the "momentous, satisfying story" of Ada's adulthood. Ada continues to search for something momentous and satisfying beyond her marriage as she moves from the Flats Road into another world. She finds satisfaction and happiness in relationships built on the affective ties of caring and concern.)

In conclusion, Dr. Adams is consciously and unconsciously concerned about maintaining a stable identity through rigid boundaries created by success in competition and the denial of affective ties to others. His profession allows him a great deal of stability. However, his identity is threatened by close personal affiliation and intimacy. Thus, he must distance himself from his patients and from his wife. One should also note Dr. Adams has no close companions as Mrs. Jordan does. He usually participates in his hunting trips by himself. Dr. Adams also carefully conceals his emotions as displayed in his encounters with Dick Boulton and Mrs. Adams. More about Dr. Adams identity will be disclosed by Nick's recollections of his father and an evaluation of Dr. Adams' role in Nick's development.

In contrast, Mrs. Jordan's energy is concentrated outward as she struggles for change in her role and a change in her position from the domestic world to the public. Despite her attempts to improve her own situation, she

realizes the danger that confinement of one's emotions and impersonal achievement can cause to one's self. It is far better to include others in one's goals and to build relationships that are based on connection rather than on inequality. Her attempts to protect herself do not include withholding expression of emotions but rather the acknowledgment one needs to have other people in one's life. Her dismissal of independence allows her to enjoy more flexible boundaries than Dr. Adams. Her flexibility permits her to establish close, affective ties and to be able to fulfil her emotional needs unconcerned about what others think.

These concepts of masculine and feminine identity embodied by Dr. Adams and Mrs. Jordan when combined with the unconscious organization for relationships formed by the mother-child relationships and later the child-father relationship will have a strong influence on the development of identities in Nick and Del.

CHAPTER TWO: THE FOUNDATION OF GENDER IDENTITY

Having established how masculine gender identity is characterized by a need for separation and individuation and how feminine gender identity is characterized by a need for connection and attachment, one can explore how these characteristics are developed in the protagonists, Nick and Del. The starting point for the development of unconscious traits is the environment of the home. Because of the organization of society into public and domestic spheres, a child usually identifies first with his mother. This identification results in the creation of specific conscious or unconscious attitudes or expectations in children:

Girls and boys expect and assume women's unique capacities for sacrifice, caring, and mothering, and associate women with their own fears of regression and powerlessness. They fantasize more about men, and associate them with idealized virtues and growth.
(Chodorow Reproduction 83)

These expectations and attitudes have a strong influence on a person's sense of self and his or her later relations.

For boys and girls the effects of the mother-child relationship are markedly different because of the way that children experience this relationship. Bronwen Wallace summarizes Del's dilemma regarding her self: "Del is not always pleased with the many selves her mother maintains--but part of her

development through the novel is a coming to terms with her own contradictory selves and with the fact that her mother is a part of her identity as well" (64). In contrast, the theme of individuation or, in psychoanalytic terms, a search for a separate self, is the prevalent theme in The Nick Adams Stories. Unlike Del, Nick does not recognize, acknowledge, or build connections between others and himself, but denies them, something that has its origins in his relationship to his mother. Both protagonists must come to terms not only with their own identities, but also with the role of the family in the formation of their identities.

The development of the self is rooted in parenting. In Western and capitalist societies "though fathers and other men spend varying amounts of time with infants and children, the father is rarely a child's primary parent" (Chodorow Reproduction 3). Women have become primary care-takers as the result of economic demands and the reorganization of society into public and domestic spheres:

In the case of mothering, the economic system has depended for its reproduction on women's reproduction of particular forms of labour power in the family. At the same time, income equality makes it more rational or even necessary for men to be primary wage-earners. . . . (Chodorow Reproduction 35)

In the settings of both Lives of Girls and Women and The Nick Adams Stories, fathers share occupations which, while not taking them exclusively away from the home, do not allow them to assume full responsibility for child care. These settings allow the reader to assume that Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Adams are the

settings allow the reader to assume that Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Adams are the primary care-givers.¹ It is in the context of the domestic sphere that Nick and Del and all children are socialized.

A child's first experience with his or her mother leads to a preoccupation with issues of intimacy and merging. For women it is important to participate in these processes whereas for men it becomes important to avoid these dangerous issues. Because of a mother's continuous presence and attention to the child's needs, the child develops a sense of confidence and trust. However, this constant presence also influences the way in which a boy experiences the world. He generally experiences the mother as continuous with himself and as representing what is domestic and always present. This sense of security causes children to wish to remain as one with their mother as well as the expectations that she will interests distinct from theirs. Yet a conflict arises. For in order for a boy to develop, he must grow away from his mother. The child's dependence on the mother combined with his lack of certainty of her emotional support and his overwhelming attachment and love for her create a situation where the mother is large and powerful. However, as a child begins to develop an awareness of an external sense of self and participation in the external world, the fact that women mother and men do not is taken into

¹ A primary care-taker is defined as "the person who nurtures and socializes the child" (Chodorow Reproduction 34).

account in the process of identification. All children first identify with the primary care-giver, their mother. The introduction of the father into the mother-child relationship affirms the fact that the child is separate from its mother. Also, because until this point, the mother has been experienced as always present, the father comes to represent what is other and what is "not-me." He is also secondary because the child does not form the same kind of attachment to him as to the mother. Thus, he represents independence, activity, and adaptation to reality. The differences in what mothers and fathers represent in the family structure is "psychologically appropriated, internalized, and transformed" (Chodorow Reproduction 92) by the child and recur in his or her later relationships.

While the father is identified by the child as something separate, his role is not always clearly defined in the child's mind because of his absence from the home. Because of the father's absence, a boy has a certain measure of discontinuity in his life: "a boy, to a greater or lesser extent, is . . . with women for a large part of his childhood, which prevents continuous or easy masculine role identification" (Chodorow Feminism 54). The father becomes "a fantasy figure whose contours . . . must be imagined and are therefore idealized" (Chodorow Reproduction 80). The need to imagine the father's role

results in a process of positional identification². Nick demonstrates this kind of identification of his father in the vignette "Three Shots." Nick visualizes his father as being able to save him from not only animals, but also from death. Nick's fear of death causes him to fire the three shots. This idealization of Dr. Adams appears in "Indian Camp" as well: "In the early morning sitting in the stern of the boat with his father rowing, he felt quite sure that he would never die" (21). In addition, Dr. Adams' delivery of the troublesome baby under difficult circumstances adds to Nick's idealization.

However, Nick's process of identification soon becomes problematic as he views his father in a different light in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife." The image of his father losing his battle with his wife by failing to exert his authority conflicts with Nick's previous perception of his father. Before, in "Three Shots," Nick has felt a tremendous amount of guilt in not exhibiting a brave face in spite of his fear. Although Nick's age is not stated, one can assume he is fairly young. His choice of reading is Robinson Crusoe and his father describes him as "pretty small." Yet, Nick does not take his age into account in evaluating his actions as he compares them to his expectations of how his father would have handled the situation. He knows only that his father

² Positional identification consists in "identification with specific aspects of another's role and not leading to the internalization of the values or attitudes of the person identified with" (Chodorow Reproduction 175). This is in contrast to personal identification, a diffuse identification with a person's personality, values and behavioural traits (Chodorow Feminism 51).

would probably not be afraid. Even Dr. Adams grants Nick some grace because of Nick's young age. However, George's complaints reveal the social expectations for the behaviour of any member of the male gender:

‘Damn that kid,’ Uncle George said as they rowed back. What did you tell him to call us in for? He’s probably got the heebie-jeebies about something.’

.....

‘Oh, well. He’s pretty small,’ his father said.

‘That’s no reason to bring him into the woods with us.’

‘I know he’s an awful coward,’ his father said, ‘but we’re all yellow at that age.’ (14)

Internally, Nick acknowledges his cowardice and attempts to hide this undesirable characteristic through his fabrication of the explanation, "It sounded like a cross between a fox and a wolf and it was fooling around the tent" (15). His adoption of the expression "cross between" is an additional effort to display masculine characteristics as he explains the situation in the language of his father. Undoubtedly, Nick will internalize his father's advice, "You don't want to be ever frightened in the woods, Nick. There is nothing that can hurt you" (15), as he continues to positionally identify with his father.

The ideal behaviour of the doctor exhibited in the previous story and the vignette becomes tarnished by the episode in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" where the doctor's "heroism is discredited" (Hannum 43). His heroism is tarnished not because of his "failure to display courage and resolution before Dick Boulton" (Hannum 50), but because he "fails his son chiefly by the weakness of allowing his wife to control the home and family life, and even his

own life, to such a degree that Nick had no masculine role model" (DeFalco Hero 38). This weakness conflicts with Nick's view of his father as representing independence and autonomy. Nick, although seeing his father falter, still identifies with him as he chooses to leave with his father rather than go to see his mother: "'I want to go with you,' Nick said" (26). However, this incident is no doubt internalized by Nick and forms a part of his identity as he attempts to succeed in domains where his father has failed. But at the present time, Nick is working to achieve the ultimate oedipal goal for boys: "the achievement of personal masculine identification with their father and sense of secure masculine self" (Chodorow Reproduction 165).

The problem in attaining a secure sense of identity lies in the elusiveness of an always present male role model. Dr. Adams gives his son a method to help sustain the continuity of achievement and success in the form of teaching him how to fish and hunt. Fishing and hunting are activities not normally practised by women confirming their status as masculine activities. This designation of activities is important to the masculine identity because it asserts the superiority of masculinity through the devaluation (the non-participation) of women. A more mature Nick is happy for his father's gift:

. . . he [Nick] was very grateful to him for two things, fishing and shooting . . . Nick was glad it had been that way; for someone has to give you your first gun or the opportunity to get it and use it, . . . now at thirty-eight, he loved to fish and to shoot exactly as much as when he

first had gone with his father. It was a passion that had never slackened and he was very grateful to his father for bringing him to know about it. (258)

These activities provide Nick with a safe method of sustaining his masculine identity. Hunting and fishing provide much less of a threat to his identity than attempting to negotiate issues in relationships. Nick has, undoubtedly, internalized his father's experience with relationships and is aware of the dangers to a stable masculine identity.

Dr. Adams also provides a verbal warning to Nick about maintaining his identity through sexual activity. The most evident warning occurs when Nick's first personal problem arises in "Ten Indians." Dr. Adams attempts "to invade Nick's relationship with Prudie and attempts to shape it according to his own morality" (Hannum 48). As already established, Dr. Adams's vision of morality is focused on making the right choices, not on the effects these decisions have on others. Evidently, he has little concern about the impact his news has on Nick. However, in passing on the masculine conception of morality the father is passing on to his son a way of protecting himself. Even his manner of communicating the news of finding Prudie with Frank Washburn implies the doctor wishes to be distanced from his son's hurt: "His father was not looking at him [Nick]" (32). Dr. Adams also avoids any idea of connection through his curt refusals to Nick's questions: "I didn't stay to find out" and "I don't know. I just heard them threshing around" (32). The metaphor

"threshing" also indicates a desire for avoidance of the whole subject as does his contradictory statements of what he saw:

'How did you know it was them?
'I saw them.'
'I thought you said you didn't see them.' (32)

Even talking about relationships endangers one's identity. The implication is clear; involvement with anyone or relationships with anyone can cause danger or threaten a stable masculine identity.

The first three stories and the first vignette reveal a great deal about Nick's relationship with his father. Joseph M. Flora comments, "The three stories of Nick's boyhood revolve around Nick's relationship with his father. Nick increasingly senses his father's inadequacies, but the stories also contain much evidence of Nick's deep feeling for his father" (50). Dr. Adams has deep feeling for his son as he attempts to educate Nick in hopes of ensuring Nick has no inadequacies. Nick is certainly happy that his father taught him to hunt and fish, but is disappointed in his father's way of handling sexuality. The only two pieces of information Dr. Adams gives Nick demonstrate a cautious and conservative attitude toward sex as well as an element of danger. He can give no explanation for the act, only a condemnation: "A bugger is a man who has intercourse with animals . . . it is a heinous crime" (259). "Mashing" or masturbation is also categorized as one of the most heinous of crimes that "produced blindness, insanity, and death, while a man who went with prostitutes

would contract hideous venereal diseases and that the thing to do was to keep your hands off of people" (259). This "sum total of direct knowledge" leads Nick away from relationships and suggests the opinion that relationships are nothing but trouble.

In his relationship with his son, Dr. Adams has attempted to show Nick what is acceptable behaviour and what is threatening to the male ego. In contrast to his earlier positive identification with his father, Nick's identification, like any developing boy's, with his mother is negative. Joseph M. Flora notes that Nick's rejection of his mother is total and points to the significant fact that in no story do Nick and his mother have a conversation (43). Undoubtedly, the relationship between mother and son involves separation and differentiation rather than personal identification as the relationship between mother and daughter does. The description of Mrs. Adams as "a temptress who threatens his [Nick's] development into maturity" (Defalco Hero 166) is an accurate one. Nick's reaction is to reject his mother, a natural one:

. . . as children of either sex attempt to gain independence--to make decisions on their own that are different from their upbringing--they must do this by consciously or unconsciously rejecting their mother (and people like her) and the things she is associated with. (Chodorow Feminism 34)

The threat, then, to his development is one of prolonged attachment and dependence upon his mother. This rejection is shown in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" as Nick chooses his father over his mother.

However, rejection is not so straightforward because boys are socialized by women. The result is that men often have a partial identification with women, and often possess a desire to be a woman like their mother (Chodorow Feminism 36). Remembering that in the world of the child, the mother is a powerful figure, the devaluation of what is feminine is necessary not only to affirm the superiority of masculinity, but also to ensure that any feminine qualities men retain within themselves as a result of being socialized by women are repressed (Chodorow Feminism 36). Because the masculine identity includes the goal of power as well as domination of the public sphere, one could speculate that Nick does identify with his mother's power as demonstrated in "Now I Lay Me":

About the new house I remembered how my mother was always cleaning things out and making a good clearance. One time when my father was away on a hunting trip she made a good thorough cleaning out in the basement and burned everything that should not have been there. (147)

Nick's description of the house is one "designed and built by my mother" (146). Thus, it is not surprising that Nick views his mother as a destroyer, a negative image, not only of material possessions, but also of masculine identity through the assertion of her power. Clearly, Nick's impression of his mother is one of a

very powerful woman. Thus, Nick's wish to distance himself from women is a manifestation of his fear of women and his desire to repress the feminine qualities within himself. To view his mother as rejecting, punitive, ambitious, and cold is to make her an undesirable object to identify with. Nick's view of his mother as a temptress and destroyer can also be attributed to the fact that, in some sense, there is no sure definition of masculinity, no way for the little boy to know if he has really made it except insofar as he manages to differentiate himself from what he so vaguely defines as feminine (Chodorow Feminism 40).

For Nick, then, the development of a stable gender identity becomes problematic as he realizes that his father is not the fulfilment of his idealizations. For a short time, Dr. Adams provides security and a sense of stability to Nick. Yet, his one exhibition of behaviour which does not reinforce the definition of masculinity as what is not feminine is a compelling factor in Nick's rejection of him. In order to separate himself from his father, who is now no longer the strong invincible man he once was in Nick's imagination, and follow his own path Nick must reject him too: "Turning from the mother (and father) represents independence and individuation, progress, activity, and participation in the real world" (Chodorow Reproduction 82). Nick's strongest manifestation of his independence and separateness is after the underwear incident:

Afterward he had sat inside the woodshed with the door open, his shotgun loaded and cocked, looking across at his father sitting on the screen porch reading the paper, and thought, 'I can blow him to hell. I can kill him' Finally he felt the anger go out of him and he felt a little sick about it being the gun his father had given him. (265)

This response is made to his father's demonstration of physical strength.

The transformation of Nick into a clearly defined autonomous individual with no attachments or dependence upon anyone has evolved through his devaluation of what is feminine and the correction of his idealizations about his father. Nick's realization that his father did possess weaknesses in the form of feminine characteristics, that is qualities which do not contribute a strong masculine identity, cause his father to lose some credibility:

. . . his father was very nervous. Then, too, he was sentimental, and, like most sentimental people, he was both cruel and abused. Also, he had much bad luck, and it was not all of it his own. He had died in a trap that he had helped only a little to set, and they had all betrayed him in their various ways. All sentimental people are betrayed so many times. (258)

Dr. Adams's betrayal indicates that he has formed attachments and connections that were too close. Nick learns from his father's weakness as a doctor, a sex educator, and husband, as he develops his own identity through rejecting the actions which have damaged his father. Nick's efforts to differentiate and maintain separateness include rejection of both mother and father, distancing

himself from his wife, and the continuing pursuit of activities identified as masculine.

(In contrast, Del's development should be less problematic as "femininity and female role activity are immediately apprehensible in the world of her daily life" (Chodorow Feminism 52). The person who is most immediately available and from whom Del should learn role behaviour is the person against whom Del will struggle in particular, her mother (Bailey 115). Del's relationship with her mother resembles that of Nick's with his father, often ambivalent and problematic. To Del, at a young age, her mother is "the essence of mysterious, powerful female first beginnings as well as a model of motherhood" (Rasporich Dance 46). Del's concept of womanhood comes into conflict as she struggles to achieve a separate identity from her mother. The result is a "relationship with her mother . . . charged with ambivalences that Del herself acknowledges from the very beginning of the book" (Besner 54). Thus, Del's context for role learning becomes complicated.

Del's first accounts of her mother describe a woman who is both caring and assertive. Ada's concern about baby Diane is one that would lead her to defy social expectations and interfere with someone's family. She possesses a clear sense of what is right and wrong: "I don't know what all the hesitation is about. It's crystal clear to me" (18). When cautioned that interfering with someone else's family might not be the right thing to do, she only says, "Just the same I

know I'm right" (18). Her convictions about this situation and her aspirations to social recognition, at least in the world of Jubilee, contribute to the portrait of a powerful woman as Del's memories show:

When I was younger, out at the end of the Flats Road, I would watch her walk across the yard to empty the dishwater, carrying the dishpan high, like a priestess, walking in an unhurried, stately way, and flinging the dishwater with a grand gesture over the fence. Then, I had supposed her powerful, a ruler, also content. (67)

This projection of power continues despite the questionable success of Ada's early attempts to attain social recognition: ". . . inside that self we knew, which might at times appear blurred a bit, or sidetracked, she [Ada] kept her younger selves strenuous and hopeful" (62). Ironically, Del will share the same kind of self, a self straining and hoping for change.

Because mothers often experience daughters as being the same as themselves rather than experiencing them as "other" as they do their sons, Del is caught in a conflict as she attempts to liberate herself from her mother. The strength of a girl's attachment to her mother is much stronger than that of a boy to his mother. Consequently, for a girl, there is not the pressing need to identify negatively with one's mother. The absence of the need for negative identification causes daughters to often have difficulty in differentiating themselves from others and especially their mothers (Chodorow Reproduction 136). One of the strongest ways for a girl to differentiate herself from her

mother is to be critical of her mother, something the adolescent Del does very well on the occasion of her mother coming to her school:

She was so different, that was all, so brisk and hopeful and guileless in her maroon hat, making little jokes, thinking herself a success Who else had a mother like that? People gave me sly and gloating looks and pitying looks. Suddenly I could not bear anything about her . . . most of all her innocence, her way of not knowing when people were laughing, of thinking she could get away with it. (67-8)

Yet Del has set much the same kind of goals as her mother, aspiring to social recognition through her ambition and learning facts from the encyclopedia. As she struggles to free herself from what she, like most girls, perceives as an overattachment to her mother, her hostility continues:

I hated her selling encyclopedias and making speeches I hated her writing letters to the newspapers. Her letters about local problems or those in which she promoted education and the rights of women . . . [the letters] even contained references to Owen and me . . . made the roots of my teeth ache with shame. (68)

Another method employed by Del in attempting to individuate herself from her mother is becoming unlike her mother through the creation of arbitrary differences. For Del, in her early teenage years, this means rejecting motherhood, the role her mother has assumed, at least in words: "Her speaking of children amazed me too, for I never meant to have any" (119). Del's statement should be taken seriously as Del is, at the very least, old enough to have children and reminds her mother about the availability of

contraception. As Ada gives her advice to Del about the changes to come in the lives of girls and women, she reveals the failure of Del's efforts. She tells Del, "'You will want to have children though'" (147), a statement confirmed later by Del herself in her argument with Garnet. Del's statement acknowledges her mother's accuracy: " . . . that was how much she knew me" (147). Although Del has attempted to deny she is like her mother, all the time she has been expressing her feelings of dependence upon her: " . . . her concern about my life, which I needed and took for granted, I could not bear to have expressed" (147).

Del's acknowledgement, "I myself was like my mother, but concealed it, knowing what the dangers were" (68), made at the approximate age of ten or eleven or twelve years of age explains why she is embarrassed about her feminine characteristics of nurturing and caring, qualities which most children associate with their mothers. Ambivalence is created by these conflicting desires:

I felt the weight of her eccentricities, of something absurd and embarrassing about her . . . land on my own coward's shoulders. I did want to repudiate her, crawl into favour, orphaned, abandoned in my wrinkled sleeves. At the same time I wanted to shield her. She never would have understood how she needed shielding. . . . (54)

Del's attitude toward her mother remains harsh as she enters adulthood, "Later on my attitude towards everything my mother said became one of skepticism

and disdain . . . " (202). The skepticism and disdain for her mother can be attributed to her guilt over not fulfilling her mother's goals as they were lived through her--the desire to have children and social recognition through winning the scholarship. Del's guilt confirms the presence of affective ties between mother and daughter, something not found in the competitive relationship between father and son.

Even in what appears to be a combative relationship, mother and daughter share the same goals:

It was glory I was after, walking the street an exile or a spy, not sure from which direction fame would strike, or when, only convinced from my bones out that it had to. In this conviction my mother had shared, she had been my ally; but now I would no longer discuss it with her; she was indiscreet, and her expectations took too blatant a form. (120)

The "too blatant" a form of expectation implies Del is not holding up well under the stress of her mother's emotional investment in her to fulfil her goals as an extension of her mother. Both women also share the hopes of attaining the independence enjoyed by men: "The freedom of place and action demonstrated by the males is another point in their favour for Del, who, without admitting it, shares her mother's frustrations at the physical limitations in the lives of girls and women" (Bailey 113). However, as a later exploration of Del's interaction with society reveals, the things her mother valued such as

relationships and children become important to Del in a way that is less obvious.

The discontinuity in a girl's development comes not from the inconsistent presence of a role model, but from having to "transfer her primary sexual object choice from her mother and females to her father and males, if she is to attain her heterosexual adulthood" (Chodorow Feminism 52). One would assume a girl's rejection of her mother would then be absolute. Chodorow argues that this is not so: "A girl cannot and does not completely reject her mother in favour of men, but continues her relationship of dependence upon and attachment to her. In addition, the strength and quality of her relationship to her father is dependent upon the strength and quality of her relationship to her mother" (Chodorow Feminism 53). The last remark can be disputed as Del does not enjoy a close relationship with her father and certainly does not receive a feeling of specialness from him as Chodorow argues daughters do: ". . . a daughter turns to her father looking for a confirmation of oppositeness and specialness and a sense of separateness from her mother. . ." (Chodorow Feminism 72).

Interestingly, in Lives of Girls and Women the father recedes into the background early in the text. The first sign of physical separation is revealed at the beginning of "Princess Ida." However, the separation is not a complete one; Ben Jordan's visits to his wife acknowledge that she is still important to

him: "My father came in for supper, and stayed overnight, until the snow came; then he came in, if he could, for Saturday night and part of Sunday" (58). The primary reason for this separation is the masculine need for individuation achieved through success in men's work in the public sphere. Ben Jordan's devotion to his faltering farm forces him to maintain a distance from his wife. The physical distance increases as Del grows older and her mother does not feel equal to making the summer trip out to the Flats Road (191). Ben Jordan, through his consuming interest in his work, confirms the view that "'the models for a healthy life cycle' are men who seem distant in their relationships. . . whose [wives'] importance in their lives they nevertheless acknowledge" (Gilligan, 154).

The distance between Ben and Ada Jordan is not only spatial. Shortly after the move to Jubilee, Del coaxes her mother for information about the painting in the living room: "I wanted her to say that she had left it [the painting] for my father" (60). But Mrs. Jordan dismisses her husband from the conversation just as she has dismissed him from her surroundings: "'I don't want it hanging where people would see'" (60). Del does not abandon her father completely; her father and her brother do meet Jerry (166) and sometimes she walks out to the Flats Road to visit them. Yet, there is little evidence that Del relies on her father for a sense of separateness. He gives her a sense of separateness that could be interpreted negatively:

My father treated me politely, he praised my housecleaning, but he never joked with me as he would with the girls who lived on the Flats Road, with the Potter girl, for instance, who had quit school at the end of Grade Eight and gone to work in the glove factory in Porterfield. He approved of me and was in some way offended by me. Did he think my ambitiousness showed want of pride?
(191)

Del's feminine identity is not confirmed by her father's treatment. The affirmation she receives is one of individuation, not only from her mother, but also from everyone else in her father's world. However, unlike Nick having to reject his mother, Del does not have to reject her father nor does she. She continues to visit her father and Owen on the Flats Road even after moving to the metropolis of Jubilee and continues to do so into her late teens. Interestingly, this ambivalent view of her is also present in her relationship with Jerry Storey. Perhaps it is Del's internalization of this treatment which causes her to prolong her assertion of masculine gender personality in a world where this is not easily accepted.

Del's mother-child relationship is less problematic than that of Nick because of her gender. Once Del struggles through the liberation process from her mother and accepts that she is as individuated as she can be, she is able to accept the connection between herself and her mother. In later years, this affective tie will become an important part of how Del deals with the external world, encouraging intimacy and merging with others. Her relationship with her

father is somewhat strained. One suspects remnants of this relationship will linger in Del's unconscious as she experiences her first relationships with the opposite sex. Nick, on the other hand, must draw a much more definite boundary between himself and his mother in order to ensure his masculinity is not threatened by external feminine qualities or internal feminine qualities. These are boundaries Nick will apply to any relationships with women for the rest of his life. His relationship with his father differs from that of Del and her father through its competitive rather than affective nature. Once Nick progresses to the point where he is aware his father possesses weaknesses, he becomes aware that he must be stronger and not fall into the traps his father has fallen into. Because of this competitive definition of masculinity, the stability of Nick's identity is more problematic as he works to ensure continuity of success. Del, on the other hand, does have a stable identity, although she often denies it, but will have to struggle against society's expectations about what her identity should be.)

CHAPTER THREE: MATURITY

Undoubtedly, the mother-child relationship is the cornerstone of a person's development. However, it is not the only determinant of a person's gender identity or personality traits. The influence of "certain features of social structure, supported by cultural beliefs, values, and perceptions" (Chodorow Feminism 54) leave a strong mark on one's development. These certain social features include sex-role ideology and social organization with its subsequent sexual division of labour. (The combination of unconscious mother-child influences and conscious social influences impact upon how Nick and Del will deal with the "increasing sense of confinement" as they become "entrapped within a cage constructed from the realities of death, religion, love, and sex" (Monaghan 165). The approaches Nick and Del use in addressing the problems of coming of age reflect the reproduction, if any, of gender personality traits as well as a sense of gender-specific morality that is passed from generation to generation.)

(As previously discussed, socialization outside the home plays an important part in developing gender identity. Del is exposed to many seemingly conflicting models of womanhood. These concepts of womanhood help Del to define her role and position in society. The first model she encounters is her mother, a woman who once seemed powerful in Del's early years, but who now

appears to Del as less powerful: "She had power still, but not so much as perhaps she thought. And she was in no way content." (67). Del has attempted to reject any similarities to her mother in the past, yet she will discover she is more like her mother than she thinks. The second model of femininity Del encounters is Uncle Benny's wife, Madeleine. On the surface, this woman oozes hostility. But Del sees beyond this adoption of what is usually classified as masculine emotions:

. . . Madeleine came out with a stove-lid lifter in her hand .
 . . Her face was . . . thin, white, at first evasive. Her rage
 was not immediate. She needed time to remember it, to
 reassemble her forces. (14)

In contrast, Del's two aunts, Grace and Elpsbeth, provide very different portrayals of femininity. The conflict between Mrs. Jordan's and the aunts' ideas of what is appropriate feminine behaviour reflects a "vital element in Lives of Girls and Women: the recurrent examination of women's view of men and men's work" (Besner 54). The aunts' opinion of Mrs. Jordan's work is that it makes her into a "wildwoman" (54) selling a commodity that was "just an oddity; it stuck out like warts" (55). In contrast, the aunts place a great value on men's work, namely, by categorizing male enterprise as something that is distinctly different and, consequently, more important than women's work:

It would have made no difference if Uncle Craig actually had 'abstract, intellectual pursuits,' or if he had spent the day sorting henfeathers; they were prepared to believe in what he did. . . when he began his slow, loud, halting but

authoritative typing they dropped their voices, they made absurd scolding faces at each other for the clatter of a pan. Craig's working! They would not let me go out on the verandah for fear I would disturb him. They respected men's work beyond anything; they also laughed at it. This was strange; they could believe absolutely in its importance and at the same time convey their judgement that it was, from one point of view, frivolous, nonessential. And they would never, never meddle with it; between men's work and women's work was the clearest line drawn, and any stepping over it, they would meet with such light, amazed, regretfully superior, laughter. (27)

For all their beliefs that men's work is nonessential, the aunts do not attempt to assume or interrupt these duties. Whether this lack of pursuit implies a devaluation of men's work or unconscious doubt about their own abilities is debatable. However, they continue with their work of "floor scrubbing, cucumber hoeing, potato digging, bean and tomato picking, canning, pickling, washing, starching, sprinkling, ironing, waxing, baking" (27) while scorning Ada's abandonment of her domestic duties through their disapproval of Del's wrinkled clothes. The ladies of Jubilee also express disapproval of Ada's foray into the public world by excluding her from the bridge parties of their private, domestic sphere (63). The message from the community is clear; women should stay at home raising children while their husbands do the more valuable work of being lawyers, bankers, and doctors outside the home.

These expressions of disapproval reveal the Jubilee social expectations of what is women's behaviour and what emotions women should

express. Madeleine's behaviour clearly clashes with the behaviour expected of women in the mind of eight year old Del. Her reality as a human being is questioned because of her displays of aggression, rage, and violence:

"Madeleine herself was like something he might have made up. We remembered her like a story . . ." (23). She is labelled a madwoman in the end, a sign that she is deviating from normal behaviour. Mrs. Jordan receives the same kind of treatment from the residents of Jubilee, is told her education is not sufficient, and that she should not be exhibiting such ambition. Similarly, Del, in her first year of high school, decides to be subversive in her behaviour:

. . . men were supposed to be able to go out and take on all kinds of experiences and shuck off what they didn't want and come back proud. Without even thinking about it, I had decided to do the same. (147)

Del's implementation of this philosophy becomes problematic. One of the principle problems is social expectations. Judging from the expectations of her aunts, it is far more admirable to keep one's ambitions concealed than to bask in the glory of the success it results in:

But it seemed the thing to do was to keep it [ambition] more or less a secret. Ambition was what they were alarmed by, for to be ambitious was to court failure and to risk making a fool out of oneself. (32)

However, it is not surprising Del feels comfortable in adopting this philosophy because a woman's identity is more stable and "girls are allowed and feel themselves to express masculine preferences and to have much greater

freedom than boys" (Chodorow Feminism 43). But this is true only for a short period of time, as Del discovers. And, it is not only the pressures of society which force girls to curtail their ambition, but also the internal pressures resulting from identification with one's mother, as Del acknowledges in her breakup with Garnet.

In order to achieve her goals, Del must deny a part of her self and her need for relationships. Her attempt to construct a self with masculine characteristics tends, in its early stages, to be rather weak, as her reaction to Jerry Storey's analysis of her scholastic aptitudes reveals:

I took his judgment like a soldier, because I did not believe it. That is, I knew it was all true, but I still felt powerful enough, in areas I thought he could not see, where his ways of judging could not reach . . . I felt in him what women feel in me, something so tender, so swollen, tyrannical, absurd. (163)

Del uses feminine standards in her analysis of his judgement, a sign which reveals she has not become as detached as she would think from the passive role occupied by her aunts. This will become more apparent as Del continues to attempt to alter her social environment.

Even though the presence of Del and other women in the university preparation class signals the general acceptance of women's educational ambitions, a sense of devaluation of women and their capabilities emanates not only from the masculine gender, but also from the feminine gender. Her rival in

the classroom, Jerry Storey, handily separates her apparent abilities into a few average and commonplace skills worth less than his abilities:

. . . it was plain he thought putting my brains and his in the same category showed no appreciation of categories; it was like saying Toscanini and the local bandmaster were both talented. What I possessed, he told me frankly when we discussed the future, was a first-rate memory, a not unusual feminine gift for language, fairly weak reasoning powers, and almost no capacity for abstract thought. That I was immeasurably smarter than most people in Jubilee should not blind me, he said, to the fact that I would soon reach my limits in the intellectually competitive world outside. . . . (163)

This is an attitude reinforced by Jerry's mother with her condescending and devaluing comment: "'You have a very nice I.Q. yourself,' she said . . . but you know Jerry's I.Q. puts him in the top quarter of the top one percent of the population. Isn't it amazing to think of that?" (167). In spite of the disparaging comments suffered by Del about her pursuit of education, she continues to see education as a way out, an escape. Education is a channel through which she can build distance between herself and the undesirable worlds of Jubilee and the Flats Road. Interestingly, Del never specifies a profession or career objective; there is only the implication that she wishes to escape the limitations put on her by Jubilee society. She is in search of freedom achievable through an independent and separate identity:

I got A's at school. I never had enough of them. No sooner had I hauled one lot of them home with me than I had to start thinking of the next. They did seem to be

tangible, and heavy as iron. I had them stacked around me like barricades, and if I missed one I could feel a dangerous gap. (162)

Stability for Del, just as for Dr. Adams and Nick, can be achieved through competition: "It was not just high marks we wanted, not just to win the scholarship and get into university, it was the highest marks possible: glory, glory, the top of the pinnacled A's, security at last" (172). The desire to be at the top of not only the educational hierarchy, but also the social hierarchy will reappear in other forms in Del's life.

The perceptions of femininity presented by the men in Jubilee suggest to Del that what is feminine whether it be work, a human being, or behaviour is not as valuable as that which is masculine. Jerry's critique of Del's scholastic abilities is only one example. Even from her own family, Del receives the same message:

Uncle Craig looked at me with disapproval . . . He often thought me flighty and stupid; there was something large and impersonal about his judgment that left me free. He himself was not hurt or diminished in any way by my unsatisfactoriness, though he would point it out. This was the great difference between disappointing him and disappointing somebody like my mother, or even my aunts. Masculine self-centredness made him restful to be with. (25-6)

Similarly, Mr. Chamberlain is not hurt in objectifying Del. His poking Del in the breast or hitting her on the thigh indicates he does think of her as an object, something to be treated without respect or care. Del is further devalued, as

she is dispatched to do his snooping for him, by his statement, "Del is a bad girl" (136). All these treatments can be interpreted by Del to mean that women and their achievements are not as significant as men and their achievements.

Aside from the pressures of adults and the other sex, Del must also contend with peer pressure. Naomi's transition and transformation from the world of gawky, unattractive, insecure girls to the glamorous world of finely made-up and well clothed women preparing to marry creates fear in Del. In one sense, Del's fear is rooted in competition. She does not like to go near these perfect girls "for fear I [Del] would be smelly. I felt there was a radical difference, between them and me, as if we were made of different substances" (149). Del is also fearful about completing the domestic duties these girls have so willingly embraced: "Sweaters I always washed shrank, anyway, or the neckline sagged; I knew I did not take enough trouble with them but I had a fatalistic feeling that they would shrink or sag whatever I did" (150).

However, peer pressure is not the only pressure to be endured by Del. There is a more general pervasive pressure exemplified by the magazine which dictates ideal thoughts for boys and girls:

. . . the difference between male and female modes of thought were easily illustrated by the thoughts of a boy and girl, sitting on a park bench, looking at the full moon. The boy thinks of the universe, its immensity and mystery; and the girl thinks 'I must wash my hair.' (150).

Del feels internal pressure to fulfil this role, a role filled by Naomi and her friends: "I wanted men to love me, and I wanted to think of the universe when I looked at the moon" (150). In her third year of high school, Del is correct in saying she is "trapped, stranded; it seemed there had to be a choice where there couldn't be a choice" (150). Del must assume the role society expects her to assume or face rejection. Society gives her no choice between pursuing the masculine goals of success, achievement, and competition and becoming a woman. Even though Del struggles against being lured into femininity, underneath her resistance flows a strong current of agreement. This agreement is visible in her reaction to the magazine headlines, "'Femininity--It's Making a Comeback!'" or "'Is Your Problem that You're Trying to be a Boy?'" (151) that scare her. Del never considered rejecting her gender: "Yet it had never occurred to me to want to be a boy" (151).

Nick is also subject to much influence. In his first solo adventure in "The Battler," Nick makes the statement, "'You got to be tough'" (49), to an old boxing champion. This is a statement society reinforces over and over to men and boys. The same expectation is held by institutions such as the army. Every weakness must be hidden: "They [boys] learn early not to exhibit feminine personality traits--to hide emotions and pretend even to themselves that they do not have them, to be independent participants in activities rather than personally involved with friends" (Chodorow Feminism 37). In "Night

Before Landing," Nick and his buddy "don't have to think about being scared. We're not that kind" (143). Instead, the two project invincibility upon themselves: "'Listen, Nick. You and me we've got something in us'" (142). Nick's response is "'Other people can get killed but not me. I feel that absolutely'" (142). Even in war, it is every man for himself. Nick describes his fellow patients: "We were all a little detached, and there was nothing that held us together. . ." (170). It is achievement that proves one is tough and Nick knows that his fellow soldiers do not consider him to be tough after they find out he has been awarded a medal for being American, not for being tough.

By far the strongest social influence felt by Nick Adams is not about how to achieve masculinity, but how to preserve it. "You got to be tough" is implied by most of the advice of his male companions and even his father regarding relationships, especially that of marriage. The first advice he receives on this subject is from his father regarding his relationship with Prudie/Trudie. The message from his father is clear; relationships involve loss and can hurt a person. Although at this young age Nick might not be ready to accept such harsh advice, he does learn that one can be damaged as he hides his broken heart in his bedroom (32). The same pattern of behaviour is found in "The End of Something" where Nick suffers another broken heart. Nick's distinct desire to share intimacy with Marjorie leads to an internal conflict. He is aware Marjorie knows much more than he does: "'You do. You know everything. That's the

trouble. You know you do" (203). This imbalance, a threat to his masculine identity, is most likely the cause of the break up although Nick is not able to articulate this out loud. It is as if Nick is already aware of the threat posed by this relationship. Yet, he must counter this feeling of powerlessness with his desire for intimacy. His desire to be the person who is in control of the relationship wins. He conceals disappointment at his loss of intimacy by lying and turning his face away from Bill while sending him away: "'Oh, go away, Bill! Go away for a while" (204).

Bill, one of the male advisors on relationships, hands Nick some soothing advice about the opposite sex, "'Fall for them, but don't let them ruin you"' (213). Bill's advice about marriage is a reminder to Nick that he was fortunate to escape when he did. Marriage includes not only a loss of separateness and individualism, but also includes the potential of suffocation or betrayal:

Once a man's married he's absolutely bitched...He hasn't got anything anymore. Nothing. Not a damn thing. He's done for. You've seen the guys that get married. You can tell them . . . They're done for. (213)

Yet Nick continues to experience some ambivalence over his actions. Bill warns him, "'You don't want to think about it. You might get back into it again"' (215). Nick can relive his relationship with Marjorie in his imagination: "Nick had not thought about that. It had seemed so absolute. That was a thought.

That made him feel better" (215). However, Nick is becoming more aware of the threat of intimacy as he does acknowledge that such a renewal would be "dangerous."

The sternest verbal warning about marriage comes from the major in "In Another Country." It is most likely this warning combined with what Nick has witnessed of his parents' power struggle of a marriage that makes Nick fully realize how important detachment is to maintaining a strong identity. At the same time there is ambivalence in the major's advice. One must be careful not to place oneself in a position where one may lose part of oneself: "'He cannot marry. He cannot marry If he is to lose everything, he should not place himself in a position to lose that. He should not place himself in a position to lose. He should find things that he cannot lose'" (173). By losing his wife, the major has lost that intimacy experienced in childhood that one seeks so hard to recover. Although Nick does not lose his self-respect like his father or an integral part of his self like the major, he does lose his male companions:

When he married he lost Bill Smith, Odgar, the Ghee, all the old gang he lost them because he admitted something was more important than the fishing . . . They were all married to fishing. Ezra thought fishing was a joke. So did most everybody. He'd been married to it before he married Helen. Really married to it. It wasn't any joke. So he lost them all. (234)

In order to protect himself from subsequent danger, Nick appears to become the controlling figure in the relationship, a figure who maintains control through

emotional as well as physical distance from his wife. His qualified response of "Yes. Now," to the question about his happiness about his wife Helen's pregnancy implies a time of adjustment was needed to accept this happening. The same kind of ambivalent response is given to the question, "'It's hell, isn't it?' 'No. Not exactly'" (254). Nick Adams is hardly an endorsement for marriage. The only existing positive element in his marriage is the presence of his son in the last story. Another indication of Nick's powerful presence in the marriage is the absence of his wife. Nick also devalues his wife in an attempt to retain his strength. His wife receives the blame for cutting him off from or curtailing his masculine activities. She is the reason given for the loss of his friends through his forced withdrawal from the fishing stream. She is the reason why he must return to California instead of skiing in the Alps. Clearly, Nick is not dominated and he does what his father does not do in the domestic sphere, that is successfully fulfil the role of husband as the ruler of the household. The married Nick is much more aware of the boundaries of his concept of self and is careful not to let them be infringed upon.

In contrast, Nick's encounter with Kate, an encounter which presumably takes place after his encounter with Marjorie, exemplifies the masculine behaviour of competitiveness. Sexual activity is presented in "Summer People" as a quest, a contest to be won. Nick employs sportsman-like strategy in his hunt for Kate:

It was liking, and liking the body, and introducing the body, and persuading, and taking chances, and never frightening, and assuming about the other person, and always taking never asking, and gentleness and liking, and making liking and happiness, and joking and making people not afraid. And making it all right afterwards. (218)

One can infer that this set of rules is as much a show of strength as anything. Sex appears to be more desirable than love because it involves no commitment or attachment. Consequently, it is not a dangerous activity: "It wasn't loving. Loving was frightening" (218).. Without the potential of becoming entrapped, a large capacity exists for achievement: "He, Nicholas Adams, could have what he wanted because of something in him" (218). After he achieves his goal, Nick adds to his sense of a separate and different self by increasing the distance, devaluing Kate not once, but twice by calling her a slut. These rigid ego boundaries appear in the more defined sense of self of Nick Adams shown in his marriage to Helen, a sense of self that is much more differentiated than that of his father. Nick has come to define himself as more separate and distinct than in his earlier relationships. He has a greater sense of ego boundaries and separation as displayed by his objectification of Kate.

Marriage is experienced differently by Del. For Del, her parents' marriage is not a relationship about dominance and power but about caring, responsibility, attachment, and connection:

My mother sat in her canvas chair and my father in a wooden one; they did not look at each other. But they were connected, and this connection was plain as a fence(22)

The concept of merger which is conspicuously absent in the Adams' marriage and which Del attempts to deny is present in the Jordans' marriage:

But at this moment, seeing my mother go meek and bewildered--this was what the slump of her back showed, that her words never would--and my father touching her in such a gentle, compassionate, grieving way . . . I was alarmed, I wanted to shout at them to stop and turn back into their separate, final, unsupported selves. (41)

Del's conscious thoughts reveal that she, like Nick, sees marriage as symbolizing loss. The concept of merger to a nine or ten-year-old Del means a loss of one's individual status just as it does to Nick. It is not only her parents' marriage which alarms her. Del continues to reject this social institution, which can entrap women in a situation of inequality, even in her last year of high school. Del's perception of marriage is in opposition to that of most young women her age who, in working toward the fulfilment of their oedipal goal, adopt a "new vantage point": "She [Naomi] and all these other girls were firmly set towards marriage; older women who had not married, whether they were perfect old maids or discreet adventuresses . . . could not expect any sympathy from them" (152). It is not surprising then that Naomi rejects Del's alternative of *remaining single*:

'You could go to Toronto--'
 'Sure, stick me in a Salvation Army home . . . Anyway I
 wouldn't think it was right to give my baby up to
 strangers.' (195)

There is an open expression of caring for and responsibility toward others present in Naomi's statement despite her air of resignation. This kind of caring and responsibility also exists in Del underneath her attempted reconstruction of the feminine role. Del's internalized attitudes about the hierarchical structure of the marital relationship will undoubtedly affect her intimate relationships.

Although marriage affords a great many opportunities for forming the connections and building the relationships so essential to women, Del feels threatened by the limitations marriage places on women. This can be seen in her struggle with Garnet. Del's fight with Garnet is an effort to invert or at least to neutralize the hierarchical organization of men and women. On the surface, Del denies anyone power over her: ". . . and I felt amazement, not that I was fighting with Garnet but that anybody could have made such a mistake, to think that he had real power over me" (197). She is quick to draw boundaries between what is real and imaginary and between Garnet's conception of relationships, namely, that they are hierarchical, and her own concept of relationships, namely, that hierarchy in the domestic sphere is dangerous to any woman who wishes to maintain a state of individuation. However, her final argument with Garnet forces her to reevaluate her perspective. At the time, Del

is inflexible in granting anybody any measure of control over her. Del enjoys the intimacy of the relationship, but only as long as she can control it:

. . . it seemed to me impossible that he [Garnet] should not understand that all the powers I granted him were in play, that he himself was--in play, that I meant to keep him all sewed up in his golden lover's skin forever, even if five minutes before I had talked about marrying him. (198)

Del creates a distance between herself and Garnet, encasing him in his "golden lover's skin," thus ensuring he does not diminish her apparently rigid ego boundaries.

Del's refusal to love or to permit herself to be loved is linked to her inability to deny her lover's limitations as well as her own social expectations. She expects Garnet's ego to be as flexible and receptive as that of most women while her ego, on the outside, remains as rigid as that of most men. If a woman is to care especially about being loved, then "she (and the woman she becomes) is willing to deny her father's limitations (and those of her lovers or husbands) as long as she feels loved. . ." (Chodorow Feminism 72). Del does not deny her father's limitations, she only acknowledges them. At first, Garnet's limitations are easy to overlook in Del's concern for him such as when she meets his family:

I thought of saying to Garnet . . . 'I like your family,' but I realized how strange it would sound to him, because he had never thought of my not liking them . . . to pass judgments of this sort would seem self-conscious, pretentious with him. (188)

One senses it is not these personal limitations which are difficult to deny, but the greater limitations of the institutions, the church and marriage, that Garnet believes in. Del's refusal of the institutions Garnet believes in culminates in her refusal to be baptised. His insistence that she is too good to be baptised creates a situation where Del must choose between her personal integrity to her desire to be autonomous or her loyalty to Garnet. Del decides, and will later acknowledge that she made the wrong decision, to reject both Garnet the individual and the institutions of religion and marriage:

We had seen in each other what we could not bear, and we had no idea that people do see that, and go on, and hate and fight and try to kill each other, various ways, and love some more. (199)

The suspicion exists that if Del had been able to deny these limitations as well as the limitations she places on herself in the form of an identity with masculine characteristics, the argument would have ended much differently.

In retrospect, Del's adult views of her temporary and love-induced acceptance of limitations are that they have damaged her quest for individuation through achievement: "I had been sabotaged by love, and it was not likely that I would get the scholarship which . . . I . . . had been counting on, to carry me away from Jubilee" (207). By succumbing to Garnet's charm, Del feels she has lost herself; her identity as an autonomous individual has been jeopardized: "The person who could study was in fact, already lost, locked

away. I could not have made sense of any book, put one word after another, with Garnet in the room" (184). Love does not appear to satisfy Del. Del sees love as existing within a framework controlled by men. In order to love, from Del's perspective, one must not only accept limitations, but also agree to have one's self limited, in essence, altered. However, this is the opinion of Del's false self. What Del sees as freedom is really a denial of her true self; the denial of a role society is expecting her to assume:

Unconnected to the life of love, uncolored by love, the world resumes its own, its natural and callous importance. This is first a blow, then an odd consolation. And already I felt my old self--my devious, ironic, isolated self--beginning to breathe again, though all around it my body clung cracked and bewildered, in the stupid pain of loss. (199)

Del's "devious and ironic" self is the reason she experiences such loss. The irony consists in her rejection, based on the questionable boundaries of her adopted identity, of something, love, most women would readily accept. Perhaps her loss is described as resulting in "stupid pain" because she discarded her masculine characteristics of reserve and detachment in falling head over heels in love at first sight: "I desperately wished that he [Garnet] would come. I concentrated my whole self into a kind of white prayer, willing him to show up beside me even while I told myself . . . now he's heading for the door. . ." (175). The loss is even more stupid, as Del later realizes,

because she has shunned is what she really wants and needs, connection and attachment.

Another activity which involves loss or pain, for most women, is sexuality. A woman can incur a sense of loss through this activity just as men appear to receive a sense of achievement or pride. The advice from Naomi's mother grants women the responsibility for the participation of both genders in this activity:

'My mother says it's the girl's fault,' said Naomi . . . 'It's the girl who is responsible because our sex organs are on the inside and theirs are on the outside and we can control our urges better than they can. A boy can't help himself.' (112)

This statement also implicitly attributes the more serious consequences of becoming ensconced in the domestic sphere, being subordinated, and of producing sons who perpetuate inequality to women while granting the man freedom to do as he wishes without consequence. For women, then, a conflict between choice and rights based on inequality between genders exists. Del, like all women, is forced to confront "the self-blinding nature of the opposition between selfishness and responsibility" (Gilligan 138) as she has first sexual experiences.

The very nature of the male sex organ grants men an edge over women. The external presence of the phallus determines that a male's role in the sex act is one of activity whereas women's role in the sex act is determined

by the man's action. In Del's first sexual encounter, which takes place in Del's first years of high school, she chooses to absolve Mr. Chamberlain of any responsibility for the decision of engaging in what, she perceives, will be the act of sexual intercourse:

His [Mr. Chamberlain's] voice suggested that it would be possible to do anything, anything at all, and pass it off as a joke, a joke on all the solemn and guilty, all the moral and emotional people in the world, the people who 'took themselves seriously.' (139)

Del dismisses Mr. Chamberlain as having no moral character. Rather, she is the person with the morals. It is not surprising that her thinly veiled investigative behaviour later causes her feelings of guilt: "I did not know what to do with it. I could not get him [Mr. Chamberlain] to his old role. . . . My faith in simple depravity had weakened" (144). This experience perhaps teaches Del the most important lesson about the context surrounding women's decision making, that women's sense of morality and, by extension, decision making involves a measure of care and responsibility absent in male decision making:

Perhaps nowhere but in daydreams did the trap door open so sweetly and easily, plunging bodies altogether free of thought, free of personality, into self-indulgence, mad bad license. Instead of that . . . people take along a great deal. (144-5)

To avoid experiencing the guilt arising from this and other sexual incidents, Del chooses to repress this repugnant side of sex rather than feeling diminished or objectified. She does this by withholding the Mr. Chamberlain incident from

Naomi and by developing an egalitarian image of sexual intercourse. In her sexual relations with Garnet, Del does not see herself as being dominated, but as an equal participant: "Sex seemed to me all surrender--not the woman's to the man but the person's to the body, an act of pure faith, freedom in humility" (181). This image affirms Chodorow's view of the phallus as a power object, an object which has power in either the form of a sexual organ or in the form of an object which can be possessed by the woman (Chodorow Reproduction 123). However, Del cannot extend her perception of sex as an individual activity which can be shared by two people into love or relationships. The consummation of the relationship is not enough to fulfil Del, to place her at the top of the hierarchy.

Unlike her mother, who turns to building other relationships and connections outside of marital or sexual relationships to fill the need for connection in her life, Del, in her attempts to reconstruct society and her identity, severs or represses any affective familial ties such as those with her mother, her aunts, her cousin. She even severs ties with her one close friend whose friendship "extended and gave resonance to life" (101) as Naomi begins to honour feminine values such as mothering and merging rather than the masculine values of success and achievement and the entailing individuation. Del dismisses Naomi on this account, devaluing both her role in the wedding, "I was thinking unhappily that being bridesmaid I would have to give a shower for

her. . ." (194), and the role Naomi is about to assume: "I could see her married, a bossy, harassed, satisfied young mother out looking for her children to call them in to bed or braid their hair or otherwise interfere with them" (195). The rejection of these feminine values leads Del to translate individuation into another form, the form of isolation. Del continues to deny any kind of emotional or relational needs appearing to contradict Chodorow's theory that "women, because of men's emotional distancing, tend to look elsewhere for love and emotional gratification . . . this is attempted through the creation and maintenance of important personal relations with other women" (Chodorow Reproduction 200). Through most of the text, Del has looked to herself for comfort, confiding in almost no one. Yet, signs exist that she does want to fill this void inside her, just not in a hierarchical context, as her response to Garnet's question reveals:

'Would you like to have a baby?'

'Yes,' I said.

Where would such a lie come from? It was not a lie. (196)

While Del's false self blinds her to defining and experiencing herself as continuous with others (Chodorow Reproduction 169), subtle signs such as the realization of wanting to have baby is not a lie exist to indicate that, in spite of her resistance, Del does experience herself as continuous with others.

As Gilligan says, "In young adulthood, when identity and intimacy converge in dilemmas of conflicting commitment, the relationship between self

and other is exposed (156). Del's relationship with Garnet reveals the truth of relationships to her, that she does need connections. That Del desires relationships containing affective ties is evident in her reaction to Garnet's absence the day after the break up:

He [Garnet] did not come Monday. I waited to see if he would. I combed my hair and waited, classically, behind the curtains in our front room. I did not know what I would do if he came; the ache of wanting to see his truck, his face, swallowed up everything else . . . I was crying, I noticed, whimpering in a monotonous rhythm the way children do to celebrate a hurt . . . Without diminishment of pain I observed myself; I was amazed to think that the person suffering was me . . . I was suffering. . . . (200)

She is like the majority of women who perceive autonomy as a dangerous quest (Gilligan 42). Del's finally acknowledged preference and need for web-structured rather than hierarchically-structured relationships.

The muddledness of Del's childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood is a result of a "a dilemma centering on the conflict between personal integrity and loyalty" (Gilligan 138). Throughout most of her development, Del has been caught between her desire to emulate masculine personality traits and her desire to fulfil her relational needs. The desire to imitate freewheeling masculine behaviour (in Grade seven, Del views boys as having the courage to say anything (98)) damages Del. When Del does dare to say "anything" in her argument with Garnet, she fractures the human connection, the very thing most women attempt to preserve through a lack of aggression (Gilligan 43). In order

to prevent this fracture from occurring, women make the social world safe through activities that avoid isolation and prevent aggression. Women seek to eliminate aggression completely rather than seeking to control it (Gilligan 43).

While Del has been seeking isolation to make her world safe and to ensure an autonomous identity, she has been sacrificing the intimacy so essential for women. Del pays greatly for escaping from the passive roles filled by her aunts and now Naomi. She woefully recognizes her mistake:

Now at last without fantasies or self-deception, cut off from the mistakes and confusions of the past, grave and simple, . . . I supposed I would get started on my real life.
(201)

Del will never be at the top of the hierarchy and has damaged her web of relationships. She appears to reject both constructions: ". . . the future could be furnished without love or scholarships" (200). Del appears to be alienated from both the public and domestic spheres:

As the top of the hierarchy becomes the edge of the web and as the center of a network of connection becomes the middle of a hierarchal progression, each image marks as dangerous the place which the other defines as safe. Thus, the images of hierarchy and web inform different modes of assertion and response: the wish to be alone at the top and the consequent fear that others will get close; the wish to be at the center of connection and the consequent fear of being too far out on the edge. These disparate fears of being stranded and getting caught. . . .
(Gilligan 62)

Luckily, Del rescues herself through her discovery of the truth about relationships which "returns in the rediscovery of connection, in the realization that self and other are interdependent and that life, however valuable in itself, can only be sustained by care in relationships" (Gilligan 127).

Del, the adult, has finally discovered how to satisfy her needs and how to establish vital connections without succumbing to traditional social expectations. Del ignores the social expectations for women to marry and to have children in favour of what are the true rather than real connections of history and literature. It is through these connections that Del reestablishes old and builds new attachments. Her novel is not only an affirmation of where she comes from but a way to embrace all that she had previously tried to distance herself from. Del has always had a strong connection with literature. Her earliest memories of literature are reading the headlines of tabloid newspapers on Uncle Benny's first porch (4). Even her memories feature literary characteristics such as describing Madeleine in her accounts as part of a story (23). Del's close connection with literature is most evident during a visit to the library with Naomi. Undoubtedly, the ties are stronger between Del and her books than between Del and her friends:

Jeffrey Farnol. Marie Corelli. The Prince of the House of David. Lovely, wistful, shabby old friends. . . . They were like people you saw on the street day after day, year after year. . . (99)

The intimacy of the library holds greater pleasure for Del than the intimacy of personal relationships: "Walls of printed pages, evidence of so many created worlds--this was a comfort to me" (99). This reflection of a grade seven student is magnified in the epilogue of Del's novel where Del tells of its constant presence providing her with a contentment absent in real life: "I carried it [the novel]--the idea of it--everywhere with me . . . I just kept hold of the idea of the novel, and felt better. . . ." (203-4). Even though Del considers her novel fictional in nature, the literature is still rooted in truth:

The reasons for things happening I seemed vaguely to know, but could not explain; I expected all that would come clear later. The main thing was that it seemed true to me, not real but true, as if I had discovered, not made up such people and such a story. . . (206)

Del, then, is able to fulfil her relational needs through means other than conventional methods.

Nick, too, endures a conflict although not as enduring between his true self and social expectations in his escape with Littless, his younger sister, in "The Last Good Country." The relationship between Nick and his sister is characterized by mutual concern for each other rather than power and dominance: "She and Nick loved each other and they did not love the others. They always thought of everyone else in the family as others" (71). No fear of loss of power is expressed. The only sense of loss expressed is the anticipation of losing the company of one another. As Nick contemplates

leaving Littleless, he almost cringes with the thought of loss: "I'm lonely now thinking about going away from you" (72). Many activities are reminiscent of the mother-child relationship such as Nick's idea to read Lorna Doone aloud (85). Nick's underlying sense of morality can be identified as distinctly feminine. Nick perceives Littleless as his responsibility: "I must take good care of her and keep her happy and get her back safely" (118). However, one senses that the mature Nick will not have this same sense of morality or these flexible ego boundaries. There is an implication that he considers his behaviour questionable: "He loved his sister very much and she loved him too much. But, he thought, I guess those things straighten out. At least I hope so" (119). One can see that Nick is threatened by the closeness of this relationship. Things do straighten themselves out as we see Nick repress his feelings and emotions in later relationships. However, Nick conforms to traditional social expectations of men.

Nick also uses his writing to deal with social expectations. Through his writing he is able to construct the ultimate embodiment of masculinity. Although he denies that the stories are based on his experiences, "Nick in the stories was never himself. He made him up" (238), he is able to project himself into the fictional narratives. Nick also enjoys a large measure of control in being able to destroy things through his art: "Writing about anything actual was bad. It always killed it" (237). He is able to create events such as bullfights

and killings, which because of their aggressive and violent nature, can be described as masculine. For example, the adult Nick wishes to destroy the unpleasant memories of his father: "If he wrote it he could get rid of it. He had gotten rid of many things by writing them" (259). One can conclude, then, that through his writing Nick is able to control anything that might threaten his masculinity in reality or fiction. Nick's writing, then, does not have the encompassing web-like structure of Del's writing. He instead preserves his need for the hierarchical structure through his selection of plots and destruction of reality. In this way, Nick uses literature to reinforce the social expectations of men.

Social expectations often have the final influence on a person's identity. However, one must be careful in how one deals with the pressures exerted by sex-role ideology. Del's attempts to deal with these demands through denial from the viewpoint of her false self only damage and blunt her as her handling of the Garnet French incident demonstrates. While not advocating Del passively accept the hierarchical structure of relationships, it is important that Del not become injured in her rebellion against institutions. A certain measure of balance is required and is achieved through the connections she creates in her writing. Nick feels much the same exacting pressure in his escape with Littleless. Socially, the desire to nurture and care, feminine qualities, should be repressed in a young boy. Yet, there is the obligation to fill this role

to ensure Littleless is protected. The assertion of his true self through the discarding of his awareness of these emotions could cause him a much more serious loss, the death of his sister, than merely a loss of pride.

However, social pressures cannot always be ignored. For Nick, the formations of his opinions of love, sex, and marriage through the warnings of his male companions protect him from becoming wounded through the maintenance of distance. Social instruction has provided him with a means to protect himself thus ensuring a stable masculine identity. The same is true for Del as she should not ignore the importance of connection in women's lives as demonstrated by Naomi's marriage and even Fern's relationship with Mr. Chamberlain. To deny that society expects women to assume the role of helpmate, care-taker, and nurturer (and these roles not necessarily in the context of marriage) is to deny an essential need for women. However, to deny women the choice to fulfil these roles would be to deny women the opportunity to fulfil their own needs.

Undoubtedly, social constructions play an important part in role learning. Nick, for the most part, uses social expectations to reinforce the identity developed in the mother-child relationship. He learns to keep some distance between himself and his romantic partners. By fulfilling the social expectations of men, Nick contributes to his self-esteem and the stability of his self-esteem. Del, in contrast, learns the hard way. By attempting to deny the

social expectations of the roles of women, she only prevents herself from developing through a network of relationships. Her self-inflicted isolation from members of her own gender contributes to a lack of self-esteem and what is essentially unhappiness. While attempting to change her identity through her efforts in changing social expectations, Del learns what does make her happy. She also learns what kind of person she would like to be, a person with connections.

The characters' perceptions of their selves are influenced by measuring themselves against social expectations whereas the reader's perception of Del and Nick is influenced by the presentation of their experiences. The third person point of view in the Adams stories maintains a barrier between Nick and the reader. For example in "An Alpine Idyll," the reader is not permitted to hear Nick's true emotions concerning his wife. In this way, the point of view contributes to Nick being able to distance himself from others, namely the readers, just as men distance themselves from others in reality. In contrast, the first person point of view used in Lives of Girls and Women creates a more complex textual fabric woven from the intimate details, hopes, and feelings of Del's life. There is no distance between the reader and Del. Even the style of the text, lengthy conversational and introspective sentences, creates an open environment allowing the reader to be privy to all of Del's experience. In this way, the frankness of Lives imitates the equality of

web-structured relationships. The reader is allowed into all facets of Del's life and has a better vantage point from which to evaluate Del's actions and behaviours. In comparison, the sparse and somewhat colder style of The Nick Adams Stories gives the narrator an element of power over the reader thus making the text hierarchical. The reader is granted only limited access to Nick's experience whereas in Lives the reader has complete access to Del's accounts.

The narrative method of the Adams stories also contributes to a sense of distance between the reader and the protagonist. This distance is increased by the fact that some of the narratives are fragmentary in their form. This inconsistency reflects the problematic male identification process. Del's single narrative voice and the stable cast of characters with their common setting of Jubilee and its surroundings gives Lives a cohesiveness which The Nick Adams Stories lacks. Consequently, the reader experiences Del's development with more continuity. This continuity enhances the real experience of a girl's identification with her mother. The varied settings of Nick's development contribute to the reader's perception of Nick as a boy who seeks the individuation which achievement and success brings as he moves from one victory to another. The images of Nick being courageous or having control of himself in many different situations reinforces the theory of men earning and re-earning stable identities. The limited setting of Jubilee and its surroundings

provides a perfect setting for the reader to learn how women's identities are ascribed. The respective narrative methods of each text reflect the structure of the masculine and feminine experiences.

Whether negative or positive, social constructions and a person's response to them play an integral role in a person's development. This fact is reinforced not only in the two texts of Nick's and Del's development, but also in the texts' narrative forms and points of view. The development of the two characters follows the structure of masculine and feminine experiences. Both seem to have reconciled the differences between social expectations and the unconscious needs created by the mother-child relationship. In the end, Del with her connections and Nick with his distance from others, including his father, achieved relatively stable senses of identities.

CONCLUSION

Undoubtedly, the process of individuation is complicated for both genders by the identification process and social expectations. Although the argument is made that the development of gender identification is more problematic for boys because of having to identify with an absent parent, "sex role ideology and socialization . . . seem to ensure that neither boys nor girls can attain both stable identity and meaningful roles" (Chodorow Feminism 44). Nick and Del are not the only characters to encounter this experience. Dr. Adams and Mrs. Jordan must continue to ensure that their identities are stable by fulfilling the social expectations of their roles in conventional methods.

Just as Mrs. Jordan resigns herself to the fact that she will never be able to leave her role as nurturer and care-taker, Del resigns herself to accepting her identity. However, Del does achieve what is a happy medium between identity and intimacy. Her first step toward achieving a measure of contentedness is through her recognition of her needs for attachment and connection, a thought that had never occurred to her as she attempted to reform the role of women in society: "It did not occur to me that one day I would be so greedy for Jubilee. Voracious. . . I would want to write things down" (210). The process of fictionalizing her friends, family, and town allows Del both control and intimacy, as her thoughts reveal: "I myself secretly

planning to turn it [Jubilee] into black fable and tie it up in my novel" (206). Del, while not successful in the public sphere, is not in a position of subordination in the domestic sphere.

Despite the differences in the mother's and daughter's approaches in dealing with social convention, similarities between mother and daughter must be acknowledged. Both women share the need for connection and the need to define their identities in a context of relationships (Gilligan 160). However, Mrs. Jordan satisfies these needs through a succession of real life relationships, her marriage, her children, and her friendship with Fern whereas Del places a higher value on literary and fictional ties. Both women create and sustain webs of relations rather than constructing hierarchies.

Similarly, Dr. Adams and his son share a preference for hierarchically structured relationships. Yet Dr. Adams, in the reader's eyes, has suffered more than his son in his efforts to maintain a stable identity through the structure of hierarchy. Dr. Adams appears to have been damaged by his connections with others. After seeing his father wounded by his mother, Nick takes precautions to ensure his ego is not threatened, maintaining his distance from emotional attachments and devaluing what is feminine through his activities. He even isolates himself from his father: "The towns he lived in were not towns his father knew. After he was fifteen he had shared nothing with him" (265). For Nick and his father, isolation is a symbol of victory indicating

that, until the next contest, their masculinity is protected. Nick's writing further protects his sense of self by not only giving him the power to create fiction where men are placed at the top of the hierarchy, but also to create even more distance between himself and others.

Actual social expectations for both genders are reinforced in Lives of Girls and Women and The Nick Adams Stories. Nick Adams neatly fits Chodorow's description of men raised in societies which are divided into public and domestic spheres as a son whose sexual identity depends on devaluing femininity inside and outside themselves (Chodorow Feminism 44). Nick continues to practice the lessons of proving masculinity through distance from others and participating in activities categorized by society as masculine learned through positional identification with his father.

In contrast, Del gives hope for change in that while she must accept the devalued position of most women in a patriarchal society, she does not, unlike her mother, resign herself to assuming the role of nurturer and helpmate. She seeks to fulfil the needs she shares with her mother through a new channel, literature. While Del exemplifies the female model in Chodorow's and Gilligan's theories in that she is concerned with building and creating connections to fulfil her relational needs, she seeks and succeeds in establishing these connections in the genre of the novel. It is with women like Del that hope lies for the reform of social organization thus freeing women from

subordinate positions in male constructed hierarchies. However, until change occurs, the social organization of public and domestic spheres will continue to reproduce personality traits unique to each gender.

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