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**PERSONALIZING THE POLITICAL:
THE "MORNINGSIDE" LETTERS AND
THE IMPACT OF THE 1989 MONTREAL WOMAN MURDERS
ON PREVENTING MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

by

ANN D. SHARP, B.A.

A thesis submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

December 4, 1990

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research acceptance of the thesis

"Personalizing the Political: The 'Morningside' Letters and
the Impact of the 1989 Montreal Woman Murders on Preventing Male
Violence Against Women"

submitted by Ann D. Sharp, B.A.

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Social Work

Thesis Supervisor

Director, School of Social Work

Carleton University

December 4, 1990

Abstract

On December 6, 1989 14 women were murdered by a man who shouted, "I hate feminists." The murders at the engineering school of the University of Montreal, violence against women, feminism, sexism and sex-role stereotyping were discussion topics presented December 8, 1989 and January 13, 1990 on the Canadian national weekday morning radio show, "Morningside", hosted by Peter Gzowski. The challenging, personal dialogue on the murders spawned more letters than any other topic during the show's long history. This thesis examines 243 letters that reflect on the murders and the Morningside discussion to enable anonymous Canadians to contribute to preventing male violence against women. Writing about their personal experience, the nature of male violence, its causes and ways of acting against it, 247 Canadians make a substantial contribution by demystifying the prevention process and by explaining misogyny.

Acknowledgements

For creating this opportunity to contribute to prevention, I would like to thank Peter Gzowski, Shelley Ambrose and Sheri Lecker of Morningside and Jackie Toupin of CBC Ottawa. For providing a way to enable participation in prevention to grow, I thank the 247 individuals in the Morningside listening audience who responded so personally to the murders, the dialogue and the letters read on the air. For encouraging me to prepare a creative, well organized and challenging manuscript, I thank my academic advisor Diana Ralph. I also thank her, Elaine Morris, Jurgen Dankwort, Mary Morris, Willa Kimmerly and Katherine Stewart for sharing with me their visions of this work as a tool for prevention. For the motivation to broaden participation in preventing male violence, I thank my children, our struggle and my Michael. For my vision of how and why participation can grow beyond its present boundaries, I thank my co-workers, our family, neighbours, friends and the forty women who are keeping our shelter open and the men who support them in their commitment.

This work is dedicated to those Canadians who say, "No more" and to those who struggle with alternatives to violence.

- PREFACE -

by Diana Ralph

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This study has profoundly changed my life. It has given me a vision of how we all participate in making the world a better place. It's given me an antidote to despair and cynicism.

I am a socialist, a feminist, and a community organizer. I have built my life around helping people organize to fight oppression. But I've started feeling frustrated by the limitations of community organizing, and feminist and socialist theory. Too many grassroots groups have died or worse been coopted. Too much feminist and socialist writing seems academic, irrelevant, and sectarian.

My despair has been fueled by the defeat of the Nicaraguan revolution, and by the corruption of the ideals of the Soviet and Chinese revolutions. At home, I've felt helpless as the Conservative juggernaut crushes many of the gains made by native people, women, labour, and the poor. Where are our popular

movements? How do we make the many revolutions we need to turn things around?

In that context, the Montreal murders were a serious blow. Not only were women being murdered just for being women, but most of the media and politicians seemed content to write the incident off as the lone act of a madman. Aside from our vigils and public statements, women's organizations seemed unable even to convince people that the Lepine murders **were** a misogynist act, much less to do much to stem the tides of misogyny.

So when Ann approached me to discuss her idea, I was intrigued. Using the letters written to Peter Gzowski about the Montreal murders, she wanted to test out a whole new way of approaching social change. She wanted to study how all of us--not just those in feminist organizations--contribute to opposing misogyny.

At first, I was skeptical. It seemed too airy-fairy to me. Everything I had learned and most of my work had revolved around the need to build formal organizations through which we make change. So what, if she had met one nice policeman who helped her? Wasn't the entire criminal justice and legal system stacked against women? Don't those few "nice guys" just serve to legitimize the unjust system?

But as the work unfolded, as the wisdom of the people who wrote to Gizowski shone out, even as the misogynist writers dared to bare their hatred openly, it became clear to me that, in fact, we are **all** able to do **something** to help make things better for women. Even more importantly, the letters demonstrated that many of the writers already were doing a lot--simple (very complex) things like educating their children, spouses, students, and friends not to be sexist, organizing groups of men against misogyny, daring to reveal painful stories of incest, challenging sexual harassment at work, and much more. (By extension, the same holds true for the struggles against all other forms of oppression.)

Of course, we still need the women's organizations we've so painfully built. Another powerfully encouraging lesson of Ann's study, is that women's organizations have succeeded in giving all of us (not just feminists) words to understand and fight sexism. Repeatedly, the letter writers refer to facts, concepts, and goals that the feminist movements have made popular.

Ann's study is a wonderful corrective to the sectarian dogma of much feminist writing. She holds a deep respect for all people, not just women, not just those with formal education, and not just those who call themselves feminists. She deeply believes that all of us (and especially those who aren't experts) have profound ideas and courageous actions to contribute to ending sexism (and other oppressions). She struggled to respectfully include the voice of every single

letter-writer, including those whose opinions contradicted hers. And she respected them enough to reveal her own views and experiences on an equal footing with theirs.

I served as Ann's thesis supervisor. Normally thesis supervision is a paternalistic role, in which the presumably wise and learned professor genially guides the student along the paths of the prior masters. It is a thoroughly unfeminist concept, straight out of the middle-ages from which universities arose. By contrast, working with Ann on this study has been fun, and one of the most moving experiences of my life. I've learned far more from Ann than she has from me.

Thesis writing is usually impersonal, boring and irrelevant to the real-life concerns of most people. This one is a direct challenge to that style. Ann's study is written as a personal letter to us who read it. It's fascinating and exciting, hard to put down even at 2 AM! Most importantly, it's a powerful tool to bring us in touch with others and a compelling invitation to join the struggle.

Reading this study will touch your lives. Happy reading!

Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Preface	v
Table of Contents	ix
List of Tables	xii
CHAPTER ONE	
Introduction	1
The Researcher's Experience	4
Structure	15
CHAPTER TWO	
Methodology	17
The Physical Sample	18
Demographics: description of the sample	18
How the Research Was Conducted	23
Gender As An Analytical Tool	30
The Writing Methodology	32
The Sample Biases	33
Where's the Literature Review?	34
CHAPTER THREE	
Personal Testimonies: growing up female and afraid, growing up male and standing tall	36
Women in Childhood	37
Growing up Male	39
Grown up Woman, Grown up Man	44
The Women	44
The Pleasure Talk	48
Men as Victims?	51
Why Men Hate and Resent Women	54
Parenting	57
First Reaction to the Montreal Woman Murders	65

CHAPTER FOUR

Male Violence Against Women	65
Defining Violence as a Pervasive Pattern	66
Defining Violence as Our Attitudes and Values	68
Misogyny	69
Sexism	72
Silencing	73
The Devaluation and Objectification of Women	76
Blaming Women	78
Complicity	80

CHAPTER FIVE

The Causes of Male Violence	87
It is a Violent World We Live In	88
This is Misogyny	90
Misogyny is Unacceptable	95
Powerlessness and Power Over Others	96
Sex-role Stereotyping	99
Sexism	103
"Boys will be boys..."	105
Godlessness	108
The Unbalanced Mind	108
Unique Points of View	109

CHAPTER SIX

Preventing Male Violence Against Women	114
Woman to Women	118
What Women Want Men to Do	121
For Men Who Wish to Take Responsibility	124
In General	126
Against Male Violence	128
Against Harassment	130
For the Fiscal Cost of Male Violence	130
For Helping Women Feel Safe	132
For Men Who Can Reach Other Men	133
From Women to All	135
From Men to All	139
Man to Men	140
What Men Want Women to Do	146

For and In Families	147
What Men Can Do for Their Children	148
What Educators Can Do	149
What Religious Organizations Can Do	149
What Parents Can Do	149
What Parents Need	150
What Abused Children Need	150
On Misogyny	150
On the Courts and Policing	152
On the Media	153
On Politicians and Government	155
On Spirituality	157
 CHAPTER SEVEN	
Conclusion	157
 APPENDICES	
Appendix A: Demographic & Life Experience Tables	175
Appendix B: Ordering Morningside Transcripts	177
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	178

List of Tables

TABLE	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
1	Geographic Location of Authors by Gender	20

CHAPTER ONE

- INTRODUCTION -

On the evening of December 6, 1989, 14 young women who were students at the University of Montreal, were murdered by a man who hated women.

Thirteen others, including one young man, were injured by gunshots. It was seen by many, to be a consequence of socially condoned misogyny, by some, the act of a madman, and by others, an act of madness precipitated by societal misogyny.

In the days and weeks following the tragedy, there was widespread public dialogue on radio and in print media on the issues of male and female relationships, male violence against women and on feminism. There was also private introspection.

One vehicle for public expression of private thoughts, was the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation national AM radio show, "Morningside", hosted by Peter Gzowski. In addition to hosting ongoing dialogue, Gzowski reported on the January 15, 1990 show, that the December 6 event brought to the Morningside office, the "largest number of letters ever received on any one single topic" some of which were read on the air. In fact, the number of letters

on Montreal as of March 2, three months after the murders was 243, 78% of all the Morningside correspondence received over that period.

Was this but a natural expression of grief and horror for the moment only? Or was it an indication of ownership of, and responsibility for, acknowledging and preventing violence against women?

In examining the content of the letters, it was clear that the writers reflected on the full range of questions associated with male violence against women - what is their own experience? What is the nature of the problem? What are the causes? And, what are the ways we have or should have to prevent it?

In answering these questions, the material provided by the writers was rich in understanding, outrage and potential healing. As a result of the depth of caring communicated in their words, the reader will perhaps question why, the potential contributions of the ubiquitous "public" to the elimination of male violence against women, is as yet unacknowledged and untapped.

Although the majority of the messages contained in the letters do reflect a caring point of view, in each of the research chapters is found material of a misogynistic nature. These particular men and women rationalize male violence against women, minimize it or applaud and promote it. Repugnant in the

context of the horror of the massacre, it illustrates with force how misogyny, hatred of all women, is manifest and perpetuated.

The murders had a personal impact on at least 247 (the size of this sample) "Morningside" listeners - that is a given. As a group and for different reasons, they felt compelled to express themselves with regard to this horrific event. So what? Mark Lepine was a disturbed man and the massacre he is responsible for and which they reacted to is a rare event - is it not?

I wish I could ask that question of the 97 women who were murdered by their male partner in Canada in 1988 (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1989) and for whom we are too late; and the one million women who are being violated physically, sexually, emotionally, psychologically and economically by their individual partners this year (MacLeod, 1987:7) and who want the violence to stop; and the thousands of children across Canada who are witnessing or experiencing male violence and wanting the pain to stop; and the women and men who are committed to achieving fundamental societal change that enables individuals to live free from abuse and wanting to see it happen now, without delay. But I cannot ask them.

I can only suggest that they may have felt as I do - that there is no great distance between the individual experience of women who are repeatedly

violated and that of the publicly explored horror of Montreal; that in a numerical sense, the men who murdered 97 women in Canada in 1988 are responsible for nearly 7 more Marc Lepine 'acts'; that if the one million violated women in Canada can be represented by the 13 individuals who were wounded in Montreal, there are statistically, at least 76,923 more Mark Lepines who each wound an average of 13 women annually.

Many who work in the area of woman abuse, believe that the key to unlocking the door to real change in the experience of women is not in a "mysterious" place. It is found when as individuals, we acknowledge that we are a violent society. It is found when we recognize that we are either condoning or struggling against abuses based on gender, racial, cultural, religious, economic and age based inequalities amongst us. And it is found by making personal choices to contribute to changing the societal values, practices and perceptions that perpetuate violations on such a wide scale. This is one lesson of feminism and it speaks to prevention.

The Researcher's Experience

My personal experiences, my horror at hearing the news of the massacre, the cathartic relief that I felt in listening to Peter Gzowski and his panels all culminated in the incredible opportunity to conduct this research. As I have

been affected by the material in the 243 letters of this research sample, so too have I affected the reporting.

The following description of my experiences enables the reader to have a sense of why and how I have shaped this work; in short, the influences which I have brought to this project. Placing my personal self in the context of the "topic" of male violence against women is a technique ¹ that has grown out of feminist methodology and in the words of one researcher,

...is a response to the recognition that the cultural beliefs and behaviors of feminist researchers shape the results of their analyses no less than do those of sexist and androcentric researchers.

Harding 1987:9

I came to this project with some trepidation because as a worker, researcher and advocate in the area of woman abuse, I understood that "we/they" can keep us angry, keep us focused and keep us strong but as a survivor of woman abuse, I could no longer tolerate "we/they".

I believe that woman abuse is endemic to our society. I believe that fundamental societal change must occur and that participation, ownership and

¹ For a detailed discussion of the theoretical and methodological issues related to "objectivity" in the research process from a feminist perspective, see Kersti Yllö, "Political and Methodological Debates in Wife Abuse Research" in Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse, Sage Publications, London, 1988:28-50

responsibility for this violent society must grow exponentially and soon. And, because of these beliefs and my experiences, I necessarily see that "we" are simply those who are affected by family violence or needed in the healing and therefore, there are few left to be "they".

Four years ago I began to leave an abusive marriage, understand and learn about the ways in which I was violated, threatened, judged, and made to feel responsible for one man's behaviours. My healers have been for the most part, women who work in shelters, in counselling and in advocacy. My friend and coworker Willa has been the strongest. There have been others.

- . my children who thrive in another way of living;
- . my neighbours (known and unknown) who tenuously and cautiously helped me in many ways;
- . my friends who encouraged me to need them;
- . two police officers in the Quebec Police force who demonstrated their concern;
- . the fellow at the child support collection office who understood bureaucracy in my terms;
- . the federal bureaucrats with whom I worked who, encouraged me to make my experience relevant to their work, showed me their struggles and enabled me to test and develop my analytical skills;
- . my teachers who showed me the ways to question and question;

- . my father who never doubted my right to dignity;
- . my brothers who pulled guard duty;
- . my family who shared my uncertainty;
- . the women and men in my community who show their caring by supporting a new local shelter;
- . and many, many more who saw beyond the experience and saw the person and gave her strength.

My strength was needed to deal with my abuser and to enable me to struggle for myself and for my children, for the right to live a life free from abuse. It was needed because my right and determination to achieve security and dignity was undermined by many in, and outside of, "helping" professions.

I have developed an understanding of the issue of violence against women in many ways. Through my own struggle and the experiences of nearly 300 women who participated in a research project I conducted on the issue, I learned how difficult it is to stay and to leave. Through the daily trials, joys, and work of a rural shelter that I am involved with, I have learned about the power and challenge of empowerment, and about societally sanctioned ways of controlling women. My understanding has been broadened by academic and work-related lessons and opportunities and by the words of those who work to help survivors or prevent male violence against women. Through self-help and treatment in

the field of co-addiction, I have learned about the challenge of looking after ourselves.

I have come to the conclusion that the issue of violence against women can be a paralyzingly complex problem to understand, live with, work within and/or prevent.

As a worker, advocate and researcher, I understand the need for theory to guide us and measure our progress. But theoretical frameworks with specialized jargon, intricately explained "phenomena" and layers of carefully articulated points for debate are luxuries from the point of view of people in isolated crisis. Psychoanalytic, social learning, systems, feminism and conflict theories are ways in which to frame the question of why this is happening to us and what it is we should be doing about it.

However, they are also potentially elitist and intimidating (and in some cases dangerous) ways of describing starting points for the development of personal ownership and responsibility. While I was introduced to feminism through my academic opportunities, I understand it because of my struggle and my healing. As a survivor, I am uncomfortable with the portrayal of competing, sophisticated and intellectual theories as 'the' means through which the safety of women can be assured.

I am and will continue to be, grateful to the women who accept, struggle with, and live out the basic philosophy of feminism. Their analyses and commitment have enabled me to survive and reclaim my dignity and self-worth. Their anger has become my own. But I have seen other ways of being angry about the experience of women. I have come to see the importance of simpler, more direct approaches that juxtapose "living" theory.

As a member of this society, I believe that we need L.E.A.F. to struggle with changing the legal definition of the rights of women. As an individual, though, I am very grateful to the police officers who interceded on my behalf. I'm not sure that their sensitivity was a reflection of their political analysis, any more than my call to them was the result of a complex decision-making politicised process. They cared, and that made a difference to me, for their impact on my abuser was direct.

Again, as a member of society, I am encouraged that there are those who loudly condemn the proliferation of violent images in public media. As a parent, I am gratified by my nine year old son's discomfort with violent images in his Grade Three reader and his teacher's support for his position - the booklet was removed from circulation.

At times, I became very confused - where do we find the answers? In theory? Self-help? Daily changes in our lives? In the political arena? In the educational system? In shelters? In programs for men who batter? In the courts? In religious philosophies? Could they be in all these places and more?

I kept coming back to the thought that if prevention of woman abuse requires fundamental societal change, that redistributes power equally regardless of gender, then surely that goal requires us to broaden the ownership of responsibility and understanding to include those who may not have an intimate understanding.

My commitment to social action on this issue was born of my own experience but it is maintained through a strong belief that others should not have abuse in their lives. This balance has given me patience when I am talking to those who have lived a (seemingly) peaceful existence and who, find it difficult to accept that this is most womens' experience.

While it is tempting to speak only to the 'converted' or the 'informed' in order to be strong, I believe that the healing will occur on a wide scale only when we find ways of involving those who, at the outset, do not share our (survivor, worker, activist) experience or understanding. I began to believe that if we allow ourselves to be threatened, frustrated or even angered by people with

points of view that may be a consequence of experiences that we want for all women, we risk losing their contribution. I felt that we should be looking for ways of building on such peoples' personal capacity to care about themselves and others, a characteristic that is found in 'healthy' relationships.

My involvement with the shelter work demonstrated this most clearly. For financial reasons, we operated 7 days a week, 24 hours a day for the first twelve months, with only volunteers from the community (women and men). Many of them became involved because of their personal capacity to care and not because they had survived or initially understood abuse. In this community at least, ownership was broadened because people were encouraged to care in relatively simple ways. I began asking myself more questions. How can this be done on a wider scale? How can non-violent experiences become as relevant to the process of societal transformation as my experience is? How important is it to simply communicate the many ways of caring, knowing and acting? How do we do this in non-exclusionist ways? How can the myriad of ways in which we can, or could be involved be identified and shared?

And then, the women died.

In the days and weeks following the murders, I listened to "Morningside", Peter Gzowski, his guests, the letters, the questions, the hopes, the anger and the

tears. I heard women talking about "what men should be doing", men talking about being excluded from participating, theoreticians talking about systemic violence and anonymous letter writers talking about their own experiences. I heard a guest ask why Audrey McLaughlin was chastised for "being emotional" and why other leaders were not chastised for not "being emotional". I heard many sides of many debated questions, but it seemed to me that the voices of women were being joined by others and I wondered if the horizons of the ownership were being expanded. I wondered if the content of the letters received by "Morningside" contained concrete examples of how the broadening of ownership occurs or is frustrated at a personal level. What did the writers care about? What did they do about it? How do their thoughts relate to the issue of preventing woman abuse? Did they communicate ways in which contributions are made by individuals? How did they define the obstacles? Can these insights serve to increase the understanding of the ways in which people become involved or not? Can their words illustrate how prevention occurs outside of public policy? How it is blocked? Could the expressions of anger, frustration, defensiveness, sadness, despair, misogyny, denial, horror and fear I expected to find in the writings, be used to explore all of this?

In the preparation of this document, I have shared some of the anonymous writings with others working in the area of male violence: counsellors, shelter

workers and teachers. Their reactions have helped me to see how the writings can contribute to greater understanding and action.

Counsellors saw that the words from men about the negative consequences of being socialized into manhood could be used by men they are working with who need to hear from other men that "macho" manhood is not all it is purported to be and that change is possible. The words from women about being a woman in a misogynistic world they saw, could be very important in helping men understand not only how women define and experience "the hate of all women" but also how easily and "naturally" it is condoned and perpetuated.

Shelter workers, while discouraged by the misogynist material (one never becomes "objective" when working with brutalized women and children; the outrage needs no additional fuel), felt encouraged that there were men who are angry about male violence, sexism and complicity through lack of peer challenging.

Teachers saw the power in having the potentially abstract concept of prevention illustrated simply as ways of living, learning, thinking and doing - becoming a tangible tool for fostering dialogue, understanding and ultimately, prevention.

After living with the writers' words for over six months, I know that across Canada, while there are some who would continue to subjugate and harm women, there are many, many more just like my neighbours, police officers, family, co-workers, advocates, friends and teachers. People who not only have the capacity to care but feel an obligation to. The sense of responsibility they feel comes from personal experience and growth, from a sense of "fairplay", from an abhorrence of violence in any form and from the love and fear they feel for their children and their families.

I want them to know that they are part of what will help my girl child to be kept safe and my boy child to inherit a new kind of manliness that permits him to not be "angry at" but instead, "angry about".

I hope that those who read this work, will find something which is meaningful to them and be encouraged to participate in the process of change. I also hope that those already active will be encouraged, enlightened and guided.

I hope this study enables social activists, decision-makers, employers and employees, members of communities, associations and organizations, parents, teachers, students, practitioners and individual males and females to see that there are many ways for you and others to care, that you are needed, and that there are a multitude of ways of contributing or not.

I also hope that you will find it reassuring as I have, that in addition to those who have contributed by developing essential theoretical foundations for fundamental change, there are also those who in personal ways say, "this is violence, this is wrong, this is something I care about, this must stop and this is what I am doing about it".

Structure

CHAPTER TWO presents the methodology of this work including a description of the sample, how the research was conducted, organized and reported on and the sample biases. As well, the rationale for spreading the literature review over the remaining chapters instead of having it in one specific chapter will be explained.

CHAPTER THREE is an intimate introduction to the writers and through their own words, to their lives. Their letters reveal aspects of their childhoods and their adult experiences - the sadnesses, the terrors and the joys. It is here they relate their first visceral reaction to the news of the tragedy in Montreal.

CHAPTER FOUR shifts to what problems the writers identified. Focused on the issue of male violence and its associated factors, they define the nature of

the problem through an exploration of patterned pervasiveness, misogyny, sexism, societal complicity and the silencing of women.

CHAPTER FIVE has as its focus the material which the writers produced on the causes of male violence within society and against women. Included are diverse concepts such as powerlessness (power over others), capitalism, overpopulation, religion, sex-role socialization, pornography, neediness and the advancement of women.

CHAPTER SIX brings the reader full circle to the point just prior to the experience of male violence. That is, to how the writers envision preventing it. Drawn from a total of 46 pages of text (17% of 265 or 23% of the 196 pages which deal with the issues of violence), the men and women of this study suggest ways in which we can, if we will, change our world to be a safer place for women. They challenge, condemn, offer succor and outrage through their visions. Intermingled, they describe the ways in which the massacre altered them and the actions, thoughts and behaviours which they contribute to the process of change in their lives as women, men, parents, teachers and as individuals.

CHAPTER SEVEN summarizes and encourages the reader to accept the challenge proffered by other Canadians to participate in an overall solution to the not so mysterious problem of male violence.

CHAPTER TWO

- METHODOLOGY -

Three weeks after I mailed my "probe" letter to Peter Gzowski, I had permission to conduct this research. Negotiating the terms (costs, confidentiality, getting and returning the material, purpose) required only two letters and four phone calls.

The ease with which this occurred was due in part to the Morningside staffs' recognition of the significance of the content of the letters and their frustration at not having the resources to conduct an analysis. I have a strong suspicion that their superb cooperation was also related to strong professional and personal commitments to promote dialogue on the issues of male violence and sexism that I sense weekly on the air.

Morningside was willing to release the original letters to me through the Ottawa CBC office for photocopying (one full day on the shelter machine!) on the condition that I respect the anonymity of the writers by suppressing their names. As I transcribed all of the letters and substituted an alpha-numeric code for names, anonymity even where publishing of names was requested by some writers, was assured.

The Physical Sample

The sample is composed of 243 letters averaging one page (single space) in length after transcription for a total of 265 pages of text. Less than 20 words in total were lost as a result of illegibility or improper photocopying.

In addition to these 243 letters, approximately 70 others received by the show between December 7, 1989 and March 2, 1990 were withheld by the Morningside staff because they contained little (defined by the staff as one to two sentences) or no reference to the massacre.

Over a three month period beginning December 7, 1989, Morningside received an approximate total of 313 letters of which 243 (78%) focused in some way on either the murders or the two Morningside shows broadcast on the murders. As stated to me and on the air by Morningside staff, this "single topic" level of response was unprecedented in the long history of this national radio show.

DEMOGRAPHICS: DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Gender: Visible concern and action on male violence against women is currently expressed predominantly by women. So I was both surprised and pleased to find that when broken down by gender, almost half, 42% (N=103) of the writers

were men (coded as "m"). The pleasure was tempered somewhat by various misogynistic letters from both men and women (see Chapters Three through Six). The women of this sample are coded as "f".

Due to the lack of signatures or references to their sex-role (husband/wife/mother/father), and/or to gender group identification ("as a man/woman, I..."), 4% (N=11 and coded as "u") of the writers were categorized as UNKNOWN on the variable gender.

There were a total of 247 individuals who wrote the 243 letters of this sample, including two couples (coded as "c") and one threesome (two men and a woman coded as "fmm") who wrote together and two women and one man who each wrote two letters.

Geographic Distribution: Although Morningside is broadcast nationally, as indicated in the following table, all but the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Labrador are represented in the geographical distribution of the letter writers. It is unknown why there were no letters from the north or Labrador. Letters without a postmark or geographical indicator were coded "UNKNOWN" (N=17).

The Quebec value of 8% (N=20) of the total appears low given the location of the murders. This reflects the English format of Morningside which skews the

listening audience to those who have a good command of that language. This bias impacts negatively upon the contributions which Francophone, other unilingual non-English language groups and the 25% of the adult population that is illiterate have to offer through the written word.

TABLE 1 : GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF AUTHORS BY GENDER

LOCATION	ALL		WOMEN		MEN		UNKNOWN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Ontario	99	40	55	22	40	16	4	2
B. C.	36	15	19	8	17	7	----	
Quebec	20	8	11	4	8	3	----	
Alberta	16	6	6	2	9	4	1	.4
Sask.	12	5	9	4	2	1	1	.4
N. S.	13	5	7	3	5	2	1	1
Manitoba	10	4	5	2	5	2	----	
N. B.	10	4	5	2	5	2	----	
P.E.I.	5	2	4	2	1	.4	----	
NFLD	5	2	3	1	2	.8	----	
other *	4	2	1	.4	2	.8	1	.4
unknown	17	7	8	3	6	2	3	1
TOTAL	247	100%	133	54%	103	42%	11	4%

*2 (men, New York State), 1 (woman, West Germany),
1 (unknown, New York state)

Language/mother tongue: All 243 letters were written in the English language and there were few ethnocultural identifiers present beyond surnames and references to the Jewish faith. Due to the high level of potential inaccuracy

which would occur if labeling for cultural grouping or mother tongue was done on the basis of surname, no analysis was conducted for these variables.

Age: Of the 247 authors, only 21 (9%) reported their (approximate) age.² Due to the very low disclosure rate on this variable, no further reference will be made to the age composition of the sample.

The Universe: The Morningside staff described their listening audience as primarily those who are able to listen regularly to all/some of the five weekday 3 hour morning shows or the evening rebroadcast five nights a week of a 1 hour excerpt. This national audience is loosely described as both male and female, covering a wide range of occupations who have access simply to a radio, with incomes over the poverty level, education greater than highschool, age 18+, possessing English language comprehension skills from middle to upper middle class and representing urban/rural and remote communities.

Experience With Abuse: 6% of the sample 11 women (8.3% of the women) and 4 men (4% of the men), self-identified as having been abused. Cases were coded as victims if they identified themselves as a victim or a witness to a

² See Appendix A for Table A-1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY GENDER

violent, abusive or intimidating act. These codes are presented as text in this document.

Four women stated that they had been abused in childhood (child witness to adult violence, child witness to child violence, abused by male children, sexually abused by multiple male offenders).

Three women reported that they had been abused as children and as adults (sibling and ageist abuse, raped as a teenager and harassed by women in the workplace, pursued by a molester as a child and as an adult).

Four women described themselves as having been victims in adulthood (ridiculed by women, frightened by three men, victim of male rage, victim of male usury).

Three men saw themselves as adult victims (victim of sex-role stereotyping and confusion (2); victim of racism, poverty, witness to male violence in war and industry and in the streets, challenged to violence due to large weight and height). And one man is a child witness to male violence against his mother.

How the Research Was Conducted

Pretest

I transcribed a sub-sample of 35 randomly selected letters to conduct an analysis of the demography, length of the letters and the subjects which the authors wrote about and developed a coding scheme which was sequential by gender (f=female (f-1, f-2) m=male, u=unknown or other (c=couple/fmm=female-male-male). When able to identify 2 letters from the same author the code was broken into parts (f-22a/f-22b). I also recorded demographic information (region, age, profession/occupation) and abuse disclosure where available.

I transcribed only the portions of the letters referring to the Montreal murders or to any of the related issues. For example, if a letter began with a two sentence reference to the massacre but thereafter focused on architecture, I would not transcribe the latter part, while noting this decision in the demographic section of the "raw" data file for each letter.

Each natural break in the letter's text (paragraphs) was followed by the letter's code and each letter distinguished from the next. After completing the pretest and having developed a coding system and technical methodology, I began to work with the whole sample.

Sample

Transcribing the remaining 208 letters produced a total of 265 pages of single spaced text. The first task was to begin to sort the data into topics and simultaneously collect demographic information. These are the three steps which I took and the process for each:

STAGE ONE

Using a popular word processing program, I created a second file and drew in several of the "raw" letters in sequential order. I went through each letter, paragraph by paragraph, adding subject headings before each passage (example: "feminism") to identify the topic within each paragraph. The material, and not my choices, defined the subject categories. Once "titled", each entry was brought into a third file under the separate topic headings and I began to see an emergence of themes. The contributions of each writer were distinguishable visually and by their codes.

The socio-demographic and transcribing notes were left behind in the second file, intact with each of the letter codes. As well, any of the transcribed content of the letters which I felt was not useful was left in the second file. In essence, the second file became the record for, marking my progress (the codes were

sequential, I knew where I was), collecting the socio-demographic information and keeping track of any subjective decisions I was making about (not) transcribing or moving the data.

When this first stage of sorting was completed, there were 31 subject categories as dictated by the writers. In random order, the categories produced by the first stage were: first reaction to the massacre, abortion, biased journalism, christianity, dialogue is important, feminism, insanity, male violence against society, man to man messages, men's experience, men to women messages, reaction to the broadcasts or newspaper accounts, responsibility for the Montreal massacre, our violent society, women's experience, women to women messages, second reaction to the murders, backlash, chivalry, gun control, what they do/did to resolve the problem they care about, women as feminists, Lepine, male violence against women, mass murderers, men as feminists, prevention of male violence, gender relationships, sexism, and woman to men messages.

STAGE TWO

As the process became more intricate and I was able to see more clearly the directions that the material was taking, I continued to rely on the context and thrust of the statements to decide how the material should be sorted.

For example, while the original "prevention" file contained only those references which used the word "prevention" - in the second stage it grew to become gender based and broadly speaking "solutions" to male violence appropriately placed in the context of women's or men's personal vision of what was needed. That is, men speaking to men or to women became part of the "men's experience" file and became their vision of what was needed to improve the female experience with violence and abuse.

In short, because of how the writers themselves constructed their messages ("As a man, I feel that what men should do...") and in recognition of the gender experience as significantly different, I was able to see the proposed solutions to male violence as defined by and within the gender experience.

This stage of sorting meant looking very carefully at each "natural" paragraph and often breaking them up into discrete parts on the basis of, for example, the problem identified and physically moving the passage into a new file.

I tracked the changing nature of the subject files by developing a "Table of Contents" for each file. As my understanding of the material grew and each "source" and "target" file was reviewed for consistency, the Table of Contents recorded the changes.

Stage Two eliminated 19 of the original subject files and created 1 new one (Discard) with no loss of material for a total of 13 presented in descending order of size: Womens' Experience (59 pages), Feminism (38 pages), Male Violence Against Women (28 pages), Men's experience (27 pages), Violent Society (21 pages), Responsibility (20 pages), What I do/did About What Matters to Me (17 pages), Gun Control (5 pages), Where has the Gallantry Gone? (4 pages), Insanity (4 pages), Lepine (4 pages), Mass Murderers (1 page) and Discard (one page).

STAGE THREE

The third stage of organizing the research material was preceded by a reflective period that culminated in the decision to draft the writing plan around the central topic of male violence against women.

The topics of feminism, distribution of responsibility for the massacre, gun control, the question of gallantry in the modern world, the nature of Lepine's mental state and supposed life experience and the material on mass murderers in general, while issues of interest and concern to the writers and to Canadians in general, are not reported on. The reasons for this are practical and conceptual.

The raw material produced by the writers was 265 single spaced pages in length and space limitations made it unfeasible to use all of the data. As the main goal was to enable the writers to make a focused and cohesive contribution to the prevention of male violence against women, the sheer volume of material meant that judgement had to be exercised on the blocks of information within the context of the goal. This was accomplished by asking that the material meet certain selection criteria.

First, the topic had to relate directly to male violence against women as the writers understood it in any of three ways:

- a) by contributing to an understanding of what male violence is (personal testimony/reaction, definitions, feelings/knowledge about it);
- b) by explaining causes of or factors associated with the perpetuation of male violence and/or;
- c) by describing the ways in which (or reasons why) this experience can or should be prevented or diminished.

Second, the topic had to contribute to the general amelioration of the experience of women in some immediate way either as education (information) or direction (what is/should or should not be done and why) in adherence with my personal commitment to have my work be proactive on this issue (change-

oriented). Thus, although the 16 pages of raw material on the topic of specific responsibility for the Montreal massacre (all men? no other men? society?) is intellectually stimulating and challenging, the debate it contains does not immediately improve or change the experience with violence and abuse that women have - I judge it to be a distracting form of denial.

And third, I had to be able to do a good job of using the material given the space constraints. It was difficult to let go of the material on feminism as it contains clearly stated points of view on such interesting topics as the contributions and detractions of feminism, the female and male experience of being a feminist and the problems and importance of applying a feminist analysis to the Montreal massacre. Realistically, I judged that the nearly 40 pages of raw material in this file deserved their own manuscript and conceptual framework and hope that an opportunity to do this will occur in the future.

I have preserved certain references to feminism and other topics where removing them would destroy or alter the usefulness or meaning of a male violence related passage.

Gender As An Analytical Tool

It will become evident that the reporting on the research and the analysis is grounded on gender. As this may be a new concept for some, I include here a brief explanation of why this work is "gender driven".

Aside from my feminist training and personal belief that this is the most appropriate way in which to frame any work in this area, there were three reasons which emerged in the process of organizing the material that made this approach relevant.

First, when I began to sort the material according to broad topic categories, it became evident that there were differences between what the women and men wrote about their lives. To illustrate, while both genders told stories about negative personal experiences, the women tended to relate experiences which caused them to fear men while the men focused on being caused pain by what one writer called having to grow up to, "stand tall", but not to fear women.

While not surprised by this particular finding I realized that with careful organization these experiential passages had much to teach about the gender experience. Not unrelated was my concern that I was unfamiliar with the male

experience and was eager to learn from the men on their own terms.

Separating the data on gender facilitated this.

The second reason was a natural consequence of the first and of my feminist training which places great importance on basing understanding of social issues on personal experience. Having found a way for the writers to explain the experience of being male or female it was important to see how those experiences translated into the definition and identification of problems and solutions overall and discover not only differences but also areas of common ground. This was accomplished by deciding in the Third Stage to order the material first by gender, then by topic.

The third was driven by the authors themselves who indicated that for example, a passage written by a male was directed to men. Finding a way for women to talk to women, men to men, women to men and men to women quietly became a responsibility. It was exciting to realize that by organizing and reporting on the material on the basis of gender, various lines of communication surfaced within and between genders.

The Writing Methodology

I feel that it is important for the reader to be able to understand how I defined my role in this work as it reflects the ethics of what I am doing. With the exception of Chapter Six (Prevention), I tried to be a conduit for what the writers chose to say and not an editor. That is, by organizing the material on gender and topic, I entered the material only in the final stage - the writing. I have conducted exploratory research with statistics in the past but this was my first experience exploring text as data.

As a metaphor, the work that the writers did could be seen as the skeleton (topics as framework) and the flesh (gender experience and points of view) while I was the skin with the responsibility of creating a cohesive and readable document.

With the exception of the prevention data that was very long and in some cases repetitive (requiring a stronger editing role), I was fortunate to be able to use nearly all of the male violence material as provided by the writers using "..." to denote where a passage was part of a larger piece and "[]" to show clearly where I have added words to improve clarity.

The Sample Biases

The vagueness with which Morningside describes their listening audience is replicated by the lack of socio-economic information in the letters. Accordingly, the demographic biases of this sample are difficult to measure. In some research reports, this lack of information would be a severe handicap to the reliability or validity of any conclusions one could draw from the data.

For example, while the writers in the case of this work can be described by gender, I cannot describe them or their ideas as representative of any one age or economic grouping.

The visions (constructive and destructive) of these 247 individuals (a large sample by any standard) are reliable since all the letters were used and the organizing and reporting process has respected the integrity of the original work. The representativeness of this sample of letter writers is less important than the degree to which their words contribute to the prevention of male violence and the lessening of oppression for women. I hope and believe that reporting these particular letters - regardless of the demographic traits of the writers - has the potential to spark other constructive responses in those who read this study.

Where's the Literature Review?

Traditionally, a separate chapter in a thesis is given over to a literature review to provide an historical overview of the research issue (in this case male violence); a review of the most current research available on specific aspect(s) of the research topic (prevention and its inherent issues); and a demonstration of how the student's work contributes to and builds on the existing foundation of work. I have broken with this tradition in two ways.

First, I incorporated the literature review into the body of the four research chapters and the concluding chapter to both illustrate and challenge the writers' points and make the review more meaningful to the reader. To illustrate, when the writers describe male violence against women as patterned and pervasive in Chapter Four, their opinion is backed up by incidence research. When they acknowledge sexism as linked to male violence in Chapter Five, the research demonstrates that the women's movement identified sexism over 15 years ago as a contribution to the perpetuation of violence against women. I am hoping that readers will see that knowledge about how social change occurs is not just the prerogative of "officials" and "experts".

The second reason for wrapping the literature review around the research content is to answer the questions the writers asked along the way. This reflects

my belief that we must find new ways to broaden ownership. A woman in crisis needs to have facts about the criminal-justice process in order to make an informed decision (the right one for her).

Other people need their questions answered, their notions challenged or supported and their access to resources and information improved if they are to increase their contribution to changing this world.

To illustrate: for the writer who felt powerless about having any meaningful impact on mass media imagery who asked Peter Gzowski to take his place. I'd like him to know about "Media Watch", a national voluntary organization that asks its members to write to the Canadian Radio and Television Broadcasting Commission to complain about sexist, violent and abusive programming and advertising. His outrage has a vehicle for expression that he didn't know about - he may not be as powerless as he thought.

This break with tradition has enabled me to pose an implicit dialogue between the writers, the reader, myself and those working in the area of male violence.

CHAPTER THREE

- THE PERSONAL TESTIMONIES: GROWING UP FEMALE AND AFRAID, GROWING UP MALE AND STANDING TALL -

The Morningside letter writers who wrote about their childhood and growing up (N=14 or 6% of the total sample), described predominantly painful experiences. Yet, the cause of pain between the women and the men was very different. Combining painful or difficult childhood and adult personal experiences, a total of 53 individuals shared their stories (21% of the entire sample). In comparison, only 10 people (4%) related positive events or memories from their lives.

The women wrote of acts of violence and abuse directed towards them by males and the lifelong fear, silence and lack of trust these experiences generated. In contrast, the men wrote about the burden of being socialized into manhood where achievement is valued, tolerance and enactment of violence expected, little or no emotional development encouraged and bitterness created when overlooked for or by women.

Since the number of people who wrote about their personal experiences is low, particularly for childhood, and due to the limited amount of demographic material in general, few attempts will be made to generalize the information

which follows to describe particular groups of people beyond occasional reflections.

However, I encourage you to use the following material to reflect upon your life and perhaps find some event or understanding which you have in common with the writers to form a sense of shared experience - a basis for understanding the experience of others.

The Women in Childhood

I was nine years old the first time I had intercourse. My first lover was an eighteen year old brother who always smelled of whiskey...I had sexual relationships with at least three of my brothers (all of whom are older than me)...I learned to suck my brothers' penis when I was nine and only stopped when I left home at fifteen...and it wasn't just the two boys left living at home, but also all their friends...they took great pleasure in trying to figure out just what could be put inside that little orifice at the base of my being (brooms, knives, food)...Once my brother told me if I told anyone he would kill me. A week earlier he had dowsed my clothing in Kerosene and stood a few feet away with a lighter, just so I would understand my place in the family...(70-female child victim of multiple male sexual abuse)

I have many unscuttling memories of boys who bullied, threatened and frightened me. There is an especially dark memory of being held like a hostage by a neighbourhood boy, enduring his meanness until he tired of the sport and released me. There were other boys and other men and other indignities. (77-female child victim of male bullying)

...again I was followed and pulled off the sidewalk and threatened with death if I told...at the police station all sympathy was with the man because he had family problems - there were 3 other girls there, and myself, all very upset and scared, in the 17-18 [age] bracket. (32-female teen victim of date rape and adult victim of female harassment)

For 6 out of the 8 women who wrote about their childhood ³, males perpetrated upon them one or more of: child sexual abuse, date rape, the threat of child sexual abuse, emotional abuse, intimidation and the experience of witnessing the battering of a mother. One woman expressed emotional pain from her memory of participating in the baiting and scapegoating of a childhood male peer who, in adulthood, then committed violent criminal acts against women.

The pattern of male abuse and violence towards women in Canada begins in childhood where as victims they are joined by male children:

At sometime during their lives, about one in two females and one in three males have been victims of one or more unwanted sexual acts. These acts include: being exposed to; being sexually threatened; being touched o.. a sexual part of the body; and attempts to assault or being sexually assaulted...Virtually all assailants are males; one in 100 is female...

Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths, 1984:1,2

Only one woman wrote about a positive childhood experience and that was being, "surrounded by good men". She made no link however, between these good men and their lack of intervention in abuses she and her sister suffered at the hands of two elder brothers.

³ See Appendix A for Table A-2: PERSONAL CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCE BY GENDER AND BY LENGTH OF TEXT

The consequences of these acts endured into adulthood:

We did what we could but the scars on our inner-selves remain (3-female child victim of male sibling and of ageist abuse)

It was many, many years before I realized my reaction to anyone coming behind me was a result of that man (32-female teen victim of date rape and adult victim of female harassment)

Day by day, incident by incident, I learned to be cautious...I'm not paranoid and I'm not afraid, but I am automatically careful (77-female child victim of male bullying)

I still cannot feel the pain of those years...My only proof is a womb which will never bear fruit, a deep fear of the night and fire, an eating disorder which reenacts the rituals of abuse...and the guilt that is so much a part of this (70-female child victim of multiple male sexual abuse)

I have no trust anymore...I was date raped and didn't dare tell anyone (32-female teen victim of date rape and adult victim of female harassment)

I was afraid to tell when I was young, and when I was older learned it would accomplish nothing (77-female child victim of male bullying)

Overwhelmingly, the message from the women was that they were "afraid to tell" about their experiences with threatening violent male behaviours.

Growing Up Male

Unlike the women, the 6 men, with one exception, did not write about specific traumatic events in their childhoods but rather, about the process of being raised

male with the lessons on growing up to "stand tall", being conditioned to violence, and experiencing racism and poverty in childhood (the one exception).

For them, childhood was not problematic. They only found the nature of "being raised male" to cause discomfort in their adulthood, when the expectations promoted by sex-role stereotyping were not met or, were inadequate to the individuals' needs.

I was socialized to deny feelings, endure pain without showing it, to strive to be among the "winners", to be "boss" of the family source of all knowledge, wisdom and power...to "stand tall"...be ruggedly independent and deny any need for support except, perhaps, within the ...marriage bed. For a good deal of my life, I was... competitive, successful, independent, patriarch of the family...My sole emotional support was my wife and a few women who had listening skills. Male friends were those whom I met on the "Field of Honour" whether it was work, golf, cribbage or trivial pursuit...the taboo subject was how are you really feeling...two male friends committed suicide...a real shock to me. I hadn't imagined that either man had so deeply rooted emotional problems...My point of enlightenment came when I experienced my own emotional crisis...my socialization as a...man ill equipped me for it. Under severe stress at work, I had no support network. As a patriarch, I could not show my need for support except with my spouse who also was under severe stress as a result. It was in this period of personal crisis that I was led to question our societies norms for manhood. (78-male adult victim of male socialization)

Let me tell you about...my conditioning to violence... raised as a child in a working class neighbourhood... poolhalls with horseparlours in the back, ...all the...riffraff, beerhalls in every block...drunken brawls were common...I was exposed to death while swimming in the Detroit river with the raw sewage. A rainstorm started and one of the boys was killed by lightening. I got a lifeguard's job at the Windsor bathing beach, part of the job was retrieving drowned persons from the river. If you've ever seen a body that has been in the water for several days or weeks you will understand why a sixteen year old would have trouble sleeping. At eighteen I joined the R.C.A.F. was washedout of aircrew. a ground crewman I occasionally drew the task of gathering bodies and parts thereof after an air crash, more lost

sleep...I know that you can't avoid a fight sometimes. The same man that batters his wife and children , will not let you walk away from him because he sees you [as] another victim who he will bully, dominate, and assault at will. I'm six feet and over 200 lbs, yet because I have tried to avoid fights, men half my size have tried to push me around. (4-male victim of childhood racism, poverty and adult witness to male violence in war and in industry)

A second reaction⁴ was the realization that all men and even myself had been conditioned to think of women as less than man. I was trained to be a killer in 1943. The army asked me to shoot at round targets, then the targets became rectangular, and eventually human figures. In just such a way, males from birth are conditioned to take it out on women. (8-m)

...as males we have been made aware of the fact that in order for us to have any self respect, or respect by those around us, we are required to achieve significantly both in our social, and careers world. (28-m)

Unlike the women, the men did not grow up silent or afraid of others but rather, to have regrets about the lessons of their upbringing.⁴

While some of the men wrote about changes they made to improve the quality of their lives, they were changes within - in their values, behaviours and attitudes. Unlike the women, the women did not express resolutions to the traumas of their childhoods but by adulthood they had adapted. They wrote about rituals of self-protection and recrimination, automatic caution and silencing. This is a microcosm of their experience - born of fear. Women

⁴ For those unfamiliar with the notion of sex-role stereotyping as a social issue I recommend the reader, Sex-Role Stereotypes: Traditions and Alternatives by Susan A. Basow published by Brooks/Cole Publishing Company (1980). It is an easy to read and informative survey of stereotyping and its consequences for men and women.

change to protect themselves from male behaviours; but born of the pain or disappointments of socialization, men can reject those lessons and find ways to change themselves. Acknowledgement of "man pain" like the following passages can make those choices clear and help to resolve their difficulties. What choices do the women who live in fear have?

I recognized that I never really was a ruggedly independent "John Wayne" type nor did I want to be. Like any other person, male or female, I have weaknesses and need for support in trying to survive in this complex and confusing age. I was greatly helped in my search for a new way of living by the work and support of feminist friends...Today I am part of a Men's support group in Saskatoon...We meet monthly for story telling and support. We hardly ever talk of sports or politics, we're too busy learning what each other's personal journey is like and being good supportive listeners. If any of my new male friends are experiencing crises, I expect to hear about it and to give support. In return, I do not face my journey alone any more either. It feels very good! (78-male victim of male socialization)

...its not unusual for slum people and working class people to see what I have seen in my life. How does it affect us? Some people become part of it, others just close their minds and do the best they can with life. How did it affect me? I moved to the suburbs. I won't stand and look at people who have had accidents on streets, nor will I gawk at car crashes...I'll do my best to help... won't watch street fights, that sort of senseless violence sickens me...(4-male victim of childhood racism, poverty and adult witness to male violence in war and in industry)

While the preceding men found a way to resolve a conflict created by their socialization, the next two passages present two halves of one side of the coin - the other side is the experience of women - our low status in the power structure. The first man suggests no resolution to his position, the second has found an understanding. My intention is that they speak to one another.

I grew up in a fairly traditional...family...taught to respect women and...see...no harm came to them...To my knowledge, my family has never had a case of wife abuse or child abuse. Of my twenty cousins, there have been only two divorces...My impression of my aunts and uncles and grandparents is one of marital harmony and a clear division of family responsibilities...secure in their positions. I believed that if I carried out my side of the social bargain, my reward would be mutual respect...that I would be supported by women, or at least not hindered, in my ...endeavours to provide for my family...I charged off into the world protecting women and attacking social evils...How naive! A few years ago, while undertaking a major career search, I lost five employment competitions in a row to women. I was confirmed second each time...I found out that the first job was an affirmative action appointment. This hurt because...[it] took two months...to prepare for that position. Stung, I began to check the other losses. Three were confirmed affirmative action appointments, one was highly suspect...I have been accused by my wife, her family and other acquaintances of not supporting the family. It [unemployment] has been the worst period of my life, and it is still not over. To make matters worse, the media, perhaps especially the CBC, is filled with propaganda that men are responsible for environmental pollution, violence, racism, sexism and all of the other negatives of society. My world, my ethics, my beliefs are vilified and scorned. I feel useless. Everything that I stood for - and still hold dearly, for I have not quit - has been spit on by the women's movement. The result has been a slow but sure assault on my former generous attitudes towards women in general. The horrible dilemma I am in now is that I fear for the security of my wife and daughters, a fear generated by male reactions to the same feminism which I so dislike and which I believe has caused me so much grief. I will defend my family with whatever means are necessary, but would I do it for any woman? I don't know. (19-male adult victim of male socialization)

A few years ago I was overlooked for a woman on two occasions...On both occasions I was told that more women were needed because they were under-represented. I was angry and felt that I was paying for all of the wrongs that had been committed by all men for all time. For some time I held that opinion. But it is clear to me now that women have been, on an individual basis, paying for my privilege as a man for all my life! Few women have had the opportunities that I've had in day to day life. (100-m)

GROWN UP WOMAN, GROWN UP MAN

While only 8 women described their childhoods and six men recounted the process of growing up male, 34 women and 14 men (19% of total sample) described their adult experiences.⁵

The Women

Of the 34 women who wrote about the personal experience of being an adult, for every one who expressed pleasure, more than three spoke of the negative experience of being a woman in a misogynistic society. Although this may be expected considering that the Montreal murders and the ensuing dialogue provoked their letters, it is interesting to note how different their pattern is from the male letter writers.

Some reported their pervasive sense of fear.

You would have to be a woman to see...misogyny;...the fear that I feel as a woman every time I walk down a dark street, every time I am in an unknown place or among strangers, even sometimes when I am alone at night in my own home. It is on the same continuum of the automatic caution I feel even when I find myself in an elevator in this office building with several men, or walking to my car in the underground lot if I am leaving work late. As a woman in this world I feel unsafe,

⁵ See Appendix A for Table A-3: PERSONAL ADULT EXPERIENCE BY GENDER AND BY LENGTH OF TEXT

to some degree, almost every moment of my life; and it does not take much to bring that unconscious, automatic caution sharply and abruptly into consciousness. (45-f)

Peter, your shock...made me realize how resigned I am to sexual oppression and violence against women in all its forms. As a woman, I find these incidents frightening...And I feel very helpless in the face of what seems to me to be escalating, not diminishing, violence and discrimination. (94-f)

There have always been rebels in some areas, and when women started to listen to each other and recognised their common anger, they began working together to do something about it. One thing they recognised was that non-compliance did not mean non-survival, it meant freedom...life, not death. This is not to deny the fear that accompanies us wherever we go, even though some of us may deny it to ourselves until something like this recent massacre occurs - then we remember it. What was perpetrated in Montreal was done to every one of us, and we all know it, despite the so-called reasoning that says that this was the work of just one madman (98-f)

Like too many women, I know personally how close Marc Lepine is to other men who are considered "sane" or "normal"...during the recent sit-in in the Principal's office here at Queen's, a journalist for the...newspaper, "Surface", was told by some male students, "Go ahead and take all of the pictures that you want of those fucking feminist bitches, so that we know exactly who they are, so that we can rape them." (see Nov. 16th issue). After ...many of the women involved received threatening phone calls and were...harass[ed] on the streets with threats of physical violence...(83-f)

After what happened in Montreal it will take a long time before any of us can really feel safe. (21-f)

I don't know what it all means, and I don't know why it has to be. Day by day, incident by incident, I learned to be cautious. I was never sexually molested as a child, never beaten as a wife, never raped, never suffered a large trauma at the hands of a man. I'm not paranoid and I'm not afraid, but I am automatically careful. (77-female child victim of male bullying)

Others described simple but graphic day-to-day examples of "ordinary" moments that make them feel afraid, invisible and diminished.

What follows is a report of a chilling experience that occurred in the downbound elevator in 25 Main St. West, Hamilton, on December 13, 1989, at 5:40 p.m. I entered ...from the 14th floor, joining two business men. The elevator stopped at a lower floor, another business man got on. One of the former gentlemen informed the new arrival that he had a client who reportedly had beaten his mother. The latter asked the mother's age and when he was informed she was "around 55", he asked if she were "big". After a few hearty guffaws, he asked "did she deserve it?" At no time did the gentlemen attempt to hush their conversation. At no time did they acknowledge my presence. Assuming that these men are educated professionals hired to perform a public service, they were abusing the privilege of affairs in a public place. Assuming that these ...gentlemen can see, and knowing that I am not invisible, they ...demonstrated their contempt for women. Not only did they devalue the woman involved in the case..., they shared their hostile, misogynistic feelings in front of me. I felt angry and powerless, trapped with three frightening men...I did not have the courage to confront them then. I felt compelled to go to a safer place...no woman should be made to feel afraid, powerless or as if she is invisible. (8-female adult victim of multiple male misogynists)

The Moncton Hospital officially opened its South Tower, the culmination of seventeen years work. A now retired health professional, I...glanced through the program I was impressed - adversely - by the total lack of any female participation in this historic milestone in local health care. As a former nursing administrator, I am aware that 75% of care is provided by nurses. I was also aware that a...nurse, had come back out of retirement to help put this project together. She would have been an obvious candidate for a few minutes of platform spot light time. But...men, indulging in a fine orgy of mutual back patting and self-congratulatory speeches, kept the lime-light to themselves. My response was strongly negative. It is still so very much a man's world. How little credit and gratitude do women receive for the horrendous, soul-searing, energy draining work they undertake, whether willingly or by having it thrust upon them. I know! I've been there! How much of this public lack of attention to women's work in our society ...contributed to...the attitude toward women which ended in wholesale slaughter this week in Montreal? Or in the rapings and murders on the Miramiche? Or...other brutal and senseless attacks on women of all ages? It is small wonder that the younger generation show little respect for women. They lack role models in those presently in power positions. (66-f)

I married a U. of T. grad, raised...two children..., worked hard ...to further my husband's career...,and kept a large home. At many stages I thought of doing something more rewarding for me, but realised it would interfere with my ability to do business entertaining, or travel with my husband on his business trips, so put that aside and was happy to do what I could for the long term goals of the family. Today I am separated after twenty-nine years of marriage, left alone to learn at this

late date how to place value on my own wishes and desires, and fill my life without those for whom I had devoted my life. Now I know that I had been deceived, lied to, and cheated by a husband who wouldn't dream of using any of those behaviour patterns on ...his ...associates. I am to blame in many ways. I was brought up to believe that my job was to support a man, to subjugate my wishes and even my thoughts to his, and I trusted him. My story is so common, but isn't this part of the violence against women? It seems to be O.K. not to consider them. The golden rule doesn't seem necessary if applied to women. And the most damning realization of all, is that still, so many of us think that men who are considerate of women, who show them the respect and understanding they show another man, are thought of as wimps. There are many women who feel this, too, and until recently, I was one. Society has to change a great deal yet before we are safe. (78-female adult victim of male usury)

I would not say I live with fear - but I do experience nervousness in many situations - and that's not right. I think of the silent way in which my husband and I watched TV news coverage of the event. I know this gentle, loving man I have lived with for fifteen years was as horrified as I - yet he said, quietly and honestly - "men don't really know what women's fear is like." We both felt a little distant from each other...(87-f)

And still others wrote about the horrendous impact that fear of men has had on them: scaring and rituals.

I feel a near blind, violent rage whenever I want to go walking in my ravine, and know I have to exercise caution, instead of just losing myself in the pure enjoyment, unless I take along a "protector". (80-f)

It is hard to image a world in which every man who reaches the age of twenty has been sexually assaulted at some level simply because he's a man...I don't think those of us who have lived through that 'power over' could ever subject someone else to it. We know the pain and rage it breeds, many of us bear the scars. (70-female child victim of multiple male sexual abuse)

I have a routine I go through whenever I take a shower and am in the house alone. I make sure that both the front door and back door are double locked. I make sure I have a pair of scissors in the bathroom drawer. And in our bathroom, if you close the door and then open the vanity drawer, you cannot open the door, so I always pull the drawer open. Then lastly I lock the bathroom door. I am ashamed to admit this. But I will also tell you that I have been doing this for years, not just

the last two days. I've never really thought about it before, I just always do it...I wonder how many other women have their own little rituals of safety, and I also wonder if any men have theirs. (34-f)

The Pleasure Talk

The reality of the experience of women, particularly poignant if one works with violated women, can make one skeptical that there are (m)any men out there who take respect of women seriously or indeed that true egalitarianism is possible. Healthy (non) intimate relationships do exist within and between the genders and, represent the ultimate goal. We must be careful not to use the existence of health to deny the prevalence of violence or inequality.

And, the mass murder of women is unlikely to evoke many testimonies on healthy and/or positive relationships between or within the genders. Perhaps this explains why the following personal experiences in marriage and family as loving are few in number (N=3) and contradict the majority of passages in this chapter.

I am aware of, and have heard much over the years about some men's treatment of women, but I would like to tell them about the men who aren't like that. These were the most important men in my life, and I shall always be grateful for them - they were my father, my brother, my husband and my son...These men in my life have been strong men, who knew who they were, and wanted strong independent women as their partners. I realize how fortunate we have been, but I know there are more like them out there. I guess what I am trying to say is that the happiest marriages are those in this sort of partnership, one of total respect as equals, and

the complete trust which is so essential to such a close relationship. I just can't believe that we are alone. (91-f)

I am married to a man who is my dearest, closest friend...we have learned a lot from each other and both grown as a result. When we met, "D" was young, rather sarcastic and somewhat defensive about the world I came from - but very, very bright and very, very loving. I came from an upper-middle class neighbourhood, was outwardly confident, but inwardly insecure and intolerant, and often used, subtly, my feminine wiles to gain advantage. We both recognized, by some miracle, the deep value of the other person and have created a rock of a marriage full of caring and understanding. So, here is where change is made I think. (93-f)

I am thirty two years old and the father of a beautiful four year old boy, with a new child on the way. My wife and I have been together for fourteen years and the only way I can describe her is to tell you that she is my hero. (79-m)

One other "positive" testimony by a woman illustrates the adage that when a woman seeks acceptance in a male dominated field, she must work twice as hard and be twice as proficient as her male peers in order to succeed. In this case, she seems to take pride in her struggle but I wonder how "normal" her experience is.⁶

Why is the world seemingly a much less safe place than when I was growing up? The world as described by women these days is outside my experience - I never felt in danger walking the streets of London England alone at night as a student in the 30's. During the war I broke ground in the male dominated arena of farming. I didn't find any hostility directed at me because I was female - lots of good natured teasing of course. These were small irritants - but one learned to laugh at oneself

⁶ For an excellent non-jargoned research report which explains how various "groups" of people (women amongst men, men amongst women, minorities amongst dominant cultures) are affected by workplace obstacles to personal success and self-determination see, Men and Women of the Corporation by Roseabeth Moss Kanter, 1977

as well as at the annoyances - I had to work harder to gain acceptance and make sure I didn't avoid any of the dirty jobs...the acceptance when it came was generously given (and was sweet!). (52-f)

This next excerpt also illustrates that somehow women are "special" cases when it comes to succeeding in the patriarchy.

...but I have also been given extra leeway and a tremendous amount of support - often from men - in a system which is undoubtedly designed for them. (13-f)

The following women deny the existence of sexism and appreciate the chivalrous status quo. They say they did not experience abuse, violence or discrimination. I have sometimes thought that I too have been lucky to have had one sensitive judge (out of 5 that I have stood before), one sensitive counsellor (out of 5 I have seen), two caring police officers and space for us at the shelter when we needed it. My "luckiness" makes me very angry, for luck should have absolutely nothing to do with having alternatives to a violent relationship. The denial that the problem is endemic expressed by the following three women is complicity and a form of violence against themselves and other women, as other writers point out in the next chapter.

I am 45 years old, and I have never been threatened, or hit or abused by a man, and I do not believe I represent the minority. I grew up in a loving home, I went through university, having various boyfriends, and I travelled, sometimes alone, before getting married. I was encouraged to be independent, and did not live in a particularly protected environment. Have I just been lucky? Perhaps. I do feel fortunate in having, so far, been dealt a good deck of life's cards. At the same

time, I do feel that the chance of a violent act happening to any one women in our society is less than your guest would imply...Most men I am in contact with, my husband included, I find I can relate to on a level of mutual respect. We relate as people, with peoples' concerns and ideas. Again, I do not believe I am alone in feeling this way. (37-f)

There are some women who have operated out of love and whose ability to liberate is stunning. I am deeply moved by the women of the Antigoneish Movement and by Mother Teresa...These women went beyond being liberated - they were liberating. They had gone beyond self in the service of others. I know this is true...As for Mother Teresa, I doubt she goes about her work worried about men's reaction to her. I don't see that she fears men or spends much time contemplating her place of equality in the world. She sees people hurt by life and she heals them. In love, she serves them. She is connected to the source of love and has nothing to fear. I doubt there are many men harbouring violent hate toward Mother Teresa, out of whose eyes shines the love of God. (88-f)

I have also received flowers and had doors held open for me, and on a day when my spirits are low, the occasional wolf whistle can do plenty to make me feel better. I like being a woman in this society. (30-f)

Men as Victims?

Victimization in adulthood was not an exclusively female experience according to some writers. Out of the 103 males who wrote letters, 7 (7%) described their gender as being victimized by women. However, none of these men stated that they themselves had been victimized by women or that they were afraid of women. What they state clearly are ways in which women may be attacked and threatened, while simultaneously rationalizing male violence against women;

By minimizing the seriousness of male violence against women:

From my own personal observations, the man's side must be also told. That women from an early age on will use their wiles to make or break a male so long as it satisfies or suits their purpose and in many cases leaving a very disillusioned and broken man. I am fed up with the stories from women, such as "I left him because he drunk" etc, that gives them the excuse to jump into bed with a "John" at the drop of a hat, and keep their claws on any and all of the victims possessions. Being single, I have listened to many females, about how badly they were ill-treated but absolutely nothing about how they ill-treated their man, and I know that when they get together at cards or what have you, their fears are mainly imagined and they bolster each other to make a very bad case for the next male victim, and many females contribute to their "troubles" with what appears to be suicidal tendency (anything to make headlines?). Good honest females are hard to find. (3-m)

The most unacceptable part of the whole issue is that Women [sic] in North America have it better than any other women anywhere in the world and they are still not satisfied. No wonder some men are resentful and find themselves at odds with the constant whine. This is not to condone violence but it is not surprising that violence erupts in some people who have not had the benefit of a good education and whose response is to strike out against the threat they perceive. (72-m)

Statistics tell us that twice as many men as women met violent deaths last year. Of these, 15% of the women were killed by their husbands, while 6% of the men were killed by their wives. If my math is right, for every five men who kill their wives, four women kill their husbands. So men, too, have pretty good grounds to fear violence. We're just not allowed to say so. We must work for equality with a human face; egging on that fifth woman might not be the thing to do. (33-m) ⁷

⁷ His arithmetic is not correct. Using his figures, for every one man killed by his female partner, 2.5 women are murdered by their male partner (6% divided into 15%). Restated, women are nearly three times more likely to be murdered by their husband than men are to being murdered by their wife.

The Canadian Centre for Criminal-Justice Statistics reports that, "of the 167 immediate-family murders in 1989, almost half of these - 76 - were women killed by their spouses [45.5% of domestic murder victims]... Twenty-two women were convicted of murdering their spouses" (The Ottawa Citizen, Friday, October 5, 1990: A7).

By blaming women for their own abuse, deaths and subjugation at the hands of men:

Perhaps I should not be surprised at the rancour of this verbal attack because women use words to inflict most grievous wounds. Men for the most part are unable to partake in this kind of verbal warfare and their anger takes a more destructive form of animosity (4-male child victim of racism and poverty, adult victim of male violence in war and in industry).

If I hear another programme in which female commentators speculate about the matter [of the massacre] without benefit of any factual material, I'll get a gun and shoot some people. I'll be driven to it by the same expediency that Marc Lepine was. The fact is, women refuse to hear the truth about how men feel about anything. And because of that fact men will continue to be driven to an early grave (consult any Insurance Company's life-expectancy tables), while we have to listen to the feminist untruthful propaganda until we drop. When will men get a fair hearing on your show and in life? The answer is never. So there will be a lot more Marc Lepines around in future. That is the reason. (42-m)

I am surprised at the low level of sophistication I have found here on the issue of male resentment of women. A certain level of resentment is normal, even healthy, I think. You hear it in the cliché, "Can't live with 'em, can't live without 'em." This sums up a lot of frustrations for men, and is used as a safety-valve outlet of self-amused resignation. There is a body of male humour in this vein: A good example is "What men Don't Tell Women" by the American humorist and sportswriter, Roy Blount Jr. Why do men resent women? First, there is the simple matter of sexual desire -men want women more directly and immediately than women want men - thus, tension. Your panellist, Emily, admitted her complicity in sexist society, in that she shaves her legs and used make-up. What make-up does is simulate a constant state of sexual excitation. This in turn stimulates male energy levels, which can be drawn off into work activities. This may explain why men die sooner than women; it may also be a factor as to why some men crack under the increased tension. It suggests perhaps that 'sexist society' cuts both ways. (33-m)

To the member of your feminist panel who didn't know why she shaved her legs and did her hair - she does it to gain power over men. Sexual manipulation is so much easier than building friendships based on sincere and sympathetic interest in another human being, but you get what you pay for. I will now make three more predictions. Ignore them if you dare. Women will never achieve "liberation" or "equality" unless they are willing to extend the same rights and privileges to men, i.e. equitable marriage laws, equal rights to child custody, equal access to social services, etc. Men have at least made a half hearted effort to accommodate feminist

demands, only to be met with increasingly shrill self-righteous sanctimony and the rise of what can only be described as a female supremacist faction in the feminist movement ("We do not want equality for men") Women, on the other hand, have not changed their bigoted, manipulative and mercenary attitudes towards men one iota! Why does no word exist in our language for female hatred for men? As long as women continue to regard men as "success objects" to be sexually and socially manipulated and used, men will continue to regard women as "sex objects" to be manipulated and used (13-m).

It is not that men hate women, they hate the qualities they stand for and, pushed over some edge or other they [men] abuse and kill women (5-m).

By giving women the responsibility for creating "healthy" men in spite of the men themselves:

Men's main weakness happens to be women, at least, the esteem with which they are held by women. Even though women do not publicly admit it, there is no enemy more capable of destroying a man than a woman; there is no ally more able to create a successful, honourable and just man than a woman.(19-male adult victim of male socialization)

Why Men Hate and Resent Women

Eight men raised and tried to answer the question, "Why do men resent or hate women?" Their answers are based on how they understand their own gender.

For some, resentment and hatred stem from the how women are perceived as nurturers and competent people:

We hate women because we hate our own neediness which we experience most when we are around women. Our extreme neediness and our discomfort with it is reflected in the extreme and polarized ways we men fantasize about women. We either idealize them adoringly (yes, some wonderful, perfect madonna will someday make me feel whole again) OR we demean them grotesquely (I hate the needy feelings I feel around women and I will deny and erase these feelings by demeaning and subjugating women). I think most men harbor BOTH of these visions of women. I don't know how many times I have heard women in therapy relate to me how their man was "wonderful and caring" before marriage only to become angry and abusive after marriage. To me, this is a clear "acting out" of the bipolar male fantasies about women. So how have women dealt with this? I think they have had to play a game where the rules state that they must find a way to nurture and feed their man without appearing to do so and without in any way threatening his fragile manhood...to fill his needs without him having to acknowledge that he has any. The woman who could put up with this demeaning and precarious role, and who had the talent to pull it off, was sometimes successful if the man she chose was not too damaged. All too often this was not the case. (21-m)

When women say that it is their right to move in on men: and that men should understand, it is like asking Jews to please understand anti-semitism or any down-trodden people to bless their conquerors. You might just as well try and hold back the tide because that level of understanding simply is not going to happen. (19-male adult victim of male socialization)

Not all men hate or fear or resent women. But some do. Some men resent having to allow women time off work to "make babies". Some men fear jokes about women's superior efficiency and believe that women will usurp all-too-few jobs and promotions. Some men hate women for being bosses or for not being subservient. Some of these men react by propagating gender jokes or by excluding women from positions of authority. Some men deliver mental or physical abuse, or rape. Some men simply eliminate their problem. (90-m)

One man suggested that men and women are threatened by feminists because they ignore the past sacrifices men have made in putting "women and children

first" during times of war. I feel that this comment is best placed in the context of other writers' general condemnation of "war as violence" in the next chapter and with consideration of the significant contributions which women have made to war efforts (silenced though they be) and to preventing wars.

Second, women want a lot of male energy and labour for maintaining their nests and supporting their young, plus the commitment that goes with it. Then, the kids always love them more. (We can imagine the root of 'mother' as 'my other'; 'father' as 'far other'.) The role of men in modern times has been that of expendable worker/warrior; our highly successful imperial culture is based on an ideology of male sacrifice for the greater good, and on "women and children first". Men have risked and lost their lives in wars, exploration, and dangerous work, all in the service of women and life. A culture has grown up around this service, honoring it. But now comes the radical feminist, who would dispose of the whole system, which has supplied the ground she stands on and given meaning to the lives of generations of men and women. What wonder that men - and women - feel threatened? (33-m)

Two other men had more constructive analyses of the roots of male resentment and fear of women. In the eyes of one, male resentment is a way for men to deny that male violence is a normal female experience:

In...discussions on the weekend with several male friends who [are]...liberal-minded and supportive of feminists, I realized something critical... men appear perceptually incapable of understanding women's resentment - the resentment born of the fear women almost universally feel about the potential of male aggression. A close friend of mine...was shocked and confused by the resentment directed towards him simply because he is male - he, the open-minded supporter of feminists. I think I may understand the inconsolable hostility expressed by the female members of your panel. And I think I understand why men don't get it. They are incapable of really putting themselves in women's shoes. So I have been trying to think of an analogy that men could understand: ...Try imagining the world populated not only by men and women, but by a third sex -...the warrior sex... Imagine that these warriors are 50% to 100% more physically powerful than us men. Imagine that at anytime

without any notice, any one of them is capable of sudden acts of violence or abuse against men. Now finally imagine that you, I and most of the men we know have been, at some time before we were 24 years old, the object of such abuse by a warrior, likely someone we had been close to and had trusted. How would you feel toward any warrior you met? Would you not live forever in fear? Would you not resent all warriors for this fear you could never put behind you?...How can women ever let down their guard? How could they ever be released from the fear? (6-m)

The other noted that for women, there are dire consequences for male sexual insecurity:

A rapist is very often a man who is really afraid about his sexual potency who feels that women can play with men as they please. Such men are to some extent afraid of women, see them as unpredictable tricky merciless beings, and, being afraid of women, they have anxieties about being able to function sexually with them, and fearing for their potency makes them fear about their social/economic status. Rape is a brutal form of reassurance. The rape victim is of course terribly frightened, that gives the rapist a feeling of power, which gives him sexual prowess, which allows him to believe that he is a potential Winner in our society. Men who murder and/or mutilate women are simply one step further down that development. They are not able any more to reassure themselves. They feel grimly that they have been destroyed, made into Losers, by the malice of women who would not allow them to become Winners. (76-m)

Parenting

One further topic of personal experience is that drawn from mothering and fathering - a not altogether joyful responsibility in the context of the murdering of the women who were children of other parents by a man who also the child of his parents. A total of 2 mothers and 6 fathers described their parenting experience.

One father, in characterizing himself as a "house spouse" with full-time responsibilities for a 7 month old infant and a 4 year old, wrote of the social pressure exerted upon him in this non-traditional role:

In doing this I might have compromised whatever career I had as a university lecturer. Nevertheless, I am confident that in some way I cannot yet fully understand, I will benefit immensely from this in a personal way...To do it, one must face economic pressures (my wife, at the start of her career, is not a big earner), and social pressures. In my case, social pressures have come from parents as well as strangers in the street. Pressure from strangers comes from the furtive and puzzled glances which dart from the ten week-old infant in the stroller to you - a male, apparently solely and fully in charge of this infant...Pressure also comes from chance conversations about the baby with women, who assume that "daddy" is in charge for only a few hours, and then retreat, almost cower rapidly into silence when informed that what they are seeing is it, and not some temporary aberration in their stereotyped world. ...one has to have a strong sense of "self" - a disregard for the unhealthy conventions of society. This is exactly how a career woman must feel too! (23-m)

When we were little, my mother always warned us not to accept rides or candy from strangers. Today, I know that my daughter must also be informed of child abuse, date rape and wife assault; my son must hear about child abuse and male violence. It was fear for them that caused me to see this need. But when I began their education my fear turned to rage that a four and five year old had to be armoured against this reality. Over time, my anger has given way to guarded comfort - they have a clear sense of their rights and responsibilities as individuals and they are a bit safer because we, they and I, have learned to care.

Six men and two women spoke of the fear, rage and a hope they felt for their children in this misogynistic world as they are faced with the sad reality that once more, women were the target of a man. This realization is not unreasonable and for them, may be a starting point for their own participation in preventing male violence against women. Perhaps like me, they will find some comfort in that process.

The fear:

I can picture our eight year old daughter at school as I write this - laughing with friends or intent on a task. I think of what could happen to her and my mind shuts down. That's not right. (87-f)

We too, in conjunction with our opposition to feminism do not like the odds of our two daughters being sexually assaulted or one day taunted and jeered at by males in their teen years and up, whose lives are governed more by their nerve endings than any sense of respect for another human being, created in the image of God (we don't like the odds of it happening to our son, either). (1-c)

As I explained the tragedy to our ...4 year old [daughter] I felt I could no longer hide or skirt certain details from her as parents sometimes do so as to not shock their children - who are most impressionable at this stage of their lives. Our daughter knows that it was a man who perpetrated this heinous deed. She also knows that it is boys her age who swagger about with toy guns. (87-m)

I cuddled my 22-month old daughter on my knee while ...the singing and actions yielded to her daily afternoon nap...I looked down at her tiny face, eyes closed, at peace, completely oblivious to her surroundings. She was safe and protected in her father's arms. Or so I hoped. There was a time I would have taken her safety for granted. A time before Wednesday, December 6, 1989...It is now more difficult to ignore the possibility that such a tragedy could happen again. (90-m)

The rage:

As a husband, father and a brother, I am angry, fearful and frustrated that my wife, daughters and sisters are potential targets of men like Marc Lepine, and must live in daily fear of being raped, assaulted or harassed, in the street, in the workplace, in school, even in their homes. As a man who truly enjoys close friendships with women, I rage at men like Marc Lepine and those who would justify his feelings and actions, because they create huge obstacles to those friendships, and give the women I meet cause to keep a safe distance from all men. (24-m)

The hope:

Today is the day we start to change sick attitudes. We all have a role to play, and we all have our work cut out for us. For the sake of the women in our lives, we can no longer remain passive and silent. (24-m)

The following father's story is very unusual within the context of my experience as a researcher and shelter worker. I have read and heard many testimonials from the point of view of women who are battered, men who batter and the children of men who batter but until this letter I had never read a testimonial from a parent of a woman who was battered by her spouse. His words led me to consider the possible impact that the parents of victims and perpetrators could have on the education and prevention of woman abuse.

I have a daughter who after 2 years has become so strong and I believe capable of opening up to people [about]...being abused. You may wish to communicate with her to present a view from one who has gone through the guilt, listened to the promises of "I am going to change" and finally deciding there is no truth in what he says and return to a normal thinking person. There is also the hopelessness and frustration that these women have to contend with in most cases accept what ever comes their way because they are not able to finance themselves. The "business" man in my daughter's case had her in court 3 times over "Theft of her own

furniture" and Trespassing when she went to his place of business to get a T4 slip. He was able to lay these charges with no questions asked of her take up court time of all these people involved and then not show up and the charges are dropped, then tell her how much he cares by not pressing the charges. Because of his finances he is able to get her or my wife and I in one case into Ontario Supreme Court within hours. He was charged with assault and found guilty, fined \$200.00 at one time. Even in this trial the judge can not and will not look at his overall attitude and see what kind of character he is. He has to look at this small part of his life consider his social status and in fact make the whole process look acceptable for a man and totally helpless from the woman's side. I do not believe there is any reason at all acceptable for a man to strike a female. When this point is made strongly enough and women given the opportunity to get help and understanding, access to lawyers who are capable "not bottom of ladder legal aid trainees", we will never bring a halt to this. Thanks for trying to present these issues Peter, but you have to live with one, watch the courts, police etc, make a fool out of things to get another perspective. (88-m)

FIRST REACTION TO THE MONTREAL WOMAN MURDERS

For those who work in the area of male violence against women, in shelters, programs for men who batter, public education, policing, prosecution or health services, the gut reaction to the brutalization, death and dismemberment of individual women is instantaneous, wrenching, and a big part of our ongoing anger and commitment.

As expressed in the letters, 70 (28%) of the writers had a visceral gut reaction to the news of the killing of fourteen women. For a time at least, they shared the feelings of women who are battered and of those who attempt to change the experience of women through their work and dedication.

Of the 70 individuals who expressed an initial or first reaction to the murders (not to any other event or topic), 42 were women (32% of the female sample), 27 were men (26% of the male sample) and 2 were of unknown gender.

Without exception, the first reactions to the news of this act of violence against women were emotional.

In their own words ⁸ the writers were:

1. **"sickened, disturbed, horrified, appalled, disgusted, (deeply) troubled, shocked, in pain, devastated, revulsed, distressed":**

As a group, these words appeared a total of 37 times. Males accounted for 54% (frequency (F) = 20) of the total, women for 41% (F=15) and 5% (F=2) was contributed by individuals of unknown gender.

2. **"grieved, saddened, having a deep sense of loss":**

These words appeared 19 times with women comprising 63% (F=12) and men making up the balance with 37% (F=7).

3. **"scared, afraid, frightened, paranoid, had nightmares, distrustful, feeling panic":**

Appearing 16 times, 100% of the above words were provided by the women.

4. **"anger, rage, outraged":**

Of the 10 times any of these words occurred, 80% (F=8) were recorded by women and 20% (F=2) by men.

⁸ The counts for the word groupings were based on the frequency of the words themselves. No attempt was made to have one writer be represented by any one word. Thus, one writer may have used one or more words within or between the word groups.

5. **"reacted with tears, cried":**

Although not strictly speaking an emotion but rather an expression of feeling(s), 8 women (F=8;100%) and no men stated that this was their first reaction.

6. **"(felt) guilty/ashamed":**

These words occurred 4 times out of which 3 were by men and 1 by a woman. The woman felt ashamed to be a Canadian.

7. **"was unbelieving, confused, incredulous":**

Again, these words were found on four occasions of which 2 were recorded by women and 2 by men.

8. **"not surprised":**

Two men and one woman stated that when they heard the news they were not surprised.

9. **"hurt":**

And finally, 1 woman felt personally hurt by the murdering of the 14 young women and 1 man stated that his first reaction was to feel hurt to be a Canadian man that day.

In their first reaction to the news of Montreal, men and women were sickened and disgusted (#1), grieved and saddened (#2), angered and outraged (#3), guilty and ashamed (#6), unbelieving and confused (#7), not surprised (#8) and hurt (#9).

But only women were scared, afraid, distrustful and feeling panic (#3) or expressing their reaction through tears (#5). And in this chapter, only women

told of specific traumatic experiences in their youth and adulthoods at the hands of males; only women carried rituals of self-protection and scarring into their adulthoods; in Canada, only women and children need over 300 shelters for battered women across Canada; only women are raped in adulthood; only women were murdered on December 6, 1989 at the Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal.

Only men were not afraid for themselves when reacting to the news of the massacre.

CHAPTER FOUR

- MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN -

I ask those men who still would dominate, control and subjugate women, will the message get through better if it comes from a man? Women are entitled to choose how they live their lives, to choose their friends and lovers, to choose their careers or vocations, to choose how they dress, where they go and what they do and don't do. Women are human beings, with incredible potential to enrich the lives of all of us, with their own strengths and weaknesses, their own fears and hopes. They deserve our love, and our respect, and they damn well shouldn't have to ask for it! The next time you harass a woman in the street, I want you to remember that she may be my wife! How would you react if some other man made crude suggestions to your wife? The next time you strike your wife, I want you to remember that she may be my daughter! How would you feel if another man battered your daughter? And the next time you look at a woman strictly as a sex object, to be used and discarded, I want you to remember that she may be my sister! Would you tolerate another man leering at your sister? (24-m)

There are no social, cultural, religious, financial, geographic or occupation-related barriers to being abused or behaving abusively.

Sharp 1990:2

What do the writers tell us about the nature of male violence against women? Going far beyond their first reaction to the news of the massacre, beginning in this chapter, the writers demonstrate with thoroughness and clarity that the messages from activists, workers and members of the Women's Movement and specifically those involved in ending male violence against women are getting through; supported and understood by the public - both men and women.

This chapter presents the writers' definitions of the nature of violence: male violence, violence against women and children, our violent society; what it is, how it is transmitted, condoned and dismissed; and its consequences aside from those found in the preceding chapter. In succeeding chapters the writers describe first the causes of violence and second, their proposals for preventing it.

Defining violence as a pervasive pattern

A total of eleven individuals (3 women, 7 men and 1 unknown) wrote that the problem of male violence against women in our society is patterned and/or pervasive.

The violence is not without pattern. The pattern is not that the people killed in this instance were women but rather that the violence was committed once again by a man. (25-m)

I agree, as I think it's obvious, that this is an extreme example of the violence against women that is perpetrated in our society on a daily (hourly) basis. (82-f)

It is surely true that there is a pattern of violence against women in society. It is probably more accurate to say that each distinct society has a particular pattern of violence against women; certainly Islamic cultures are different than European, for example. What makes Lepines' act so striking is that it is not part of a pattern; it is not wife-beating, not date rape, not incest, not sexual harassment in the workplace, not any of the outrageous but commonplace crimes that victimize women with agonizing frequency (33-m)

Current incidence research confirms their opinion that violence against women is deeply rooted in our society (Lupri 1989; Ontario Native Womens Assoc. 1989:68-71; MacLeod 1987:6-7, 1989a:13-14; Van Hasselt et al 1988b:3).

A conservative estimate of the percentage of women believed to be living at risk of recurring and escalating violence from their (ex) partner ranges between 10 and 15% of the total adult female population (age 15 to 65) (Ministère des Affaires Sociales 1985:10; MacLeod 1987:6-7). In terms of raw numbers, it is estimated that almost one million women are battered each year in Canada (MacLeod 1987:7).

In a recent survey of native women conducted by the Ontario Native Womens Association (n=104) it was found that, "80% of the respondents indicated that they had personally experienced family violence", as children, adults or as elders (1989:20).

The experience with violence does not end in senior years. Although there is a paucity of research conducted to date on the level of elder abuse it is estimated that between 2 and 10% of the elderly population are abused (by both males and females) but, "a constant is that dependent elderly women are at the greatest risk of all", (Gnaedinger 1989:4.6).

This is partly a consequence of demographics - that is, most of the old-old elderly, most of the institutionalized elderly, most of the financially dependent elderly living with their children, and most adults with a history of being abused by their spouses - are female. It is also due to the fact that abuse of dependent people in our society tends to be abuse of females.

Gnaedinger 1989:6

Defining violence as our attitudes and values

Linda MacLeod, a major authority on violence against women defines it as including a broad range of abusive behaviours.

Wife battering is the loss of dignity, control, and safety as well as the feeling of powerlessness and entrapment experienced by women who are the direct victims of **ongoing or repeated** physical, psychological, economic, sexual and/or verbal violence or who are subjected to **persistent** threats or the witnessing of such violence against their children, other relatives, friends, pets and/or cherished possessions, by their boyfriends, husbands, live-in lovers, ex-husbands or ex-lovers, whether male or female. The term "wife battering" will also be understood to encompass the ramifications of the violence for the woman, her children, her friends and relatives, and for society as a whole.

MacLeod, 1987:16

This perspective is shared by a letter writer.

I'm going to ask you to understand a word which I'm not sure is a word. That is Maleism. It is not the opposite of feminism because feminists are not necessarily dominant or domineering. They wish to be seen as individuals on their own - not just Mrs. Somebody or other or old man so and so's daughter. They wish to be identified as persons as the law has "permitted" for the past 60 years or so. A maleist may be a husband who refuses permission to his wife and daughter to become involved in activities outside the home i.e. church, extra curricular school or community. He would keep the women of his household subservient. And here is where it starts. He may not

physically abuse but certainly does mentally abuse by asking his wife (etc.) not to become involved in society where she (they) might be spoiled, might develop a personality of her (their) own. (5-u)

While only 4.4% of the total sample stated that the problem of male violence against women is pervasive and deeply woven into our way of living together, nearly one quarter of the writers (23% of 247) identified male violence as the problem itself. Proportionately balanced between the gender groups, 30 women (23% of the women), 25 men (24% of the men) and 3 individuals of unknown gender (27% of UNKNOWN) defined violence against women as misogyny, sexism and complicity.

Misogyny

misogynist *n.* one who hates all women

Concise Oxford, 1984:647

From paying "lip service to women's rights", to the acts of rape and murder, the following excerpts describe and condemn hatred of women. Both men and women clearly acknowledged misogyny as a pervasive attitude linked to oppression and violence against women.

I believe that this act [Montreal murders] is highly symbolic of society's quietly held views towards women. I realize that Mark ...probably did not know any of his victims, let alone their socio-political leanings. However, his assumption was that

they were feminists and he acted on this belief. It is clear to me that, although Mark's actions were extreme and based on [an] equally extreme point of view (ie. that women who stand up for women's rights should be silenced) he acted out on a grand scale the quieter, closeted views of many men and women. From men who abuse and assault women to men who pay lip-service to women's rights but still - think and speak of women as girls (as much of today's coverage of this horrible event has done) the message is clear. Despite the distance the women's movement and feminism have brought all of us, it still feels like it is open season on women. (53-f)

The man who murdered these women is a product of an environment of hatred. It is a hatred that is expressed in the visual images that bombard us daily; images that portray women as disembodied objects, 'teats and ass', not as fully functioning humans; that portray womens' actions as mindless and trivial; that portray women as being subservient to the order of men and not equal participants with. It is hatred that is expressed in the large numbers of sole support mothers and their unacceptable levels of poverty. It is a hatred that is expressed in the low wages and low status that we give to those involved in 'womens' work' regardless of gender, that is homemakers, child care workers, foster parents, nurses. It is a hatred that is expressed in our courts where female victims of male violence have to prove to judges and juries, that they really did not deserve it. (29-f)

The thoughts that I want to share result mostly from my own struggles to sort out, my own self but are also confirmed in the struggles of my patients. I was in total agreement with the majority of the panel that the massacre of young women at the university was not random...that it was a political act displaying what is only the lunatic fringe of an attitude which men - at some level all men - in our society display towards women... the anger, resentment, scorn, and violence toward women which lurks in men - sometimes deeply buried but all too often "acted out" in deeds which range from sexist humor through sexual harassment to wifebeating and rape. (21-m)

Marc Lepine is symptomatic of a misogynist strain in our own culture: the pointed end of every sexist joke. (55-m)

For my mind there were distinct parallels [between the male who wrote the misogynistic letter read on the air] and that of the lunatic gunman - one fired his female lawyer and one fired a gun - what prompted them to act in this way? To ridicule this chap's views was to not get at the antisocial parallels in their behaviour. (59-male child witness of male violence)

Being beaten into sexual submission, possibly killed, is the fate of many women every night in this country. It is no joke. If you watch television you will see more

hate expressed in the form of violence in one evening than most people will encounter in a lifetime. I agree with people who have said that the murderer was not insane, but was acting out his hate for women. He is not alone. Hatred of women is wide spread. If one woman is beaten, raped and killed, it may as well be 13 or 14. Life was taken in the name of hate. Numbers don't really matter to me. If killing 13 women because you hate women is cause for insanity, what is the low end number? Is killing 5 women considered the borderline for insanity? Is killing 2 or one women the border line? Is beating a woman almost to death because you hate her insanity? How about terrorizing her so that she shows no outward signs of a sexual attack but is scared to death? Is that an insane act? There is no line for insanity. Hatred toward women is a wide spread insanity. (2-m)

Reproduced almost in its entirety, the powerful letter which follows delineates an understanding of the common intent and effect of the forms of misogyny between different socio-economic classes.

I want to comment on the first letter you read aloud - a sickening bigoted diatribe ... about how the CBC had been duped by feminism into hiring women announcers with shrill voices ... The writer, a man who you kindly chose not to identify, continued by saying that in future he would no longer knowingly give his business to a woman, as she would likely be a nauseating, disgusting feminist. What's more, he'd dropped his lawyer on the grounds that she's a feminist too. Marc Lepine likely didn't have a lawyer to fire. He was probably a bit too poor to dish out retainer fees. And maybe he didn't think that his buying power was such that he could deal a blow to feminism by boycotting women in commerce. But there was something he could do to get his point across. He could get a gun and kill a bunch of women. This is a condoned action in this society. Killing and dying for one's ideals are understood to be the actions one takes if one wants to be mythologized as a hero, or so we're taught. With better than a hundred million people killed in this century alone by state-sanctioned, socially-approved warfare, it's a lesson we've learned well. Violence is just fine with the patriarchy. Now back to your bigoted letter-writer. This man's remarks are violence against women. No, he didn't go out and murder any women - not personally, anyway. He just advertised his hate while emphasizing his power. He isn't any CEGEP dropout, no, not him. He doesn't have to shoot women to make his power felt. This is a guy who fires lawyers and shakes the CBC. People listen to men like him, and they believe this sort of dangerous hate-mongering. And if they're convinced they're part of a consensus, they will do anything at all. Anything. Remember the Holocaust. (96-m)

This final passage illustrates how simple it is to dismiss the severity of male violence when silence in the face of widespread misogyny is condoned.

The message I got from the panel discussion on your show was that battered women are a direct result of our misogynist society. That makes me wonder ... how less than a majority of women in the society getting beat up means that the whole society is women hating. (68-m)

Sexism: the value of silencing, devaluation and blame

Through their exploration of the ways in which we learn to silence, ignore and devalue women, the outrage of the writers enable us to clearly see the consequences of such pervasive values for women and why "not trusting" men in some way is a way of life for many women.

We are so used to not hearing women that when a whisper gets through we think they are shouting. (100-m)

I was driving home about eleven at night. The temperature was below zero and the wind was blowing from the west. A woman was walking along the road. I could see no house lights for at least a kilometre. I stopped beside her, rolled down the window to ask if she would like a ride. I still believe that it was the correct action to take, but I knew she would say no. It is a pity that we...condition women not to trust men and men not to respect humans.(8-m)

Silencing

Some men shared the view that the absence of women from positions of authority in religious organizations and social institutions is a form of abuse and a way to silence.

Education will enlighten the masses, but oh, what a classroom! Canadian women seeking parity with men face a challenge that is possibly unique in the world. The growth of this country heavily depends on our ability to openly welcome people and customs from other nations. Yet some of these men and women arrive from countries that are well-steeped in male domination. Binding women's feet, bride-burning, harems, veils, etc. are not ancient practices known only from history books. Many Canadian men are eager to listen to old ideas: "I gotta move to What's-it-land; they know how to treat their women!". Canadian women are fending against domination from a multitude of sources... How sad and poignant that the very funeral of nine people, murdered only because they were women, had to be conducted virtually only by men. The victims' own church, a pillar in Canadian society, seemingly bears the same attitude as that expressed by Marc Lepine. Women have their place, but not here. Women are facing an enormous challenge by demanding equality with men. After twenty years of active feminism, men still control society and many of them still resist the idea of change because it makes them feel very tenuous. Like many people, these men will often see only that which lends credence to their position. (90-m)

I found it ironic that in Saturday's paper, behind all of the stories and commentary on the Montreal murders, the religion pages contained not a single reference to this tragedy or its implications! Can there be any wonder that organized religion has lost its relevance? (24-m)

Not one editorial or news background story trying to make sense of the murder of 14 Montreal women has mentioned the role western religions play in fostering sexual inequality. One need only observe the subjugation of women in Islamic countries to realize the anti-feminist bias of this faith. Pronouncements by Orthodox Rabbis calling women jezebels for wanting to worship alongside men is an example of the anti-feminism of Orthodox Judaism. But it is the predominant faith of most Canadians, Christianity, where most of the soul searching should be taking place. Catholicism, so strong in Quebec, has a long history of stifling the ambitions of

women. The Catholic church bars women from high office. Even womens' reproductive freedom is circumscribed by the church. Christian fundamentalists use biblical quotations as authority for subjugating "their" women: for example, "Thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee." Gen. 3:16; "The husband is the head of the wife even as Christ is the head of the church." Eph. 5:23; and "As the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything." Eph. 5:24. Men, under the influence of all three major faiths suppress the power of women, offering in exchange an idealized version of feminine purity. One of the tragedies of this situation is that women often buy into this and become co-conspirators in their own subjugation. Both sexes lose in the exchange. Discrimination and violence against women will never cease until religions discard the notion of female subservience. Only then can real progress take place. (51-m)

The problem is how groups of men and women act and how the larger social system (schools, churches, media, work place) support the exploitation of women. Individual men and women must take actions to resolve the problems, but the solution does not lie in educating each sexist man toward "enlightenment". The man who wrote the awful letter promoting a sexist approach toward living his life is not the problem. He is just as entitled to his opinion as you are to yours. The problem...is that the system supports his views and not the views which promote equality between the sexes.(22-m)

One woman related a personal experience which illustrates one of the ways in which women are silenced as a function of sexism, patriarchy and misogyny. A second wrote that silencing is akin to "murder of the spirit".

It's perturbing to me how often we wait for violent acts of great suffering to decide to act on questions which have been with us all the while. In 1983-84, I was a student at the University of British Columbia... I took a first year class in English... needed for any student to graduate... thousands...take this course... given the list of novels the professors chose from to study...I immediately was struck by the fact that in this list not one novel was by a woman author... I wrote a letter in the student newspaper anticipating a speedy letter of apology. Instead, the department's response, from a woman in fact, was haughty and curtly dismissed my concern...I decided to press the point to ensure that such an oversight would not happen again. I contacted the campus women student's group and the women's centre for support. I was frankly surprised to find that neither group would support me. The latter, a large organization, didn't want to jeopardize their funding sources (though they

sponsored therapy groups for women using womens literature??). Likewise, the President of the University felt he would not 'interfere' in the running of the English Dept. So I wrote a response to this letter in the newspaper trying... to reinforce to future English 100 bards that such oversights would not occur without embarrassment. Several months later a young professor on this English Dept Committee approached me... and said my criticism had not been overlooked... there were women authors on the next year's list... I was not an 'activist', just a person who felt the necessity of expressing ... an obvious criticism. Yet the lack of support reinforced to me the blindness people and organizations often suffer from only partially removed by the shock of such gruesome violence as the Montreal massacre before complacency and its attendant blinders resettle. If we did not socially condone such passive ignorance and injustice as repressing women's voices in our education systems perhaps such violent forms of repression would not occur. If the dialogue between men and women does not begin, on equal ground, in a classroom, it seems inevitably destined to be carried out in a courtroom or, worse, prematurely muted by violence... I continue to ask myself, and now you and Canada via you, why can women not be heard in their peaceful acts of creation? Why does it take 14 women who can no longer speak to compel us to question, to understand, and to act? (72-f)

There are physical murders and there are also murders of the spirit ... We have all experienced these murders of the spirit in our private lives and we all know of many public acts that have been condoned. An example occurred several years ago when Cardinal Carter ordered that altar girls not be allowed to participate in services for the Pope; when the young girl who loved to play hockey was prevented from being an equal participant in the boy's league. Such murders occur when women who speak passionately about equality issues are dismissed as being strident, shrill and aggressive. Was Martin Luther King ever described in these terms? Is Bishop Tutu? (29-f)

I had an interesting experience 18 months ago at a local high school when I was invited to speak to the parent-teacher committee about male violence against women and children. The group responded to the statistics and discussion of purported causes and associated factors with sincere concern to bring this issue into the curriculum somehow. I listened to their discussion of which courses would be most appropriate and tried to keep my face under control when the

course, "Man and Society" was finally selected. I let it go that time but felt oh, so very weary.

I can see the world from the point of view of a man. And when I look out I see privilege, dominance and violence little of which is to any woman's advantage... I attended a class on womens issues at University of Prince Edward Island...[with] over 50 women and only five men. This was the first time in my life that I have ever heard the pronoun "we" referencing women exclusively. How many times do women hear that on a daily basis when it means men and women or simply men? That was just one of the things that struck me. I never realized that most classes are sexist in favor of men. There is a feeling that one gets when the balance of power is shifted to the middle that leaves one a little confused and refreshed. (100-m)

The Devaluation and Objectification of Women

Four men linked the negative portrayal of women as commodities to the Lepine murders and to male violence against women in general.

They [men] see women who are delighted to receive prizes for posing provocatively in daily newspapers. They see scantily-clad and nude women smiling at them from calendars. They read books devoted exclusively to women who agree to disrobe for the viewing pleasure of millions of unknown men. They drink at bars where women are suitable for wet T-shirt contests or dancing nude. They shop in stores where clerks refer to each other as girls. They buy liquor and cars endorsed by women who know they are hired only because their shapely bodies will sell the product. They regularly ingest a national television diet of fierce, meat-market competition with Miss Teen You-Name-The-City, or Miss Canada, or Miss USA, or Miss World, etc. They watch films in which women enjoy bondage and rape. These men demand firm breasts and buttocks and speculate on how well they bounce. These women hope that they measure up and that they will be found appealing. Men will never respect women's capabilities if those capabilities are usually limited to portraying sex on demand. Of course, not all women encourage or support this behaviour. But then, not all men disrespect women, either. Some people will argue, rightly, that men's bodies are also now selling merchandise and appearing on

calendars. The difference is, however, that when men strike a pose, it is a cute, novel idea. When women strike a pose, it is expected. It is also big business that puts food on many women's tables. (90-m)

Historically, women have been the property of men, women have been the spoils of war, women have been the weaker human and might and strength makes right... I speak of the American concept of woman as being the traditional stereotype of housewife, wife, and mother... Was Marc Lepine caught between his desire for the traditional model and the equality model? In the maelstrom of the two currents, he killed in an ever shrinking circle. (8-m).

Calling North American society "Women Hating" is not untrue. The Media, ie. television, rock videos, pornography etc., presents women as sex objects and/or targets of violence on a daily basis. It seems that if a prime time drama's ratings are sagging, you have the female lead raped.(44-m)

... one day on CBC radio noon the phone in hour... There was a Lieutenant-colonel (a woman) as a guest. I have never heard such arrogance and contempt for women by the people who phoned in. Most of whom admitted being in the service at one time or another. (9-m)

Four women also made the link between many forms of sexism and violence and abuse against women.

... your panellists were talking about Simon de Jong and the fool he has made of himself. I think it is pertinent to note that when one of the male panellists mentioned that Simon asked advice of his mother people were amused. A grown man asking his mother's advice is a joke. If he had asked his father's advice would it be the same joke or is it only mummy who makes him ridiculous? Considering her advice was to follow his conscience I don't think you can fault it, but the joke, and the laughter that followed it, was sexist. I recognize that it is a great step from laughing at a man for asking and following his mother's advice to explaining how a Marc Lepine could do what he did, but the demeaning of Simon de Jong's mother is part of the whole process of demeaning women. You can't let up your guard. Ever. (97-f)

... I was amazed that there was no reference to commercial aspects of violence against women... there is now a backlash, or a sliding backward into old concepts of women's position... the ideas of the 1940's, - the present fashion for expensive

weddings with elaborate gifts, the shop windows with white wedding gowns, or strapless elaborate ball gowns, the sort of "drape shape" of suits, the hair oil for men - ... they reinforce approval of a lot of old ideas that I thought we had left behind...(2-f)

After ... discussing the murder of fourteen young women ... and debating the role of sexism in our society, you did nothing to improve public attitudes by allowing a weak sexist joke (Dave Barrett's favourite movie is "Throw Mama from the Train") to pass without comment as part of your continuing coverage on Audrey McLaughlin and the NDP. Our willingness to roundly condemn a madman for shooting up innocent young women but to do nothing to vet our own sexist comments is part of the problem. Women know they can count on men in emergencies and when their lives are in peril. We have no assurance that men care much one way or the other as we all go about our day to day activities. Disagreeing with ideas and actions turns into rejection; rejection turns into personal dislike; dislike turns into abuse; abuse turns into a nervous joke - or a mass murder... Women become passive because they want to survive and because they don't want others to get hurt. It's a lousy way to survive and it rarely keeps us from being hurt. (44-f)

Blaming Women

Women expressed outrage that we are blamed for our own subjugation.

... my husband and I watched a TV movie, "The Accused", with Jodie Foster who won an Oscar for her part as a gang rape victim. By the time it was over, I was literally sick, knowing that such horrible things do happen, and more so because she, who was raped, was portrayed not as the victim but as the accused. The courts tried to protect those men and punish her. Do pictures like this help the situation? Should all the violence on TV be allowed? Shouldn't there be some censorship? What can we ...do about it? (69-f)

...there was an incident at Queen's, and one at Waterloo where a fundraising activity advertised "Women for Rent". In our society women are objectified as commodities to be bought and sold. It should come as no surprise to you that in a society which tolerates prostitutional institutions such as pimps, the importation of mail order brides from poor countries (Toronto Star, February 28, 1989:D1) and female domestic servants who are frequently treated as slaves (The Ottawa Citizen, Saturday, November 18, 1989:G5), and the current high levels of violence (rape,

incest, battering, pornography) against women. Women have a low value, and all men have a high value. Just as an example of widespread societal valuation, I know you are a sports fan. How many professional women's sports do you watch, or are covered by our male dominated media? Who are the heroes in our society? Who is being paid millions of dollars a year to play games? Women? No... Acts of violence against women are rarely condemned by the general society in a meaningful way... My mother commented in a recent letter, "I heard a reporter interviewing Sheila Copps and one question he asked was whether she thought that she as a woman could be a good leader of the Liberal Party. My blood boiled as they never ask men that question. Where are men hiding their brains?" My mother has a good point. Why are these things even an issue at all? I believe that it is because of the low status women hold in our society because of institutional oppression. (94-f)

Several writers drew attention to a 1989 court ruling in British Columbia in a child sexual abuse case where a man was given a suspended sentence in part, because the three year old female child "had been "sexually aggressive"". ⁹ What is the message here?

... you spoke about an incident at the law school at the University of Alberta. You expressed shock at what the group did in portraying a nude woman with slashed breasts and thighs... I was surprised at your shock. Peter, what behaviour is encouraged in boys? Think about what toys are promoted for boys. Male violence is encouraged from the youngest age in our society. Violence against women and girls is not only not discouraged, it can be seen to be subtly approved (think about the sexual assault case in British Columbia where the judge claimed that the three year old *victim* was sexually aggressive with a man over thirty!) by the highest authorities (94-f)

⁹ Barrett, Sylvia & W.L. Marshall. "Shattering Myths: One in four females and one in eight males in Canada are sexually abused - but who believes it?" in Saturday Night, June 1990:22

We can however, draw hope from a recent legal precedent. In the spring of 1990, Madame Justice Bertha Wilson of the Supreme Court of Canada upheld a Manitoba jury acquittal of a murder charge against a woman who had been battered by her common-law husband for many years (Saad, 1990:13).

It has been 17 years since the first shelter for battered women opened in Canada (Gilman, 1988:9) and it has taken until 1990 for our national criminal court to recognize that ultimately, battering is a matter of life and death - a case for self-defense.

Complicity: our failure to acknowledge male violence

Several writers pointed to failure to prevent violence as a form of complicity with act(s) of violence and abuse.

In a fit of anger during an argument, my father grabbed my mother. He wasn't listening to the pleas of his children to stop, so I ran out, ran across the street, and knocked on a door. "My father's beating up my mother. Please help." It was a woman who answered the door. She had on an apron. She looked back over her shoulder at her husband who just stood there a few feet behind her. Something got communicated between the two and the door was closed in my face. I was scared to knock at another door - all the houses in that neighbourhood looked alike and perhaps in my seven-year-old mind I thought I would receive the same treatment at them all. (20-female child witness to male violence)

Last Monday, my eleven year old daughter told, at the dinner table, of being terrorized by two boys at the park. She and her two friends felt they had "escaped". I had already heard the story, so was interested in the responses of the males of our

family. My husband only wanted to know who the boys were, but lost interest when he got no answer. The boys had been wearing balaclavas. My son, almost 19, said nothing. I thought I detected some irritation, but I think it was directed at my daughter. (77-female child victim of male bullying)

As we drove around the area I noticed other trailers missing: the brothers who lived behind us, whose names I can't recall now, who were always there for the gang bangs; the neighbours whose kid I babysat and whose father tried to abuse me one night; the family of six across the crescent whose structure and relations were sadly not unlike ours. And the horrible neighbour lady who always closed her blinds and her heart when I was locked outside in the dead of winter with no shoes, and once no clothes. (70-female child victim of multiple male sexual abuse)

Some writers described parallels between racism and violence against women in that neither are tolerable.

If the banners hung from the balconies of the Gordon House Residence at Queen's had said that blacks should be beaten, or that jews enjoyed gas or that native indians like being in jail, they would be perceived as outright bigots. They would be called hateful and perhaps prosecuted for promoting hate. But women are a different target. (2-m)

Misogyny is woven into the fabric of this society. If most men cannot tolerate a racist society they should not tolerate a sexist one. If a madman went on a rampage and singled out Jews and killed them, we would not say it was a random, isolated act of violence as one of your guests on the Dec. 8th show said of the massacre of women. It's long past time, in other words, for women's rights to become an issue for all of this society. (101-f)

When men say they understand, I am not sure that they do, in part, because we women are not always clear how this fear affects us as we live with it. I want to offer an analogy ... If I imagine myself in a guerilla war, I imagine not knowing when I am safe and when in danger, of not knowing who I can trust and who I cannot, of feeling betrayed by the very people I want to care about, of feeling rage and a pervasive anxiety and fear. And I imagine wondering whose interests the war serves, who keeps it going actively or by being passive and why. If men can imagine this war scenario in which anyone might have a weapon and assault or kill them or irreparably change their lives through rape, then perhaps they can understand that many women who know their fear have become wary of men. I have become

estranged from men generally though not from some individuals. It is one way to respond. I do not hate men. I am very angry at them. I am angry at the abuses of those who act out their power over women. I am angry at the silence of those who are "not violent," but I do not hate men. I hate my fear. Slowly, at the same time that these feelings have crystallized, I feel a greater connection with women and am becoming increasingly "women-identified" (another term that causes defensiveness). I remember how affected you were when a CBC colleague was killed by her husband in a murder-suicide. Male violence became a more personal issue for you, because you knew the woman. For me, each killing is personal. Each woman is a part of me, partly because we share the experience of being attacked. I shower to wash off the blood of the Montreal killings, but it is on and in my body like all the others. Though men may want to join women, this level of identification is inappropriate. I think all these feelings, to the extent that they are shared by other women, create unacknowledged barriers when men try to join us. In terms of guerilla war, men feel the anger and feel grouped with other men. Is it so surprising, if the guerilla war analogy is accurate, that this grouping and anger happen? You say you are supportive. I listen to your show and certainly admire you, but I cannot be sure by your words that you are not violent. Your saying it is not enough. Actions by men are needed. Actions that do not inadvertently perpetuate the situation or fail to speak to the underlying issue... I think that Michelle Landsberg's analogy of white liberals' responses to their rejection by blacks in the U.S. civil rights movement is very appropriate. Blacks needed to do it for themselves. So do women. At the same time, whites had to look hard at their own lives and power. So do men. (38-f)

Echoing the voices of others who have written publicly about complicity, denial and lack of concern on the issue of male violence ¹⁰, and in reaction to the continuing phenomena of male violence against women or the enormity of Marc

¹⁰ Lakeman, Lee "Women, Violence and the Montreal Massacre: The Backlash Against Feminism" in This Magazine, Vol. 23 #7 March 1990:20-23; Smith, Vivian "Violence against women: the real issue" in The Globe and Mail, Feb. 24, 1990:D1,D8; Underwood, Nora "The Spectre of Male Violence: A Backlash Against Assertive Women" in Maclean's Magazine, March 8, 1990:46-47; Bergman, Brian with Maureen Brosnahan "Anatomy of a tragedy: Could anyone have saved the Reid family?" in Maclean's Magazine, May 21, 1990:20; Hilton, N. Zoe "One in Ten: The Struggle and Disempowerment of the Battered Women's Movement" in Canadian Journal of Family Law, Vol. 7, 1989:313-335.

Lepine's act, the writers spoke frequently about our propensity to ignore and deny the problem of male violence by making excuses.

Can we ever be the same again? The nuclear explosion you so insightfully mentioned has, I think, happened. The Mark Lepine massacre was the bright mirror, the explosion that holds us up to a light so bright that those who could not see, must now look, must now see, even if we do not understand. (6-u)

It seems clear to me that those who have the humility to recognize our common humanity end up feeling a twinge of guilt as they reflect on the killings. In my case, the guilt comes from remembering my experience as a grade three teacher, when, with some goading from a psychologist, I tried to "help" the class reject by getting after him to produce more. I played along with a system that produces rejects. The idea was to get the child to conform, rather than to try to appreciate and get the other children to appreciate what he had to offer...! couldn't help but imagine that Marc Lepine must have been a class reject. It was clear, in this morning's discussion too, that other people were looking back on their lives with a critical eye. How, we ask ourselves, can we do better, how can we nip this violence in the bud? Michele Landsberg told us of the time she and all the other passengers on a plane failed to come to the defense of a female flight attendant who was on the receiving end of a hateful torrent of abuse coming from members of a hockey team who had been refused drinks. How many of us, having heard this morning's discussion, will sit by silently if we encounter a similar situation? (106-f)

I'm tired of hearing that this was the act of a madman, and that no political or feminist conclusions could or should be drawn from it. I'm tired of hearing that women are frightening men, pushing them too hard, taking "their" jobs. I'm tired of hearing statements made by people in positions of power, like that of the BC judge who recently suspended sentence against a man found guilty of "touching with a part of (his) body for sexual purposes the breast of a 3 year old girl" because she was "sexually aggressive" and the defendant was tired and under the influence of alcohol at the time. I'm tired of hearing that the victim brought it on herself. I'm tired of hearing excuses. (36-f)

But the most difficult task was to deal with my fourteen year old son. I had promised myself that I was not going to raise this issue with him given how I felt about general male responsibility in this outrage. Would he only hear condemnation of men from me? However he kept raising the issue in one way or another. We yelled - I cried, trying desperately to explain that I did not blame him, or my husband or my men friends directly, but that there is a prevailing attitude that gives men permission to commit violence against women. Yes, men are assaulted as well.

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

But how many men live in fear of being beaten or raped by a woman if they walk alone after dark? How many men fear for their safety because of their wives' physical onslaughts? I felt his pain at having his mother talk about these issues. How much easier it would have been for both of us if I could have agreed with his conclusion that the gunman was crazy and that there are crazy people in the world who do crazy things... it is only a small portion of the truth. (94-f)

The woman who didn't say anything to the hockey players is giving them approval in spite of her convictions. The man who spoke to the boy is passing along the message that it is not socially acceptable to speak about women in those terms. (46-f)

As a man I am upset by boorish aggressive behaviour such as demonstrated by the hockey players in the account recalled by Michele Landsberg, but I have a feeling that had the flight attendant been male, the same abuse would have taken place in this case...Feminists are right to be enraged at this behaviour but not simply because this flight attendant was female...To me the injustice ...was that it was not controlled by the people in charge and failing that, that the public in general on that plane did not become involved and put these buffoons in their place. At the very least these fellows should have been detained upon the plane's landing and charged as public nuisances. (59-male child witness of male violence)

My family includes eight grandchildren, three more through marriage and two by "extension", for a grand total of thirteen ... Tonight one of the fathers and I get to see the ongoing Battle of Alberta [hockey?], secure in the knowledge that all is well at home and money is being set aside for the future of those thirteen citizens. During the little breaks in the action ... our minds will flash back to the shooting of children in a school yard, of women in a classroom and that will temper our Christmas spirit. Will it, however, temper our will to do something about the situation or will we simply accept, for instance, the Minister of Justices' statement that "you can't legislate against insanity" and do nothing? Where, how does one join/begin the Male Feminist Movement? (97-m)

Some writers mourned that for many men, the massacre brought the experience of women to light for the first time.

The shocking thing is that it has taken a disaster of this proportion to bring this probability to the attention of many men when, in fact, violence against women is a daily occurrence. Why does it take an act of such violence to bring this into people's consciousness? ...It seems to me that sexism and violence against women is

socially acceptable in many circles in Canada. Under this circumstance there is no challenge to change. (23-m)

Gender related violence happens to females from a few weeks of age into their nineties. We read about it every day. Why are we so slow to call it what it is? And why are the normal men in society so threatened and cavalier about it? (7-female child/adult victim of male pursuit)

This whole issue was really summed up in the comments on Sunday Morning (Dec. 10/89) by two Queen's students. (my paraphrasing) One of the men involved in the "No means tie them up" incident commented that it was all meant in fun, that it never occurred to them that women would find it offensive, and one of the women students observed that as university students, they are supposedly the cream of the crop, the brightest and the best, and even there, men just don't see the woman as victim. (100-f)

In this chapter, the writers looked at the specific problem of male violence against women as manifest in our attitudes and values, as misogyny and as sexism (the silencing, devaluing and blaming of women). They also communicated how society is complicit in the perpetuation of male violence by our unwillingness to acknowledge the endemic nature of the problem and by not challenging acts of violence and abuse.

In the next chapter, we turn to their understanding of the causes of male violence.

To link these chapters I close with an anecdote. If the story makes you probe deeper into your understanding of complicity as a factor related to the perpetuation of male violence than I have found a way to demonstrate that

more often than not, just wanting the violence to stop is not enough (as every battered woman and child knows) and that there must be many ways for a woman to know that we need her to be safe.

I know a woman whose ex-partner was convicted of aggravated assault against her; she was tortured in front of his children. The sentence that he received was a \$200.00 fine and three years unsupervised probation. The young woman in question sat disbelieving as he was also fined \$1,500.00 for an unrelated charge of possessing illegal venison. If prevention can be measured by monetary incentives, one could argue that in the future, moose and deer would be safer from this man than the woman he brutalized. Would further acts of violence towards this woman by this man be related to the implicit "message" of his sentencing? At the very least, the woman has had the value of her safety clearly demonstrated for all the world to see. We can not tolerate this.

CHAPTER FIVE

- THE CAUSES OF MALE VIOLENCE -

In order to prevent male violence, we must understand its causes. This chapter focuses on the writers' understanding of the causes of male violence with a sampling from the literature. The opening quotations reflect some of the complexities and dilemmas faced when this subject is debated.

It has been said that the shootings by Marc Lepine are representative of male attitudes and behaviors towards women in Canadian society, simply an extreme example of the sort of violence women in Canada face daily. While I do not wholly reject this view, neither can I freely embrace it. Between Mrs. Thatcher's atomized view that there is no society, but only individuals, and the other extreme, which holds society totally responsible for every individual act, there is the difficult task of examining human behavior in all its real and awful complexity, to struggle to understand what influences really are at work and what their relative weights are. (33-m)

I ... found myself agreeing with many of the opinions expressed - you said it was the act of a madman, and an extreme example of the reaction against feminism and part of the sickness of the sexist, polarized society we live in. But how do we sort through these interpretations, valid from their own perspectives but somehow getting in the way of each other...[to] determin[e]... what we can and must do about such hatred and violence? My mind keeps returning to this - how do we as human beings get around divisiveness and work towards a safe, healthy and just society? Where do we begin? (87-f)

Marc Lepine was presumably a beautiful, loving, gentle and fascinating 1 year old - 24 years ago. His mother no doubt loved him very much and did her best to raise him. Of all the people involved, it's her grief that I cannot imagine. It must be unbearable for your own: [son to be responsible for] such devastation - capable of such an act. I feel like if I don't know how this can happen that I may inadvertently do the wrong thing, fail to do something, fail to teach something and my son will fall prey to some subtle, huge, mysterious societal monster and turn into something I can't understand. (82-f)

Fifty-seven individuals contributed to the discussion of what causes endemic, patterned and intolerable male violence against women and others (23% of the entire sample). Of these, 24 are women (18% of the women), 26 are men (25% of the men), 3 are unknown (27% of UNKNOWN) and 4 signed as couples. Repeating the pattern found in the violence material, they are equally balanced on gender. This continues to challenge the view that men, in general, are reluctant to respond to this issue.

It Is A Violent World We Live In

Many writers said that they believe that our world is intolerably violent and that the violence is condoned and that this general acceptance of violence underlies the more specific violence of men against women.

esterday, during a coffee break at work, I sat with a group of men listening to and laughing at a description of a man who, in the language of the U.S. Deep South, used to "whup the ass" of anyone who dared cross his will. He would be called, no doubt in the machismo rhetoric of the South, a "good 'ole boy." I felt disquieted as I watched and wondered if anyone, in the general amusement at the stories being related about his antics, was making the connection between this good 'ole boy and Marc Lepine. Both after all, used violence, admittedly to differing degrees, to deal with people thwarting their will. Why should we laughingly approve of one while emphatically rejecting the other? How can we defend a "judicious" use of violence, over an "excessive" use? Can you justify beating up a person only a little, as Jean-Guy Tremblay claimed he did to Chantal Daigle? (65-m)

This is a truly vicious society we have allowed to grow up around us, that we have embraced as the only proper way to live. And we are all affected badly by it. Natives can be as violently misogynistic as white, black, and yellow-skinned people.

Women can be as virulently racist as men. The longing for personal authority, power and control is loose in all of us. (53-m)

We are...anything but a "kinder, gentler society" any more than our southern neighbours profess to be. We should... disabuse ourselves of the smugness with which we compare ourselves to them. We might then find ourselves less astonished when tragedies such as this occur (14-m).

I believe it is important that we as peaceworkers discuss openly the phenomenon of male violence and focus intently on its causes. I believe the causes reach into and touch on every aspect of our lives - from the 'sissy' jeer on a kindergarten playground to the 'domination' mentality of corporate boardrooms, from who in your family cleans the toilets to why people cannot walk safely on big city streets and, ultimately, to why weapons continue to be jammed into our collective nuclear holster beyond all sanity while millions starve. (25-m)

To me, it [the massacre] symbolizes the increased acceptance of violence in our society, something which I abhor. But getting back to the violence - it happens and it continues to be condoned. It is perpetrated by people, people who have allowed the financing of war to supersede all other expenditures, people who allow their children to play war games and to watch violent movies, people who think a good hockey game is the one with a good fight in it. I abhor violence of people against other people, whether it be man against man, man against women, woman against man, or adult against child. To me, that was the message of the Montreal massacre. To me, the massacre of 14 women is no worse than the senseless slaughter of hundreds of people every day in Central America, or the thousands of people who die every day in the Third World because we in the industrialized world spend our money on armaments and nuclear warheads instead of helping those people find potable water. Casting a blind eye on deprivation is a form of violence too. (37-f)

While we all claim to abhor violence, we seem to be titillated by it. How many of your listeners tuned into The Colin Thatcher story on television? Video tapes, movies and television feed us endless portrayals of violence, watched by both male and female. Is violence the only way we can bring about social change? What effect did the murder of Laporte have on the changes of Quebec? It is terribly sad that fourteen women died in such a senseless way but let us hope that their death will have a significant effect on male - female relationships. (103-m)

This is Misogyny

A recurring topic in this research has been misogyny. In Chapter Three, the women wrote about how they have experienced misogyny; the men explained why men hate or resent women by exploring the nature of maleness and in some cases (joined by women) rationalized or minimized violence against women. In Chapter Four, the writers acknowledged that misogyny is widespread and described it in a multitude of ways and, condemned its existence.

In this section, we explore some writers' explanations of where this misogyny comes from, distinct from previous material because it "explains" misogyny by "explaining" the ways that "women cause men to do it".

Thirteen writers (7 women and 6 men or 5.2 % of 247) blame women themselves for misogyny, suggesting that woman-centered activism is a cause of male violence against women. In short, the following misogynist material justifies and promotes hatred of women:

- . by condemning women's outrage about violence against women and by saying that women's protests justify violence against them

If I hear another programme in which female commentators speculate about the matter [of the Montreal murders] without benefit of any factual material, I'll get a

gun and shoot some people. I'll be driven to it by the same expediency that Marc Lepine was. (42-m)

First, that strident-voiced woman on your program is one of a few across the country who is the cause of any animosity that men feel toward women. Men in general do not hate or fear women, but some women including this one would drive any man to drink or worse (11-m).

I predicted that refusal to give at least some representation to the other side of sexual politics would lead to violence...I too have decided to boycott sexist CBC. I do not want to be goaded into the rage and despair that killed poor Mark...and fourteen women.(13-m)

I am very old and have been a "feminist" all my life since student days in the 1920's in Great Britain. I am however appalled at the shrill sexism of the modern Canadian feminist. They are doing their cause no good by displaying more violent sexism than men. As a magistrate and adjudicator for many years in the matrimonial courts in the North of England, where violence in the inner cities is endemic, it was obvious that most violence from husband to wife had two sides. The women, with sharper tongue and quicker wit goaded her husband until he hit her. (40-f)

. by giving women the ultimate responsibility for male violence

The anger that men have towards women is not the power change, it's the fact that women have left the home - stopped the nurturing of their children. The children feel rejected and the boys blame their mothers and tend to hate all women because their mothers and women have left their lives. The girls feel rage too - against their mothers and don't learn the caring. They have to look after themselves too and don't want to take care of anybody else - babies included. (33-f)

Independent thinking individuals bonded and strengthened by togetherness and love with a willingness to logically argue a debate seems to me the goal to strive for in terms of human equality. I can remember my Dad slugging my Mom as a result of hours of illogical verbal abuse. (59-male child witness of male violence)

I have heard near hysterics sweep through the ranks of women... point[ing] with trembling fingers at the monster man - scorn pitching voices high, eyes bright with - "look! I told you!" Not one woman looked in the mirror. Somewhere in the miles of words I have read, a sentence leaps from a page - "I have seen the enemy, and

them in us." I see carnage, young women reaping the wind of change ... We are to blame... Certainly, in the past, there were many women who were mistreated but there were far more who had won a place in the hearts of husbands and sons by being present when needed... without sighs of impatience ... Why do men act as they do? The sadistic beatings, the child abuse, the crimes against people and not things? ... Could it be that the last, lost generation haven't felt love themselves?... Women... discovered a God given trait... that comfort given is comfort returned, that respect given, not just in a compliment to one's ability to run a company, but for the essence of her femininity, is a worthy achievement. (111-f)

Twenty-five years ago, as a female student in the midst of that history, I held the very private view that as women we might be going about things in a dangerous way. I agreed there were many things we needed to change - the method worried me. It had been my experience that confrontation accomplished little. To accuse men of the evils of the world and to tell them WE would change all that reminded me of the childish games I longed to get out of. Perhaps because the men in my life were, by nature, loving individuals who applauded and supported equality for all people - I did not feel injustice so keenly. Yet I saw it and knew something must change. I, in heart, favoured the conciliatory, the collegial approach. "Look! We've got problems - you AND me. There are things that must change if we are to grow together. We own these problems...if justice and equality are to flourish as rightful elements of all our lives (male and female) then we must work at it - all work at it." This, of course is the slow approach. At that point in time women were not interested in the slow approach. Revolution takes place in exclusion of some party...then hopefully expands to include the whole. I fear in this case that the exclusion has created hate. (88-f)

- . by encouraging men who are threatened by the promotion of egalitarianism for women to react abusively

The massacre in Montreal came as no surprise to me, for I have known scores, perhaps hundreds, of men who share that killer's views of women. I have remained relatively silent but many other men, when they are together, are very strident in their anti-feminism. I do believe that the murders do represent a significant undercurrent of hatred towards feminism and is not the isolated act of a madman. Three years ago, I used Statistics Canada information to trace the history of violence against women in this country. I found that the rate of violence against women parallel the rise of the women's movement. The cause seems to be that women are, for the first time in history, treading on the security of men. They are taking over roles and responsibilities which have traditionally belonged to men. The reaction is

completely understandable. Men are being told that they no longer matter, that their services are no longer required. Their very feelings of security and self-worth are under attack. Everything that many of these men have held dear, their entire reason for living, is being destroyed in front of their eyes. This may also be one reason why the suicide rate among men is seven times higher than it is among women. (19-male adult victim of male socialization)

. and by suggesting that outspoken women are "fools" undeserving of respect

I have learned much from your programmes, including the 3 hours, I used to listen every morning. However, I can no longer tolerate the talk-talk-talk - it beats against my ears ... And here I wish to make a point others never do, ... about bitter women who snap at a man who does offer help. I can't stand strident women myself. They are fools. A woman can drive a garbage truck yet still be clean, gentle, and not foul mouthed. We can be strong but not pushy. Women are strong; they've always had to be. But denying their womanliness won't bring respect. (3-female child victim of male sibling abuse and of ageist abuse from women)

I have had to grapple with a wide range of perspectives in the preparation of this text, but the material on anti-abortion has been the most personally challenging. I believe that understanding both sides of the abortion debate requires a somewhat sophisticated politicized knowledge of the status of women world wide which is, sadly, beyond the scope of this thesis.¹¹

¹¹ In recognition of the importance of understanding the link between action against the subjugation of women worldwide and the Pro-Choice Movement I recommend the following: Kathleen McDonnell, 1984; any literature produced by M.A.T.C.H. International, The National Action Committee on the Status of Women or the Canadian Council on the Status of Women all located in Ottawa; or, literature on feminist theory including Adamson et al, 1988; Anne Phillips ed., 1987; Angela Miles & Geraldine Finn, 1989; Ramazanoglu, 1989; and Charlotte O'Kelly, 1980.

In the context of prevention of male violence, three writers suggest that the act of abortion is a more violent act than that perpetrated in Montreal.

Implicitly, these writers argue that women who hold a pro-choice viewpoint (or a pro-employment or education opportunity viewpoint etc.) don't deserve the right to live without male violence. I believe that this position condones violence against women. Even if one believes that abortion is wrong or violence, does this in any way justify Marc Lepine's act or any other form of violence against women?

Our media opinion-makers defend the ongoing dehumanization of babies and violence against them and their mothers that is the lucrative abortion industry. And now we stare...at the terrible things going on around us, and wonder "why" [the massacre]?...If we insist that there are no absolutes, if there is no longer "sin", by what standard can we say what Marc Lepine did was "wrong"? (74-m)

To-day, Friday, December 8, between 9 and 10 your guests were discussing the tragic deaths at University of Montreal. As with so many others talking on the same subject the past two days, they were trying to isolate a reason for the womenslaughter. Feminists are very vocal in their anger about violence toward women and mankind in general. It is so obvious to me that by choosing abortion, many feminists are teaching that violence is O.K. Can you imagine any act more violent than allowing your own baby to be torn apart? (121-f)

Men do not have a monopoly on violence. Women have blinded themselves to their own propensity for violence. What can be more violent than the deliberate killing of our unborn children? (116-f)

These passages encourage the belief that since some women are visibly and vocally promoting change for women, ergo, all women (but particularly feminists) should be left to a violent fate. This is terrifying.

Misogyny Is Unacceptable

The views of the preceding writers are challenged by those who explain that while some men may be reacting to the changing status of women in our society by behaving abusively (causal relationship), the violence is nonetheless unacceptable.

I agree that many men have internalized their feelings of being threatened by social changes which they refuse to understand... (16-m)

I agree that this horrible tragedy is the ultimate consequence of women's challenge to their status quo of male power and the presumption of male superiority and authority. (79-f)

I agree that Lepine's behaviour was an 'act against women'... his actions reflect much of what is wrong in our society's treatment of women. I think that his anger resulted from the fact that feminist demands are now being met. Many men paid lip-service to women's needs at a time when it was impossible for the needs to be realized. Now that society is truly changing, the deep contradictions are coming to the surface. This is simply a new phase in our transition and, as in most situations when contradictions surface or when transitions occur, there will be much pain and suffering. (58-f)

I'm not saying that society made this man [Lepine] a homicidal maniac, but rather that it provided the path his mania took when it was acted out. There was nothing random about his choice of female engineering students as victims. Engineering has been the last bastion of male exclusivity among the professions. Twenty years ago, when women were beginning to form a sizeable minority on law and medical schools, they were so rare among engineering students as to seem like freaks of nature. And they had rather a rough time of it from their male colleagues. What better target for someone who resented the advance of women in what had until recently been a man's world? (96-f)

In the next chapter, I will present the writers' visions for dealing with misogyny and misogynists.

Powerlessness and Power Over Others

Measured by the number of people and length of text devoted to any one possible cause of male violence, the writers placed a heavy emphasis on the related issues of powerlessness (power over others), sex-role stereotyping and sexism.

Some of the writers explored the issue of powerlessness as it affects individuals.

We institutionalize competition, identifying ...winners and losers. It's predictable that the hatred of those who perceive themselves as losers will grow as pressures mount, and look for a scapegoat. As women reach into dominions that have traditionally been male, they make a convenient target. (36-f)

The will to have power over others is the perversion of the positive power within. Those who live in an environment in which their actions are of no value and worse of no significance will respond with a rage that twists their positive drive for personal power into a drive for power over others; to control; to manipulate; to dominate and yes, to murder. (29-f)

The central problem is not so much hatred of women, as hatred of self, and the things people do to people in seeking power over others, out of an inability to forgive and accept themselves, and as a means of justifying their own self-hatred. (65-m)

Others broadened their analysis of power imbalance to a societal level where:

- power is held over powerless groups

He [Lepine] represents, as much as the young women lost, the undeniable evidence that society continues to ignore the fact that women, children and all coloreds must "go to the bottom of the boat" and stay there, in varying degrees of penury, while power elites go on their merry way. Much is said about freedom - as if it is some stand alone, immutable function available to all. What a myth!! Freedom has always been and always will be subsumed to economic conditions and to economic values placed by society, on all its citizens, particularly poor children, females, aboriginals, immigrants, illiterates, and the abused. Quebec is but a symptom of this malaise. (97-m)

It is my opinion that the resentment with which many men view the feminist movement stems from their fear of losing their position of privilege and power in society. Nothing upsets people more than a threat to their power. Have you noticed how many ardent anti-abortionists are men? Surely this is because, subconsciously perhaps, they see the last chance to control women's bodies and lives slipping away from them. And remember that we still live in a competitive society which teaches its children that a sense of personal worth must be based on feeling superior to somebody else in one way or another. (55-f)

POWER is the pinnacle of this issue. POWER OVER is the source of all injustice and violence. This is because we exist in a hierarchical society in our government, our institutions and our personal lives - this is POWER-OVER, because in a hierarchy there is always someone above and someone below always a victim - parent/child, teacher/student, employer/employee, etc. This has been compounded by the patriarchal society where male has been dominant over female. Women are by no means the only victims - my sense is that men who inflict this onto other people (violence between men is far too prevalent and accepted...!) have been victims of the power-syndrome themselves. (17-f)

Individuals have so little real power over our lives... The poor, the weak, the ill have even less opportunity to exert control over their own lives. They are categorized, labelled, pitied, bullied, and only accepted by the rest of us to the extent that they conform to our definition of "useful." We are besieged hourly by the true elements of control in our society. We are told constantly that we must conform to an exceedingly narrow definition of useful, the "good citizen". We must dress neatly,

talk softly, punch buttons, drink beer, watch TV, eat processed food, and go quietly to sleep. We must not express our true emotions, ask serious questions, draw undue attention to ourselves, think too deeply, or otherwise deviate from accepted behaviour patterns. And we can be punished for not conforming to the rules. We can be isolated, numbered, categorized, scrutinized, and discarded. So we cling desperately to the rare and quiet moments when nobody can tell us what to do. And what of the innocent weak who get tossed onto society's trash heap? If there are no true opportunities to exert control, they (and we) will shift our focus and anger. We will blame our powerlessness on someone else. (53-m)

. holding power over others is valued and condoned

Men and women, male and female represent the total qualities and characteristics of humanity. Our society has enshrined male qualities - we are aggressive, competitive, greedy for power - of any kind. We despise those other qualities which are supportive, co-operative, accepting - turning qualities into characteristics and labelling them weak (5-m).

The nature of our society (or more important, our economy) dictates that we drive ourselves ever harder, ever faster, to achieve, produce and accumulate. We must make more money, buy newer gadgets, wear finer clothes, drive fancier cars, own bigger houses, seek more exotic escapes, and fling ourselves up the ladder of success at any cost to our humanity. If Natives stand in our way, isolate them. If trees stand in our way, cut them. If co-workers get in the way, screw them. If Jews get in the way, eliminate them. If the poor get in the way, starve them. If our own situations get in the way, modify our reactions to them chemically. If women get in the way, execute them. (53-m)

Your programme this morning, on the subject of the horrific events in Montreal, left me in tears of great sorrow and masculine shame [not a first reaction to the news of the murders]. Mankind has learned so little in thousands of years. Today in Canada we continue to pursue a goal of a society based on power of ownership, material wealth, incredible greed and male dominance over everything he can touch or see. Much of our educational system condones and perpetrates their image and the more sensitive and cultural side of our humanity is, to a great extent, ignored... As a society we have our values in strange places and the event in Montreal is a symptom, not only of man's sickening treatment of women through the ages, but also of the society which we have created and the values we believe in, teach, and promote. (98-m)

We are a culture of conquerors. We value power. And as long as that is the case, violence will continue. If women who strive to move up the corporate ladder also value power, the problem will continue. That is why I do not believe that Margaret Thatcher has done anything for women. She is one of the greatest power brokers of all. She is no threat to the establishment. She is not gentle. (122-f)

No wonder our political leaders do so poorly at bringing us world peace. We have taught them from infancy how to "one up" the next person, not to understand them, and play co-operatively with them. In marriage we believe in win/lose settlement, compromising, giving up, to maintain peace. The person who gives in the least "wins" (usually the person with the most power). Children learn to turn to adults to solve their problems in getting along - if they can't bully, outsmart, or manipulate their way with their friends. (49-f)

. or powerlessness is translated into prejudice which exacts a toll in turn

People are prejudiced against others because it makes them feel good. Men who denigrate women, and women who denigrate men, feel good about doing so because by badmouthing another group, they feel they enhance their own self worth. Whenever you see a prejudiced person you are looking at a persona with a sizeable inferiority complex. How did they get this way? Generally from a background of incompetent childrearing practices. None of us has adequate skills in bringing up children. Unlike driving where we must pass an exam before we are allowed to manage a motor vehicle, there is no prerequisite for being allowed to rear children. That's why we do it so badly and fail to produce adults who are comfortable in their own skin. The result is a massive number of people who spend their lives proving that they aren't as inferior as they really feel. And one of the popular ways of trying to improve your self image is to demean someone else. People who feel good about themselves get no jollies from belittling others. (46-m)

Sex-role Stereotyping: the process of gender enculturation

The theme of sex-role stereotyping and its role in shaping how we understand our gender roles or "place" in society, as envisioned by the following writers,

stresses the negative impact in adulthood of teaching children that females are second class and males cannot nurture or be nurtured. They believe these gender-based lessons lead to violence.

As we know, the attitudes boys and girls are supposed to have towards each other are enforced throughout society in numerous ways, and, because of our earliest imprintings, we all collude with them to some degree...In addition to, or despite, what little boys have learned at home, when they get with other boys, they are put in no doubt about where their place in society lies: little girls are second class, and must be put down at every turn... any boy who does not comply is derided as a "sissy", taunted and excluded ...especially hard on the sensitive ones, who like to play with girls, but the pull to be accepted by one's peers is understandably very strong and the sensitive boy hardens himself ...becomes more violent in his denunciation of girls. (98-f)

Men in the peace movement should not feel threatened or offended by discussion of violence as a largely male phenomenon. Not all men are violent and violent men are not simply a product of male culture but human culture as a whole. It is, therefore, human culture that must address it. For the same reason as well, women should not feel alienated from the discussion, or particularly smug for that matter, because they play a major part in the society that shapes men...Still, if you happen to be a man and one who considers himself fairly non-violent, the facts ... might lead some to the conclusion that a little evil lurks in the hearts of all men. Why is the pattern of violence not evenly divided between the two genders? What do we do in the rearing of males that makes them, as a group, so much more violent than females? ...I believe the reasons men are generally dominant and sometimes violent are complex and flow from the concepts of maleness that become embedded in our thinking within the first few years of our lives: not just males' view of themselves but females' view of them... It seems to me that dominant, violent men - and we are talking over a wide variation of degree - are to a proportionate degree prisoners of their own domination and violence and are less able to form satisfying, loving relationships. And furthermore, if women are more generally the victims of society's oppression, men are more generally the victims of its repression (25-m)

Most men of my generation were brought up to believe that it was not only their right and privilege but also their duty to supervise, control, and protect all the women in their lives, whether it be a mother, sister, wife, or daughter. To be a man was to be in charge, strong and in control. When women began to say to them, "You've got it all wrong - we don't need you or want you to take charge of our lives

any more", this shattered men's whole sense of identity; it attacked their most basic sense of self-worth. Society had taught them how to behave towards women (55-f) Though I do not consider my father to be an abusive father, when he was angry, his anger led him to strike out. The broken arm incident is the only time I know of in their marriage when there was physical abuse... My father is a much-respected ... not an evil man. But he is, or was, one of those who didn't know the stopping point between anger and violence. His education and his society taught him nothing about the difference between anger and violence which arises as an action out of anger. And his enculturation included the conviction that women were not equal to men. [He] ...has had to learn the equality of the sexes in a long, hard struggle. If he knew as a young man that women were equal, that violence against women just wasn't a possibility, he would likely still be living with my mother...(20-female child witness to male violence)

There comes a point in most families when the message is clear: "big boys don't cry" ... hug, cuddle, have fears, yearn, feel shame, share feelings, [or] nurture... I was recently at a men's weekend where most men in the group were able to vividly remember the shock and confusion they felt at that time in their lives, ...when they first got the message that this territory was now verboten. They also felt shamed - that if they were to be real men they would not have such needs. So most of us men grow up with a gap - an empty area of neediness that we could never legitimately fill... They [men's emotional needs] are much too shameful to be tolerated... [and] are disguised as the things that men in our society may legitimately seek...sex, power, and sometimes romance. And to whom do we look to have these needs fulfilled? ...For now, men look almost exclusively to women... If women do not nurture us and feed our yearning aching appetites we feel deprived and we are furious at them. BUT if they do nurture us we are also furious. We experience the nurturing as "being mothered" - we are transported back to those boyhood days when we learned so well that to have such needs and have them filled is shameful and unmanly. We felt we are being robbed of our manhood, our self respect and we are furious. Often, we soothe our threatened manhood and our fury by exercising power over women, sometimes violently. So it is a lose/lose situation, we feel angry and deprived if women nurture us or if they don't. (21-m)

Traditional societal values often warp the potential in each child. We call this "conditioning." Each of us is born unique, precious, priceless. We grow to love or esteem ourselves by how others, principally our parents, love and esteem us. Most of us receive conditional love. Males and females are both born with functioning tear ducts, but we teach little boys not to cry. We withhold approval, this is unacceptable. We will love you, little boy, only if you are strong. We teach little girls we will love them for their weaknesses, and crying and neediness may be rewarded with undue attention and nurturing. Instead of being cherished for his or her own uniqueness, we chip away at a child's soul to make it into acceptable form,

the form that we will love. Some souls are chipped, and some are smashed in the process... If no one has ever known me, ME, that little boy who needs to cry, or ME, that little girl who needs to feel equal and to know her own strength, then how can I as a man or a woman even know what love is? ...The unloved little boy buried in that man smashes his fist into his wife's face. The little girl in that woman who was taught to feel unworthy takes the blow and stays. Both are victims of the same process. Neither has received the unconditional love that is each baby's birthright. No one rejoiced in their uniqueness. (76-f)

Some writers ask if our socialization by rigid gender role expectations leads to a general lack of compassion in society and an inability to care for ourselves and others.

I believe that what broke Marc Lepine was not feminism, nor was it his difficulty with relationships or his passion for war films. What broke Marc Lepine was the same lack of love, trust, respect and compassion for ourselves and for others that is breaking all of us. The massacre at the University of Montreal was not only a terrible brief explosion of an individual's insanity, it was yet another symptom of a world in pain. (99-f)

I guess my views are coloured by personal experiences. I'm trying to think of the significant people in my life, who guided and helped me, especially in times of crisis. Why aren't more of us "there" for others when they need them? Why aren't people there for us when we need them? Why are so many of us - especially men - unable to recognize when we need help. Is it because we're told repeatedly from infancy such things as "you don't mean that", "I'm sure you don't really feel that way" we're taught not to believe that what we feel is real or legitimate, we're not given help in dealing constructively with our anger, or our sadness. It is seen as a sign of weakness, failure as a member of the human "race" to ask for help in dealing with personal problems. We fear we will not be accepted if we admit that we are less than perfect. (49-f)

Sexism

As early as 1976, members of individual women's shelters in the United States and elsewhere were stating that, "violence against women was caused by sexism" (Schechter, 1982:79). Nearly fifteen years later, sexism and the resulting violence against women is still with us, as these excerpts point out.

Marc Lepine... was born into a de-humanizing society that undervalues and victimizes women. He ...learned what our society taught him. As a victim, himself, he then acted out the extreme of a continuum that begins with unequal pay for work of equal value, of exclusion of women from certain categories of work and positions of authority, and works its way down through emotional abuse, physical battering, rape and finally ends in mass murder. (78-m)

What kind of a society allows those looking after our children to be among its lowest paid and least educated members? (14-f)

I have long felt that there is a sickness in our society... Somewhere in the 12th century the Catholic Church established its hold... and inculcated into the society of the day are their interpretation of evil, which was summed up as "women". Women, said the church, trying to explain the endless debilitating plagues were the cause of man's fall from grace, and the reason for God's constant punishment - except for child production women should be shunned. Women were culpable, women were responsible for God not allowing man to achieve his full potential, for women had sullied mankind. Man for his own wellbeing must recognise woman (the temptress) for what she is and keep her securely in her place. Copulation as an act of love, had to cease... Defiling the wonder of husband wife relationship by the use of the word "lust" is typical of the misogynist priest and of the Catholic Church who wanted no man to have an "attraction" more compelling than the authority of Rome, certainly not a wife. As powerful a sample of "conditioning" as the human specie has ever been subject to. ... and thanks entirely to the Catholic Church, the sickness of wife beating, and the sickness of female denigration was born, as man purged his soul in the welts and bruises and gashes on his wife's body. Though this was imposed on mankind centuries ago, it has become an ever present Cultural characteristic which in turn led to the murders.(8-u)

I equate this massacre with every sexist joke told and every sale of a pornographic magazine as symptoms of a sickness called sexism still as rampant and as real as ever regardless of how easy it has become to ignore. We are sitting in corporate board rooms because we are capable and intelligent. We are being abused because we are women.(81-f)

Listening to the many people who are shocked and confused by Marc Lepine's horrific actions has spurred me to attempt to convey my own mixed emotions. I too, as a man, was very angry and hurt when I saw women on T.V. pointing an accusing finger at all man. This man's actions were not those of a well balanced individual. This is not an attempt to belittle his terrible crime, but to say that we must look at the whole picture. It is not a "Good Gal Bad Guy" story. We are all to blame. As a society, we have let our lives become saturated with images, from all forms of media, that degrade and desensitize us all. This is, I think, a problem of profound proportions, and an area where our image of women in general suffers. Over the last few decades, women have made advances through feminism, to help achieve equality of the sexes. The battle of women, for understanding, recognition as equals in our society, is directly contradicted by what we see in the media, in the form of advertising. It is not possible to turn on the T.V. or open a magazine without seeing sensuous, sexy (and of course young) women who are prostituting their bodies and their sex to sell some product. In doing so they jeopardize the possibility of being seen as anything better than a sexual object. When methods such as these are used to shape the ideas of men and women, especially the young, beauty and sex join the ranks of products on the shelves to be bought and sold. Life itself seems trivial in our quest for self-gratification... We all suffer immeasurably from this life where money shapes our ideals. I see a lack of awareness and a callousness in the people around me.... and sends a chill up my spine, when I sit in a crowded theatre and the gory scene is the one that brings a burst of laughter from the audience! It seems that the only way out from here is for more of us, who are disgusted by what we see, to stand and make our feelings known. We must be strong and use our strength, and respect for life, to guide us. This is especially true for our young people who might be growing up without the benefit of an intelligent person to point out the falsehoods inherent in our society. (48-m)

"Boys will be boys..." ¹²

Five writers (3 men and 2 women) "explained" male violence by suggesting it is a genetic trait of maleness. I was surprised to see support for the outdated notion that "biological determinism" "causes" men to be violent and women to be victims. This theory was effectively disproved long ago (Frankel-Howard, 1989:58). In the Ministry of National Health and Welfare publication, Family Violence: A Review of Theoretical and Clinical Literature, Frankel-Howard writes,

[that] This type of thinking is criticized because it does not explain why some men are generally more violent than others, why so many men are non-violent and why some men are violent only to their wives and/or children. MacLeod (1980) writes that this type of theory is used to excuse the assailant (p.23) and MacLeod, Wiebe (1985) and Pagelow (1981) argue that the violent behaviour is learned, not innate. (1989:58)

As a circular argument (i.e. men are violent because men are violent), it provides men with a "scientifically sound" excuse for the violation of women. In addition, if women (or neighbours, family members and public officials) also believe that men are "naturally" violent and women "naturally" victims, then it

¹² There is a wonderfully stimulating video called, "Boys will be...", written and produced by Michael Glassbourg (613) 967-3446. Conceived as a challenge by men to men, and reviewed in the production stages by staff of shelters for women and programs for men who batter, the video explores the issue of male violence on a personal level. In concert with woman-centered facilitation, a discussion on how the four male characters approach male violence could be informative, insightful and powerful.

follows that it is an unsolvable social problem and therefore less deserving of our concern. As dangerous a form of denial as ever there was, this "excuse" and rationalization persists.

I am aware of a treatment program for abusive and violent men that asserts that these men are and will always be, violent. An important component of this program is therefore, to teach men more "acceptable" forms of violent behaviour instead of working towards the ultimate goal of eliminating the violence altogether (Rondeau, 1989:69). I doubt very much if the definition of "acceptable" forms of violent behaviour or the program assumption are based on women's experience.

From experience, I know that it is as personally threatening to have an object such as a car windshield smashed to bits as it is to have one's head, shoulders and back hit, scratched and bruised. I would not find it particularly reassuring to have my abuser take an axe to a tree if he was "expressing in alternative fashion", his anger towards me.

In addition to justifying male violence, these writers' are reflecting the sexist and inaccurate "conventional wisdom" of malestream "science" (Hubbard et al, 1982).

Would the following arguments be applied in clear conscience to explain why 99 out of 100 child sexual offenders are male? ¹³

I am not blind to the violence and unfairness that exists in our society. However I do feel that some of it is unchangeable and as such, does not merit laying blame on innocent people. Your panelists, in accusing our poor educational system, the media, and men in general of having played a role in Marc Lepine's murderous rampage, were attempting to find a rational explanation for an irrational act. (30-f)

But what about the more fundamental problem of violence in our society? It is, after all, not a new problem and it antedates the battle between the sexes. Freud and Einstein, for instance, exchanged views as to the fundamental, aggressive, war-like nature of man in their celebrated correspondence. (14-m)

Almost any man can physically overpower almost any women. That's just the way it is. Until that can be changed, the power struggle in our culture will continue to favour men. That's biology. To alter it would be unthinkable. I am neither pleased nor saddened by this. I am merely a part of this continuum, and as such, I accept the bad with the good. (30-f)

Our society has done little to change men, with the exception of the last two decades. Is it possible to change men? Men since the dawn of time have been hunters and warriors, is it possible that there is a genetic reason for men's violence. Why are they bigger and stronger? (4-male victim of childhood racism, poverty and adult witness to male violence in war and in industry)

The human race is a mammalian species...Being mammals, human males have in the depth of their mind a very muddled association of Sex with Being a Winner. This is something on which advertising plays a lot, telling male potential customers that possession of a certain product will make them Winners who get the girls. And how many Rock musicians started in the field mainly because they figured that Rock stars really get the women, etc. (76-m)

¹³ Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths. "Sexual Offences Against Children in Canada: Summary", Government of Canada, Ottawa, 1984:2

Godlessness

The words of previous writers named some religions and indeed certain passages of the bible as progenitors of male violence and the subjugation of women. In the face of this, it is interesting that out of 247 individuals, 3 felt that lack of adherence to religious doctrine on the part of society and the individuals within, is a cause of violence and subjugation.

Most of us would say we want to act out of love. I'm sure we sincerely mean this. But we are culturally separated from the source of love. Having forgotten, denied, rebelled against the truth "God is Love" we are left to our own pitiful devices. It is this separation that has put us in our present predicament. (88-f)

Where we differ is in delineating what the causes and solutions are. The prophet Jeremia summed it up most succinctly: "The heart is more deceitful than all else, and is desperately sick; who can understand it?" ...Some have their tendency to evil fed and fastened and fueled so that even the common grace of God found in most, is absent. The solution to deceitful, sick hearts does not lie within us. It is external to us. It must come from One who is greater than our hearts - and it will, when we earnestly seek Him. (1-c)

, ... the more I hear of the content of his [Lepine's] letter the more I get the feeling that his actions were a product of the moral breakdown of our Judeo-Christian civilization, which is based on the precepts in the Ten Commandments, rather than on some of the far out reasons your so called feminists, with their persecution complexes, were giving. (81-m)

The Unbalanced Mind

Although only one writer explicitly stated that a cause of male violence is insanity, many others wrote that they believed that Marc Lepine's act was unrelated to male violence in general and solely a function of his mental state.

This material is not reported on elsewhere in this thesis because it is not directly related to male violence as a widespread social phenomena.

Nevertheless, in recognition of the persistence of this myth and its dangerous consequences for women and children (not unlike the myth of biological determinism), I include a literature reference that challenges this notion.

Psychopathology [sic] was, for many years the principal theory of causation in family violence, i.e. it was assumed that people who were violent toward their spouses or children must be mentally ill. This type of thinking is not often found in current literature. Straus (1980) says that, while some abusers are mentally ill [MacLeod states that as few as 3% of wife batterers "have any organic brain damage" 1980:23], the proportion of mental illness is no higher among abusers than it is among the general population. He is critical of the circular argument that anyone who abuses a family member must be insane, noting that there are no independent data comparing violent and non-violent persons in terms of mental illness.

Frankel-Howard, 1989:12

Even with all the violence that goes around most men they are not violent. It is only the unbalanced mind that resorts to violence as an answer to all their problems (4-male victim in childhood of racism, poverty and adult witness to male violence in war and in industry).

Unique Points of View

And finally, some root causes suggested by single writers stand alone in their uniqueness.

Fear, Ignorance and Anger

I will not triumph the cause of 'men' rightly or wrongly accused, nor of 'women'; for that will only tend to segregate and diffuse our common cause. And that is the extinction of injustice itself. Not just violence, that is only one form of injustice of which there are many, many forms. Again fear, ignorance, anger are the root cause. (43-m)

Consumerism

Do you think it is stretching too far to blame consumerism for violent actions in today's society? Violent feelings we have always had, but the intensity of these feelings is so aggravated by consumerism, by wanting to have what others visibly have, that the intensity of violent feelings is aggravated - and the pattern of instant satisfaction which is part of consumerism is part of increasing violent feelings. (2-f)

Overpopulation

Your morning discussion of our outrageous, shameful behavior never mentioned a Universal cause of our violence...population pressures. (5-f)

In the introduction to this chapter, I suggested that we need to understand the causes of male violence against women in order to prevent it from occurring.

I would agree with the writers who believe that violence against women occurs in a social world that promotes violence and aggression in general; that while men may be reacting to the "apparent" rising status of women in society with violence, misogyny must not be tolerated; that violence is a function of socially condoned dominance (or desire for dominance) of men and their wish to have, maintain and wield control over women; that our socialization into rigid sex-role

stereotyped roles promotes violence by teaching that females are second class, that men can't nurture and that ultimately, men are in control; and that unchallenged sexism promotes violence against women and contributes to its perpetuation.

I do not agree with the writers who say that women who are angry about male violence cause violence; that women who choose (or are forced) to work outside of the home cause violence; that men who are angered by the promotion of egalitarianism for women should react with misogyny; that disagreement with one aspect of the struggle for women's autonomy is a valid argument for negating action against male violence against women and children; that violence is a "natural" and therefore unchangeable part of intimate relationships; or that there are over 1,000,000 "insane" men who are "crazy" only in the privacy of their homes.

Nor do I agree that lack of adherence to religious doctrine is a cause of violence and subjugation - several religious organizations across Canada are struggling with the role the church has played in the promotion of violence and are working to address this (The United Church of Canada, 1988; The Church Council on Justice and Corrections, 1988) ¹⁴

¹⁴ For an issue devoted solely to an exploration of initiatives across Canada by religious organizations write to Vis-à-Vis, Canadian Council on Social

But, I wish to qualify my assertion that understanding what causes male violence is necessary for preventing it. While important, it is not an absolute prerequisite.

Prevention can simply be the consequence of acting against "something" we choose not to tolerate regardless of how deeply we have delved into the "causal" relationships.

Elimination of violence against me ("tertiary prevention" according to Andrea J. Sedlak, 1988:319-320) occurred in large degree because my closest friend escorted me to court (where she was rewarded by being spit on by my abuser), gave me groceries she couldn't afford when my child support never arrived (despite court orders), lent me her car to go to work and provided child care so I could return to school (on a monthly income of less \$1,000).

In short, because she was determined that I was going to make it on my own (despite incredible obstacles also put in place by the state) and acted on that determination, her thousands of personal sacrifices enabled me to cope, to achieve self-determination and to survive the staying (10 years) and the leaving (4 years).

Development, Box 3505, Station C, 55 Parkdale, Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 4G1 and ask for a free copy of the Autumn 1986, Vol.4, No. 4 newsletter.

That is prevention too.

In the next chapter, the writers explore prevention as non-abstract, action-oriented ways of living that reflect knowledge of theory, moral beliefs and yes, anger and sorrow.

There can be positive outcomes of anger after all.

CHAPTER SIX

- PREVENTING MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN -

I am in the eight month of my first pregnancy, and was feeling so encouraged that this child was conceived in the same year that the Iron Curtain was torn. The madness in Montreal reminds me that I too had become complacent. If this child is to grow up to be a truly free woman or man, I must not yet cease to fight. This is not a "Good" from the massacre though - and I wish to hell some other event had reminded me of my social responsibility. (11-f)

For my son and other young men (and older men), it is not enough to hear just women's voices. It is essential if the message is to be taken in that it be spoken in a male voice as well. (94-f)

Awareness campaigns should be directed at teenage women so they can understand that the element of control functions in some forms of "love relationships". They should be helped to see, for example, that a boyfriend who phones his girlfriend 22 times a day is not displaying love, but instead is attempting to control her.

MacLeod 1989b:34

In this chapter, the writers speak to prevention. What they offer are positive contributions although I have chosen to include some that are detrimental to women to show that there must be guidelines - derived from pro-feminist theory.

In addition, interspersed throughout this chapter will be passages from two publications which I have found particularly inspiring. Quite simply, they make me feel safer and give me hope that my children will be safer in the years to come.

The first is titled, Raise Your Voice to End Wife Assault: What you can do to help end violence against women and children!, written by women who are survivors of male violence who form the Violence Overcome in Creative Ensemble (V.O.I.C.E.) theatre group in Toronto (known by many as the actresses in "Fires of Transformation"). Targeted to friends, relatives, neighbours, communities, health and social service providers, lawyers, police, judges, educators, the clergy, shelter workers and society as a whole, they offer simple and effective "Do Now" and "Don't Do Ever" guidelines to help women and children have alternatives to violence.

The second is a more philosophical source titled, Preventing Wife Battering: Towards a New Understanding, written by Linda MacLeod (1989) and available through the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Ottawa. Struggling with the complexity of prevention as social action, MacLeod reports on a two day think tank which she participated in with eleven other women, all active for many years across Canada in the work of women against male violence against women and children. Collectively, they discussed, negotiated, agreed on and shared their personal commitments that, born of their work with thousands of survivors, they see as intrinsic to widespread prevention.

Turning to the Morningside letter writers, I have chosen to present their ideas on prevention as formal recommendations to Canadians. The reader should bear in mind that the letters were addressed to Peter Gzowski and tell him what

what is needed, although some specifically requested that their ideas be shared openly. I have taken their visions and provided a way for them to contribute to prevention and understanding in acknowledgement of their wisdom and the importance of expanding involvement in this issue beyond the present horizons. I hope I have done them justice.

Tied with this, I have contributed to the impact of their visions by improving the visual and grammatical quality of the passages where necessary. Specifically, I have removed individual sentences or words in the body of an excerpt not always including square brackets or a series of periods to enable a point to be made more clearly without distracting visual "busy-ness". In all cases I have respected the original meaning of each "edited" passage.

The writers' material determined the organization of this chapter. Although some prevention ideas were targeted at institutions (religion, the police and courts, the media, families, politicians and government), most were directed within or between the two genders (woman to women, woman to men, women to all, men to all, man to men, man to women) and are presented as such.

Preceding some sets of recommendations are found "Reaction into Action" passages. These contain excerpts where the writers explain what their second reactions were to the Montreal massacre that resulted in some change for them

or, personal ways in which they act against some aspect of violence in their daily lives. Whether through individual action or reflection, in this chapter, theory is redefined and brought into life.

Of the 247 people who wrote the letters of this sample, 106 (43%) contributed to a vision of what prevention is or can be. Of these, 66 were women (62% of 106 or 50% of all of the women) and 39 were men (37% of 106 or 38% of all men). One contributor is of unknown gender.

Of the 46 pages of text in the "prevention" research file, women provided two thirds (30 pages). The topic of prevention received the highest level of attention as measured by the number of people responding to it and the amount of text devoted to it. Women in particular took prevention to heart.

Does the greater number of women speaking to preventing male violence in depth signify that men are less informed? That insight into prevention is born of the experience of violation? That women have more reason to care?

Whatever the source, the words from women and men that follow bear listening to.

What is needed?

As presented in the background material in Chapter Three, women can be socialized into being "automatically" cautious and developing self-protecting rituals to prevent acts of male violence against them. I welcome the day when this is not a common experience for women.

WOMAN TO WOMEN

- Reaction into Action -

Mark's act has served the purpose for me of bringing my voice to the fore. I will be silent no longer. (53-f)

I have spent a long time composing this letter. I am not in the habit of responding to public issues, but this one has hit square on. (77-f)

I am certainly going to promote this kind of thing [teaching men how to raise their consciousness] in some way. (98-f)

Since it [massacre] happened I have listened to and questioned many people on their reactions to it and feelings about it. After all the input I've had and all the time I've had to reflect on what Marc Lepine did you would think that I would have come to some sort of reconciliation of the issues. I have not. I am still disturbed, confused and saddened - even more than I was before. The range of feelings that I am experiencing are, I think, a reflection of the seriousness of this horrifying event. Marc Lepine's senseless slaughter has brought to the forefront so many of the issues that men and women must address if our culture is to develop into one where men and women are equals and are mutually supportive. It has taken me until now to realize that true feminism isn't about having hairy legs and bashing men. Feminism is about respect and consideration for one another. I know now that I have been a feminist all along, though I never considered myself one before. It took the lives of fourteen women to show me the kind of world I'm striving for and I have faith that we will have it someday. I hope you will keep talking about the issues that surround the events in Montreal...I know I will. (60-f)

I have also been forced to do some soul searching. As a wife, mother and grandmother, what expectations have I taught - consciously or unconsciously? What signals have I given as a woman? What do my sons really feel about women? Was "never hit a girl", "always let women go first", "stand when a woman enters the room", etc. enough? Must I too, accept some of the blame for the tragedy? My cosy world has cracked! (28-f)

I mentioned earlier that I am a soon to be student after a ten year absence. I know that I will be watching those around me very carefully. Not for knives and semi-automatic rifles, but for attitudes and unconscious sexist behavior, men and women both. As I write this I think I shall start a journal on what I observe. Perhaps I shall learn something, perhaps I will finally discover what it is that I am afraid of and then I will be able to face it and deal with it, for I want to know what it is. (34-f)

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WOMAN TO WOMEN

What every woman can do

- It is** my responsibility to let people know when I feel they are being sexist; to express my outrage at not feeling safe walking alone along the beach in the middle of the day, or walking alone at night, or going into empty, unfamiliar neighbourhoods, or sitting in a car that has broken down, or in my house - alone, or at my office. (70-female child victim of multiple male sexual abuse)
- I** call on all women to address their concerns by speaking out, in any way they can, to assure that we are heard. (8-female adult victim of multiple male misogynists)
- I** need to begin - to write this letter, to say to my family and the small segment of society I meet with - this is not right! We all need to share our fears, our anger, our sorrow and hope, to somehow gather these together and find our common ground. (87-f)

What women can do for and with other women

- It is** my responsibility to let my nieces know this is the world they live in: I must help them envision a safer world, so they may try to live that vision - but I must also teach them to carry their keys

splayed through their fingers, to walk fast and sure, if they need to ask for help, ask only women, to not go places alone after dark. I need to teach them to not hate all men, to take responsibility for their own anger and fear and direct it at the source (sexists, rapists, child molesters, whomever it is they encounter). To find appropriate outlets for their anger. And, god forbid, it will be my responsibility to be there, alongside their mother, when they are raped by their boyfriends, husbands, or strangers, when they are assaulted at work, on the bus, or in the grocery, when they are sneered or jeered simply because they are female. (70-female child victim of multiple male sexual abuse)

I have not been raped or attacked and am in a satisfying, heterosexual relationship. I do not want to apologize for my strong words. However, it is important that the voice of an "ordinary" woman be heard and that my outrage not be dismissed because of some life experience or orientation. I do not believe that I am the only woman to feel this way but if I and others do not speak out, scream our anger and wail our tears, women will continue to be silenced. (53-f)

Women have to convince the "nice" men - husbands, boyfriends, fathers and friends that gender related violence is not rare and it doesn't just happen to other people in other towns and neighbourhoods. I suspect that every woman in your audience has at least one story to tell. And I wish that every woman in your audience would start talking about them. The only way this society is ever going to come to terms with unspoken hatred is when women say "Yes it's happened to me." (7-female child/adult victim of male pursuit)

How Women Can Influence Individual Men

We have to find ways of listening to each other more, and that women, because our lives are at stake, may have to start by listening to men, not in the old ways of being always there for support, but by getting them to tell about their lives, what it was like for them growing up, who stood up for them, etc. I believe that Michele Landsberg, in her column had the right idea, but it probably has to be done on a more individual level. Most men have learned to squelch their feelings, and hence avoid talking about themselves on a deep level, even those who think they do. Women met in large numbers in the sixties and seventies to talk about their lives. A

few men are beginning to do this in the new "men's groups" and in batterer's groups, but there is no picture of how a man can be proud of being a man without bringing in the macho stuff. Those who try are often labeled "wimps", the adult equivalent of the schoolboy sissy. It may be a bit early to think of this on a very wide scale at this time, but maybe we could have men-woman support groups, telling the others his or her story without blame, reproach, judgement or evaluation and in complete confidentiality, and in some way affect these both formally and informally. (Radio and/or TV could be useful here.) (98-f)

WHAT WOMEN WANT MEN TO DO

Many women insisted that men must take responsibility both for changing their own beliefs and behaviours but also for challenging other men and sexist, violent social structures.

Sadly, but importantly, it is a challenge that is also mounted against those involved in the area of treatment (re-education) of abusive men where accountability to womens' experience and our organizations is absent or given lip service (Dankwort, 1988b:114; Goodwin et al, 1990:11; Letters, Vis-à-Vis, 1990:12-13).

I suggest that all men consider the following.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It's time that men ask of themselves the question that they have been asking women since the advent of feminism - what do men really want? And I long for honest answers. Do they really want to continue to operate in this world as first class citizens exercising in every way their positions of privilege; allowing women to 'play in their sandbox' as accessible servants but only paying 'women dollars' now estimated at .62 cents per male dollar; tolerating the background noise of female subservience and violation that is everywhere in the media; denying respect and value for activities that do not drive the economy but serve to care for and nurture the life of others who are dependent or infirm. I long to hear men participating in such a discussion in ways that demonstrate careful reflection on their own behaviour. In addition to that discussion I long for actions. When are men going to state to their bosses and their colleagues in their workplace that they will no longer tolerate the discrepancies in wages. Or the small numbers of token women in positions of real decision-making. Or the lack of good quality, easily accessible day care? Or the way employees (usually women) are penalized in subtle ways for taking time out from the really important stuff of the 'real world' to care for the lives of others. And when will they initiate the many actions required to change the present reality that child care workers, foster parents, and nurses are the lowest paid occupational groups in this country and that sole support mothers and their children are the poorest people in this country? And when will men start organizing boycotts of products sold through sexist advertisements, and of video stores that distribute videos which depict violence over others? (29-f)

It's time to hear men admitting that there is a problem with male violence in our society, and talking about how to solve it. Some men do; some men work with each other and with women for change. I respect these men and cherish their efforts. But no substantial change can occur until all men become involved in this process. Until men criticize each other for sexist jokes. Until they try to learn from women what we consider acceptable, and why. Until male politicians support programs that support women's struggle for equality. Until men admit the existence of violence against women in all it's forms, talk about among themselves, and accept that it is a male problem. Until men as a whole grow up and accept the responsibilities of being human.(36-f)

I was incensed when you kept pushing the women to, as you said, "deal with" that idiotic, sick letter from the "man" in T.O.. Good for you! The victims of patriarchal, oppressive history past and present continue to be called on to deal with this garbage. Would you insist on this approach had the writer said he was giving up on the CBC because there was too much attention given to disabled people; to our native people; to people over 65; to male politicians? Or would you at that point, have realized what you were dealing with and that it's up to all of us to act and speak for justice and fairness??? Yes, women do have a big responsibility to speak and to act for human liberation and against male or any other oppression/dominance. But where are the "liberated men" playing leading roles educating and conscientizing other men? Where are the male bake sales to raise money for shelters and programs to deal with men who batter so that women and children don't have to flee their homes?? How about talking with men about initiatives and actions men can take to change our society? These are not "women's issues" - they belong to all of us and it behooves men to move out of their privileged, objective and largely passive position and start acting for change. Maybe then women will begin to believe there is hope for shared, equal humanity. (105-f)

I believe that it is my responsibility to acknowledge my own racism, no matter how unconscious it may be to me, and to constantly work to change that conditioning. I believe that all men in a misogynist society have the same responsibility. I don't expect you to really "get it", Peter; but I do expect you, and well-meaning men like you, to believe women when we "get it" in such a gut-wrenching, visceral way that we can see the faces of our sisters, mothers, friends, and loved ones - our own faces - superimposed on the faces of the dead women in Montreal; and when we can see, instead of Marc Lepine's face, the faces of our fathers, brothers, husbands, male friends, any male stranger we meet on the street. (45-female adult victim of male rage)

I have reached the end of my patience with the institutional sexism which helps reinforce such twisted ideas of all the other Marc Lepines out there. This tragedy has done very little to raise men's consciousness as witnessed by some comments I received tonight when walking down my street, which made me once more feel afraid. Until men as a group and individually take ownership of their fears and prejudices and attitudes and begin to understand

that they must actively seek out, understand and change their behaviours, there will never be a society where women are partners and equality of persons. That after all is what "feminism" and "women's liberation" is truly about: the equality of all persons, not just women, under the law. (47-f)

For Men who wish to take responsibility

The material upon which this research is based is rich in choices. One such choice is that between the consideration of whether or not one will take on responsibility for preventing male violence and, acting on having accepted that responsibility. With such a range of options, there are fewer excuses for not doing something.

The following recommendations from women are directed to men who may or may not be abusive or violent, but, recognize in themselves, a need to participate in a solution. For their part, these women offer a multitude of ways that men can participate and build upon their innate sense of justice.

- Reaction into Action -

Last night, when my husband saw my tears for those beautiful women in Montreal and when he understood that there are tears yet to come, he finally said he'd write a postcard [of outrage to politicians]. Such small victories we have; such joy they give. (73-f)

When I see this [how women deal with men and how men deal with women: problems], I fight it, sometimes gently and sometimes aggressively. I challenge attitudes when there is room for dialogue. I do not participate when gender aggression is apparent. And I actively lobby for political and organizational changes which will foster greater communication and understanding between men and

women. *Although the term "feminist" is not one with which I identify, I am actively supportive of most feminist initiatives, as they manifestly attempt to improve a horribly unfair situation. (16-m)*

I've been struggling with many thoughts raised in the aftermath of the tragic murders and shootings of the women and men at the University of Montreal last week. Your panel stimulated me to put some of those thoughts on paper. (33-m)

I responded [to the news] by calling my female friends and giving what support I could to them and by seeking support for myself from my like minded male friends. I wrote the attached letter to the Saskatoon Star Phoenix and Regina Leader Post. (78-m)

I was so disturbed by something that you did, quite unconsciously, during discussion on Friday morning, of the Montreal tragedy, that I called the radio station. However, I feel that my concern is important enough that I should take the time to write about it as well. (23-f)

One extraordinary woman (9-f) produced pages of ways in which men can respond to male violence and abuse as a,

response to the question from those men who already have decided they want to change and to make change, to reduce violence against women and to make compensation for injustices that have been done against women. I think it is important just to start to make change - not to get stuck, hung up on whether all men should do everything on the list, or on whether each suggestion is "correct". What to do is for each man to decide, in consultation with people whose opinion he respects. (9-f)

The task which she took on is a remarkable contribution to prevention on its own and demonstrates how simple it is to participate for I am confident that others will act on her suggestions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

For men who wish to take responsibility on behalf of women in general

- Help** women-only events: (rallies, Reclaim the Night marches, strategy meetings) with: child care; catering (food and drink: preparation and setting it out); rent-free space; free or low-cost technical services: equipment, furniture, vehicles; money: no strings attached (9-f)

- Help** organize and pay for child care at work even if you don't need it for your own kids (9-f)

- Hire** women, pay women well, welcome women in all areas of life, push for affirmative action (9-f)

- Make** your work-space safe and efficient for women (9-f)

- Enable** or assist the women and girls in your life to become able to protect themselves verbally and physically. Send the girls to martial arts classes. Teach girls that their bodies are important and that they should protect their bodies from assault (lots of us grow up believing otherwise). Possibly the best of the good results of such advice is the internal permission to fight on one's own behalf - and to hurt the attacker badly if need be. You, as a caring man in a woman's or girl's life, can give important support by indicating that it is all right for her to defend herself.(9-f)

- Challenge** misogynist remarks, jokes, policies, and actions. Join, form a Men Against Sexism or Men Against Violence Against Women group.(9-f)

- Go** to films by women. NFB's Studio "D" and "Regards des femmes" put out many excellent films on women's issues. Buy or rent the videos. Have the films shown at your men's group, church group, business group, whatever. (9-f)

- Try** to balance the genders of voices you hear (TV, radio, tapes), books and articles you read, teachers and friends and influences. Notice how difficult it is, how hard you have to work to get 50% female input into your life. Listening to more women's voices will change your life. With the above in mind (the predominance of man's

voices), back off. Speak less. Listen more. Let other people, too, hear less from men and more from women. Body language speaks loudly. Experiment with taking up less space and feeling less powerful (that is, dominant) by adapting your posture. When you are sitting in a room or on a bus, for example, keep your knees together and your hands folded in your lap. When you are walking, or standing in a crowd, keep your elbows in. When your path would intersect that of a woman or another man's, step aside, yield, instead of maintaining your course. Notice how this all feels, and consider that almost all women do this normally, either out of conditioning (to be deferential, passive) or from a sense of caring more about others' convenience than our own. After you have done the above exercise, when you are interacting with women, tone down your body language to be only as aggressive as, or less aggressive than theirs. They will feel better. You may, too. (9-f)

- Accept** that women don't owe you attention, approval, a smile, a date. Don't criticize or attack us if we don't smile back, don't accept your offers of help, or don't want to go out with you. Continue to like the women who turn you down! (9-f)
- Continue** to be a nice guy whether or not it gets you what you want from women. If a woman is afraid, don't call her "paranoid", don't even think she's paranoid. Ask what you can do to help. Then do it or leave, or both. Think about what has made her fearful. Believe her experience. (9-f)
- Accept** the validity of women's experience even when you don't share or understand it. Thank women when they tell you about their experiences and their perceptions: they are adding to your knowledge of the world. (9-f)
- Pay** attention to what women tell you. Try to believe it or be open to believing it some day. (9-f)
- See** the "female" in you, however you define it. Love your inner women/girl. Be proud of her. Argue for her. Support her. Treat her well. Notice who her friends are and cultivate those friends. Avoid people who mistreat your feminine side. Affirm the "female" traits in others. Value them. Pay for them with good money, promotions, respects, praise. Make sure that you are valuing women's female traits just as much as men's (9-f)

Avoid the scam of rewarding "feminist" men while continuing to exploit and oppress women. Understand that while misogyny is about woman-hating, feminism is not about hating men. Nor is lesbianism. Feminism is about working for women's equality and women's liberation. Lesbianism is about women loving women. To define or describe feminists or lesbians as man-hating is invidious. What we hate is the hateful treatment that women experience at the hands of misogynist men. You can hate it too. Remain open to change and to challenge. Welcome this growth. (9-f)

For men who wish to take responsibility against male violence

- Reaction into Action -

I've since, reluctantly come to accept the fact that I, as a person, am, by no doing of my own, associated with a group that has a rich history of inflicting grave injustices on others and that probably, despite my protests, this group will continue in this tradition for some time to come. I cannot escape it. I must take my share of the responsibility for being that part of humanity that is the male gender. Helplessness and despair also have followed in the wake of this tragedy. The other night I was sitting in our living room watching TV and for no particular reason, I began to cry. At the time I didn't know why and my wife, concerned, cradled me there as I gently wept. I see now, that in a small way, Montreal was a part of those tears. But others have cried many more tears and mine are insignificant in comparison. (43-m)

I have been listening...to the on-going discussion on Morningside about the Montreal massacre and felt that I wanted to contribute also to the discussion. I wrote this piece for the Greater Victoria Disarmament Group newsletter 'Update'. It was published earlier this month. (25-m)

As a friend, let her know she is not alone. Battered women feel they don't have anyone to talk to. Speak openly with her about your suspicions and encourage her to talk....Read and collect brochures and information to pass on to her. Talk to others. The more you know about this problem the more you can offer someone in need.

Call the police if you hear a neighbour being battered....You can remain anonymous. The police don't have to act on your call, but at least it will be on record.

Don't tell her what to do, when to leave or when not to leave.

Don't tell her the man has calmed down or has promised never to beat her again.

Don't talk to her husband about it.

Don't tell her she shouldn't feel afraid

V.O.I.C.E.:2-3

RECOMMENDATIONS

- If** you are aware of a neighbour's violence, do not ignore it: deal with it. Be present, visible, report it. Offer aid to the woman, to come forward as a witness. Make it clear to the violent man and to his target that you are not going to let the violence or intimidation continue. Then follow up. (9-f)
- Help** the abused woman in practical ways to leave him. Make sure she has enough money. Find her a place where she can stay (and understand if she doesn't want even you to know where it is).(9-f)
- Help** her to keep her whereabouts secret from the abuser. (9-f)
- Help** make sure the children will be taken care of.(9-f)
- Help** her find paying work, daycare, transportation, whatever she needs in order to become independent of the abuser. Become part of her support system, and withdraw from his. And remember that you are doing this because you believe that she has a right to be free of the abuser; she is not obligated to you if you help her. She may mistrust your motives; try to understand that this is logical for her. Let her decide the ways that you can help. (9-f)
- Every** time you hear that your male friend, family member, or neighbour has committed an act of violence (intimidated a woman, slapped his wife, girlfriend, sister or daughter; forced sex; or worse) you can demand that he pay a double compensation - one to the woman, one to a shelter for victims of male violence. Let the one to the woman be one that meets her need: let her specify what it shall be. Let the one to a shelter be enough to pay the financial

costs of the violent action (e.g a day's pay; taxi, ambulance, hotel, clothing costs; medical costs - even if they were covered by insurance). The idea is that the abusive man pay what he has cost society as well as compensating the woman. (9-f)

For men who wish to take responsibility against harassment

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WOMAN TO MEN

- If** you see a woman being attacked or in any way physically coerced, **INTERVENE**. Yell for help. Call the police. Notice the abuser's traits so you can identify him later. (9-f)
- If** a woman is being harassed or you think she may be being harassed, act to help her without necessarily expecting her to trust you or thank you. Act on your own behalf against the wrong. Talk back to the men involved. Make it clear you are watching and will report any trouble. Distract the harassers until the woman can get away. Attract a crowd. Dangerous? Right - but women are in more danger to begin with. You may be willing to risk some of your own safety in order to reduce the danger for women. (9-f)

For men who want to address the fiscal cost of male violence against women ¹⁵

As a concerned citizen, you can make a huge difference in the lives of abused women and children in your community. There are several varied services you can contribute toward providing, each of which is essential to ensuring the safety and well-being of battered

¹⁵ The fiscal price of intervention against the consequences of male violence would have to consider the national cost of medical, counselling, judicial, policing, sheltering, education and training services. Prevention would include staffing, education and training costs in and outside of all levels of government. Using 1980's figures, it is roughly estimated that at least \$72 million is spent annually on just two aspects of male violence: policing and sheltering (MacLeod, 1987:37).

women and children. Please get involved in the following initiatives:

[shelters or safe homes, affordable housing, drop-in or support centers for women and children, transportation, fundraising for families in crisis, donation of goods and services, sponsoring a family, volunteering of time, translation, literacy tutoring, public education forums, lobby groups, agency networking]

V.O.I.C.E.:4-5

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WOMAN TO MEN

Fact	for every \$65 a woman earns, a man earns \$100. This is one way that every man benefits from society's exploitation of women. You could tithe 17% of your income to specific women, "no strings attached", and/or to feminist causes such as: Women's Centres, Abortion rights, CARAL, Shelters for Women (from male violence), National Action Committee for the Status of Women, Agnes McPhail fund for women (NDP), Women Against Violence Against Women. (9-f)
Men	should pay alimony and child support and other debts without hassle and without expecting or demanding things like access to the woman or the children, praise, etc., in return. Negotiate for those other things if you want but don't withhold the money if you owe it. (9-f)
Men	can pay compensation for their own past errors of violence, whether they have committed acts of violence against women or merely allowed abuse by other men to continue. Make retribution to the victim if you can; also make a donation to a women's shelter or a womens' organisation against male violence, to account for the cost of your actions to society. (9-f)
Violence	is not only a moral and emotional wrong: it costs money. Women, bear the costs of the violence directed at them. Men who want to take responsibility for male violence directed at them should make significant financial contributions (in addition to 17% tithing) to women's shelters and women's centres on an ongoing basis. (9-f)

- When** you would normally send birthday and Christmas gifts to other men, instead send money, on behalf of those men, to women's groups. Continue to send gifts and money to the women to whom you normally give. Ask people who give you gifts to send money instead to women's groups. (9-f)
- Support** women's culture, "women's events" with gifts of money. Women's culture builds women's self-esteem (among other things) and helps us and society to value women more, which should lead to less violence against women. And in supporting women's culture you help to diminish and replace our current violent culture. (9-f)

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WOMAN TO MEN

The following suggestions for men relate to helping women feel safe. The writer is speaking to men who perhaps already recognize that in general, women do not feel safe in the streets, in tunnels, in parking garages or in their homes. I would ask men who are unaware that women feel this way, to use this section to reflect.

For helping women feel safe with you

- If** a woman is walking alone at night, help her to feel safer, not by walking with her but by keeping your distance. Cross the street and walk on the other side, so she won't have to cross the street to get away from you. Walk ahead of her if you can; don't follow close behind. (9-f)
- Show** your face and open hands. Don't speak to her unless she speaks to you. If a woman thinks you are threatening her and yells at you or otherwise challenges you, resist the desire to justify yourself or argue with her; back off, move away, apologize or do whatever it is she needs you to do. If you know her, you can contact her later to resolve the problem in a non-threatening (for her) situation. If she is a stranger, just try to remember that your goal is for her to

feel safe, not for her to think you're a great guy. You can know you're a great guy! (9-f)

Show us [you care] by listening to our testimonies, and believing them. We lay in your arms and tell you of rapes and abuse on the street. We write poems and songs and make films about these realities. Because they are realities, and no less so than the grim realities of those fourteen women. Don't wait for us to join them. Don't wait until after we're raped, we, your friends, and wives, and sisters and daughters. I want you to know these things. And if you know them already, I want you to believe these things. And if you believe these things, then I want you to feel them. And not stop. Let it be a shard in your being and your understanding of humanity. I feel it. I need you to feel it. Then if I feel that something is not quite right, that the hate is too close, I'll know you're right there with me on it. (127-f)

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WOMAN TO MEN

For men who can reach other men

So often in this work, the voices of women have been heard to ask that men's voices join them in outrage and challenge. In this section, women ask that men reach each other. In the men's section, they too will ask.

What can men do? TALK! LOUDLY! CLEARLY to other men. Don't allow this to become "just another women's issue" so easy to dismiss. So I ask you and the other men who do care - for your sons and mine - SPEAK OUT. DON'T FORGET. (94-f)

What can men do to stop violence against women? And promote their equality? The following is what I say endlessly to my husband, who, until the Montreal massacre, was damned sick of listening to me carrying on about all the hateful things I see in our society directed against women and children. (He's the original nice guy, too nice to see that his complacency is read by the producers of such violence as consent.) I say to him, and have for several years now, write a postcard. That's it. When you see crap on TV that turns your stomach, be it in humour, for titillation, or in deadly

earnest, write a postcard to the offending station. Write a postcard to a politician. Write a postcard to a newspaper. Say what you want to say: stop the hateful films; stop the hateful jokes; stop selling semi-automatic rifles in Canada; stop letting anti-female pornography into the country, just as we stop anti-Semitic pornography from coming into the country; stop whatever you see needs stopping. Use your own voice; proudly sign your name. (73-f)

I asked my husband whether or not he and his colleagues at work (all men) discussed the murder of 14 women the night before, his reply disappointed and shocked me. It had not been mentioned at all. I asked him what they had talked about and he explained that it was just the usual conversations about work and other stuff. I am very certain that there wasn't a Canadian woman alive who did not speak of the horrendous act of December 6. I know that everywhere I went on Dec. 7 and every phone conversation I had, women were talking of their fear and distress knowing a man could hate women so much that their deaths to him were a logical conclusion. It saddens me to know that my husband and his colleagues could not, would not or, even worse, did not think it important enough to discuss the Montreal massacre. Their lack of courage, honesty and concern increases my fear, anger and frustration. When will women's concerns become men's concerns? How can women expect to obtain the same rights as men if men don't even consider the pre-meditated murder of 14 women, because they are women, as an important enough social event in Canadian history to mention over coffee or lunch? (84-f)

Men have to start dealing with their own sex and getting the message out to their work companeros and friends and whoever they are in contact with that violence against women is unacceptable. They have to start asking questions about what is it about men that make so many of them feel that they can vent their frustrations and anger in violent acts against women. The men on your panel and you yourself said that you challenge sexist jokes among your confreres. I am glad to hear this. But too few men do this. The vast majority of men say that I don't act like this. I don't have any responsibility to challenge the violence that they see perpetrated against them even if they have not experienced this violence personally. You asked the women panelists to respond to the letter you read from the man in Toronto. Why should the women respond? A man wrote it. The men should respond. They should

tell this man that views like this perpetuate the hatred and violence against women. Obviously since he had such loathing for the views of women, he might be more moved to listen if a man responded. V'omen have had to endure the pain of rape, wife abuse, low wages, poverty and discrimination. Now they are expected to put energy into changing the attitudes of people who have been responsible for most of it. Men must take more responsibility for whatever it is in our society, socialization and educational systems that is pushing so many of them to respond with violence to anything or anyone that challenges them. (85-f)

Men need to find their own voice, their own understanding and not turn to women. They need to talk to each other and not ask the Michelle Landsbergs and Emily Steeds to talk to the man who wrote angrily about his way of life having been displaced by feminist preoccupation. You do it. We do not want to reassure his fears, to mother him. You find the vitality in what men can offer and find ways of talking to him about the changes to be of benefit to him. It will have a credibility that we will never have. Then maybe we can join together with a vision enriched by what both men and women have to offer independently, not derived through a window provided or allowed by one sex to the other.(38-f)

FROM WOMEN TO ALL

- Reaction into Action -

The madness in Montreal reminds me that I too had become complacent. (11-f)

However, individually, we must all reach out to each others' hands. With this affirmation I will say "No more." (91-f)

I still hurt. The great-granddaughter of Gudrun must hurt when women are attacked for being women. But, talking and listening and reading and being with the people closest to my personal community, through the hurt I have a sense of hope that a horror of this magnitude has, finally, led a lot of us to stop and look and consider. With hope we can go on. (43-f)

We will encourage others in the community to share responsibility for and responsiveness to, both the experiences of violation and the community's responses to violation.

We will communicate to others that violation is also part of the experiences of all women, and of many men.

We will celebrate women for their courage in taking their first steps toward empowerment, and will not judge them if they choose a course different from ours.

We will embrace solutions which may be partial but which support the things women are prepared to do to lessen their violation.

We will validate and emphasize community activities which strengthen communities and strengthen families in ways which reinforce different types of families and noncontrolling lifestyles.

We will remember that the healing is in the accountability, in making the problem public.

We will build our solutions on a recognition that woman violation is one part of a plethora of issues, and part of almost everything that affects women in our current society.

MacLeod 1989b:28-29

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION

There are women who, from experience, from commitment, from belief or from need, cannot work with men on the issue of male violence.¹⁶ There are men

¹⁶ For a feminist critique of the anger expressed by many across Canada because some women needed to mourn the massacre on their own terms, see Lakeman, Lee "The Backlash Against Feminism: Women, Violence and the Montreal Massacre", This Magazine, Vol. 23 #7, March 1990:20-23 and/or write to the Northern Woman's Centre, 184 Camelot St., Thunder Bay, Ontario for their woman-centered, "analysis of the events and media coverage which followed the massacre of women on Montreal on December 6".

who because of anger, lack of understanding or fear, refuse to accept that some women cannot and will not work with men. But, there are also women who work with men and men who work with women.

Once again, the diversity of choices available makes it difficult to deny that we all have a place we can put ourselves ideologically, in preventing violence against women.

- I am waiting for all of us, men and women, to agree that this problem of violence against women is not just a woman's problem - it is a societal problem. The responsibility lies with our children, grandchildren, colleagues, lovers, friends, employers, politicians, educators, students, church leaders, workers, psychologists. The responsibility lies with me. (70-female child victim of multiple male sexual abuse)
- I read [a saying] last week which is attributed to Gandhi: "It is a very little thing that you do, but it is so very important that you do it." At the top of our tree, where the star would normally be, someone had stuck a brilliant yellow touque. It became my beacon of hope. "Society must change," Father Louis said. "The change must begin with each of us. What am I doing?" Maybe all I can do is help a group of two and three year olds make chains of everyone holding hands, while we talk about how important it is to love and care for everyone in the world. Maybe all Jack and Marc can do is speak up when they hear a locker room joke. But, maybe, it is so very important that we do it. (43-f)
- I believe we must stand on a question of values - saying, together, in many voices but unanimously, NO-VIOLENCE IS WRONG. (104-f)
- We need to work together as a society, men and women, blacks and white, Jews and Gentiles, to look at these wrongs against other humans as an issue which is equally important to all of us.(56-f)

- We** need to collectively validate each individual person, supporting each in the reclamation of personal power from within. (17-f)
- We** have to work at changing the society that produces people filled with as much anger as Marc Lepine. When the seed of a person's life is left to grow in such toxic soil, is it any wonder that the result is something repugnant and frightening? (102-f)
- We** might begin to search within ourselves and discuss with others, men and women, this highly symbolic act of Mark Lepine... WE will not be able to explain the behavior of Mark Lepine, his deliberate searching out and murdering women as "feminists", without looking into the depths of our collective psyche and the myths and symbols that shape us as individuals and as a society.(6-u)
- We** need to look at the casual acceptance of violent expressions in our language, at the "heroes" we're taught to admire, not only in time of war, but in politics, sports, corporations, business, law, all facets of life. We need to stop fostering the adversarial mode and look to one of cooperation and mutual concern. We need to LIVE the values to which we frequently give lip service but infrequently exemplify. (62-f)
- We** need to take the "Feminist Movement" one step further and turn it into the "Human Movement". Women and men working together for a more humane caring society, one where your ability to develop is not hampered by your sex, color, race, religion etc. (49-f)
- We** must take responsibility for the acceptance Canadians have for violence toward women and children. As Edmund Burke said "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil, is for good men (and women) to do nothing". (14-f)
- If** we choose to make it so, it can be a time for drawing closer together, a time for talk and understanding and education. (34-f)

FROM MEN TO ALL

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION

In speaking to all, women used the words "collective" "working together" and "drawing closer together". The following men are ostensibly speaking to men and women, but have nothing to do with working together collectively.

The first asks men to grow emotionally as a contribution to prevention but the role for women is to take responsibility for that growth. This is sexism.

Women had a liberating movement, they have "come a long way." Men too need that kind of liberation, freeing themselves from the shackles of macho masculinity, being free, able and secure in expressing feelings, emotions and themselves. Women can help. But it will not happen as long as men are collectively blamed for every act against women. It will never happen as long as men are prevented from mourning and expressing their feelings and outrage alongside women at midnight vigils. Men and women need each other to help each other to grow. (32-m)

Women can not and will not win this struggle without first securing more support from influential men... women who exclude men from the so-called "inner circle" or who present themselves as sex toys are as defiling to other women as men who beat their wives. Men and women who truly believe in gender equality know that they must work together every step of the way. (90-m)

The second suggests prevention will occur only when all men and women are working together (a responsibility to be borne by women regardless of their own needs).

For reasons unstated, he fails to recognize that brutalized women and their advocates have a right to protect their physical and emotional safety every minute of every day and to determine the ways in which that safety is compromised.

Our (women's) commitment and struggle to protect ourselves is not an act of defilement against women; neither is our anger or our despair.

This misogynistic excerpt is silencing of women (complicity) in its most pervasive form - a voice of "reason".

MAN TO MEN

It is difficult to explain mixed feelings about men taking on responsibility for male violence - but they are there. Part of the unease that I feel is the result of the energy needed to explain why women have identified sexism as something that must change before violence against us ceases. When you understand violence, you see the threat that sexism poses to its elimination. When you don't understand violence, sexism takes on less importance. Not challenging it supports it.

Few men realize how it feels to be asked to explain and justify our vision. To do so sometimes means we "put aside" our bone-chilling knowing, inside, each time a woman dies, in order to teach. I move between patience and impatience.

Sincerity in men is not always enough to deal with the anger, the fear and the horror we feel. But sincerity and woman-centered "man growth" is certainly needed.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION

Give Up Our Silence

The park should be made safe for everyone to enjoy. Once that is seen as the problem, it is likely that a group might find resources in the community to make the park safer for all people. I use the above as an example of how we tend to see issues as "women's problems" instead of seeing the system implications. We as men must begin to see our part in the problem. We must begin to look at the systems and processes that promote men at the expense of women. Men must stop other men who demean women by cutting them off in conversations or ignoring their opinions. (22-m)

Men [must] begin to acknowledge, to themselves, that they do have emotional needs; begin to share these feelings with other men in a supportive manner so that the levels of shame we experience can be reduced; begin to firmly speak out to other men against all forms of violence against women from the most trivial to the most horrific. It must become socially unacceptable amongst men to deal with our feeling in such a way; begin to find "heroes" who embody a new manhood which allows emotional expression without shame; begin to allow others - both men and women - past the barriers of denial so that we may receive some loving-care; begin to allow nurturance outside the sexual realm, so that caring, nonsexual relationships can be established with both men and women. This would also reduce the pressure on men that leads to homophobia;

not lose track of the positive, wonderful aspects of being males, but become more fully, confidently and happily male. (21-m)

Men must begin to fight for a democracy that includes women as equals, in the home, at work and in other social setting. Women have taken the first steps. More men must join their ranks. Men must give up their prerogative to be silent on these issues. Those of us who say, I'm not a sexist, I don't treat women unfairly, must look past our individual level of analysis. We must realize that our silence condones a system that does oppress women. If we are not actively against oppression of women then we are supporting a system that has historically exploited women, and continues to oppress them. At the individual level we must speak out when other men act as oppressors or "look the other way". We must carry some of the burden for the change, if we want to make the Montreal massacre an aberration and not simply an extension of how men treat women in our society. (22-m)

As men [we] must face and ponder and act to redress, whether we be husbands, bosses, professors, co-workers or politicians, the fact that many, many women in Canada perceive Lepine's murders as a threat to themselves and as a symbol of the violence against women. It is that perception that is real and it is that well-grounded perception that Canadian society must address. We can hide behind the madman theory but if half of Canadian society has trouble accepting it, then the society must ask "why?" and move to address the fear. (30-m)

We we have been silent for too long. I would like to "hear" men taking a stand against sexism instead of silently condoning it. And that's what we do, each of us, when we choose not to challenge violence against women in our daily lives. (52-m)

Those men who abhor all forms of violence toward women must speak out, to each other, to women, and to those men we encounter in our daily lives who blatantly hate, abuse and objectify women. It is time to stand up and be counted - we owe it to ourselves, to our wives, our daughters, our mothers, our women friends, and yes, to our sons. Violence against women is violence against all of us, even those of us who would never dream of striking out against women in general, or one woman in particular. As a husband, father and a brother, I am angry, fearful and frustrated that my wife, daughters and sisters are potential targets of men like Marc

Lepine, and must live in daily fear of being raped, assaulted or harassed, in the streets, in the workplace, in school, even in their homes. As a man who truly enjoys close friendships with women, I rage at men like Marc Lepine and those who would justify his feelings and actions, because they create huge obstacles to those friendships, and give the women I meet cause to keep a safe distance from all men. (24-m)

- I ask those men who still would dominate, control and subjugate women, will the message get through better if it comes from a man? Women are entitled to choose how they live their lives, to choose their friends and lovers, to choose their careers or vocations, to choose how they dress, where they go and what they do and don't do. Women are human beings, with incredible potential to enrich the lives of all of us, with their own strengths and weaknesses, their own fears and hopes. They deserve our love, and our respect, and they damn well shouldn't have to ask for it! The next time you harass a woman in the street, I want you to remember that she may be my wife! How would you react if some other man made crude suggestions to your wife? The next time you strike your wife, I want you to remember that she may be my daughter! How would you feel if another man battered your daughter? And the next time you look at a woman strictly as a sex object, to be used and discarded, I want you to remember that she may be my sister! Would you tolerate another man leering at your sister? Today is the day we start to change sick attitudes. We all have a role to play, and we all have our work cut out for us. For the sake of the women in our lives, we can no longer remain passive and silent. (24-m)

Let Us Change Us

- It would be too convenient for men - for us - to explain the events of Wednesday night as someone else's problem. During the 1970's and 1980's the feminist movement concentrated on "consciousness raising" amongst women, perhaps our focus in the 1990's should be the same "consciousness raising" amongst men. (55-m)
- I was surprised by your [Gzowski's] defensiveness on the subject of male violence. You seemed to feel that discussing male violence implicated all men; and you were determined to declare your innocence. But is the issue collective (male guilt or collective male

responsibility? Men may all be socialized to macho violence but we are all not woman-beaters or mass murderers. Men have the power to reject their socialization and live as nonviolent men and civilized human beings. Making this choice may be the only kind of "machismo" worth emulating. (63-m)

- Rejecting** machismo is only a first step. We are socialized by our culture, but the culture is not an abstraction that exists outside of control. As our collective behaviour shapes society, it has created the misogyny of our culture. (63-m)
- Men** have to take responsibility for the world of our making. We have to speak out (humbly but firmly) not just against mass murder (which is easy enough to do) but against the trivial and everyday manifestations of male violence that we create and sustain by our support of the ubiquitous women-trashing bias that constitutes the core of our popular culture (advertising, movies, television, records, toys, the gamut). (63-m)
- Please** Please, PLEASE do not let this subject drop away. We live, have lived and will likely continue to live in a society dominated by men. Men need to see, need to feel, the impact of their own making: the violence directed at and acted out against women. In a way, we men have come a long way; but OH Lord, we have yet so far to go. (101-m)
- When** class began yesterday, another man stood up and said "I was going to give my research presentation, but in comparison to what happened in Montreal, it doesn't seem to matter. I would like to give up my allotted time to a discussion of what this massacre means. I am ashamed to be a man. Lets talk." And we did; and our discussion sounded a lot like yours this morning. Society needs to talk about this, and recognize all of the implications of this violent act. MEN ESPECIALLY NEED TO TALK ABOUT IT! Feminist men need to talk with "mainstream" men so that both can understand how it happened and what it means. (27-m)
- Unless** we are willing to look at ourselves when casting about seeking scapegoats, we will never find the root cause. If we were more frequently offended by the small manifestations of our willingness to use force to obtain our wishes, we would perhaps have less frequent occasion to be horrified by the more blatant manifestations such as occurred in Montreal. (73-m)

- If** more men could talk more easily about their personal relationships and feelings to other people (men and women) and be more receptive to others' needs, perhaps the problems Marc felt he faced could have been resolved much earlier on, without the ghastly loss of life they have now produced. (65-m)
- Asking** all men to confront their feelings and values and to face their fears and prejudices would recognize the reality of individual responsibility and would allow some meaningful growth. (16-m)

For those men who do not understand or indeed accept that women are routinely violated by men, the following recommendation offers a different embarkation point - acknowledgement of the fear held by women towards men.

It is similar to the recognition within the Women's Movement in 1971 that led to the opening of the first shelter for battered women in England (Gilman, 1988:11).

Acknowledging my fear resulted in going to a shelter. Acknowledging women's fear may be a way of reconciling the potential for conflict and complicity created by confusing blame with responsibility.

Women have a lot to fear, and a lot to be angry about in our society. And, in their justified anger, they blamed society - as they have so often in the past. I think the reaction of these women was reflexive, and, in my opinion, wrong. And, although I don't believe that Marc Lepine's actions reflect society's views towards women,

the fear and anger felt by women to his actions obviously do. Men who thought that great strides had been made in equal rights must look about this fear and anger and wonder where these powerful emotions come from. The answer is that no great strides have been taken - just the first few steps. We still have a long way to go. (20-m)

WHAT MEN WANT WOMEN TO DO

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION

The following may seem arrogant or perhaps trivial but I see them as valid contributions to prevention. Men participating in making parks and public spaces safe for all have a good way to learn who the primary targets for violence are: my partner standards are certainly higher and better defined (and more rewarding) now than they were before my immersion in woman-work; and, good nutrition is a contribution to well-being although I would argue that all parents, regardless of gender have this responsibility.

Women do need the protection [park escort service] at this particular time and place, that it is a positive step in men understanding the women's situation, a positive step in eradicating the aggressive behaviour that is at the root of the problem and should thus be accepted as working towards a solution. (59-male child witness to male violence)

Hopefully women will screen their partners more carefully. (33-m)

Mothers need to know how to feed their children so they don't have behaviour problems. (102-m)

FOR AND IN FAMILIES

- Reaction into Action -

My wife and I do not allow guns or any other type of weapon in our home, children in the neighborhood know to check their guns at the gate. Violent cartoons and other television programs are screened to the best of our ability. Issues are discussed openly in the house and we try to provide as progressive and socially constructive a view as possible. (89-m)

Our T.V. is in the basement, we don't get a newspaper, I choose our library books with an eye to the values they portray, and I guess I do the same with our friends and those of my daughter. (49-f)

I was determined to bring up my baby boys to be liberated men, free from social constraints and old ideologies that have warped society. (41-f)

We will seek to be an influence for good upon our children (1-c)

My husband and I feel our national hurt this week. It weighs heavily and we want to do something. We have concluded that the work we do helping young couples prepare for marriage is probably the best we can offer. We participate, as leader couple, in a Christian Marriage Preparation Program offered here (88-f)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AND IN FAMILIES

Education on sexism, violence, gender equality, caring and nurturing for children, caregivers and educators was seen by many as a contribution to prevention.

Educate our children to expect equality of the sexes(91-f)

Educate little boys ... to be kind to their sisters, little girls to be kind to their brothers, little boys and little girls ... to rake Mrs. Smiths lawn and carry her parcels, and ...parents ... to be kind to each other, to the neighbours and the stranger at the door. (3-female child victim of male sibling and of ageist abuse from women)

To give my children a sense of justice, and an unwavering understanding of women as complete and absolute equals, I need to get inside their

heads and be sure that they are educated in this direction. It seems the best that I can do is to take the way I deal with my children on this issue to other men that I know and spread the gospel of equality to the best of my ability. (89-m)

For little boys to grow into free men, little girls must also be free to grow into free women. That is what I have tried to teach my boys. (41-f)

We need to stop teaching our male children to be macho and to ignore their emotions. We need to stop teaching our female children that prince charming is just around the corner. We need to encourage our female children to be interested in science and math from an early age. We need engineering classes where 50% of the students are women.(14-f)

We need to learn, men and women in this society, the habit of looking for alternative solutions, of not getting backed into a corner, and of actively giving help to others, and allowing or seeking the help of friends, family, or strangers. (65-m)

We need to reinforce the belief [in children] that "I know you'll find a way to solve this problem, because you're both smart and care too much about each other to let this little snag ruin your time playing together" [and not]...play judge to determine the guilty ...or legislate a settlement if we're too busy to actually stop and "actively" listen to how they feel. (49-f)

We need to focus very strongly on having our young people develop their character along virtuous lines which show that caring, self-control, love, patience and all of those other traits are in fact the ideals of manliness. (28-m)

What men can do for their children

Men must let young boys know that it's not acceptable to discuss their sexual exploits in aggressive terms in the locker room or wherever ... we've all heard it - it's our responsibility to defuse it when we do. (59-m)

Men must: be fathers who allow their sons a full emotional childhood so that the coming generation of men will be less needy and not have to feel shame about those normal needs that they do have; be nurturant fathers to their sons so that these young men will learn to look to both women AND men for emotional support (21-m)

Men with sons, have you discussed last week's tragedy and its implications with your sons? Have you taught them about date rape? Have you made them aware of the problems women continue to face in our society? Have you reminded your son that this month's playmate, the sexy vamp in the rock video, the stripper who works downtown are all human beings, just like his sister, his mother, the girls in his class, with hopes, feeling, fears, loves and hates of their own? That all are entitled to his respect? (24-m)

What educators can do

Educators are your lessons truly relevant to the real world outside your school? Have you discussed with your students the attitudes toward women that underlie last week's massacre? (24-m)

Schools can provide education that is instrumental in changing beliefs but only if the teachers don't hold them as well. (49-f)

What religious organizations can do

Priests and ministers, what leadership have you provided in the struggle to make this a more loving, human society for women? (24-m)

What parents can do

I do think that to avoid creation of more Mark Lepines we had all better take more seriously the bringing up of our children. (93-f)

Question the ...spanking or hitting our children as parents...we as parents have no rights to do it. (51-f)

What parents need

We need to support single parent families and unwed mothers. (14-f)

Develop support systems for all parents. As parents we are supposed to have all the answers, yet where do we learn how to parent? Somehow our society is failing to support and nurture parents in their job. It is one thing to read all about "how to parent" but the reality of parenting, the lack of sleep, the mess, the frustrations, the lack of recognition by society for the job and its importance, is a different matter. (49-f)

If you want to prevent the problem, you train and require a continuing demonstration of competence (as airline pilots must) before people are permitted to bring up children. (46-m)

What abused children need

Imagine there were a long-term counselling programs for abused children. Such a program might have helped Marc Lepine, and prevented his mad act, by helping him heal psychologically as well as physically from his father's abuse. (33-m)

The source of the ailment is me. Was I loved as a child? Do I know how to love unconditionally as an adult? Will I accept and cherish my children for themselves? If I am hating or hurting or accepting hatred or hurtfulness then I need help. I need to read books, go to family counselling and my local mental health centre. I need to tell someone who may know where to find me help that I am hurting or being hurt. (76-f)

ON MISOGYNY

Not everyone can take on a misogynist remark, attitude or behaviour - not everyone cares. I am certainly cautious about when and where I do it - I have to feel safe, and that is not a natural feeling to have when faced with misogyny.

However, for those who can confront misogyny, the writers suggest reasons why and methods how, it can be done.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION

I have to disagree with her [Michelle Landsberg's] refusal to address the question of what do we say to the people - predominantly men - who spew the vitriol so evident in the letter you read. That man was an extreme case, but so was Marc I line. By refusing to try to reach these men, we condemn ourselves to living with their discrimination and often violent anger. The question remains, how, in the face of the bigotry exhibited in the letter you read, do we respond? It is far easier to walk away. But I don't think we can afford the luxury of walking away any longer. We do have to devote energy to battles that seem "winnable." We also have to dive into the ones that seem hopeless, because who knows when we might find a chink in the armor of bigotry? Who knows when we might plant the seed for a victory later on? (102-female child witness to child violence)

The only way to change the world is to change the way people think, which can only be done through education, by getting into men's heads and confronting their own fears and insecurities. This will not be easy, and probably will not be particularly pleasant. However, the only way to change individual thinking is with an individual approach. One of your guests said she did not want to bother with men who were hopeless in their thinking already and would prefer to change the system. While this separation of men and the system stands up to some scrutiny as there are certainly cases of institutionalized discrimination against women, it completely neglects the fact that the system is made up of individuals and most of those are men. (89-m)

Every activist, whether peace activist, environmentalist or feminist, knows that it is one thing to talk to admiring, like-minded fellow enthusiasts and quite another to try to get the message across to those who vehemently, and sometimes violently, oppose those views. But it must be done. (131-f)

I was incensed however by your withholding the name of the man who wrote to express his dislike of all things feminist as well as with your rationale for doing so. You stated that perhaps he had not intended his words to be considered in the context of the topic at hand. Think for a minute. Here is an individual who will stop listening to the CBC because of it's "feminist" (read: not male) treatment of issues. Female reporters and announcers with their "horrible voices" are so abhorrent to him that the intelligence and insight that they bring to understanding world events have no value. Here is someone who has fired his lawyer for no other apparent reason than because she is female. The fact is that the views the writer expressed had everything to do with the topic at hand. Your unsolicited protection of his identity effectively aligns you with his position and gives support to his views, the views that, rest assured, are held by many people like him. By not giving name and face to those attitudes that result in a Marc Lepine you encourage the repression of the hatred and fear that prevent people from facing up to hows and whys of those fears and dealing with them in constructive ways... Please feel free to read my name. (86-m)

ON THE COURTS AND POLICING

Three men felt that the courts and police have a role to play in prevention.

The first (88-m) is from a man whose daughter has attempted to prevent violence against her by using the justice system - not a very positive experience.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION

Until the courts are set into place to take a chance and maybe put a few mistakes in jail instead of being of the opinion that you can't put a man in jail in case he is not wrong, there will always be a continual growth in the case of assaults. (88-m)

- The** only way things will ever change I suppose is when we have more women police to investigate and arrest violent men; more women lawyers to prosecute violent men and more women judges to find violent men guilty of crimes of violence against women (2-m).
- It** would help to have constables patrolling streets on foot in all neighbourhoods, members of a police force trained to know that they existed to protect and serve the public, not to dominate it. Then perhaps the streets would really belong to us all, women and men alike, after dark as well as by day. (26-m)

ON THE MEDIA

In the conclusion, I will discuss the potential for prevention that Morningside's dialogue on the Montreal murders and on male violence created. Here, the writers urge that the dialogue continue and increase in volume, that sexism be challenged within the industry of mass media and that we never be allowed to forget the consequences of misogyny.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION

- Let** individual media persons (broadcasters, producers, etc.) band together in a call for voluntary suppression of "entertainment" involving scenes of violence. Who knows? They might help create new policy! Before our government considers adopting drastic measures which many will seek to circumvent for reasons of profit-making, let persons of good will in the profession build their own monument to the young women of Montreal. We must teach reconciliation, healing, understanding - but to do so we must create a receptive climate. (123-f)
- The** only way to prevent people from slipping back into their usual patterns of daily thought and action then, is to force them to confront the results of such patterns on a daily basis. Such a

challenge should come from the media of Canada. However, with the exception of the CBC (so far as I can tell - and few people in Canada listen to the CBC), the media does little to editorialise and interpret actions for people. For example, think of local radio, which probably has a greater audience than CBC; there is a painful avoidance of editorial content in it, and what there is carefully framed as being the opinion of the contributor and not of the station. Or take the example of newspapers such as the Toronto Sun - packed with ads for strip joints in the sports section (there's stereotyping for you!) but little hard-hitting comment on a daily basis concerning sexism, racism etc. Yet, it is local radio and papers such as the Sun that reach into those social circles within which sexism and racism is often endemic. I believe that the press etc. must not let this story drop once the dramatic content has been milked out of it. Yet, sadly, I think that is precisely what we will see. (23-m)

The media could stop the production of such [violent] songs and videos by simply refusing air time. The media are essential to modern society but I do feel strongly that the media should assume more social responsibility and by acting together, displace the degrading songs with the ones that elevate women in our hearts and minds. Some association of networks would be required to accomplish this end. (7-m)

Let us not forget to examine what hatred of women does to both women and men. I should like it if you could dedicate part of one of your programs to examining the impact of misogyny on men and how some of them are trying to free themselves of those feelings and influences for - if we ever to work our way through all of this - men need to hear not only women's pain but also their own. (92-f)

I would like Morningside to create an hour long forum where men can talk about how they feel about sexism, and begin to discover that there is courage and power in numbers. Most men do not like to act alone, without support. When we hear that other men are going to go back into the world and challenge the sexism they find in their personal, daily lives perhaps then too we can draw from that courage and challenge this attitude. I would also challenge this Morningside panel to discover other personal solutions that challenges sexism that men listening can apply right away to their own lives. Let us think of the future. Let the

generations to come remember that the events of the past few days were ones which marked the collapse of the battle front in this war of the sexes. Let our children's children live a life free from the fear of persecution that because one is a woman one is forever second best. (52-m)

ON POLITICIANS AND GOVERNMENT

Throughout this work, the writers have stressed the importance of individual and widespread involvement in this issue - in government as well as outside of government. I caution those who believe that ending male violence is solely the responsibility of government or its representatives, to consider realistically, just one aspect of male violence.

The police, if called by anyone, come after an assault has occurred.

Government is limited in what it can achieve although as one writer points out, we are the government.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION

We have to stop putting up with politician's hypocracies. We have to pay attention to what our "elected representatives" do and say all the time, not just during election campaigns - we have to insist upon changes in social institutions, changes that will empower those currently disempowered, and we have to keep insisting - this calls for political action. (11-f)

We could begin to show our sense of responsibility by affirming, as a society, the right of every woman to life, liberty, and the place within our society where her talents and choices may lead her to. Terror is a silent slavemaster, but a very effective one. Women

are subjected to terror and fear every day in this country in one way or another, and our leaders are hypocrites when they do nothing about it. (101-f)

I heard Francine Pelletier's disappointment in not hearing a clear message from our politicians that this massacre was not just an isolated incident perpetrated by a mad man, but a more public display of the violence thousands of women in Canada live with daily. The reason for their silence is, of course, political. To admit publicly that this violent explosion was anything but random would be to admit culpability. It is our politicians who have promised day care without result. It is to our politicians to whom we turn for funds to establish centers for battered women. It is these same politicians who, at this moment, are trying to pass into law a bill which effectively takes away a woman's right over her own body. Where do we start you ask? We start with our legislators. We start treating women as if they matter. We must stop segregating women's issues from men's issues, as if day care did not affect men, as if violence against women did not affect men. If it is men beating up women, [then] of course it affects men. We are establishing a two class society where there are women's issues and men's issues. The problem is, that it is men making the rules. Until we can make our politicians understand this type of fear, how can we expect them to take the necessary steps to change the attitudes that infest our society. Admitting that the events of last Wednesday was not an isolated act of violence would be a good place to start. (21-f)

To further women's advancement toward equality in our society the next government of Canada should make half the Cabinet female. This assumes each party will field enough female candidates to ensure there will be at least a dozen women to choose - not too hard to do in '92, I wouldn't think, since we have made progress on this front. The beauty of this proposal is that it wouldn't cost the country a nickel, there are no legal or Parliamentary barriers prohibiting it, and it would put women's hands on the levers of power in government, which would then have tremendous trickledown effects, not just in government, but in many other arenas. (It would have trickledown effects for other misrepresented, mistreated groups as well, so let's start with the majority and, by 'wifing' as well as 'husbanding' this country, work toward fairness for all.) Women could finally see the carrot on the end of the stick, not just the stick. That's it Peter. Start a

postcard campaign against the things you won't take sitting down, and give us a 50% female Cabinet in the federal government. (73-f)

Our government (that's us) must support the disadvantaged by offering good daycare, a higher minimum wage, homes for battered women and a haven for the mentally ill and the homeless. Such programs are not on the agenda of the present-day government. Our representatives merely attended funeral services. (110-f)

ON SPIRITUALITY

Although the following messages are likely grounded on a sincere desire for the elimination of male violence against women, I feel that it is important to add a qualification.

A part of women's reality is that many women in abusive relationships who turn to their clergy or to those who hold deep religious convictions, are reminded of their "oaths" before God to "obey" their husband and to not "abandon" the institution of marriage. Although action against this is being mounted within religious groups, women are vulnerable to being shamed into returning to violence by even subtle reminders of the "expectations" of the "third partner in marriage".

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTION

We are about to "celebrate" the birth of Christ. He and He alone is the answer. (2-c)

We are discovering that our marriage is a marriage of three and the third is the head of the house and this threesome is vastly more

powerful than the two singles that were; that the business of winning or losing to each other is losing its meaning since we've mutually discovered that working to ensure that our partner wins, guarantees that we both win; that the best thing we can do for our children is love each other. "I see my wife grow in power, in caring, creative, nurturing energy as I care for, bolster, encourage, praise and support her; that I cannot really love my wife until I have become my wife, seen with her eyes, heard with her ears, felt with her heart. Aware of it or not, to do this I have always needed the help and power of the third member of our marriage, the Holy Spirit of love Himself." (88-f)

I believe in the dignity of every person, male or female. By virtue of being human, everyone has the intrinsic right to be respected. This has nothing to do with being a man or a woman. This is acknowledging that we are all part of God's creation and to cause hurt to any other person is to dishonour God.... Christ died for us; that same love he exhibited toward us is the love we should show to our wives. In practical terms this means no husband makes a decision on his own. If a husband and wife can't agree on a decision, then a man's love for his wife, or even his acknowledgement that she is better qualified to decide on that issue, should result in his accepting her view. No man who truly loves his wife and God could be a domineering brute. How much better what the Bible says. Romans 12:10 "Honour one another above yourselves" and in Philippians 2:3 "Consider others better than yourselves" How can anyone refute these verses? How much better would we treat both men and women if we followed this guidance. (10-m)

This is a large and challenging chapter offering much to teach, learn, think about and act on or against. Rather than summarize, I have incorporated the messages of this section into the conclusion to communicate ways in which the writers' visions can be used to enable prevention to grow.

CHAPTER SEVEN

- CONCLUSION -

Since Geneviève Bergeron, Hélène Colgan, Nathalie Croteau, Barbara Daigneault, Anne-Marie Edward, Maud Heviernick, Barbara Maria Klueznick, Maryse Laganier, Maryse Leclair, Anne-Marie Lemay, Sonia Pelletier, Michele Richard, Annie St. Arneault and Annie Turcotte were killed on December 6, 1989, I have heard survivors of male violence speak about their own experience in conferences, on radio and on camera. These are not traditional places for sharing our experience and nor are they necessarily 'safe'. Perhaps, like me, the massacre of women changed something, compelling them to speak out.

The odyssey I have been on has, in the last two years, become a more open and increasingly important part of the day-to-day work I do in the area of male violence against women. This has been possible because I have been surrounded by people who care about me, in and outside of the workplace. Their caring has enabled me to feel safe enough to have my experience become part of understanding the problem we are working to prevent.

The woman murders changed the relevance of my experience by giving me a sense of urgency about sharing my vision of prevention beyond those hard-won margins of safety. This resulted in putting my experience on paper, and, giving

up some of the safety I have come to take for granted. The uninitiated might think only of physical safety, but for those who have gone through or witnessed the process of staying or leaving violence, safety means a great deal more.

Here is a piece that I wrote for myself within days after the Montreal murders.

"It Started Simply"

It started simply - I realized that I was afraid of what would happen to the children and I when my husband came home from work that evening. I hadn't known I was afraid until I began writing my father about how I felt. My hand was able to write the words that my mind couldn't deal with - Dad, I am afraid of him. I remember looking down at the words and really seeing my life with this man for the first time. It was in that moment, three and a half years ago, that I began fighting for my right to live free from violence.

Achieving that goal has been as hard as living with the abuse.

It was hard because I thought that "battered women" were not like me.

It was hard because I'd kept it a secret so well that I wasn't believed by some.

It was hard because I was so good at taking responsibility for the problem (and so frustrated that I couldn't solve it).

It was hard because it took so long to understand that his behaviour was his responsibility.

It was hard because this society is not designed to enable women to support their children by themselves.

It was hard because my choice brought my children into poverty.

It was hard because I had to teach my children how to love a man that they could not trust.

It was hard because I have been to court over 20 times in the last three years.

It was hard because I respect the law and he doesn't and that doesn't matter.

It was hard because I had to ask my friend to be my guard, my strength, my healer.

It was hard because a social worker told me I was childish to insist that my husband stop lying about his violence before I could trust him "for the sake of the children".

It was hard because the police couldn't protect me from his anger.

It was hard because I was scared.

It was hard because I almost gave up.

It was hard because I was an open wound.

It was hard because the violence didn't stop.

It was hard because I had to keep choosing to believe it was worth going through.

Was it?

It was worth it because my children know more than seeing their mother being beaten and humiliated, but as little people they are armoured to defend themselves against abuse.

It was worth it because I have finally been able to eliminate the ways in which he controlled me, but I lost my home, some friends, much dignity.

It was worth it because I have become part of the women's movement, but the Montreal "misogyny" murders terrify me.

The scholarly writings of pro-feminist researchers make remarkable contributions to changing the experience of women and provide an explicit vocabulary for describing it (Martin, 1976; Schector, 1982; Yllö & Bograd, 1988).

Translated into more accessible, simplified communicating, the results of this thesis demonstrate with power that the circle is complete - the word is out and understood. Bravo!

Complicity, silencing, powerlessness, intimidation, disempowerment, sexism, subjugation, outrage, fear, anger, hatred or blaming of women, consequences of male violence - all of these concepts and more are explained clearly and powerfully.

Another way in which this work contributes to prevention is by extending the dialogue to permit and encourage reflection, introspection, caring and action. Over and over, I read, "Don't stop talking about it", "Women share your stories", "Men, reach other men". These pages can provide much to talk about.

For those already active in this area, many passages could be used to stimulate discussion, boost staff morale, challenge program assumptions to consider the experience and needs of women, simplify the prevention tasks (provide specific re-education behavioral, value and attitudinal goals) or illustrate the literature.

After a great deal of reflection, I decided that as a whole, my experience was public property. While half of my experience was destructive, the other half was healing and both had something to offer to prevention.

By sharing the ways we recognize, understand and prevent male violence we demystify the experience and offer more ways to act on the collective, societal responsibility to end it. I am part of that - nearly everyone is.

With this in mind, the balance of this concluding chapter reflects on the ways in which the research in Chapters Three to Six enable understanding and action to grow into a social phenomena on a scale greater than male violence.

The most obvious contribution that this document makes to prevention is found in the links the writers made (with some organizational support from me) between the reality and their understanding of the experience, its causes, and the ways we have to address prevention.

Identifying and building upon linkages has been a cornerstone of the feminist action against male violence and the following examples are but a few available in the words of the writers.

In Chapter Three, 53 writers wrote about their childhood and growing up experiences as negative. The women told of acts of abuse and violence and of being automatically careful or afraid regardless of whether or not they had been overtly attacked. Some of their experiences reflect a 'normal' or 'ordinary' definition of women's experience in marriage, in the workplace, in educational institutions, in the home and on the streets. Others described atrocities perpetuated against them. In all cases, the acts and the consequences were condemned by those who suffered and became fearful in their silence.

The men wrote of the pain of being socialized into manhood to stand tall, growing ever more distant from a capacity and need to grow emotionally. And, some men delved into the question of why men hate or resent women. These explorations reflect thoughtful consideration of the role that the socialization of men has in the oppression of women and the repression of men.

Others minimized, condoned and encouraged male violence.

It is extremely important for the reader to respect the gift that the violated have shared in these pages. Those who put pen to paper to describe their personal violation have, with courage, given the gift of knowledge - knowledge that enables understanding and prevention action to address the reality of the experience.

In Chapter Six (prevention), the writers acknowledged that men need to grow both emotionally, in awareness and in ownership. Many writers, male and female, explored specific ways (tools) in which this could occur. Women urged other women to talk about "ordinary" violence to the "ordinary" men in their lives. And, they shouted for men to begin to understand, begin to talk to other men and begin to challenge sexist, misogynist and violent attitudes, values and behaviours. Men too, recognized that men's voices need to be heard in understanding, in dialogue and in challenge.

As parents, some writers expressed fear and rage not only for the loss of others' children but also for the possibility that their children might be at risk in the future simply because they are female. Toward prevention, in Chapter Six the writers ask that as parents, educators, fathers and clergy, we teach children about equality of the genders, non-sexist, non-violent or aggressive behaviour and the importance of respecting self and others. Fathers are asked to support their sons' emotional development and challenge misogynist attitudes, values and behaviours.

While a range of emotional reactions to the Montreal murders was expressed by men and women, only women felt fear. As a stepping stone on the path to prevention action, and regardless of any one male's lack of misogynist tendencies, many writers asked that men accept that women are afraid of men.

This loss of women's trust as explained by the writers in Chapters Four (violence) and Five (cause), is exacerbated by the silence of caring men, is complicity and, perpetuates male violence.

Misogyny, felt and described by women in Chapter Three, promoted and condemned by men and women in Chapter Four, and presented as 'caused' by women (Chapter Five), is named in the prevention chapter as a necessary focus of energy.

In recognition of the degree to which men have been relatively uninvolved in this issue and, their growing sense of confusion about how to participate, one extraordinary writer shared her vision of the ways in which men can improve the experience of women and address the social, fiscal and individual cost of male violence.

The foregoing are only some of the possible links or paths that are available for prevention. One measure of the success of this document as a contribution to prevention would be if others found more and acted on them.

A second way in which the writers contribute to prevention is found in the scope and style of their exploration. Most questions one is likely to ask on the specific topic of male violence were dealt with by the writers and expressed in simple

language. I include two excerpts which, in their own way, "identify" the depth to which violence and aggression are imbedded in society. Which description is likely to have a direct impact on day-to-day prevention action?

The sociologist:

However, interpersonal relations could themselves reflect the consequence of macrophenomena such as social structure and culture. Therefore, we must also include macroscopic levels of analysis from our sociological model. At this level of analysis, sociologists are interested in such phenomena as social and cultural structures within societies and contrasts between societies. A social structure is identifiable by a predictable design in interrelationships, separate in part from the individuals composing the structure.

Bersani & Chen 1988:58

The letter writer:

This is a truly vicious society we have allowed to grow up around us, that we have embraced as the only proper way to live. And we are all affected badly by it. Natives can be as violently misogynistic as white, black, and yellow-skinned people. Women can be as virulently racist as men. The longing for personal authority, power and control is loose in all of us. (53-m)

The preceding example is not an attempt to discredit all academic contributions to understanding, intervening in, or preventing male violence. The women's movement "discovered" the problem and the sheltering and battered women's movement keep it on the public agenda (Hilton, 1989:313).

The scholarly writings of pro-feminist researchers make remarkable contributions to changing the experience of women and provide an explicit vocabulary for describing it (Martin, 1976; Schechter, 1982; Yllö & Bograd, 1988).

Translated into more accessible, simplified communicating, the results of this thesis demonstrate with power that the circle is complete - the word is out and understood. Bravo!

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Another way in which this work contributes to prevention is by extending the dialogue to permit and encourage reflection, introspection, caring and action. Over and over, I read, "Don't stop talking about it", "Women share your stories", "Men, reach other men". These pages can provide much to talk about.

For those already active in this area, many passages could be used to stimulate discussion, boost staff morale, challenge program assumptions to consider the experience and needs of women, simplify the prevention tasks (provide specific re-education behavioral, value and attitudinal goals) or illustrate the literature.

Above all, this work is a way to confront the dilemmas born of caring because it simplifies a potentially overwhelming social problem.

The very complexity of the problem as experienced by a million Canadian women and their social networks brings with it the option to simply contribute however we are able on the assumption that almost all is needed. Misogyny, silence and complicity are not needed.

As this research has demonstrated, the horror of the methodical, premeditated act of murder and wounding in Montreal on December 6, 1989, and the searching for understanding that occurred on Morningside, evoked compassion but also, condemnation of outrage about violence against women and, condemnation of women and of those who care for them.

As the violated gave a gift of their experience, so do the violators. Too often, the burden of explaining and describing abuse and violence falls on the shoulders of the violated and their advocates. In these pages, that weight is relieved because the woman-haters used their own words to describe why and how they hate. Perhaps, they speak the unspoken, unchallenged thoughts, beliefs, values and attitudes that others hold. Struggling with this question, being challenged towards a positive outcome, is the gift, the choice, that this material offers.

With at least one qualifier, there is room for diversity as we redefine the nature of our society. Provided that interventions (personal and or (para) professional) to erode the perpetuation of violence do not inadvertently contribute to the subjugation of women or to victim-blaming (partnership with women's programs would help to identify how women are subjugated), one can focus on any one aspect of the problem without necessarily embracing its complexity and still make a meaningful contribution. Which is not to say that grappling with complexity is not useful - it is. It is not however, all that is needed.

With the plethora of related issues of concern (pornography, sexism, substance abuse, child sexual abuse, sex-role stereotyping, violent or denigrating imagery, poverty and competitiveness are but some), many hands are needed in many places if prevention and change is to occur on a wide scale.

Between the evening of Wednesday December 6 and the morning of Friday December 8, the production staff of Morningside acted quickly on their decision to present a thought-provoking panel on violence against women, gender relationships, sexism and the murders. In very personal ways, the members of the panel, including Peter Gzowski, engaged in dialogue and, through their courage and the courage of the production staff who supported the effort, created a ripple effect in their listening audience. In early January, with Francine Pelletier and each week with the reading of letters which presented particular points of view, the dialogue was continued.

I have been able to "measure" only one outcome of that dialogue - the possible impact of the letters which Morningside received upon understanding and prevention of male violence. How many others have been enacted in the privacy of our hearts and minds?

It is not enough to look at credentials, budget sizes or the relative strengths and weaknesses of political, religious or socio-economic ideology to measure the value of contributions.

It is not enough to want to believe that because our federal, provincial and territorial governments are active on this issue that 'the problem' is being resolved.¹⁷ Governments and bureaucracies are only as powerful as the constituency they are required to represent. Agencies and organizations across Canada working on male violence are a vocal constituency but, unless they are supported in their demands by the public voice, the influence they wield is diminished. Demand to be informed and raise your voice.

¹⁷ For information on (non) government sponsored action against violence, contact the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, Family Violence Prevention Division, Social Service Programs Branch, National Health and Welfare, OTTAWA, Ontario, K1A 1B5 (613) 957-2938 or toll free 1-800-267-1291. In addition, each territorial and provincial government has intervention and prevention strategies.

It is not enough to feel that acts of violence in your neighbourhood are repugnant - act on that feeling. Call the police anonymously every time you know or think you know that violence is occurring. No woman deserves a beating and no neighbourhood should tolerate violence in its midst. It's your community too.

It is not enough to be angry that some ways of working and believing do not include you. Those who work with brutalized women cannot necessarily shelve their anger to accommodate men who want to care, want to mourn, want to learn and want to act. There are alternatives to crowding the brutalized. Libraries in and outside of academia are filled with references on sexism, violence and pornography. Write to a national, provincial or territorial organization and find out what they are doing, and join. Find or start a "Men Against Male Violence Against Women group". Don't let your lack of understanding of the complexity of this problem be your excuse for not building on your caring.

One last observation before I conclude. Nearly half of the letter writers were male and, like the women who wrote, their words reflected various stages of understanding along a continuum from brutal misogyny to informed rage about male violence. Not all of the misogynistic passages were authored by men; not

all of the potentially healing words were written by women. One way or another, "we" are either part of the problem or part of the solution. The answers, like the questions, can be both complex and simple.

We must be careful not to "expertise" the nature of prevention (the definition of cause(s)) to the extent that we assume that one must earn a salary in the area in order to contribute. I have been harmed by some who are paid to understand but really don't.

The work presented in these pages demonstrates the points of view of "ordinary" Canadians who could write in english. Their contributions and the contributions of all caring Canadians, now and in the future should be acknowledged and sought out as part of the overall prevention thrust in and outside of government.

Undermining the systemic causes of male violence against women is a very important part of prevention, but so is making personal decisions about how we live together as a community of individuals. The police officer who helped me made a difference.

He cared, listeners to Morningside cared, and so do countless others.

Thank you.

The last word goes to the writers. The following are their hopes and dreams for the future. I share them.

If more men take responsibility for educating other men..., then maybe my dream will come true of being able to walk in the park alone at night with the only thing on my mind being the brightness of the moon and stars, the vastness of the sky, the smell of the cool night air and the cushiony feel of grass under my feet; the knowledge of peace and beauty in the world. (83-f)

I can only hope that what the twisted mind of Marc Lepine caused, may help in some way to balance the state of thought and subsequent behaviour between the sexes in Canada, and who knows? Elsewhere as well. (109-f)

I hope that when the shock of Montreal passes, it will not become an anomaly. I hope that you will continue to try to grapple with these issues on Morningside. (38-f)

Will she [four year old daughter] be one of those women who hate men? I hope not and will attempt my best to ensure she learns that there are men, though it seems very few, who believe in women's rights and will stand up and say so. What I do know, however, is that, rightfully so, our daughter has already made a correlation between guns, aggression and men. (87-m)

I hoped fervently that my country will give her [daughter] a man's freedom and that she will live a long and healthy and safe life, with peace on Earth, goodwill to men [and women!]. (90-m)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHIC & LIFE EXPERIENCE TABLES

TABLE A-1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY GENDER

AGE	TOTAL		WOMEN		MEN		UNKNOWN	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
20's	4	2	3	1	1	.4		
30's	3	1	2	1	1	.4		
40's	5	2	1	.4	4	2		
50's	2	1	2	1	---	---		
60's	4	2	1	.4	3	1		
70's	1	.4	---	---	1	.4		
80's	1	.4	---	---	---	---	1	.4
unknown	226	92						
TOTAL	247	100	9	4	11	4	1	.4

TABLE A-2: PERSONAL CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCE BY GENDER AND BY LENGTH OF TEXT

	Gender		Painful		Joyful		Length of text	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	% (in pages)
women	8	3	7	3	1	-	3	1
men	6	3	6	3	---	---	3	1
TOTAL	14	6%	13	6%	1	0%	6	2% *

* All values calculated on sample as a whole minus the 11 cases not known for gender (n=236; text=265 pages)

TABLE A-3: PERSONAL ADULT EXPERIENCE BY GENDER AND BY LENGTH OF TEXT

	Gender		Painful		Joyful		Length of text	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	% (in pages)
women	34	14	26	11	8	3	15	6
men	14	6	13	6	1	-	6	2
TOTAL	48	20%	39	17%	9	3%	21	8% *

* All values calculated on sample as a whole minus the 11 cases not known for gender (n 236; text=265 pages)

20% of the female sample & 11% of the male sample reported painful adult experiences

APPENDIX B: ORDERING MORNINGSIDE TRANSCRIPTS

The Friday, December 8, 1989 and Wednesday, January 17, 1990 "Morningside" productions and the January 26, 1990, "Ideas" broadcast of a piece titled, "Wild Men" (which looked at the process and consequences of male socialization from the point of view of men; not referred to in this research) have been transcribed by CBC.

To order the transcripts, write to: Audience Relations, Transcripts, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, P.O. Box 500, Station 'A', Toronto, M5W 1E6. Please quote the name of the program, the date it was aired and include \$7.00 for postage and handling.

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¹⁸ Many of the titles in the bibliography are present to act as resources for the reader and were not necessarily used in the preparation of the thesis.

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