ENDING THE SILENCE: THE ORIGINS AND TREATMENT OF MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

RON THORNE-FINCH

A thesis submitted to the Faculty
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CHAPTER SIX: RESPONSES AMONG MEN

INTRODUCTION

This chapter establishes a framework for understanding male responses to the demands for an end to male violence against women. It examines three main response categories: reinforcement of the status quo; avoidance of the issues; and working for positive change. While some men may fit into two or more response categories, ultimately, they either are working for an end to male violence, or are part of the problem.

PART I: REINFORCEMENT OF THE STATUS QUO

This is a response by men who's main goal is to limit or repeal the advances of feminism. It is characterized by four groups: offenders; conservative ideologues; men's rights advocates; and male terrorists.

A. OFFENDERS

When reviewing how men have responded to the demands for an end to male violence against women, one cannot forget that very little has changed for many victims. The population of offenders remains large and intimidating. When looking for signs of positive change among men, this group must never be forgotten. It reminds one of the amount of work which much be done before women achieve equality in our society.

B. CONSERVATIVE MASCULINISTS:

Conservatives believe that the traditional sex roles for men and women are appropriate for each sex. They believe that it is part of men's nature to be politically and socially dominant. Kenneth Clatter-baugh, in an article that examines the numerous "men's movements", notes that there are two varieties—the moral and biological conservatives.²

1. Moral Conservatives

Moral conservatives believe that the family, church, and community work to civilize and domesticate male nature. To question or attack these institutions is to threaten the fragile stability of our civilization.

Clatterbaugh cites George Gilder's many writings, including <u>Sexual Suicide</u> and <u>Men And Marriage</u>, as characteristic examples of moral conservative masculinist philosophy. Gilder reiterates the traditional image of men as providers and protectors while indicating women are best at caregiving and nurturing. Gilder masks his support for male supremacy by arguing that men only have power in the social and

^{1.} The concept of hegemonic masculinity, introduced above in Chapter Three, involves examining the social and political forces within specific historic periods which afford greater social, political, and economic power to specific varieties of masculinity while reducing the power of men adopting other masculinities.

Building upon this concept, Kenneth Clatterbaugh uses the term masculinist "to apply to any point of view that offers an analysis of the social reality of [North] American men and offers an agenda for them." Thus there can be conservative, gay, socialist, and other masculinists. Kenneth Clatterbaugh, "Masculinist Perspectives," Changing Men, 20, Win-Spr 1989, 4.

^{2.} Ibid., 4-6.

political sphere, and since the domestic and sexual sphere—in which, Gilder states, women are dominant—is presumably more important to human happiness, he argues that women possess greater power than men in our society. Gilder contends that violence in our society is caused primarily by single men who have not had the civilizing benefits of a wife and family. Men who use pornography or are violent are seen as examples where socialization has failed; such men have not been sufficiently tamed.

From the moral conservative perspective, the existing institutions need not adopt more liberal policies; doing so, would only worsen the situation. Moral conservatives, therefore, strive to strengthen and reinforce the traditional gender status quo. They fear feminism is to blame for many of our society's problems and view feminists as ripping up the essential fabric that holds together an order which—in the eyes of the moral conservatives—works fairly well. Organizing for reproductive freedom, gay rights, equal employment opportunities, or shelters for battered women is viewed as anti-family, even anti-civilization.

Many of the fundamentalist religions that have fueled the 1980s revival of conservative politics throughout the Western industrial countries have been an important bulwark for moral conservatives in their attempts at repealing what they view as significant gains for women at the expense of the existing social order. Moral conservatives have worked extremely hard to try and return women to their traditional

^{3.} Ibid.

role as childbearers subservient to their husbands. They have attempted to do this in two key areas:

i. Objecting To State Funding For Day Care

State funding for childcare is anathema to the moral conservative's vision of the proper social order. Typically they attribute numerous social ills, such as juvenile delinquency, teen pregnancy, and drug abuse, to the absence of the mother from the home. Moral conservatives ignore evidence indicating that children of working mothers often are equally well adjusted—and even slightly more socially independent—than their stay at home counterparts. Conservatives also ignore the current economic recession that often compels both parents to seek paid employment. Moral conservatives tend to blame individual families—particularly women as the major consumers—for an inflated

^{4.} Rebecca Klatch, <u>Women Of The New Right</u> (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).

Ibid., 120-121; and Ronald Toth, "The Plain Truth About Abortion: Why So Little Understood?" <u>The Plain Truth</u>, 50(4), May 1985, 2-4; 42-43.

A Critical Review," <u>Annual Progress In Child Psychiatry And Child Development</u>, 1979, 576-611. While encouraging additional research, Belsky and Steinberg note that "experience in high-quality center-based day care (1) has neither salutary nor deleterious effects upon the intellectual development of the child, (2) is not disruptive of the child's emotional bond with his[/her] mother, and (3) increases the degree to which the child interacts, both positively and negatively with peers" (577).

^{7.} Canadian statistics indicate that in 1986, "compared with childless couples, families with one or two children were twice as likely to be poor, while families with three children or more were almost three times as likely to be poor." See: "CCSD Joins In Call For An End To Child Poverty," Social Development Overview: Canadian Council Of Social Development, 6(2), Win 1989, 1.

consumer lifestyle. While some middle class families could—and do—forgo the second income in order to spend more time with their child—ren, blaming the woman is an evasive attempt at creating a victim while ignoring the failings of the current economic and political system.

ii. Fighting Against Women's Reproductive Freedom

Many of the men marching at anti-choice rallies against abortion are moral conservatives. With the support of many fringe and established churches, they continue to make a lot of noise despite statistics which indicate that approximately 70 percent of Americans and Canadians believe that abortion is a personal, medical matter and not a criminal one. 10

With the 1980s rise of neo-conservative politics, the struggles in the United States and Canada over reproductive freedoms took a dishear-tening turn. Reacting to the 1970s shift toward liberalization of abortion laws and a relative increase in the availability of safe therapeutic abortions, the moral conservatives effectively lobbied to pull

e. Toth, "The Plain Truth About Abortion," 42-43.

^{9.} Rhonda Copelon, and Kathryn Kolbert, "Imperfect Justice," Ms., 18(1-2), Jul-Aug 1989, 42.

Human Right," Ms., 18(1-2), Jul-Aug, 1989, 39-41.

Louis Harris pollsters state that 61 percent of Americans support the original Roe vs. Wade decision, which gave American women the right to abortion. See, "The Facts Of Life," Psychology Today, 23(10), October 1984, 10.

A Gallup Poll conducted in October 1988 revealed that 71.2 percent of Canadians agree that "abortion is a medical decision that should rest with the woman in consultation with her doctor." Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL), "Press Release: Vast Majority Of Canadians Are Pro-choice." <u>CARAL Press Release</u> (Toronto: CARAL Press, Oct 19-20, 1988).

back the pendulum so that once again democratic access was being jeopardized.

In the United States, Roe vs. Wade, the 1973 landmark case proclaiming a woman's right of access to abortion was being challenged across the country. The US Supreme Court's 1973 judgement in favour of Roe was a watershed victory for the numerous groups and individuals that had lobbied throughout the 1960s to protect the reproductive freedom of American women. Despite the euphoria among pro-choice supporters after the Supreme Court ruling, many acknowledged that the decision was more of a compromise than a victory. While allowing abortions, the ruling did not result in secure, democratic access or funding to abortion in the US. It did "too little to help poor women, teenage women, and many others." 12

Roe vs Wade perpetuated other problems. While established with the purpose of protecting the health and welfare of the woman and the fetus, it also perpetuated state involvement in the abortion debate. 12 If the state still was willing to proclaim a woman's right of access to abortion, the same state system—with a change of state planners and an increase in political pressure—could be used to reverse the decision.

^{11.} Gloria Steinum, "A Basic Human Right," Ms., 18(1-2), Jul-Aug, 1989, 40.

The limits on <u>Roe vs. Wade</u> were further extended in 1977. Congressman Henry Hyde (Rep.-Illinois) introduced an amendment to the federal department of Health, Education and Welfare budget appropriation bill to slash state funding for abortions. After the amendment passed in 1978, Medicaid abortions dropped 96 percent from 250,000 to 2,421. Childbirth By Choice Trust, <u>Abortion In Law And History: The Pro-Choice Perspective</u> (Toronto: Childbirth By Choice Trust, 1983), 11.

^{12.} Steinum, "A Basic Human Right," 40.

Since 1973, Roe vs Wade has been under attack. Clinics have been picketed and bombed; clients threatened and assaulted or, in the antichoice vernacular, 'street counselled.' The increasingly conservative political and economic climate of the early 1980s significantly encouraged this process.

Ronald Reagan's and George Bush's Republican administrations played an important role in strengthening, and often directing, the moral conservative backlash against reproductive choice. One of the leading figures was William Bradford Reynolds, "the administration's 'hit man' for civil rights, most notable for his attack on affirmative action." Reynolds encouraged Missouri State Attorney General William Webster to include overruling Roe vs Wade in Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services. The Webster case emerged after the Missouri state legislature restricted abortion in four ways. It:

declare[d] that life begins at conception;...preclude[d] public facilities or employees from assisting in abortion;...impose[d] a gag rule on counselling about the abortion option by any program or person paid with public funds;...and require[d] doctors to perform a battery of useless tests on women to determine fetal viability.14

One day after the November 1988 US presidential election, the outgoing Reagan administration filed a submission encouraging the Supreme Court to hear the Webster case. The Bush administration later

^{13.} Copelon, and Kolbert, "Imperfect Justice," 42.

^{14.} Ibid.

submitted one of the most substantial anti-choice briefs received by

When the US Supreme Court (filled primarily with Republican appointed Chief Justices) hands down its ruling in late 1990, it has three options. First, it can completely overrule Roe vs. Wade. While possible, this would not likely be well received by the three or four out of five Americans who support a woman's reproductive freedom. 6 Second, the Court may decide, as was done in New Hampshire, that "the state shall not compel any woman to complete or terminate a pregnancy." This could enable legislators who might not want to choose between the two sides in the debate, avoid the issue. The government, in effect, would remove itself from the debate. Yet without ensuring funding for clinics, the availability of abortion services would be seriously curtailed. 10

A third possible Supreme Court response could involve not overturning Roe vs Wade, but instead further eroding its utility by adding additional restrictions. Yet any diminution of a statute so lacking in detail that it precludes equal access to abortion for all American women would exacerbate the problem. From the moral conservative perspective, however, there is some wisdom in this tactic. Eroding, as

^{15.} Peggy Simpson, "The Political Arena," Ms., 18(1-2), Jul-Aug 1989, 46.

^{14.} Steinum, "A Basic Human Right," 40-41.

^{17.} Simpson, "The Political Arena," 46; and Steinum, "A Basic Human Right," 40-41.

^{10.} Ibid. Approximately 82 percent of American abortions are performed in free-standing clinics. Childbirth By Choice Trust, "Facts On Abortion," booklet (Toronto: Childbirth By Choice Trust, Mar 1989), 3.

compared to completely overruling <u>Roe vs. Wade</u> would likely reduce the ability of the pro-choice movement to organize a significant response. 19

While the Supreme Court decision still is forthcoming, the fact that Webster vs Reproductive Health Services and thus Roe vs Wade were under review attests to the rise of moral conservative strength and influence in the United States. Reviewing Row vs. Wade was an open attack on the rights and freedoms of American women; the gains of feminists were under seige. In North America, this phenomena was not limited to the United States.

In Canada, relative to the US, the moral conservative reaction took longer to organize, but nonetheless was equally threatening to women. Throughout the 1970s, thousands of women had rallied to demand access to safe therapeutic abortions. Dr. Henry Morgantaler, a popular media focus for the Canadian movement for reproductive choice, had struggled for decades for a woman's right to decide for herself whether to carry a pregnancy to term. Despite repeated attempts to have his clinics closed, Morgantaler won numerous court battles. 20 But, by the end of the 1980s, the resistance appeared to be strengthened. The Canadian Supreme Court's 1988 decision to strike down the 1969 federal

^{19.} Copelon, and Kolbert, "Imperfect Justice," 44.

²⁰. Childbirth By Choice Trust, <u>Abortion In Law And History</u>, 12-13; and Canada, <u>Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, <u>Justice Information: New Abortion Legislation Background Information</u> (Ottawa: Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, Nov 3, 1989).</u>

abortion law appeared to fortify the moral conservative resolve.²¹ They no longer just harassed women walking into abortion clinics or attacked the doctors that performed abortions. These efforts were reinforced by court challenges to block a woman's reproductive freedom.

In July 1989, lawyers on behalf of Gregory Murphy submitted an affidavit to the Supreme Court of Ontario to prohibit Murphy's partner, Barbara Dodd, from having an abortion. While the injunction eventually was set aside by the Supreme Court, for a brief period, there was considerable uncertainty as to which way the court would rule. Had it not been dismissed, Barbara Dodd, who wanted to terminate her pregnancy, would have been required by law to follow through and deliver the child. It would have been a state enforced pregnancy.

The Ontario Supreme Court decision to set aside the injunction was not a clear victory for pro-choice advocates in Canada. The presiding judge, Mr. Justice W. Gibson Gray, emphasized that he was not ruling on whether court injunctions should be used in Ontario to prevent abortions. Instead, the injunction was blocked because Barbara Dodd " was not given sufficient notice of the hearing and that there were elements of fraud (by Gregory Murphy) in the depositions put before Mr. Justice John O'Driscoll of the same court a week earlier."22 Despite this statement, Clayton Ruby, Barbara Dodd's lawyer, still felt victorious. He noted that

^{21.} Canada, Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, <u>Justice Information: New Abortion Legislation Background Information</u> (Ottawa: Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, Nov 3, 1989).

^{22.} Donn Downney, "Dodd Wins Bid To Have Abortion," The Globe And Mail, July 12, 1989, A1.

What we have seen is a taste of life if the right-to-life (groups) have their way. Women who want an abortion will have to go to court, they will have to argue, they will be under the threat of criminal prosecution and jail.²⁵

Barbara Dodd was not alone in her struggle with the judicial system and the accompanying national media attention. Chantale Daigle, a twenty-one year old secretary from Chibougamau, Quebec, faced a similar struggle.

Chantale had been in a relationship with Jean-Guy Trembley since November 1988. Shortly after they started sharing an apartment, Jean-Guy became emotionally abusive. By late March 1989, when Chantale learned she was pregnant, Jean-Guy, a former nightclub bouncer, had escalated to using physical violence.²⁴

Jean-Guy Trembley has admitted that Gregory Murphy's actions against Barbara Dodd prompted his decision to obtain a court injunction to prevent Chantale from having an abortion. Trembley received temporary, and then permanent, injunctions on July 7th, and 17th, 1989, respectively. Chantale cancelled her abortion and obtained legal council. Her case soon went to the Canadian Supreme Court.

On August 8, 1990, as the Supreme Court justices were about to deliver their ruling, it was discovered that Chantale had gone to, and received an abortion in, a Boston clinic. She had been afraid that Canada's highest court would require her to carry through with the pregnancy. Upon hearing of Daigle's abortion, the Supreme Court judges

^{23.} Ibid.

²⁴. D'Arcy Jewish, "Abortion On Trial," <u>Maclean's</u>, 102(31), Jul 31, 1989, 15.

briefly reconvened in their private chamber, then returned to announce their decision. Unanimously they overturned the Quebec Superior Court's injunction.²⁵

While the Dodd and Daigle battles may have been nominal victories for the pro-choice side, the war was not over. The uncertainty of many Canadian women was compounded on May 29, 1990 when the federal government passed new legislation to replace the old abortion act struck down as in 1988. The government called it a compromise solution. Yet Bill C-43 recriminalized abortion, removed the decision from the individual woman and placed it in the hands of her doctor--most of whom are men, further restricted access to abortion, and enabled third-party intervention by disgruntled husbands or male partners. 26

The passage of Bill C-43 has not ended the debate over abortion. But the federal government's bill did make a strong statement; Canadian women would not be allowed to make their own reproductive decisions. The bill attested to the strength of moral conservative ideology at the federal level, or at least a recognition in Ottawa that moral conservatives were a powerful force with which to reckon if one is to maintain political power. While the numerical strength of moral conservatives

Van Dusen, "Abortion Agony," Maclean's, 102(34), Aug 21, 1789, 12-14; and Alberto Manguel, "Chantale Daigle," Chatelaine, 63(1), Jan 1790, 38-41, 113-114.

^{26.} Men For Women's Choice, "Five Reasons Why The Proposed Abortion Law Is No Compromise" (Toronto: Men For Women's Choice, Mailing Circular, January 1990), 1.

In 1982, the Canadian physician labour force was 86 percent male. See Christel Woodward, and Orvill Adams, "Physician Resource Databank: Numbers, Distribution And Activities Of Canada's Physicians," <u>Canadian Medical Association Journal</u>, 132, May 15, 1985, 1175-1188.

was unknown, they had significantly shifted the collective consciousness of a society.

Conclusions On Moral Conservatives

Moral conservatives encourage, through political and social pressure, the belief that a woman's primary function is to deliver and nurture many children. Underlying this struggle, is the issue of control over women's lives and bodies. For women to lose these battles could result in them being increasingly restricted to the traditional mother role. While potentially rewarding for many, the occupation must be one that is chosen and not dictated due to lack of other options. It was this basic lack of other opportunities that was a driving force behind the 1970s revival of the women's movement; women were tired of being restricted to a socially proscribed role. During the 1980s, moral conservatives were trying to return to that earlier period and succeeded in placing many obstacles in the path of feminism.

The reinforcement provided by moral conservativism to the belief that a woman's primary function is to bear children, strengthens the pressure to retaliate, punish, or legally and physically restrict those women who attempt to deviate or break away from such restricted femininity. It is not uncommon for men to begin assaulting their wives when they announce, for example, they are going to start attending university, or obtain paid employment out of the home.²⁷

What the moral conservatives try to ignore is that their

^{27.} Ron Schwartz, Counsellor, Men's Programme, Evolve, A Programme Of Klinic Community Health Centre, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Telephone interview with the author, June 5, 1990.

philosophy is built upon, and reinforces, the unequal power relationships between many social groups. As Kenneth Clatterbaugh states, "the conservative's ready acceptance of inequalities—between men and women, among men, or by race—opens them to the charge of being a voice for white male supremacy." Clatterbaugh's point is appropriate. The images and values advocated by moral conservatives are strikingly similar to how the family was officially portrayed in Nazi Germany from the 1920s through to the end of the Second World War. A similar parallel was that the German moral conservatives received considerable support and encouragement from numerous biological conservative theorists. These links were being replicated in the 1980s and 1990s.

2. <u>Biological Conservatives</u>

Biological conservative masculinists contend that men will dominate over women because of their innate aggressive advantage. For example,

the central fact is that men and women are different from each other, from the gene to the thought to the act, and that emotions that underpin masculinity and femininity, that make reality as experienced by the male eternally different from that experienced by the female, flow from the biological natures of man and woman....Women who deny their natures...are condemned—to paraphrase Ingrid Bengis's wonderful phrase—to argue against their own juices....roles associated with gender have been primarily the result rather

^{28.} Clatterbaugh, "Masculinist Perspectives," 4.

²⁹. For more on the German National Socialist (Nazi) party's ideology and portrayal of masculinity and femininity, among others, see: Berthold Hinz, <u>Art In The Third Reich</u> (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 110-176.

than the cause of sexual differences. 30

Biological conservatives also believe that women's physiology predisposes them to greater overall importance due to their essential child-bearing and nurturing qualities that ensure the continuity of the species. Goldberg notes that

Perhaps this female wisdom comes from resignation to the reality of male dominance; more likely it is a harmonic of the woman's knowledge that ultimately she is the one who matters. As a result, there are more brilliant men than brilliant women and more powerful men than powerful women, there are more good women than good men. Women are not dependent on male brilliance for their deepest source of strength, but men are dependent on female strength. Few women have been ruined by men; female endurance survives. Many men, however, have been destroyed by women who did not understand, or did not care to understand, male fragility.

Biological conservatives, place considerable responsibility for men's failings—and presumably their violence—at the feet of women who failed to understand the frailty of men. This belief underpins most battering and sexual assault myths. If only the woman had been more sensitive and recognized her male partner may have had a bad day at work she would not have deprived him of her nurturing support, thus avoiding the resultant black eye or push down the two flights of stairs. Similarly, had she only remembered male fragility, she would not have worn that specific outfit and tempted her rapist. Such a perspective absolves men of their responsibility for their crimes of violence and blames women.

Temple Smith, 1977), 194-195, cited in Clatterbaugh, "Masculinist Perspectives," 4-6.

^{31.} Goldberg, The Inevitability Of Patriarchy, 194.

Clatterbaugh notes that some biological conservatives take their beliefs even farther than Goldberg. As examined above in Chapters Three and Four, Edward Wilson argued that traditional masculine dominance, aggression, sexual assault, and promiscuity are seen as ways of increasing the survival rate of specific gene pools in environments that are often difficult for human survival. 32 What Goldberg and other biological theorists ignore or minimize is the human capacity for cognitive intervention in our actions. Even if we do have specific physiological drives, we have the capacity to make specific choices about whether, how, or when we try to meet these. Male violence is not inevitable—it is socially constructed.

Conclusions On Moral and Biological Conservatives

The political climate of the late 20th century encouraged cynicism regarding the prospect for an end to male violence against women. With the revival of the conservative ideology following the economic recession of the late 1970s, came a relatively lengthy period predominated by the continuous dismantling of many social policies protecting the rights and freedoms of the many groups exploited and abused by the current social and economic system. The this context, fighting for women's rights became an uphill battle severely complicated by the political strength of conservative concepts about masculinity and femininity.

^{32.} Edward O. Wilson, <u>On Human Nature</u> (1979), cited in Clatterbaugh, "Masculinist Perspectives," 4-6.

Politics Of Resentment (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).

From the conservative perspective, feminism, in its efforts at redressing the social, political, and economic power imbalance between men and women, is doomed to fail; it is trying to go against the laws of nature. While conservatives often respond as if feminism were a frivolous and mistaken waste of time, the force of their often virulent attacks indicates not only the current vitality of neo-conservative ideology (even though it often lacks solid logical cohesion), but a potential fear of the legitimate claims of feminism and its appeal to significant sections of the domestic population.

What was different about the 1980s, as compared to the early 1970s when the current feminist movement first emerged, was that the opposition to feminism appeared to be strengthened. It had not been since the 1930s that conservative ideology, policies, and programmes had enjoyed such popularity. 34 In the United States, the Republican Party, under Presidents Reagan and then Bush, succeeded in threatening the security of the gains made by the women's movement in the 1970s. Yet this phenomenon has not been limited to the US, it has manifested itself in countries around the world.

Conservative masculinists have played a significant role in the revival of the political right-wing. In becoming more vocal, they were a voice legitimizing the violence against women perpetrated by millions of male offenders. They served to strengthen the somewhat nebulous, but nevertheless prevalent, perception among many men that women already had it pretty good and were having an even easier time after the advent of feminism. In encouraging such resentment, the conservative

^{34.} Ibid.

masculinists are a fundamental force contributing to the high levels of male violence against women. While officially they may not condone individual acts of violence, their belief that aggression and violence are natural male qualities ensure that women will continue to be hurt and killed.

Conservative masculinists, however, were not the only reinforcers of the status quo. They were supported by the men's rights advocates.

C. THE MEN'S RIGHTS ADVOCATES

Background

The origins of the men's rights perspective are easy to find. As discussed above in Chapter Three, many men were increasingly resentful of the restrictions inherent in the 1950s hegemonic masculinity. Traditional marriages and the incumbent breadwinner role left many men feeling they were bearing the brunt of this arrangement.

The 1970s revival of feminism exacerbated the existing tensions and encouraged a more organized male response. Many men felt threatened or confused; they also began to reflect on issues that had long been ignored. Many joined consciousness raising groups to examine the feminist allegations against male roles as breadwinner, soldier, or leader; men's contributions to the degradation and abuse of women; and the dangers of hegemonic masculinity.

This response by men began--as did the feminist movement--primarily in the United States where the media, for lack of a better term,

se. Barbara Ehrenreich, "A Feminist's View Of The New Man," in Michael Kimmel, and Michael Messner (eds.), Men's Lives (New York: Macmillan Pub., Co., 1989), 34-43.

labelled it the men's movement. The activity soon spread across the US, Canada, the West European countries and beyond. By the mid-to late-1970s, the number of men's groups was increasing and many were putting together and publishing proclamations of their principles as personal and political statements. This flurry of activity, while still extremely small when compared to the women's movement, was significant. Many men were examining that which previously had been unspoken, and many were hopeful of the potential changes ahead.36

The next natural step was for organizers to pull together regional, and even, national gatherings to raise the consciousness of other men and to spark discussion for solutions to the many problems confronting men and women. At these conferences, the emerging differences within the movement, which had started to become visible at the local level, became unavoidable. While many of the individuals and groups may have been united as men responding to the demands of feminism, their dissimilar class, race, and ideological origins quickly resulted in political analyses and actions that moved in very different, and often contradictory, directions. The movement that had just begun, appeared to be falling apart.

ment in the 80's," Part I, M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 9, Sum-Fal 1982, 3-6;20-21, Part II, M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 10, Spr 1983, 3-6;32; Ned Lyttelton, "Men's Liberation, Men Against Sexism and Major Dividing Lines," Resources For Feminist Research, 12(4), Dec-Jan 1983-84, 33-34; and Robert A. Lewis, "Men's Liberation and the Men's Movement: Implications for Counsellors", Personnel and Guidance Journal, Vol. 60(4), Dec 1981, 256-259.

^{37.} Ibid.

In the early 1980s, several commentators within the men's movement, such as Joe Interrante, Ned Lyttelton and others, 30 portrayed the division as between two main groups: men's rights advocates, those struggling to extend the rights of men; and pro-feminist/anti-sexist men, those struggling to end the violence men perpetrate against women. In general, this categorization remains correct even though, by the end of the 1980s, additional smaller sectors also were evident. Despite the emergence of these other factions (discussed below), the size and strength of the men's rights advocates, or male liberationists, remained significant.

The manner in which the men's rights advocates generally have reinforced male violence against women, and thus further jeopardized their safety, requires examination.

Philosophy And Practice Of The Men's Rights Advocates

The men's rights advocates are opposed to feminism. They contend that feminism misrepresents the reality of men's and women's lives. Proponents would argue that men and women are equally abused by the current social relations or that men are more abused because of the extremely restrictive traditional male sex role. They contend that feminism has become not a force to empower women but one to gain more power over men. They see the women's movement as promoting negative images of men, male guilt, and distortions of the power relations

^{38.} Ibid.

^{39.} Ibid.

between men and women. From their perspective, feminism has created a new sexism that makes men the primary victims.40

Men's rights members have been struggling to create male-run organizations, provide legal protection and counselling support for fathers engaged in divorce or custody proceedings, monitor and critique advances made by the women's movement, and study and highlight how women abuse men. Typically the men's rights masculinists move beyond protectionism into assaulting gains made by women for equality. This has left men's rights proponents open to attack; they have given a new name to some very ancient and traditional practices of replicating and protecting the patriarchy.41

One of the best published examples of men's rights masculinism is Francis Baumli (ed.), Men Freeing Men: Exploding The Myth of the Traditional Male. It is a compilation of thoughts, comments, and position papers from the Coalition of Free Men, Divorced Dads Incorporated, The Men's Experience, Men's Rights Association, Men's Rights Incorporated, and others intent on improving the status of men. The focus ranges from the informative, such as why male sperm counts have decreased in the last fifty years (industrial toxicity), to the personal, such as what it felt like to be called a faggot and queer throughout

[&]quot;Herb Goldberg And The Politics Of 'Free Men'," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 2, Spr 1980, 10-11; and Robert Brannon, "Are The 'Free Men' A Faction Of Our Movement?," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 7, Win 1981-82, 14-15, 30-32.

^{41.} Ibid.

⁴². Francis Baumli, <u>Men Freeing Men: Exploding The Myth of the Traditional Male</u> (Jersey City: New Atlantic Press, 1985).

school. Baumli's work reflects the resentment men's rights members have toward traditional hegemonic masculinity. Men's rights advocates recognize and advertise the potentially disastrous health, financial, and emotional consequences of always trying to fulfill the traditional male role.⁴³ They emphasize that being the breadwinner or the soldier often is more than what it is cracked up to be.

While men's rights advocates deserve some credit for their critique of hegemonic masculinity, their analysis is woefully incomplete. In exposing the failings of hegemonic masculinity and its effects on men, the men's rights advocates conveniently ignore or minimize two key factors: first, the advantages which historically have accrued to men adopting traditional hegemonic masculinity; and second, the disastrous effect this particular form of masculinity—and its incumbent acceptance of male violence—has had on the lives of millions of women. By ignoring these crucial realities, the men's rights proponents jump to the extremely self—centred conclusions that men are oppressed, and the women's movement is only compounding the problem. Men's rights activists believe, and try to prove, that men have had to suffer just as much—if not more than—women. This philosophy is evident in several key areas in Baumli's Men Freeing Men.

i. <u>Sexuality</u>

A typical example of the men's rights perception of male-female sexuality is Robert Sides, "Male Anger and Male Sexuality." While extremely brief, his two paragraphs reveal both his anger toward women

^{43.} Among others see: Herb Goldberg, <u>The Hazards Of Being Male:</u>
<u>Surviving the Myth of Masculine Privilege</u> (New York: Signet Books, 1976).

and his uncritical acceptance of rape mythology. He is upset because he feels that it is no longer socially acceptable for men to become angry at fashion models such as Brooke Shields. He states:

What irks me most is the fact that women cannot believe men would get p.o.'d seeing this 16-year-old yank them around who then whispers, on talk shows, that she really is still a virgin! So why is she sticking her ass in our faces? I mean, don't taunt us unless you're going to deal with the heat, too, sister!

Once again, it is a revision of the old biological determinist belief that men have uncontrollable sexual urges that cannot be contained when tempted by a woman. While Sides does not specify if "the heat" involves sexual assault, he is intimating that it is the woman's fault for anything that may occur. This is a replication of the victim blaming women have suffered for centuries.

Two articles on prostitution, David Morrow's "You Pay For Every Piece You Get" and Herb Goldberg's "Prostitution As Male Humiliation," maintain the tone established by Sides. Morrow could well have written Playboy magazine's editorial policy in the 1950s. He contends that men are used by women who plot to try and steal what they can from men. He proclaims one rule:

only if a woman has several suitors of the highest socioeconomic standing which her body and personality can attract will she choose the one who is most gentlemanly. But if she has as suitors a prominent asshole and a gentleman of lesser economic means, she will choose the asshole. Later she can easily divorce him, sue for alimony, and still be

^{44.} Robert A. Sides, "Sexual Anger With Women: Male Anger and Male Sexuality," in Baumli (ed.), Men Freeing Men, 45.

maintained in his economic lifestyle.45

This is Morrow's explanation for why "women marry jerks and pricks despite their insistence that they want thoughtful, gentle, considerate husbands."46 Morrow's advice to men is to be sure to establish themselves professionally and personally before getting married.

A man who waits until after he is established before thinking about marriage will have the economic bait to attract quality females, but since his properties are in his name and were acquired before marriage, a woman's major temptation to divorce is absent. Too, a job steadily and conscientiously performed by a man before marriage will be fairly secure even in the event of a divorce, since the boss would blame the wife for any disruption.47

Herb Goldberg's article is not much of an improvement. Goldberg, one of the most prolific and published advocates of men's rights⁴⁸, in "Prostitution As Male Humiliation", reiterates the men's rights perception of men often being victimized by women. He implies that prostitution is equally humiliating for women and men. Admittedly, it can be a less than rewarding experience for a man to purchase a prostitute, but two issues—power and choice—are largely ignored by Goldberg. Being the purchaser, as compared to being the one who is purchased, automatically establishes an unequal power dynamic. While it may be humiliating for both people, typically the man has considerably more

^{45.} David Morrow, "You Pay For Every Piece You Get," in Baumli (ed.), Men Freeing Men, 49.

^{46.} Ibid.

^{47.} Ibid.

^{40.} For example, see: Herb Goldberg, <u>The Hazards Of Being Male;</u>
<u>The New Male: From Self-Destruction to Self-Care</u> (New York: Signet Books, 1979); and <u>The New Male-Female Relationship</u> (New York: Signet Books, 1983).

choice. While some women may choose to prostitute themselves, too often this decision is made because of limited economic opportunities or a self-perception, developed after years of childhood and adult emotional, physical, and sexual abuse by men, that being sexual with men is the only vehicle for receiving love or appreciation. Goldberg conveniently forgets to mention that men who pay for a prostitute seldom become physically and sexually abused, yet this commonly occurs to women providing the service. Goldberg ignores the relative freedom and power of the men in such situations. It is the man who chooses when to walk in, and out of, the transaction. Goldberg's interests, however, lay elsewhere. He notes that married men are "starved for a moment of spontaneous, nonobligating, aggressively free sexual abandon." er rape myth; wives are not putting out, therefore men are entitled to do as they must in order to fulfill their needs. This is the same excuse offered for many sexual assaults. Maybe, instead of purchasing a prostitute's services, the men to whom Goldberg alludes, should examine why their relationship does not meet their emotional and sexual needs. Then again, it may be alot easier to pay for a receptacle for their presumably unrestrained sexuality than to do some critical selfexamination.

ii. Pornography

The writings about pornography in Francis Baumli's <u>Men Freeing Men</u> maintain the tone established in the sexuality section. Robert Sides proclaims that women have choices, "whether they want to be responsible for them or not"; women involved in the pornography industry have chosen to do so and men cannot be held responsible for their actions. He

contends that for men to do so would indicate that they have suffered
"the bamboozlement of Femthink."49

Eugene Martin sets himself up as a great conciliator: "just as I make access to pornography symbolic of sexual freedom, I can guess that my sisters are seeing in pornography all the threats of sexual slavery of every sort." Not denying women's claims, he argues that men have a right to their freedoms. Not surprisingly, this is the identical perspective often used by pornographers to secure their industry.

Baumli indicates that even among men's rights masculinists there is diversity. He deplores Martin not to try and obtain his sexual knowledge from pornography for it humiliates and hurts men and women equally. Baumli's message, paralleling the thesis central to men's rights ideology, is to trivialize the violence perpetrated against women and instead focus on how—though the reasons may differ—men and women are equally hurt.

iii. <u>Parenting</u>

During the 1980s, in much of the Western world, there was an increase in the involvement of men as parents. While the verb "to father" typically still is viewed as being analogous with "to sire" or

^{49.} Sides, "Women And Pornography," in Baumli (ed.), Men Freeing Men, 53.

so. Eugene Martin, "Something About Pornography," in Baumli (ed.), Men Freeing Men: Exploding The Myth of the Traditional Male (Jersey City: New Atlantic Press, 1985), 56-57.

si. Baumli, "A Reply To Eugene Martin's 'Something About Pornog-raphy'," in Baumli, <u>Men Freeing Men</u>, 57-59.

^{52.} Susan Crean, <u>In The Name Of The Fathers: The Story Behind</u>
Child Custody (Toronto: Amanita Enterprises, 1988), 7.

"to procreate," many men are working to change that perception so that comforting, soothing, cleaning, and all the other necessities of child-care often associated with "mothering" will be recognized as skills that can be done by men. Though commendable that our society currently rewards men that are actively involved as parents, it is a sad comment that we view this more as an oddity—or at best a novelty—rather than the norm. Nevertheless, numerous men have begun to change the traditional hegemonic masculinity by being present at the birth of their child, staying at home with their children, or having conversations with their coworkers about the attributes of cloth versus disposable diapers.

Men's rights advocates have worked hard to supplant to their political advantage this very positive change among men. Men's rights proponents emphasize that men are discriminated against by a legal system that favours women and works to separate children from their fathers. With such a plank in their platform, it follows that they receive a significant portion of their support from disgruntled fathers either separated from, or sharing custody of, their children. 54

Susan Crean provides an excellent expose of the intentions behind the men's rights groups. She argues that by pressing for some very legitimate demands such as paid paternity leaves, and tax deductions for unmarried fathers who do not live with their children but contribute to their upkeep without court pressure, men's rights

ss. See Baumli (ed.), <u>Men Freeing Men</u>, Chapter 9, "When Daddy Can't Be Daddy Anymore," 163-202.

^{54.} Crean, <u>In The Name Of The Fathers</u>, 5-8.

activists have been able to court significant public attention and sympathy for their larger agenda. 55

Men's rights advocates view the gains of feminism as a direct threat "on the rights and authority of men in the family."56 They focus their attention on narrowing the legal interpretations of mother's rights and ensuring father custody rights clauses in family law reform. 57 They contend that such goals are important as men are sincerely concerned about their children's welfare and are highly desirous of joint or full custody. 58 Yet the statistics indicate otherwise. Crean notes that in Manitoba, Canada, for example, only after the provincial government legislated a support enforcement programme did the default rate drop to 15 percent. Prior to the legislation, 85 percent of the men reneged on their support payments. Furthermore, the vast majority of men have not contested custody and do not appear to want it. Crean states that "only 15 percent of all divorce cases in Canada involving children are contested and women initiate the action in 72 percent of those cases."57

Crean notes that many men's rights advocates are so determined to ensure men's access to their children that batterers' and sex offenders' crimes frequently are minimized.40 Many men's rights advocates do

ss. Crean, <u>In The Name Of The Fathers</u>, 98-140.

se. Ibid., 102.

^{57.} Ibid.

se. Ibid., 107.

^{59.} Ibid., 108.

^{40.} Ibid., 109-111.

not want to break the "strong bond between the child and abuser."61

Men's rights activists have spread across North America with groups in most major cities. In smaller centres, one individual may staff the phone line or install an answering machine, but usually they are connected to another organization in a larger centre. Crean correctly points out that while their actual numbers may be small, they hold the sympathy—spoken or otherwise—of many influential men in society. She recognizes the connections:

Some have called the fathers' rights phenomenon the "equality backlash" but in reality it is the "patriarchal backlash," through which the male establishment has been quietly letting the fathers rights activists fight feminism for its proxy.

iv. <u>Violence</u>

In the area of violence against women, however, the error is one of omission rather an overzealous commission. Francis Baumli's edited work Men Freeing Men, for example, avoids the issue of male violence against women. Instead, the reader is treated to six articles about female violence against men. First, there is Suzanne Steinmetz's "Battered Husbands: A Historical and Cross-Cultural Study." Her intention was to reveal the extent to which men are abused by women; she indicates an approximate ratio of 12 or 13 women for every 1 male that is abused. To Steinmetz's credit, she acknowledges that not only the frequency but also the levels of abuse experienced by men can be significantly lower than the abuse rates endured by women. Steinmetz emphasizes that husband abuse often is under reported and that efforts in

^{61.} Ibid., Crean was quoting Ron Sauve of Fathers For Justice.

^{62.} Ibid., 102.

this area need to be improved.

Yet Steinmetz ignores the causes of the violence against men. Many instances involve defensive action before an attack by her male partner. The statistics on women committing murder, for example, are inflated by women often acting in self defence. Steinmetz does not inform the reader that there is a lively debate about the exact ratios (see above Chapter One). If the defensive/offensive issue is factored into the equation, the difference significantly increases between the number of male and female victims.

Dan Logan's "Men Abused By Women," Ken Pangborn's "Family Violence and Women's Lib," and several others on how men are portrayed in the media, reflect considerable anger at the women's movement for focussing on the abuse of women. The men's rights activists attempt to demonstrate from this that feminists are not interested in the men that are abused in our society.

The tactics of the men's rights advocates appear to focus more on discrediting the opposition in order to improve their own image. They try to appear as the champions of all men that have been abused. They seem intent on producing one abused man for every abused woman so that they can pretend that things between the sexes are equal. This would reduce the pressure for men to change their values, beliefs, and actions. A brief look at <u>Transitions</u>, a newsletter of the American Coalition of Free Men, illuminates this point. Front page titles include "Sexual Molestation By Females," "Woman Charged With Sex Abuse," "Women

^{63.} Suzanne Steinmetz, "Battered Husbands: A Historical and Cross-Cultural Study," in Baumli (ed.), Men Freeing Men, 207.

And The Media Contributing To Sexual Harassment."64

The choice of the articles for Baumli's book clearly reveals the political intentions of the men's right advocates. If they were so intent on improving the lives of male abuse victims—as compared to the importance they afford to discrediting feminism—the men's rights advocates would realize that the vast majority of violence experienced by men—whether on the street, in the home, or in jail—is at the hands of other men.⁴⁵

Conclusions On The Men's Rights Advocates

Men's rights advocates gain some credibility in using concepts such as role theory which is partially compatible with a social constructionist approach. Yet rather than encouraging men to examine and take responsibility for their violence, men's rights proponents work to shift the focus toward examples of women in positions of economic, emotional, and physical power over men. Their ease of doing this is aided by a simplistic variety of feminism which views men as the root of most of our social problems. As long as some individuals try and pretend that power imbalances occur only along gender lines, and ignore the divisions resulting from racial, class, religious, and sexual preference issues, men's rights activists will be better able to exploit the

^{64.} Transitions, The Coalition of Free Men, 7(4), Jul-Aug 1987.

Steinmetz, "Violence And The Male Victim," in Baumli, Men freeing Men, 205-206.

In the process of exploring the extent to which men are abused, another important point emerges from Steinmetz's statistics. When one combines the statistics on murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault, it is evident that men most need to fear other men.

situation. They will always be able to find, for example, wealthy women exploiting male workers. Yet, the underlying intention of the men's rights proponents is to thoroughly discredit feminism. The obvious benefit for the men's right's movement and many other men is that if this is accomplished, feminist demands—such as the one to end to male violence against women—can more easily be ignored.

The men's rights philosophy reinforces the gender status quo. It reinforces a tendency within hegemonic masculinity for men to look primarily at their own victimization as men and to minimize or ignore the effect this has had on others--particularly women.

Individuals working for a reduction of male violence against women must be prepared for the obstacles created by the men's rights advocates. They are a formidable group of men that present as feeling very threatened by the changes they see around them. While most might not openly advocate being violent toward women, significant portions of their theory and practice reinforce traditional misogynist values and thus contribute to male violence against women.

The men's rights advocates, however, are not the only men who appear to feel threatened.

D. MALE TERRORISTS

While all offenders violate the rights of women, male terrorists carry the process one step further; their violence is directed not just

M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 2, Spr 1980, 10-11; and Robert Brannon, "Are The 'Free Men' A Faction Of Our Movement?," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 7, Win 1981-82, 14-15, 30-32.

at women, but at all feminists. Though the following two examples are Canadian, the process they reflect is universal.

1. The Montreal Massacre

Late in the afternoon of December 6, 1989, 25 year old Marc Lépine entered the six story engineering building of the Ecole Polytechnique, University of Montreal, and went directly to the second floor. He carried a green garbage bag containing two 30-clip magazines and a .223calibre Sturm, Ruger semiautomatic rifle. Fifteen metres from the office of the school's finance director, Lépine shot and killed his first victim, Maryse Laganiere, age 25, a finance department employee. From there he moved to Room 303. Inside the room Eric Chavarie, an engineering student, was conducting a presentation on the mechanics of heat transfer. Lépine entered the room, ordered the men and women into opposite corners. At first he was not believed, people were taking it as a joke. After he fired a shot at a wall, the seriousness of the situation became obvious. Lépine ordered the men out of the room, and proceeded to shoot the women. Four of them were seriously wounded, six were killed. From Room 303, Lépine descended to the cafeteria, fatally shot three victims, wounded others, and then proceeded to the third He went to Room 311. Upon entering, he started shooting. The floor. students scrambled. Lépine jumped on top of several desks to fire at the women hiding underneath. Four more women were killed and several wounded. Lépine then turned his rifle on himself, and blew off the top of his skull.

This was the worst civilian massacre in Canadian history. Fourteen dead and 13 seriously injured. As people tried to make sense out of the horror, one thing became clear. Marc Lépine was intent on killing women. In Room 303, he shouted "You're all a bunch of feminists, and I hate feminists." Francois Bordeleau, an engineering student, heard Lépine say "I want the women." All his victims and most of the wounded were women. The victims were part of the larger movement of women entering one of the many bastions of male dominance. Lépine succeeded in rolling back, even if only temporarily, the struggle of millions of women for a society based on equality.

Despite the slaughter of 14 women, and the numerous witnesses to Lépine's misogynist comments, many do not view Lépine as a male terrorist. Many commentators tried to reduce Lépine's action to the work of one madman. Doing so, possibly, was easier than admitting the entire social fabric of the society needs revision if male violence against women is to end.

While Lépine may have acted in a manner more violent than many other men, his escalation process was similar to those of other violent offenders. Friends and neighbors, questioned after the massacre, described Lépine as friendly but extremely withdrawn, and noted he felt unsuccessful in his relationships with women, and had failed in many career attempts. Rather than dealing with his emotions, Lépine probably choose to ignore them and allowed the tension to increase. Eventually he broke under the self-induced pressure.

Too many commentators ignored that while Lépine did react to what he perceived to be serious threats to himself, he had several choices.

Instead of reaching out for help and support, Lépine chose to enter the Ecole Polytechnique with a gun and hunt women. The process is the same for the millions of other men that decide to sexually or physically assault known and anonymous women. But Lépine was not only a misogynist —his hatred had an additional refinement—he was anti-feminist, a reactionary; he was threatened by the advances of women and was working to make them suffer for their gains.

While the brutality of Marc Lépine's actions shocked Canadians, his goal of opposing feminism was not an isolated incident. There are numerous other examples. The following is just one more.

2. The Queen's University Anti-Rape Campaign

In the fall of 1989, Queen's University, in Kingston, Ontario, undertook an anti-date rape campaign to raise awareness of the issue, dispel many of the myths, and reduce it's frequency. A major component of the programme was a "No Means No" poster to challenge one of the most common rape myths that women are always ready for, and wanting, sex but often play coy and pretend otherwise to test the sexual

The information on the Montreal Massacre was gathered from a number of sources. Among others, see: Canadian Press and Staff, "Man In Montreal Kills 14 Woman," The Globe And Mail, Dec 7, 1989, A1-A2; Canadian Press, "Terrified Students Describe Rampage By Man With Rifle," The Globe And Mail, Dec 7, 1989, A9; Emil Sher, "Speaking About The Unspeakable," The Globe And Mail, Dec 8, 1989, A7; Victor Malarek, "Killer's Note Blames Feminists," The Globe And Mail, Dec 8, 1989, A1-A2; Stevie Cameron, "Violence Against Women Assailed," The Globe And Mail, Dec 8, 1989, A1, A4; Brian Bergman, et. al., "Sisterhood Of Fear And Fury," Maclean's, 102(51), Dec 18, 1989, 18-19; Barry Came, et. al., "Montreal Massacre," Maclean's, 102(51), Dec 18, 1989, 14-17; and Bruce Wallace, et. al., "The Making Of A Mass Killer: A Youth's Hidden Rage at Women, Maclean's, 102(15), Dec 18, 1989, 22.

desirability of the male partner; "real men" would not accept no for an answer. The posters were displayed around the campus.

By the first week of October, several signs mocking the anti-rape campaign appeared in windows of the Gordon House men's residence. Their words conveyed the fear that many women know lays beneath the polished exterior of many men. "No Means Yes", "No Means More Beer", and "No Means Kick Her In The Teeth" reflected the tone of the response among these men. 60 October 11, 1989, a group of women organized, painted "No Means No" on the side of Gordon House, and sent letters to the parents of men with signs in their windows informing them their sons were engaging in misogynist activities. The next day, after more signs appeared in the windows of Gordon House and other campus residences, the Dean of Women ordered the signs be removed by 2:00 pm the following day.

On October 13th, with the signs removed, the issue was not yet resolved. An open struggle continued for the next few weeks. The Dons in Gordon House held a gender awareness week, providing seminars on sexual assault, rape, and the effect of the signs. On October 26, the Alma Mater Society assembly discussed the issue but chose not to take any action because the Main Campus Residence Council (MCRC) was to examine the issue on the same day. While the MCRC did hold an open meeting, they choose not to punish the offenders. Instead they advocated a gender awareness week for all residences. On November 2, the issue went national when the media began giving the story top billing. Still

⁶⁰. Lynne Ainsworth, "Male Students Mock Anti-Rape Campaign," Toronto Star, Nov 2, 1989, A1, A36.

there was no formal response from the university administration. 9:00 am, on November 9--well over a month after the men's signs appeared--30 women staged a sit-in at Queen's principal David Smith's office demanding an apology for the administration's inaction, the retention of the Dean of Women, and a sexual assault awareness campaign for the entire campus. Only then did the administration respond. Within a day, the administration called for a joint open meeting in January 1990 of the Gender Issues Board, the Alumni Weekend Board, and the Orientation Review Board (ORB). The administration also requested the ORB to provide an annual open meeting in September to deal with misogynist activities during Frosh week. On the afternoon of November 10, the 30 women left the principal's office noting they had succeeded in raising the awareness of sexual assault issues at Queen's University. Because of their brave and admirable efforts--and their victory-these women were confronted by men on the street and received harassing phone calls.

The Queen's scandal indicated that much had not changed. While nine of the men with signs in their windows did send a letter to the Toronto Star and the Whig-Standard apologizing for the signs and admitting that their "humour was in bad taste," the question remains why they would have thought, in the first place, that rape was a laughing matter. Even if the initial actions of these nine repenters were to be explained as a function of peer pressure—ie. to fit in with their male peer group, they felt they to had to display the posters—this still is of tremendous concern. It is the same peer pressure to conform to the male group and hegemonic masculinity that often results in gang,

acquaintance, and stranger rape. Yet these nine men, and the others who did not publicly apologize, were not the only offenders that likely increased the fear of rape in most women who heard this story; the Queen's university administration needs to be held accountable for its inaction. There was no need to wait until 30 women took direct action. Would they have continued to ignore the issue if the sit-in had not oc-While this is not known, their month long delay was an appalcurred? ling and frightening occurrence. By choosing not to respond--and inaction is a conscious choice--until they were coerced, the administration provided support and encouragement to the Gordon House offenders. If University administrations, at Queen's and elsewhere, really wanted to reduce date rape--which has been termed a "campus epidemic"49--there are numerous proactive steps that could be implemented. Mandatory gender awareness seminars, permanent anti-rape campaigns directed at changing male--as compared to female--behaviour, improved lighting and escort services to enable women to safely walk around campus at night, and established policies to promptly respond to the display of misogynist material or activities, are just of few of the possible options. The Queen's scandal verified that such programmes--and thus the safety of all women--receive a low priority.

What happened at Queen's is just another example of how men have responded to demands for an end to male violence against women. The men in Gordon House that displayed their posters, and the men that confronted, in person or harassingly telephoned, the 30 women involved in

^{69.} Karen Barrett, "Date Rape: A Campus Epidemic?" Ms., Sep 1982, 50-51, 130.

or associated with the sit-in at Queen's, all were offenders of male violence. But like Marc Lépine, the poster writers in Gordon House went one step farther, they also were directing their violence at a perceived threat—women working to improve the conditions of other women.

In the early 1970s, when a renewed feminist movement was emerging, there was, at times, a naivé belief that has continued through to the current period. "Male sexist pigs," as they often were called in that earlier time, were portrayed in the media as slightly older, balding, fat men in cheap business suits. Among other things, the Queen's scandal reminds one that the "old guard" of traditional, patriarchal masculinity can be very young. Carrying on the dishonorable tradition of their predecessors, these men are the shock troops of a threatened and reactionary mindset that strives to ensure the continuity of the inequality between men and women. Sensing that such values cannot be spoken so openly in the current period, terrorists may try, when confronted, to trivialize their actions as "a bad joke"; but, violence against women is not a laughing matter. 70

CONCLUSIONS ON THE REINFORCERS OF THE STATUS QUO

Reinforcers of the status quo work hard to ensure that their desired social order is maintained. They see little wrong with the traditional divisions between men and women and strive to protect them.

While not all reinforcers may be directly violent toward women, their

^{7°.} The Queen's Journal, "Queen's Scandal Continues," <u>Manitoban</u>, 77(17), Nov 29, 1989, 3.

theories and values help legitimize the violence of other men. In the struggle to end male violence against women, reinforcers are one of the most difficult obstacles. Compounding the problem, however, is that reinforcing the status quo is not the only tactic used by men.

PART II: AVOIDANCE

The men represented in the following section, by avoiding the issue of male violence, are also part of the problem.

A. THE SILENT MULTITUDES

A large number of men continue to be silent about male violence against women. Men need to recognize that not criticizing their sexist and abusive male peers helps perpetuate the tradition of male violence.

Male silence makes it difficult to know where many men stand on the issue of violence against women. Percentage estimates do not exist, for example, of how many of the silent multitudes are offenders, men aware of the problem but not working to effect change, or individuals—though not offenders—that remain oblivious to the problem of male violence. Compounding the problem is the tradition within contemporary popular culture reminding individuals to remain uninformed and silent about many important social issues; a perspective exemplified by "Don't Worry, Be Happy," a popular song of the late 1980s.71

⁷¹. Bobby McFerrin, "Dont' Worry, Be Happy," from the album <u>Simple Pleasures</u>, EMI/Manhatten, 1988.

What is clear, however, is that we have yet to reach a stage where it is common, or valued, for men to speak out against violence against women. Granted, there is a historic tradition within the current concept of hegemonic masculinity to protect women, but it is a custom based in paternalism and chivalrous notions of women either as frail, someone else's property, or both. And, as is evident from the types and frequencies of male violence examined above in Chapter One, this tradition has failed to end the problem. Some might argue it even has contributed to the situation. What has not emerged among many men is a willingness to view male violence as a crime that they should be involved in ending.

There are two important reasons why large numbers of men do not assert their opposition to male violence against women. First, and foremost, is that many men benefit from being violent toward women. By exerting physical and emotional terror, many men easily have their needs met by a victim who often complies out of fear. While many men presenting for counselling admit that they have recently developed some semblance of victim empathy, they also acknowledge that for many years they really did not care at all about how it affected the victim.

Offenders, however, are not the only men that remain silent about male violence. Many non-offenders also do not speak out. While the statistical evidence has yet to be gathered, it appears that many mendespite their bravado—are afraid. They are afraid to risk jeopardizing the belief among their peers that they are hegemonic men. Speaking out against male violence could compel one to be critical of one's real and mythical peer group, and indicate that one viewed women as equals

rather than as second class citizens. Many men are afraid to jeopar-dize their membership in their peer groups, and thus maintain their position by risking the safety of additional women. Such men succumb, for example, to the considerable pressure for men to laugh at a friend's, coworker's, or employer's misogynist joke, or to objectify and whistle at women walking down the street. Too many men continue to fear opposing this pressure.72

Other men succeed in speaking out without feeling their masculinity is threatened. But too often this is done only within a select, safe group of friends or coworkers. While sexist remarks may not be welcomed within certain peer groups, these individuals too often remain silent and do not attempt to effect change within other male peer groups. Thus, the important changes remain localized and less significant.

It is also common for many men, aware of the values of one peer group or social milieu, to act differently than they do in other settings. Thus, for example, a three piece suited executive may be very appropriate at work, but choose to be a misogynist when he hangs out with his friends at the bar or gymnasium in the evening.

An additional problem is that many men continue to be ignorant of how they are being violent and the effects it has on their victims. This is most evident with emotional abuse. Jeers, insults, and sexual innuendos typically are viewed as harmless jokes or only in "bad

^{72.} Dexter Guerrieri, "Pornography And Silent Men," <u>Changing Men</u>, 15, Fal 1985, 9-10; and Paul Kivel, "The Fear Of Men," <u>Changing Men</u>, 17, Win 1986, 19.

taste."73 As long as men aware of the effects of these jokes remain silent, nothing changes. Other men hearing the unchallenged "jokes," may internalize the violent values, and feel pressured to repeat similar behaviours themselves in order to look like "real" or hegemonic men. The cycle repeats itself as it has for thousands of years; male silence contributes to male violence.

B. LIBERAL CRITICS OF TRADITIONAL MASCULINITY

Since the mid-1970s there has a been a major increase in the amount of material published by male liberal academics which examine men and masculinity. Quantity, however, has not ensured quality. majority of the works, while expanding our awareness of various aspects of masculinity, either avoided or inadequately addressed male violence against women. While many women have written, researched, and repeatedly focussed on male violence against women, a similar response has not been forthcoming from men. The near silence has been an important loss and a comment on the value afforded to the issue by many men. When on considers the magnitude of the problem, writers and publishers, whenever possible, should address, rather than avoid, the issue. Male violence against women should not be ghettoized in very specialized works on abuse. The multitude of books on masculinity published in the 1970s and 1980s could have better emphasized how central male violence against women has remained to hegemonic masculinity. This failure is evident in four areas typically discussed by liberal critics of

^{73.} The Queen's Journal, "Queen's Scandal Continues,", 3.

masculinity: men's health, sexuality, parenting, and male sex roles.

1. Health

Stemming from the emerging awareness of the lower life expectancy of men relative to women, considerable attention has been afforded to examining men's health and lifestyles to account for this statistical difference. Issues under examination include hazardous work environments; high stress; minimal self care; fewer or less intimate friendships; and poor physical and cardio-vascular health.74

While high stress levels, for example, may be an acknowledged factor in impairing men's health, too often, work stress is cited as the main problem or difficulty in men's lives. While true for many men, it is also evident that higher levels of physical and emotional stress can be directly related to an individual's self-induced cognitive distortions of their external reality. Thus it is not always the specific stress that is of concern, rather how the individual perceives and interprets, and chooses to react to, the event. A

Role May Be Dangerous To Your Health," <u>Journal Of Social Issues</u>, 34(1), 1978, 65-86; Christine Meinecke, "Socialized To Die Younger?: Hypermasculinity and Men's Health," <u>Personnel And Guidance Journal</u>, 60(4), Dec 1981, 241-245; L. John Chapman, "Increased Male Mortality And Male Roles In Industrial Societies," <u>M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice</u>, 7, Win 1981-82, 7-8; Kenneth Skord, and Brockman Schumacher, "Masculinity As A Handicapping Condition," <u>Rehabilitation Literature</u>, 43(9-10), Sep-Oct 1982, 284-289; Diagram Group, <u>Man's Body</u> (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1983); Laurence Grimm, and Paul Yarnold, "Sex Typing And The Coronary-Prone Behavior Pattern," <u>Sex Roles</u>, 12(1-2), Jan 1985, 171-178; Philip Korman, "Hazards In The Workplace," <u>Changing Men</u>, 16, Sum 1986, 25-26.

^{75.} David Burns, <u>Feeling Good: The New Mood Therapy</u> (New York: New American Library, 1981).

person's decreased capacity to non-violently interpret their external reality is compounded further if their value system contains many rape and battering myths. The result can be a greater, and more frequent, escalation toward violence, which can impair the health of the man and the safety of women.

Information on men's health therefore should be coupled with a critique of hegemonic masculinity's acceptance of male violence against women. Many writers might retort that they were writing for a general male audience. Yet when the statistics on male violence are considered (Chapter One), the offender population is not as insignificant or separate from the general male population as we might like to believe.

Part of learning to be non-violent involves significant value changes and a closer relationship with one's physical and emotional state. Knowing about this relationship can help a man recognize that he is escalating toward a violent episode. To halt this progression offenders implement a pre-planned non-violent control plan, much of which is likely to include various forms of physical activity, either walking, running, or swimming. Individuals should not have to go to a specialized book on abuse to learn these tools. If an author purports to be examining male health, it is a serious omission to ignore male violence against women; the effects of repeatedly escalating toward and being violent; maintaining misogynist value systems; and the potential role of physical activity in preventing a violent episode.

2. Sexuality

The tendency to ignore male violence against women also has been perpetuated with most materials pertaining to male sexuality. Derek Llewellyn-Jones has provided a thorough overview of the types and availability of such resources. He notes that in 1981 there were over 50 sex manuals and twelve of them each had sold more than one million copies. He submits that since most were written by American men the focus of the subject matter has been distorted. The tone of most of the works, for example, is very goal oriented. Men and women are encouraged to determine that which best suits their partner's desires in order to achieve more frequent, enjoyable, and intense orgasms. Not that there is anything inherently or morally wrong with achieving orgasm, but in being so focussed on the goal, individuals may ignore the process. Specific techniques become the vehicles for achieving orgasm rather than pleasurable entities in and of themselves. To achieve success--or orgasm--couples must frequently practice, study, and discuss Unfortunately, sex manuals often seem more like introductions to basic acrobatics. It is not uncommon for manuals to acknowledge that many of the positions they display are best suited for young, fit individuals.

One result of being highly goal focussed, is that much of the desired pleasure is turned into difficult work, that often is not evenly shared. Llewellyn-Jones states that the vast majority of manuals replicate the traditional notion whereby the man must orchestrate the entire sexual extravaganza. Such an approach is likely to reinforce the performance anxiety of many men; the result is that most books spend an

inordinate amount of time addressing the problems of premature ejaculation and impotence. 76

Encouraging men to orchestrate, or control, an event is not always a good idea, particularly when many men--and violent men in particular --already have significant control issues. Being in control of one's self and environment is an important component of hegemonic masculinity. Rather than seriously addressing the desire of many men to control people and situations, sex manuals typically encourage men to try and communicate with their partner to determine their sexual needs and desires rather than not being concerned or assuming one already knows the answers. A positive step, but not nearly far enough. Considering the statistics on battering and marital rape in relationships, acquaintance and stranger rape, and emotional abuse, it is unlikely all male readers suddenly are going to start effectively communicating with women when their history has been to do otherwise. Even if such men were to start using skills they had not extensively used in the past, their female partners may not feel truly safe to comment on their male partner's sexual techniques. While the sex manual authors deserve credit for repeatedly emphasizing the importance of men communicating with their female partners, they are extremely vague as to what really occurs in too many male-female encounters. By not mentioning the issue of male violence against women, they perpetuate the secret.

A much more critical and open approach is essential if men are to come to terms with their sexuality and how they relate to others.

Press, 1987), 102-124. Everyman (Oxford: Oxford University

Avoiding the issue of male violence against women only further contributes to the problem. Books on male sexuality need to talk about how to determine that which is healthy and, conversely, is abusive. While the manuals currently may be upfront about stating that anything goes as long as those involved agree to it, this is unworkable in an abusive relationship. Subtle and overt coercion can preclude a balanced and equitable sexual discussion.

Regrettably, rather than addressing the frequent links between male violence and male sexuality, many of the most popular sex manuals only reinforce existing myths. The Joy Of Sex, for example, has sold more than 4.5 million copies and New York Magazine noted that it "may be the best thing of its kind ever published."77 The book is over 250 pages in length, but affords less than one quarter of a page to rape (on page 248, no less). The book's editor, does admit that rape "is a frightening turn-off," and encourages women to defecate (as if that can be done on cue) as a way of repelling their attacker. Fighting back is not encouraged as it may be "provocative." But the clincher is "Don't get yourself raped--i.e. don't deliberately excite a man you don't know well, unless you mean to follow through." Another rape myth perpetuated, this time in a publication sold not in pornography shops but in mall bookstores.

The sex manuals appear to be written in a vacuum. They presuppose a safe, non-violent, equitable, open relationship between two people.

^{77.} Alex Comfort (ed.), The Joy Of Sex: A Gourmet Guide To Lovemaking (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), backcover.

⁷⁸. Ibid., 248.

This simply does not exist for large numbers of individuals. The result is that the silence on male violence is maintained.

3. Parenting

This is another example where male liberal critics of traditional masculinity typically ignore male violence against women. Throughout the 1980s, there was a veritable bombardment of books, articles, and media images dealing with men as effective, creative parents. 79 As already noted, some of the interest in men as parents was generated and used for specific political purposes by the men's rights advocates. Yet, much of the attention afforded the issue evolved from many men—in an era when a double family income increasingly was an economic necessity—who spent more time with the kids and recognized the potential pleasures of parenting. The media picked up and publicized the issue.

Kodak film had a poster that typified the tone of the new male image. A very fit and muscular man, clad only in tight jeans, was pictured sitting in a warm and sunny windowseat with his knees pulled toward him and his head tucked down--so that it looked almost as if he

⁽New York: Avon Books, 1985); Wenda Goodhart Singer, Stephen Shechtman, and Mark Singer, Real Men Enjoy Their Kids: How To Spend Quality Time With The Children In Your Life (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983); Sandy Morgan, "Walk A Mile In My Shoes: When Daddy Stays Home," Great Expectations, 18(4), Jul 1989, 26-29, 32; Lewis Rich-Shea, "The Co-Parenting Father," Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 12 Spr-Sum 1984, 16-18; Shirley Hanson, "Father/Child Relationships: Beyond 'Kramer vs. Kramer'," Marriage And Family Review, 9(3/4), 135-150; Ned O'Malia, "Charlie's Shower-Celebrating The Expectant Father," Ms., 10(8), Feb 1982, 48-49; Kyle Pruett, "Do Dads Make Good Moms?" Chatelaine, Jul 1987, 40, 68-69; George James, "You've Come A Long Way, Dad: Father and the Newborn," Great Expectations, 16(3), Jul 1987, 49-50; and Ari Korpivaara, "Play Groups For Dads," Ms., 10(8), Feb 19082, 52-54

were in an upright fetal position. In his arms he cradled a very young baby. The photo reflected a perfect blending of strength and sensitivity, the values increasingly demanded of contemporary men.

Admittedly, more images like the Kodak advertisement are required. Men need to believe that they can be effective parents. For too long--whether by choice, the conflicting obligation of playing the breadwinner role, or both, males have not been involved in the tremendous responsibility of childcare. While they may have played the disciplinarian, men need to realize they also are capable of nurturing, encouraging, loving, and toilet training children.

In the effort of portraying men as wonderful fathers, two points must not be forgotten. Some critics believe the media has seriously over represented the actual degree to which men have taken responsibility for childcare. They argue that while men have become more involved parents, the distribution of labour is far from equitable, with the mother continuing to do, and be responsible for, most of the hard work. While more fathers are taking their children for walks to the park, not all of them are in scrubbing the diaper pail.

A second point must not be ignored amid the media hype of men as wonderful fathers. Many fathers are extremely abusive within the home environment. Whether emotionally, physically, or sexually abusing the

Parenthood?" Ms. 10(8), Feb 1982, 41-46.

Joseph Pleck, an American sociologist, published Working Wives, Working Children in 1985. He found that men with wives that worked outside of the home did only 30 to 35 percent of the family work. Men who's wives did not work outside of the home did just 20 percent. Pleck was cited in Dave Haynes, "Who Is He?: New, Revised, or Updated?" Today's Parent, 4(4), Jul 1987, 20-25.

mother or children, too many men have figuratively and literally destroyed the lives of other family members. Denying this can complicate the recovery of many victims, and facilitate the ease with which male offenders can avoid the issue.

Men need to learn how to parent; it was not a skill that was emphasized for many contemporary adult males when they were children. Yet part of teaching involves clearly demarcating the subject matter. Advertisements and articles on fathering need to emphasize that it is not always a wonderful experience. It can be extremely frustrating, isolating, and exhausting. Parenting also can precipitate many pressures within a relationship as two adults try to adjust to the financial and interpersonal stresses of having a child, youth, or adolescent. By ignoring the strains of being a parent, implying that things are always blissful, and not teaching men how to non-violently deal with their emotions can be a prescription for disaster. It can be setting many men up to fail—with potentially disastrous ramifications for all family members.

Men need to learn the signs and symptoms of their escalation toward violence, what to do to get out of the situation, and how to get
help to deal with their problem. One should not have to turn to a book
on abuse for such information. The very nature of parenting requires
that people know how to prevent being violent. To date, most of the
material appears more focussed on trying to portray parenting as rewarding and appealing, almost in order to coax reluctant men into undertaking the position--even if only on a shared basis. This approach

must be complimented with an appropriate handling of the reality of male violence within families.

4. Male Sex Roles

Considering the century old concern over the degree to which men adopt a version of masculinity that is compatible with the needs of the economy, the nation, and those who control both (see Chapter Three above), it is not surprising that the male sex role is the issue that has received the most attention from liberal academics, writers, and public commentators. The main focus of most of their work has been to address the vast number of challenges to traditional hegemonic masculinity during the 1970s and 1980s. They emphasize that adopting the breadwinner role, so highly valued in the 1950s, no longer is sufficient. While contemporary men still may be required to provide an income for themselves or a family, there are increasing demands for men to more skillfully recognize and communicate their feelings, be more involved in family maintenance and activities, and be less goal oriented and self-centred in their interpersonal and sexual relations.

York: Dell Pub., Ltd., 1975); Joe Dubbert, A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1979); Peter Stearns, Be A Man: Males In Modern Society (New York: Holmes & Meier Pub., Inc., 1979); Jack Nichols, Men's Liberation: A New Definition Of Masculinity (New York: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1980); Mark Gerzon, A Choice Of Heroes: The Changing Face of American Manhood (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982); Perry Garfinkle, In A Man's World: Father, Son, Brother, Friend and Other Roles Men Play (New York: New American Library, 1985: Ken Druck, with James Simmons, The Secrets Men Keep: Breaking The Silence Barrier (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1985); and James O'Neil, "Male Sex Role Conflicts, Sexism, and Masculinity: Psychological Implication for Men, Women, and the Counselling Psychologist," The Counselling Psychologist, 9(2), 1981, 61-80.

These expectations have placed considerable pressure on many men to be more critical of traditional masculinity. Most of the liberal critics examining the origin and nature of these demands focus on the ease—or difficulty—many men have in integrating these roles into their perceived sense of healthy masculinity.

Despite the importance of these works in addressing the pressures for the development of a new, less traditional, more flexible masculinity, generally it does not occur within a context which illuminates the high levels of male violence against women. These works do not reflect the reality that many men refuse to, or are having difficulty effecting, change and use violence as a vehicle of protest. Many men still beat their wives because they forgot to buy the groceries or dared to go back to college. The liberal critics rarely acknowledge male violence against women. When it is discussed, seldom is it afforded a degree of attention commensurate with the size of the problem.

The liberal role theorists also fail to recognize the limits of male sex role (MSRI) theory. As discussed in above Chapter Three, MSRI theory is not sufficiently rooted within a social context. Roles often are treated as if they existed as a distinct entity, something tangible, or permanent, rather than as a theoretical tool that has been created by individual human beings trying to explain a fluid, socially constructed reality. The gaps in MSRI theory are a reflection of the society in which it was produced. Since male violence against women continues to be largely ignored, it is not surprising that MSRI theorists would perpetuate this crime. Considerable time is spent examining more socially valued components of masculinity such as the strength

of the work ethic, or male sexuality. Violence against women is not While much energy is expended by liberal critics debating oriorized. the angst of many contemporary men having to struggle with the demands placed upon them by the new male roles, it is not the men who are the While there are pressures to modify the traditional major victims. male role--and for many men this would entail some difficult selfanalysis and change--the larger issue must not be forgotten. ated the traditional roles, and used their ensuing positions of greater power, relative to women, to extract many benefits for themselves. is frightening that a fairly large body of literature could examine the pressures compelling a revision of contemporary hegemonic masculinity and generally ignore one of its most integral components--male violence against women. Were one to examine only the material generated by the liberal critics of masculinity, male violence would appear as an insignificant fringe issue relevant to a small minority of men. Yet the statistics examined in Chapter One attest to the inaccuracy of this impression. The reality is that one cannot properly and thoroughly examine contemporary masculinity without also examining and focussing upon male violence against women.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE LIBERAL CRITICS OF TRADITIONAL MASCULINITY

The 1970s and 1980s explosion of material relating to men's issues was a positive step. The information helped spark, and contribute to, the emerging discussion on contemporary masculinity. Unfortunately, insufficient attention was afforded to examining male violence against

women. Reflecting the society in which these works were produced, the silence was reinforced, and the issue remained largely invisible.

C. NEW AGE MEN

For new age men, liberation involves coming to terms with, and knowing, their inner energy, or life force. 92

The vehicles for connecting with their inner masculine essence involve all male gatherings, often several days long and situated outside of an urban context to better enable the participants to leave behind their traditional roles and patterns of interacting with others. The settings and activities often are chosen in an effort at creating a primordial atmosphere. To nurture the body as well as the spirit, food often is collectively prepared and consumed. Men gather in groups to build and then wear masks depicting their inner man. Drums of all sizes either are constructed or available for drumming with the goal of dispelling the spirits of contemporary masculinity and inviting the arrival of a long lost, and untampered masculine essence.

Poetry readings and small group discussions are a common component of these retreats. New age men want to move away from traditional hegemonic masculinity and toward a more powerful, less wounded or defensive sense of inner masculinity. Robert Bly, an American poet, has

ez. Clatterbaugh, "Masculinist Perspectives," 4-6.

become one of the most important leaders of new age men and developed a significant following that appears, at times, to border on idolatry.

Bly has introduced the concept of the wildman which he believes is the true, powerful, sensitive, energetic, and life-giving essence deep within men. Bly argues that when men are connected with their wildman they have boundless energy and exuberance. While sensitivity is encouraged by new age men, it is to be coupled with a stronger sense of confidence and belief in the righteousness of one's inner masculinity. New age men reject the traditional hegemonic masculinity of 1950s corporate America for having wounded the inner male essence.

New age men work very hard at helping other men break out of the old roles. Significant portions of their workshops focus, for example, on critiquing the failings of traditional hegemonic masculinity while simultaneously helping participants appreciate and empathize with what their fathers and grandfathers had to do to be a man in their time. New age men encourage men to heal the rift between themselves and earlier generations of men. They argue the split between men often has been compounded by generations of men being absent from the home. Young males, according to new age theorists, long for the presence of their father's masculine essence.

es. Examples of his work include: Robert Bly, "What Men Really Want," <u>New Age</u>, May 1982; and <u>A Little Book On The Human Shadow</u> (Racoon Books, 1986).

^{64.} Christopher Burant, "Of Wild Men And Warriors," Changing Men, 19, Spr-Sum 1988, 7-9, 46.

es. See John Lee, <u>The Flying Boy: Healing the Wounded Man</u> (Austin, Texas: New Men's Press, 1987), 101-112.

New age masculinism is very appealing to many men. The retreats provide a safe and supportive environment for men to experiment with discarding old, and adopting new, interpersonal communication and behaviour patterns. For this, the new age men deserve considerable commendation.

They also deserve credit for emphasizing that the wildman--the true inner male essence--would not be violent. The wildman purportedly works from a point of strength while offenders, in being disconnected from their inner self, are more likely to strike out. Offenders are viewed as being weak men cut off from their true, inner source of power.86

The new age men's philosophy, however, does suffer from some important weaknesses. An initial problem is the extensive use of mythical tales, and Freudian and Jungian presuppositions. While these contribute to the mysticism often associated with new age masculinism, they are not very strong theoretical foundations upon which to build a theory of personality development.

There also are problems with Bly's theory of the wildman. By arguing that the wildman is intrinsically good, powerful, and—most importantly—nonviolent, Bly's position is the reverse of moral conservatives and somewhat simplistically parallels social constructionism. The moral conservatives argue that male nature is inherently violent; it needs to be tamed by essential social institutions. Within the new age male and social constructionist perspectives, it is the society that

^{86.} Burant, "Of Wild Men And Warriors," 46.

er. Clatterbaugh, "Masculinist Perspectives," 4-6.

creates violent men. But new age men differ from a social constructionist perspective in two important ways--both of which open the movement to considerable criticism.

New age men focus primarily on how men have been wounded. Parallelling the men's rights advocates, new age men emphasize the price men have paid by accepting the traditional male role—heart attacks, shorter life expectancy, and fewer intimate friends. While the new age men may lack much of the vehemency and anger evident in the men's rights movement, they share many of the same concerns. Jed Diamond, in <u>Inside Out: Becoming My Own Man</u>, an example of new age male philosophy, even acknowledges his respect for the work of Herb Goldberg, one of the leading men's rights masculinists.

Like the men's rights advocates, new age men fail by minimizing the part men played in creating and, in many ways, benefiting from hegemonic masculinity. They ignore that choosing to be a hegemonic male is not done without cause. Men restrict the full range of human emotions in order to maintain their power over others or to perpetuate the illusion of being in control of themselves. In their efforts at expanding the range of acceptable masculinities, new age men often chastise women for the limits on men. Women, and particularly mothers, are blamed for coming between fathers and sons, and blocking male energy. Thus, the importance of new age masculinists exposing the price of hegemonic

ee. Jed Diamond, <u>Inside Out: Becoming My Own Man</u> (San Raphael, CA: Fifth Wave Press, 1983).

eg. Clatterbaugh, "Masculinist Perspectives," 6.

masculinity on men is lost when they do not simultaneously acknowledge and emphasize its price for women.

New age men also do not emphasize a collective responsibility for ending male violence. While not completely ignoring that women have been abused by men, typically this is mentioned almost in passing. Violence is something done by other men--those not connected with their While new age men do not approve of male violence inner essence. against women, they do not cultivate a strong sense of shared responsibility toward changing other men or the system that encourages them to be violent. New age men's philosophy essentially involves internal, individual work and does not seriously address the need for significant political work to end male violence. While the positive qualities of men need to be emphasized, and many men may need to undertake considerable individual self-analysis, these should not be priorized at the expense of a collective responsibility for altering the social forces that create violent men. By not affording at least an equal priority to changing the social constructionist forces such as the media, pornography, the military and others that create violent men, new age men essentially leave intact the existing misogynist system.

CONCLUSIONS ON AVOIDANCE

While the silent multitudes remain enigmatic, the liberal critics and new age men have played an important role in loosening the restrictions upon acceptable masculinities. This change was long overdue.

Where these groups fail is in acknowledging the degree to which men are violent toward women. Since they ignore or minimize this key

element, it follows that they are not too actively involved in the erradication of the social constructionist forces which create violent men. These men are unlikely to be picketing stores selling war toys, or encouraging a reduction of violence on television. When they do, it is more likely to oppose how these forces encourage a specific, restricted masculinity than out of a primary concern for the effect these social realities have on the lives and safety of women. Yet, with statistics indicating that 1 in 2 women are sexually or physically assaulted at some point in their life, ignoring or minimizing male violence against women is completely unacceptable.?

PART III: WORKING FOR CHANGE

The following are four categories of men working for an end to the crimes against women.

A. MEN IN OFFENDER PROGRAMMES

The efforts of men that would like to end their violence are repeatedly hampered (Chapter Five). There is insufficient funding for offender programmes, inadequate follow-up and support group services, and the social forces which encourage, legitimize, and reward male violence largely have been left intact. Men who succeed in ending their

Row, 1979), 19, states that there is a 50 percent chance that any woman will be beaten. Diana Russell, in <u>Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse</u>, and <u>Workplace Harassment</u>, Vol. 155, Sage Library of Social Research (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1985, 34-36, states that from her research, a woman in San Francisco has a 46 percent probability of becoming a victim of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault at some point in her life. Russell also considered the San Francisco statistics to be fairly representative of other communities.

violence are an important resource that could be better utilized. Affording greater public attention to their successes would help raise the issue of male violence against women, and encourage other offenders to believe that change is possible.

B. INDIVIDUALS

Individual motives may range from an ultimatum from a female partner indicating that she will leave if the violence does not end, to friends confronting the man and encouraging a radical change in his behaviour, to individual men recognizing and acknowledging their violence against women, feeling disgusted about it, and wanting to change. One of the major problems with acting individually is that men trying to change their behaviours may lack the essential support or information necessary to best achieve, and maintain, non-violence. As well, while change is positive, if it is centred with one individual, the effects on their actual and mythical male peer may be minimal.*

C. NON-HEGEMONIC MASCULINISTS

Many non-hegemonic men--ie. gays, men of colour, and the poor--have been dissatisfied with how traditional hegemonic masculinity restricted men's options. They knew first hand the effects of

^{91.} Richard Stordeur, and Richard Stille, Ending Men's Violence Against Their Partners: One Road To Peace (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Pub., Inc., 1989), 71-98; and Virginia Coover, Ellen Deacon, Charles Esser, and Christopher Moore, Resource Manual For A Living Revolution (Philadelphia: New Society Pub., 1985).

homophobia, racism, and classism. 92 Such forces--or what Ned Lyttelton has called the major dividing lines 93--serve to narrow the ranks of men so that greater monetary, power, and status awards can be afforded to white, middle class, heterosexuals. Non-hegemonic men recognized that their interests were unlikely to be met by the newly emerging men's groups that were comprised primarily of white, heterosexual, middle class males. New age, and men's rights advocates were wanting the freedom for men to be more emotional, less career oriented, and develop more friendships--in essence to broaden the scope of acceptable masculimities. But there were very clear limits as to how far these two groups would be willing to move. Many men's rights advocates were extremely homophobic, 94 few low income men could afford a weekend retreat to beat drums and make masks, and both groups--while not overtly racist--had not made ending racism a major political objective. For these reasons many non-hegemonic men either were never attracted to these movements or, if they were, soon defected and established their own critique of hegemonic masculinity.

The non-hegemonic masculinist theoretical and political contributions have provided a diversity and vitality to the debate on

^{72.} Typifying the view of many black men, psychiatrists William Grier and Price Cobbs, in their 1968 best-seller, <u>Black Rage</u>, wrote that "Whereas the white man regards his manhood as an ordained right, the black man is engaged in a neverending struggle for its possession." Grier, and Cobbs, <u>Black Rage</u> (New York: Basic Books, 1968), were quoted in Janet Shibley Hyde, <u>Half The Human Experience</u>: <u>The Psychology of Women</u> (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co., 1985), 133.

^{93.} Lyttelton, "Major Dividing Lines," 33-34.

^{94.} Brannon, "Are The 'Free Men' A Faction Of Our Movement?" 14-15, 30-32.

masculinity. They have challenged existing institutions, as well as the supposedly progressive new men's groups, to examine their own homophobia, racism, and classism. The non-hegemonic men increased the complexity of the issue; no longer was the discussion focussed just on gender.95

Yet even the non-hegemonic masculine response has several contradictions. For example, not all are pro-feminist. Many examples exist of gay, coloured, and socialist men priorizing their needs over those of women. Gay Republicans in the United States belong to a political party that has restricted funding for day care, abortion services, and cut back on food stamps. The Many men of colour while intent on ending

[&]quot;Black Men In The White Men's Movement," <u>Changing Men</u>, 17, Win 1986, 11-12, 44; Harry Brod, "Unlearning Racism: Valuing Our Differences," <u>Changing Men</u>, 17 Win 1986, 13; Larry Icard, "Black Gay Men And Conflicting Social Identities: Sexual Orientation Versus Racial Identity," <u>Journal Of Social Work And Human Sexuality</u>, 4(1&2), Fal-Win 1985-86, 83-93; Robert Staples, "Masculinity And Race: The Dual Dilemma of Black Men," <u>Journal Of Social Issues</u>, 34(1), 1978, 169-183.

For material on the sexual preference dividing line, see: Stephen Morin, and Ellen Garfinkle, "Male Homophobia," <u>Journal Of Social Issues</u>, 34(1), 1978, 29-47; Ted Bohn, "Homophobic Violence: Implications for Social Work Practice," <u>Journal Of Social Work And Human Sexuality</u>, 2 (2-3), Win-Spr, 1983-84, 91-112; and Gregory Herek, "Beyond 'Homophobia': A Social Psychological Perspective on Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men," <u>Journal Of Homosexuality</u>, 10(1-2), Fal 1984, 1-21.

For an good integration of race, gender, class, and sexual preference issues, see: Paul Hoch, <u>White Hero, Black Beast: Racism, Sexism And The Mask Of Masculinity</u> (London: Pluto Press, 1979).

⁹⁶. Being gay also does not prevent one from being racist. See: Joseph Beam, "No Cheek To Turn," <u>Changing Men</u>, 17, Win 1986, 9-10; and Albert Luna, "Gay Racism," in Michael Kimmel, and Michael Messner, <u>Men's Lives</u> (New York: Macmillan Pub., Co., 1989), 440-447.

racism have perpetuated significant gender divisions within their families and social organizations. For example, Stokeley Carmichael, the leader of the Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee (SNCC), an important American black civil rights group in the 1960s, stated that "the only position for women in SNCC is prone. " Numerous socialist organizations also were notorious for ignoring the rights and demands of women. Many classical Marxists continue to view the women's movement as something secondary to the class struggle. They believe that once all vestiges of our class society have been abolished, distinctions based on sex would disappear. Non-hegemonic men who focus on the single issue of advancing their rights and opportunities while ignoring or devaluing gender based exploitation parallel the efforts of other men working primarily for an expansion of acceptable

Pr. Robert Staples, "Masculinity And Race: The Dual Dilemma Of Black Men," in Kimmel, and Messner, Men's Lives, 80-81.

⁹⁸. Quoted in Sara Evans, <u>Born For Liberty: A History Of Women In America</u> (New York: Free Press, 1989), 282.

For more on the debates within the Left about its relationship to feminism, see: Michele Barrett, Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis (London: Verso Books, 1980); Maurice Godelier, "The Origins Of Male Domination," New Left Review, 127, May-Jun 1981, 3-17; Johanna Brenner, and Maria Ramas, "Rethinking Women's Oppression," New Left Review, 144, Mar-Apr 1984, 33-71; Michele Barrett, "Rethinking Women's Oppression: A Reply To Brenner and Ramas," New Left Review, 146, Jul-Aug 1984, 123-128; Angela Weir, and Elizabeth Wilson, "The British Women's Movement," New Left Review, 148, Nov-Dec 1984, 74-103; Jane Lewis, "The Debates On Sex And Class," New Left Review, 149, Jan-Feb 1985, 108-120; and Andrew Tolson, The Limits Of Masculinity (1977).

Men on the left also have a history of homophobia. See: Tom Kennedy, "Homophobia And The Left," in Jon Snodgrass (ed), <u>A Book Of Readings For Men About Sexism</u> (Albion, CA: Time Change Press, 1977), 166-169.

masculinities. Both ignore the role of misogyny in exploiting and abusing women. Non-hegemonic men that fit this category may want to loosen the restrictions to the "boy's club", but still want it to be all male.

There are, however, many non-hegemonic men working to end misogyny and male violence against women. These are the men that are an important locus of change. Stemming from an awareness of the often violent effects of homophobia, many gay men have been in the forefront of numerous men's groups focussing attention on male violence. Numerous men of colour also have come to realize that an end to racism will not be enough for non-white women. Thus, many native, black, and hispanic men have worked side-by-side with their female counterparts struggling to improve the status of each. Lot Equally cooperative efforts are attempted among socialist men. After the 1970s revision of the New Left's position on feminism, there was general acknowledgement that a socialist and feminist revolution were needed to end oppression and sexism. Many socialist men have been organizing women workers or struggling to integrate feminist theory and practice into their personal and political lives.

Each of the pro-feminist non-hegemonic groups have made important contributions to the theoretical debate and practical understanding of

while many gay men have been very active in pro-feminist men's groups, their issues have not always been viewed as a major priority by the heterosexual majority. See Interrante, "Dancing Along The Precipice," 3-6, 32.

^{101.} Gregory Tate, "Say, Brother," <u>Changing Men</u>, 17, Win 1986, 8; and Staples, "Masculinity And Race," in Kimmel, and Messner (eds.), <u>Men's Lives</u>, 73-83.

our social reality. Without an examination of homophobia, for example, many men may be hardpressed to understand why, despite their best efforts, they are failing at developing deeper, more significant friendships with other men. Men of colour have emphasized the greater difficulty in integrating some feminist goals within many minority communities. Sharing the breadwinner role and dividing the domestic responsibilities can be trying at the best of times. In many Native or black households, for example, this process is further complicated. Racism results in significantly lower employment and rates of pay. To maintain economic solvency, a heterosexual couple may be compelled to settle for a fairly traditional division of labour. Not that decisions regarding the rectification of gender imbalances need to be put on hold until the family income is higher, but until then, some role reversal options simply do not exist. 102

Pro-feminist socialist men also have made some valuable contributions. One of the most important is a framework for better understanding numerous components within feminism. A liberal analysis is unlikely to examine the relationships between class and gender. The result is a difficulty explaining the often divergent goals of various strands of feminism. The preponderance in numbers and political clout of middle and upper class women within feminism has skewed the focus of many programmes toward the relatively more affluent. 103 Such programmes and policies help explain why many working class males would find

^{102.} Staples, "Masculinity And Race," in Kimmel, and Messner (eds.), Men's Lives, 73-83.

^{103.} Evans, Born For Liberty, 287-314.

conservative and men's rights philosophy appealing. From their class position it can appear that there are many options and programmes for middle class women that are not available for working class individuals. A pro-feminist non-hegemonic perspective recognizes the influence of both class and gender. Working class men need not be opposed to feminism but critical of bourgeois feminists and recognize their own allegiance with their working class sisters. But, such solidarity can be difficult to establish--particularly when others are working to prevent it. Conservative and men's rights activists manipulate misogynist values among men to highlight the evils of feminism. Similarly, the history of the trade union movement provides numerous examples where the ruling classes have exploited differences between male and female workers in order to accentuate and perpetuate divisions within, and maintain control over, the working class. 104

In highlighting the important contributions of pro-feminist non-hegemonic men, one cannot ignore that there exist undeniable contradictions which limit these men in effecting social change. Not all individuals have incorporated into their personal and political lives a theory which accounts for all the dividing lines. Thus, there are, for example, racist pro-feminist gay men, pro-feminist socialist men that are homophobic, and black gay men that despise the poor. Integrating the various dividing lines into one's ideology and work can be very difficult.

^{104.} See, for example: Ruth Sidel, <u>Women And Children Last: The Plight Of Poor Women In America</u> (New York: Penguin, 1987), 49-76; and Rochelle Gatlin, <u>American Women Since 1945</u> (Jackson: University Of Mississippi Press, 1987), 24-48.

Multiple issue integration not only is problematic for individuals. It can operate at a national level as well. In Cuba, for example, while socialist and feminist policies have immeasurably improved the lives of millions of Cubans, gays continue to be persecuted. Los Cuba serves as an important validation of the arguments of non-hegemonic men. To ignore misogyny, homophobia, racism, or any other dividing line, can perpetuate the historic abuse and exploitation of various groups of people.

It is encouraging that some men are working toward multiple issue integration. Such a perspective helps us develop a view of our social reality that aims to end all forms of discrimination. able work remains, and the possibility of a broad-based multiple issue social movement still extremely uncertain, it does provide a glimpse of what the world could be without exploitation, abuse, or persecution. While such a world is only a vision, it is one that was increasingly spoken about during the late 1980s. Back in the 1970s, when many individuals in the West became disheartened with the ability of socialism to resolve many of the world's problems, there was a greater amount of energy devoted to single issue causes. An endless list of examples included saving the whales, stopping nuclear power, ending world hunger, overthrowing apartheid, ensuring gay rights, and ending violence against women. What became increasingly evident to numerous organizers is that while the issues may differ, the process was the same--gaining power from those who maintain control. Many of these groups and

 $^{^{\}text{108}}.$ Allen Young, <u>Gays Under The Cuban Revolution</u> (San Francisco: Grey Fox, 1982).

movements were working for the same goals--peace, prosperity, equality, and ecological survival. Non-hegemonic men played an important role in identifying the various dividing lines and emphasizing that for the exploitation of power to end, alliances are essential. Putting their theory into practice, many non-hegemonic men worked in conjunction with the more general pro-feminist men's groups.

The theory and practice of pro-feminist men requires further examination.

D. PRO-FEMINIST MEN'S RESPONSE

PHILOSOPHY

Pro-feminist masculinism, like many of the responses among men, emerged in the wake of the 1970s revival of feminism. Pro-feminist men acknowledge that the hegemonic male role has many disadvantages. They admit that heart attacks, relatively earlier deaths, fewer intimate friends, and a generally lowered ability to effectively communicate feelings are significant costs to pay for being male. What sets them apart from other organized male responses, however, is their emphasis on the privileges men receive by adopting hegemonic masculinity and, most importantly, the harmful effects this has on women. Through emotional, physical, and sexual violence men maintain control over women. Raising the awareness about male violence and working toward its eradication are major goals for pro-feminist men. Contrary to the conservative or new age men's perspective, pro-feminist men argue that male dominance of women is not a function of suppressed male essence, genes, natural selection, or inadequate socialization. From a pro-feminist

perspective, male violence is caused by living in a society in which male violence against women is generally encouraged, minimized, and legitimized. Pro-feminist men adopt a social constructionist approach and criticize the social forces and institutions, like pornography, the military, the media, and the family, for creating violent men. 106 Their perspective is pro-feminist, gay affirmative, and male supportive. They emphasize that the existing masculinites and femininities are socially created and thus have the potential for change.

Pro-feminist men argue that all men need to develop effective, nonviolent communication skills; share domestic responsibilities; and balance their competitive drive with adequate self care. They recognize that it is insufficient if these changes occur only within a limited sphere of influence. Focussing upon the individual without altering the social structures which contribute to their value formation can allow the collective violence to continue largely untouched. And altering the society without encouraging individual changes could maintain some very abusive situations within individual homes. Thus, men must effect personal and collective, social structural changes. The truly radical act—at least in regard to its effect on the patriarchy—is not just to change one's self, but to speak out against male violence against women.

The collective responsibility of men for creating, and conversely, ending male violence against women, is central to the pro-feminist philosophy. They recognize that many men may not have bashed in a

^{106.} Stoltenberg, "The Profeminist Men's Movement," 7-9.

woman's teeth, raped a female friend, authorized a woman's sterilization, or paid a prostitute for services rendered. Yet when one reflects on our culture, it seems inconceivable that there exists a man that has not, at some point in his life, even if only in his adolescence, either put down, violated, or in some way abused a woman; or accrued monetary benefits, power, or status through the exploitation and subjugation of women.

The simple fact of being male confers certain rights and privileges that are unknown to many women. Acknowledging this reality can induce a tremendous sense of collective guilt, which, in turn, can make some men feel ashamed about being male or resentful toward women for highlighting men's abuse of power. This guilt, in part, has contributed to the growth of the men's rights and new age men's groups. Both work to assuage male guilt. They try to resurrect and emphasize positive masculine qualities, but often end up discrediting feminism.

Pro-feminist men recognize the importance of men feeling good about their masculinity. But they argue that one of the most important vehicles for developing a positive masculine self-esteem, is not to ignore the alarming levels of male violence against women, or pretend it is someone else's problem or responsibility. Instead, men need to become individually and collectively involved in ending male violence against women. The following is a sketch of some of the major efforts of pro-feminist men. 107

^{107.} Lyttelton, "Major Dividing Lines," 33-34.

AREAS OF ACTIVITY

1. Rape Prevention

The traditional response to rape prevention has been to teach women how to defend themselves. The result has been a proliferation of books and articles encouraging women to walk with other people at night; take self-defense courses such as karate or wen-do; ensure they are not alone with a male in an elevator; or have their car keys handy to gouge the eyes of an assailant or avoid wasting time outside of a locked car if being pursued. While important, the traditional rape prevention approach does not deal directly with the problem. Since men are the offenders, it should be they--and not women--that have to change their behaviour. Pro-feminist men have been active in trying to change men's beliefs about rape through individual and collective efforts.

<u>Individual</u> Efforts

A multitude of options exist. Here are but a few of the things pro-feminist men are requesting of individual men:

- 1. Put a Stop Rape bumper sticker on one's car.
- When walking on the street keep one's hands visible, move to the other side of the street, ensure the woman is a significant distance away, and walk so that she does not feel she is being followed. If walking with a group of men, these tactics are particularly important.
- 4. Confront potential rapists. If one witnesses a potential rape scene, ask the woman if the man is bothering her and be prepared that the man may attack the intervener. This can allow the woman time to get free. If one fears physically intervening, calling the police or nearby residents would be important. Creative tactics also can be implemented. For example, if one is driving a car, align it so the headlights shine on the attacker and repeatedly honk the horn.
- 4. Confront the rape-supportive jokes of friends and co-workers.
- 5. Expose rape mythology.

Collective Efforts

Numerous collective actions also can be implemented.

- Lobby for better street lighting, escort services to cars, or improved apartment security.
- 2. Criticize, when appropriate, local police handling of sexual assault cases.
- 3. Expose inappropriate media coverage of assaults. Also highlight the numerous supports to rape mythology provided by media images. Boycott companies that portray images of women enjoying rape.
- Organize public meetings to inform co-workers, community residents and politicians about sexual assault. Work on ending their support of rape mythology.
- Offer to provide support services or child care for Take Back The Night marches.
- Work to have rape prevention a required part of school and university curriculi.
- 7. Produce and distribute leaflets critiquing the various rape myths. 100

2. Speaking Against Pornography

Pro-feminist men also have been active in the struggle against pornography. They argue that the industry profits from the degradation of women through the perpetuation of sexist stereotypes and the reinforcement of rape mythology. Direct action against pornography has included picketing pornography book shops and movie theatres, pamphletting people on the street with handbills explaining how pornography is dangerous to women; and acts of civil disobedience—throwing eggs at buildings, spray painting theatre marquees, or breaking windows. Profeminist men also have been active writing letters to newspaper editors; doing research verifying the harmful effects of pornography:

^{108.} Adapted from Seattle Men Against Rape and Louisiana Sissies in Struggle (LASIS), "Men Stopping Rape," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 13, Fal 1984, 46. Also see Lawrence Cohen, "The Masks of Rape," Changing Men, 20, Win-Spr 1989, 22-23; and Py Bateman and Bill Mahoney, Macho: Is That What I Really Want? (Scarborough, NY: Youth Education Systems, 1986).

conducting discussion groups with friends, co-workers, or the general public; and lobbying legislative leaders to restrict or prohibit the sale and distribution of pornographic material. 109

3. Working To End Battering

Pro-feminist men have organized to raise public awareness about the levels and effects of male violence against women. Through discussion groups, leafletting, and rallies men have been repeating a slogan central to the pro-feminist philosophy, "Men Breaking Silence About Male Violence."

One significant effort is of interest. In 1985, the Ending Men's Violence Task Group of the National Organization For Men Against Sexism, an American pro-feminist men's group, created and organized BrotherPeace, an annual, international day of action to end male violence. Organizers designated 3:00 pm (central) on the third Saturday in October as a common time when men, through a moment of silence, could "recognize those who have died from, or suffered and survived, male violence." The symbolism of the action was important. Not only were organizers emphasizing that male violence was a global phenomenon, they

^{109.} Dexter Guerrieri, "Pornography And Silent Men," <u>Changing</u> Men, 15, Fal 1985, 9-10.

For an example of what was involved in the organization and implementation of one pro-feminist men's action against a porn theatre, see: Women Against Porn, Men Against Porn, "Striking Back At The Porn Barons," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 9, Sum-Fal 1982, 14.

also were encouraging concerned men to realize they are not alone in their desire for change. 110

By the third BrotherPeace (1987), activities occurred in at least 56 cities in the US and Western Europe. Approximately 60 organizations in the US and nine other countries in Asia, Europe, South America, and Central America endorsed the actions.

This represent[ed] more people in more cities with the endorsement of more local, national, and international organizations publicly demonstrating against men's violence against women than ever before in history¹¹

Efforts such as BrotherPeace reduce the emotional isolation between men helps perpetuate the silence about male violence. Most men do not talk about male violence or other important personal issues. Yet knowing other men are asserting themselves, and at some level risking their position with other men, can free some men to speak out. Pro-feminist advocates encourage men to establish supports for themselves; the process of becoming critical of all forms of male violence against women can result in the distancing by male friends that are not prepared to examine their own violence.

Violence" (Cortland, NY: Cortland Copy Plus, 1989), advertising leaflet.

^{111.} Jon Cohen, "NOCM News" BrotherPeace 1987," Changing Men, 19, Spr-Sum 1988, 44.

Terry Stein, "An Overview Of Men's Groups," Social Work With Groups, 6(3&4), Fal-Win 1983, 149-161; and Pierre Cote, Bill Dare, and Martha Muzychka, Men Changing: A Resource Manual For Men's Consciousness Raising (Ottawa: The Men's Project, 1984).

4. Programmes For Physical and Sexual Male Offenders

During the 1970s, numerous men working from a pro-feminist perspective struggled to establish treatment programmes for male physical and sexual offenders. While many of these counsellors may not have identified their actions as part of a movement of pro-feminist men, their theoretical approach and practical applications firmly placed them within the realm of pro-feminist masculinism—even if they are not card—carrying members. Their motivation for providing offender's treatment programmes stemmed from a concern over the poor availability, and quality, of existing services. The first pro-feminist offender's programmes included: RAVEN (Rape And Violence End Now) in St. Louis, Missouri; EMERGE in Boston, Massachusetts; AMEND (Abusive Men Exploring New Directions) in Denver, Colorado; DAP (Domestic Abuse Project) in Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Evolve in Winnipeg, Manitoba.113

These programmes played an important role, along with the women's movement, in shifting our understanding and treatment of violent offenders from physiological and intrapsychic pathology toward social constructionism. Integral to the treatment approach was a critique of hegemonic masculinity and the social forces which encourage male violence against women. 114 Other, more traditional therapists may agree that violence is not genetic, but fail to provide the same emphasis on

Interrante, "Dancing Along The Precipice: The Men's Movement in the '80s," 3-6; 20-21.

Another example of men's groups providing services for men who batter is New York City's Men's Coalition Against Battering. See, Jeffrey Edleson, "Working With Men Who Batter," <u>Social Work</u>, 29, May-Jun 1984, 240.

^{114.} For more information on the content of a pro-feminist, or social constructionist, treatment approach, see above, Chapter Five.

how violent men are socially constructed. The theoretical and clinical strength of the original pro-feminist offender programmes resulted in them being important models for other agencies and communities wanting to establish their own groups.

The process of developing the original programmes was not easy. Many were designed and implemented prior to the establishment of any official state support. As indicated above in Chapter Five, many state planners have displayed a significant reluctance to provide a leadership role in the treatment of male violence. Pro-feminist men have helped fill that void.

Men working from a pro-feminist perspective also have worked in some very traditional settings in an effort to effect significant treatment modifications from within the existing system. Many clinicians employed with state corrections departments, for example, are working with batterers or sex offenders and reshaping the available

For Assaultive Men, prepared for the National Clearinghouse On Family Violence, Health And Welfare Canada (Ottawa: Minister Of National Health And Welfare, 1984), vii.

The domestic violence programmes for women and men at Klinic Community Health Centre in Winnipeg, Manitoba, are examples of programmes initiated prior to the provision of direct state funding. Many members of Klinic's staff, concerned about the lack of services, struggled in the early 1980s to create programmes for battered women and male of-While the employee's salaries were paid by the provincial government, their work with domestic violence lacked official sponsorship. Counsellors were in the difficult position of having to squeeze these programmes into an already overloaded service mandate. It was not until 1986, after significant lobbying by Klinic staff and the local feminist community, that the provincial government agreed to separately fund the services and create Evolve as an identifiable programme of Klinic providing counselling for domestic violence victims and offenders, and community education. [David Lampert. Probation Officer, Community And Youth Corrections, Department of Justice, Province of Manitoba. June 19, 1990, telephone interview with the author.

treatment modalities to address the social construction of violent men.

The men establishing independent treatment programmes or those working for existing agencies have been doing a lot of the frontline work with offenders. They deserve, but like many frontline workers often do not receive, tremendous credit. Part of their reward for doing this difficult work, is a sense of personal and political satisfaction knowing that they are working to end male violence against women.

5. Opposing The Military

Many pro-feminist men have been actively critical of the military's role in perpetuating hegemonic masculinity through training men to kill. While various military establishments increasingly advertise their recruitment of women, pro-feminist men recognize that training additional killers--even if they are of the opposite sex--does not solve the problem.

Pro-feminist men active within the peace movement have criticized the military for its tremendous drain on the civilian economy and for its contribution to various foreign policy decisions that often exploit people abroad to serve the interests of a ruling elite in the domestic country. From the pro-feminist men's perspective, hegemonic masculinity and militarism contribute to, and help perpetuate, each other. While economic and political forces often are crucial, pro-feminist men emphasize that the competitive, violent, aggressive, untrusting, and independent values of military organizations and hegemonic masculinity contribute to an increase in international and interpersonal violence. As examined above in Chapter Three, the words chosen to describe

military goals, objectives, or maneuvers often are metaphors of male violence. The army does not simply walk through foreign wheat fields. It ravages virgin enemy territory, invincibly thrusting forward, penetrating to the heart of its victim. Variations of such descriptions are heard daily in the media and reflect how hegemonic masculinity uses, and is used by, the military to achieve their often similar goals—the subjugation of others.

Pro-feminist men do not support such goals. Their hope is that by establishing a less violent variety of masculinity as hegemonic, the freedom of men and the military to rape, pillage, control, and destroy could be significantly reduced. 116

6. Organizing In Support Of Women's Reproductive Freedom

Pro-feminist men have been active in the struggle for women's reproductive choice. They have attended rallies, signed petitions, and held discussion groups to help explain the importance of, and increase the support for, reproductive freedom. Pro-feminist men, to date, have played a largely supportive role. There exist, however, at least two notable, and more active, exceptions. The first, and most obvious, example are the many male physicians that have been conducting therapeutic abortions over the years. While being an abortionist does not automatically make one pro-feminist, many doctors either started their work with, or soon developed, that perspective. This occurred despite the restrictions that may be placed on one's medical career by

About Violence: Men Oppose Militarism," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 1, Win 1979-80, 3-4.

anti-choice supporters within the medical establishment. Ironically, it has been the vehement opposition of the anti-choice movement that has been responsible for the development of some ardently pro-feminist doctors who choose to perform abortions.

A second example of active male support for women's reproductive freedom was the organization, in Canada, of Men For Women's Choice. The main catalyst for the creation of this group was the Canadian federal government's initial release of Bill C-43 (see above this chapter. Section_) that would turn back the clock on the freedom of Canadian I-B-1-ii) women to make their own personal choices about abortion. A small organization of pro-feminist men, based in Toronto, but with support from men across the country, ran a November 23, 1989 full page advertisement in The Globe and Mail, a nationally distributed newspaper, 118 That advertisement received considerable local and national media coverage and allowed the group to emphasize that not all men want to control women's bodies and lives. The group noted that an Environics Research poll found that 61 percent of Canadian men oppose the federal government's decision under Bill C-43 to put abortion back into the Canadian Criminal Code. Only 30 percent of Canadian men support such a move. 119

^{117.} Robbie Mahood, General Practitioner, Klinic Community Health Centre, Winnipeg, Manitoba. In-person interview with the author, June 5, 1990.

^{***} Men for Women's Choice, "Five Reasons Why The Proposed Abortion Law Is No Compromise," 1.

^{119.} Ibid.

The attention afforded to Men For Women's Choice, and other similar groups, indicate the need for pro-feminist men to organize. One advantages is that men organizing in support of feminist goals still is a media novelty. National media time is not easy to achieve. After twenty years of women making demands, there is something of interest in men making these same requests. Admittedly, sexism is one of the factors at play. Our society generally affords greater attention to men. Yet, there is something creative in utilizing the misogynist system to help end misogyny.

STRUCTURE OF THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN PRO-FEMINIST MEN'S RESPONSE

Many men with a pro-feminist perspective work as individuals, possibly not recognizing they are part of a larger social force. The more formal pro-feminist men's response is comprised primarily of numerous small groups of concerned men. Paralleling the structure of the feminist movement, pro-feminist men recognize the power of a small group setting—men are more likely to feel comfortable taking risks, sharing personal feelings, thoughts, and experiences. Individuals also may be more able to skillfully question or confront, without thoroughly intimidating, other group members.

Essential for the success of the small group--and one of its greatest attributes--is its increased potential for supporting individuals. While large groups also can provide support, they are unlikely

¹²⁰. Bill Dare, "Consciousness Raising In Groups," in Coté, Dare, and Muzychka, <u>Men Changing</u>, 45-53.

For more on the similarities between men's and women's groups, see: Susan Shorr, and Leonard Jason, "A Comparison Of Men's And Women's Consciousness-Raising Groups," <u>Group</u>, 6(4), Win 1982, 51-55.

to be as effective; individuals can get lost in the crowd. Small groups can better provide the mutual support so integral to the profeminist men's philosophy. Being a numerical minority within the total population of all men, and often thinly dispersed over wide geographic distances, pro-feminist men recognize the need to support one another. In the existing society, there remain many disincentives for men to speak out against male violence. Pro-feminist men emphasize that without encouragement and support the movement would be unlikely to grow and reach its goals of altering the hegemonic masculinity and ending male violence against women. Isolation can breed despair; support can foster an energy to tackle the patriarchy. 122

Pro-feminist men also have been active organizing local, regional, and national workshops and conferences to discuss issues and ideas, formulate strategies, and learn the success and failures of other profeminist men working to effect change. Topics for discussion include rape and battering prevention; effects of the military on masculinity; media and masculinity; organizing men for political action; homosexual and heterosexual friendship and intimacy; and abortion, choice, and men. Such meetings provide an important opportunity for pro-feminist men to connect with other like minded individuals. It is an encouraging reprieve from the general population of men, many of whom still think rape--or some other form of male violence--is acceptable, funny, or not a big deal.

^{121.} Paul Kivel, "The Fear Of Men," Changing Men, 17, Win 1986, 19.

^{122.} Ken Fisher, an Ottawa member of Partners in Change, and the Ottawa Men's Forum, telephone interview with the author, February 1990.

The small groups, local events, and national conferences also serve a function for men not attending. Knowing that other men are organizing to change hegemonic masculinity and end male violence against women may cause other men to examine their own misogyny and, at some future point, join in support.

In Canada, it is estimated that there exist approximately 200 groups, representing about 5,000 men. 123 In 1989, there were groups in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick. Several were operating in Quebec. Ottawa had eight groups, Toronto nine. There was a group each in Hamilton, St. Catharines, Kitchener, North Bay, and two in London. Moving west, there were three in Winnipeg; two in Regina and one each in Aberdeen and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; and one in Olds, Edmonton, and Sherwood Park, Alberta. Calgary and Vancouver each had three. In Victoria, British Columbia, fifteen groups were

Part of banding together has involved the creation of structures for coordinating the many groups and pooling limited resources. By the end of the 1980s, pro-feminist men had established men's forums within all major Canadian cities. While a national body has yet to be created to coordinate the Canadian pro-feminist organization, one that comes close to providing that role is Partners in Change, an Ottawa based

derwood, Laurie Gillies, and Dan Burke, "Redefining Roles: 'New Men' Are Striving To Change Stereotypes," <u>Maclean's</u>, Aug 14, 1989, 46-47. Also see: Judy Steed, "In Search Of The New Man: Across the Country Men Are Looking At Their Own Sexism," <u>The Globe And Mail</u>, Feb 25, 1989, D5.

Men Are Looking At Their Own Sexism," <u>The Globe And Mail</u>, Feb 25, 1989, D5.

group formed in 1988. The organization views its role as providing "a forum for men wishing to negotiate the transition from 'power-over' to 'power-with'". 125 Other national men's groups have emerged to deal with single issues. One example is the forementioned Men For Women's Choice, a group of pro-feminist men supporting women's right to reproductive freedom.

The existing organizational structures serve as clearinghouses encouraging an information flow between groups and across the country.

These organizations also have helped organize national conferences.

Kingston and Grindstone, two communities in Ontario, have hosted profeminist men's conferences since the mid-1980s. 126

In the US, the situation is somewhat different. The pro-feminist men's response, while numerically larger than in Canada, has had to contend with the significant strength of the men's rights and new age men's groups. During the 1970s there was little differentiation between the emerging men's groups. This changed dramatically in the early 1980s as the divisions between the various groups became more clear. Increasingly separate organizations were being developed to coordinate the different responses. In 1982, at the 7th National Conference On Men And Masculinity, held in Boston, men's rights activists indicated an intention to become more independent. Some pro-feminist

^{128.} Telephone interview with Kenneth Fisher, an Ottawa member of Partners in Change and the Ottawa Men's Forum, February 1990.

^{126.} Telephone interview with Kenneth Fisher, an Ottawa member of Partners in Change, February 1990.

 $^{^{127}}$. Interrante, "Dancing ALong The Precipice," Part I, 3-6, 20-21, and Part II, 3-6, 32; and Lyttelton, "Major Dividing Lines," 33-34.

men, wanting to ensure the future of the annual Men and Masculinity conferences, formed the National Men's Organization (NMO). 128

NMO's National Council met in August 1982 in San Francisco, established a series of pro-feminist principles, created <u>Brother</u> as a national newsletter, and identified <u>M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice</u>—an existing magazine—as "the forum for the national men's movement." 129

Since its formation, the National Men's Organization has twice changed its name. Initially, the pro-feminist NMO often was confused with a New York based men's rights organization with the same name. 130 So, in 1983 they changed their name to the National Organization For Changing Men. After some continuing concern that their name inadequately indicated the direction in which members presumably were changing, the organization became, in 1990, the National Organization For Men Against Sexism (NOMAS). 131

Despite the various name changes, the organization has continued to grow; more clearly separate itself from the men's rights advocates; and serve as a clearinghouse and national coordinating body for

The editorial collective, "Thank You And Congratulations To The New National Men's Organization," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 10, Spr 1983, 20; and Jim Hanneken, NOMAS Staffperson, June 21, 1990, telephone interview with the author.

^{129.} Ibid. M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice's name was changed to Changing Men. A more recent statement of principles are listed in Changing Men, 18, Sum-Fal 1987, 40, and 21, Win-Spr 1990, 44; and "Statement Of Principles," in Kimmel, and Messner, Men's Lives, 597-598.

The organization's position on men's rights groups was clarified in Changing Men, 21, Win-Spr 1990, 43.

^{130.} Hanneken, interview with the author.

Michael Kimmel, "NOCM Name Change," <u>Brother</u>, 7(3), Fal 1989,
 NOMAS's address is 794 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA, 15221.

American--and to some extent, Canadian--pro-feminist men.

Aside from continuing to publish <u>Brother</u> as their national newsletter and maintain a supportive relationship with <u>Changing Men</u> (previously <u>M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice</u>), NOMAS has been involved in numerous activities to help end male violence against women. One example, mentioned above, was the BrotherPeace Annual International Day of Actions to End Male Violence.

NOMAS also has developed several task groups which focus on specific issues. These are:

Child Custody Issues
Fathering
Homophobia
Men And Aging
Men And Spirituality
Men's Studies Association
Reproductive Rights¹³²

Ending Men's Violence Gay Rights Male-Female Relationships Men And Mental Health Men's Culture Pornography

The task groups enable men with specific interests to become involved. Admittedly some groups are more active than others. *** Yet each has formulated a pro-feminist perspective and works at ending the oppression, misogyny, and discrimination hegemonic men typically perpetrate against minority groups.

In the US and Canada, the pro-feminist men's response has been nurtured and strengthened by the, still small, but nevertheless growing number of academic and popular books¹³⁴; journals and magazines¹³⁵;

^{132.} Brother, 7(3), Fal 1989, 9.

^{133.} Eric Malmsten, of Metro Men Against Violence (Toronto), telephone interview with the author, June 1990.

And Masculinity (Englewood Clifs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974); Deborah David, and Robert Brannon (eds), The Forty-Nive Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing

articles about the movement in mainstream publications 134; resource directories 137; musicians 138; and the emergence of men's studies as an

Company, 1976); Jon Snodgrass (ed), A Book Of Reading For Men About Sexism (Albion, CA: Time Change Press, 1977); Christopher Cook, et.al. The Men's Resource Survival Book: On Being A Man In Today's World (Minneapolis: MSRB Press, 1978); Sam Julty, Men's Bodies, Men's Selves (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1979); Joseph Pleck, The Myth Of Masculinity (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1981); Emmanuel Reynaud, Holy Virility: The Social Construction Of Masculinity (London: Pluto Press, 1981); Andy Metcalf, and Martin Humphries (eds), The Sexuality of Men (London: Pluto Press, 1985); Harry Brod (ed.), The Making Of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987); Michael Kaufman (ed.), Beyond Patriarchy: Essays By Men On Pleasure, Power, and Change (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987); Michael Kimmel, and Michael Messner (eds.), Men's Lives (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989); and John Stoltenberg, Refusing To Be A Man: Essays on Sex and Justice (Portland: Breitenbush Book, Inc., 1989).

lished in Toronto and is the major Canadian production. Its address: P.O. Box 5579, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1N7.

Brother's address is c/o Ithaca Men's Network, P.O. Box 6711, Ithaca, NY, 14581-6711.

Changing Men's address is 306 N. Brooks St., Madison, WI, 53715.

Numerous individual groups or communities publish local newsletters.

- 136. For example, see: Nora Underwood, Laurie Gillies, and Dan Burke, "Redefing Roles: `New Men' Are Striving To Change Stereotypes," Maclean's, 102(33), Aug 14, 1989, 46-47.
- Referral Directory (St. Louis: The St. Louis Organization for Changing Men, 1986); Jean-Pierre Simoneau, Répertoire De La Condition Masculine (Montreal: Les Editions Saint-Martin, 1988), Kenneth Fisher for the Glebe New Men's Group, Men's Groups: Towards A National Listing (Ottawa: The Glebe New Men's Group, 1988); and NOCM/NOMAS, Changing Male Roles: NOCM's Official Task Group Resource Manual (Ithaca: NOCM, 1988).
- tral to pro-feminist men, Fred Small is one performer that has worked from this perspective for many years. See: Michael Kimmel, "Fred Small: From Legal Brief To Anti-Sexist Ballad," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 13, Fal 1984, 12-13.

academic discipline. 139 These resources have provided crucial information about hegemonic masculinity, and how to change and end male violence.

WILL THE PRO-FEMINIST MEN'S RESPONSE SUCCEED?

Of all the organized responses among men, pro-feminist men have been the most involved in working to end violence against women. The growing numbers of men criticizing male violence and encouraging sweeping changes in the currently hegemonic masculinity is a unique historic phenomena. While still small in numbers, the intent of their efforts parallel other social movements. Nineteenth century American white abolitionists or 20th century white South Africans working to end apartheid are just two examples. In each situation, while belonging to a group that exercised considerable power and control over others, individuals struggled to end the exploitation. Pro-feminist men have, and can, play a crucial role in ending the abuse of women. By working with misogynist males--many of whom may be more willing to listen to men--pro-feminist men can accelerate a move toward male non-violence.

Yet, despite its important work, encouraging potential, and increasing numbers, the pro-feminist men's response, relative to that of all men, is quite small. The reasons are quite clear. Part of the

Tom Mosmiller, Mike Bradley, and Michael Biernbaum, "Are We The First? A Call For A Feminist Men's History," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 4, Fal/Win 1980, 3-4,21; Michael Kimmel, "Toward Men's Studies," American Behaviorial Scientist, 29(5), May-Jun 1986, 517-529; and Harry Brod, "The New Men's Studies: From Feminist Theory To Gender Scholarship," Hypatia, 2(1), Win 1987, 179-196, and "Themes And Theses Of Men's Studies," the introduction to Harry Brod (ed), The Making Of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1989), 1-17.

problem is that pro-feminism is a relatively new response among men.

Another contributing factor is that many men simply do not want to change. Addressing this obstinacy--or ignorance--remains a major challenge.

The pro-feminist men's response also possesses some important internal contradictions that will limit its growth and future success. Admittedly, when positive responses among men toward ending male violence are so few, one is tempted not to be overly critical. Yet, if pro-feminist men ignore these contradictions and delay their resolution, the depth and scope of the movement's effect on ending male violence against women could be jeopardized. The following comments are made in a spirit of wanting to help, rather than hinder, these efforts.

An initial problem is that pro-feminist men are not unified behind a single form of feminism. The split into two main groups reflects divisions within feminism. While theoretical unanimity is not essential, in its absence, consistent policy decisions and political actions can become more difficult to formulate and enact.

One group of pro-feminist men follow radical feminist thought while another works from a liberal feminist philosophy. The radical feminist perspective believes that men should work to end sexist behaviours in their own lives and those of other men, and take a supporting role in the women's movement. Men should never be overly assertive as that would be replicating traditional male behaviour. While men will lose privileges, they also will lose the burdens of being a man in

the move toward a nonsexist society. 140

The liberal pro-feminist men recognize the limiting nature of the traditional male sex role and view feminism as an excellent catalyst for men to critically view their own lives. There is less emphasis placed on the role of the patriarchy and more on the economic and legal oppression of women. It is believed that men need to work together to liberate themselves from the constraints of the male role and that a feminist revolution is insufficient to help men change. Men need to do much of the work of establishing working groups and national forums to promote information sharing and change. 141

The debate over pornography, for example, has exposed the underlying theoretical divisions. While there appears to be a general agreement that heterosexual pornography perpetuates misogynist values in men, there is disagreement over what should be done. Pro-feminist men working from a radical feminist perspective advocate banning or restricting pornography while those working from a liberal feminist perspective fear that censoring pornography could be manipulated to silence gays, women, and other oppressed groups.

Within both segments of the pro-feminist men's response, the discussion on pornography inevitably brings up the issue of gay

Snodgrass (ed.), For Men Against Sexism: A Book of Readings (Albion, Ca.: Times Change Press, 1977) and Michael Kaufman (ed.) Beyond Patriarchy: Essays by Men on Pleasure, Power, and Change (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987) as examples of the radical anti-sexist masculinism.

^{141.} As an example of the liberal anti-sexist masculinism Clatterbaugh cites Harry Brod (ed.), <u>The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies</u> (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

pornography. While misogyny also is a concern, 142 the most vocal debates focus on whether or not gay male pornography contributes to the perpetuation of a hegemonic masculinity among gay males. While some argue that the non-violent material simply is erotica, others contend that the images create a masculine ideal that restricts the reality of other gay men. 143

Other significant debates within the pro-feminist men's response highlight its evolving theoretical foundation and relatively narrow demographic composition. Despite the involvement of many non-hegemonic men, 144 pro-feminist men's groups remain predominantly white, middle class, and heterosexual. 145 This significantly influences their theoretical perspective and concomitantly, the direction of their policies. As it currently exists, the major focus of pro-feminist men is on gender related issues; to diversify the varieties of acceptable masculin-linities and to end male violence against women. While these goals are undeniably crucial, by limiting itself to focussing primarily on exploitation resulting from gender based power differences, the proponents are less likely to attain their goals.

^{142.} John Stoltenberg, "On Gay Male Pornography And Good Sex," Gentle Men For Gender Justice, Spr-Sum 1984, 11-13.

^{143.} Ibid., and "You Can't Fight Homophobia And Protect The Pornographers At The Same Time," <u>Changing Men</u>, 19, Spr-Sum 1988, 11-13.

^{144.} Kenneth Fisher estimates, for example, that one-quarter of pro-feminist men are gay. See Underwood, Gillies, and Burke, "Redefining Roles," 47.

^{148.} Interview with Kenneth Fisher cited in Underwood, Gillies, and Burke, "Redefining Roles," 46-47.

Non-hegemonic men repeatedly have emphasized that oppression is not limited to gender. There exist numerous other dividing lines-class, race, sexual preference, able-bodiedness, religion, and others-which take power away from people and limit their potential. An unemployed, black woman, for example, while exploited by the patriarchy and it's misogyny, also can be a victim of classism and racism. Her employment prospects are limited not just because she is female--though that most definitely is one mark against her in this society. Employers may also refuse her request for work because she is black, and poor. If she is to find a job, it is likely to be for lower pay than her white, or male, counterparts. Non-hegemonic men have emphasized that exploitation or abuse are not single issue concerns. while central, can be just one of many other dividing lines. To date, most pro-feminist men have not afforded these other dividing lines equal status; gender has been priorized as the primary form of exploitation. The result is a reverse variation of the Old Left Socialists who emphasized the class struggle and relegated gender issues for after the revolution. Many pro-feminist men, while deserving credit for their willingness to critique their privileges as men, have not displayed the same enthusiasm for examining and dispensing with the benefits accrued to them simply by being straight, white and middle class. If all forms of violence are to end, a movement is needed that works to demolish all the power imbalances; all the dividing lines need to be torn down. 146 The pro-feminist men's response, while moving in

^{146.} While much of it has yet to be implemented, several studies have indicated how best to identify homophobia and work toward its erradication. Among others, see: Raymond Goldberg, "Attitude Change

the right direction, has yet to meet this criterion. 147

It remains to be seen whether or not pro-feminist men will succeed in addressing the various dividing lines among themselves as well as the general population. While there are numerous individuals working to abolish all dividing lines, there are others more content to focus only on gender issues. This struggle will not easily disappear as the various dividing lines often are inextricably intertwined and strong—as are the vested interests of those who want only to priorize gender issues. The outcome of this struggle is unclear and not likely to be resolved in the immediate future. Yet without the abolition of the dividing lines within individual groups, and ultimately society as a whole, violence will not be eradicated.

So where does one go from here? Despite it limitations, the profeminist men's response remains an important vehicle for social change.

Among College Students Toward Homosexuality," Journal Of American College Health, 30(6), Jun 1982, 260-268; Gary Hansen, "Measuring Prejudice Against Homosexuality (Homosexism) Among College Students: A New Scale," The Journal Of Social Psychiatry, 117, 1982, 233-236; Clyde Martin, "The Treatment Of Homophobia," Corrective And Social Psychiatry And Journal Of Behavior Technology, Methods And Therapy, 29(3), 1983, 70-73; Teresa DeCrescenzo, "Homophobia: A Study of the Attitudes of Mental Health Professionals Toward Homosexuality," Journal Of Social Work And Human Sexuality, 2(2-3), Win-Spr 1983-84, 115-136; Alice Messing, Robert Schoenberg, and Roger Stephens, "Confronting Homophobia In Health Care Settings: Guidelines for Social Work Practice," Journal Of Social Work And Human Sexuality, 2(2-3), Win-Spr 1983-84, 65-74; John Wayne Plasek, and Janicemarie Allard, "Misconceptions Of Homophobia," Journal Of Homosexuality, 10(1-2), Fal 1984, 23-37; William Serdahely, and George Ziemba, "Changing Homophobic Attitudes Through College Sexuality Education," Journal Of Homosexuality, 10(1-2), Fal 1984, 109-116; Jack Rabin, Kathleen Keefe, and Michael Burton, "Enhancing Services For Sexual-Minority Clients: A Community Mental Health Approach," Social Work, 31(4), Jul-Aug 1986, 294-298; and Larry Lance, "The Effects Of Interaction With Gay Persons On Attitudes Toward Homosexuality," Human Relations, 40(6), Jun 1987, 329-336.

^{147.} Lyttelton, "Major Dividing Lines," 33-34.

Men concerned about violence against women-be it motivated by gender, race, class, or whatever-need to become active. The response by profeminist men is one vehicle, which hopefully, with sufficient pressure from within as well as other external political movements, can expand its focus beyond priorizing gender. If it is unwilling to be modified, other political formations may be necessary to improve upon, or at least fill the gaps ignored by pro-feminist men.

The existing response, small as it may be, is at a crucial juncture and there exist at least three potential outcomes. The first is that the response's internal contradictions will induce a paralysis that will cause it to crumble. At this point in time, this option appears unlikely. The recent growth of the perspective appears to indicate that there are many men that want to end violence against women. The second option is that the response would continue as it currently is structured, priorizing gender, but with greater numbers of supporters. If this is all pro-feminist men can accomplish, they could provide a significant impetus toward ending the violence in our society. The third and most difficult option would be the creation of broad based movement that affords equal importance to all forms of violence and works to demolish all the dividing lines. It is not known which of these three, or other, options will prevail. Ultimately, the actual outcome of the movement will be determined by the philosophy and hard work of men within the movement, and the strength of the internal and external resistance.

CHAPTER CONCLUSIONS

The prospects for an immediate end to male violence against women, while better than twenty years ago, look appallingly grim. Men, as the major offenders, and the social constructionist forces which helped create them, remain foreboding obstacles. This reality must be individually and collectively confronted and changed if women are ever to achieve equality and safety in this society. Many individuals may believe that significant changes have occurred among men in the wake of the 1970s revival of feminism. This chapter has indicated this to be an inaccurate and dangerous conclusion. The major responses among men have been to fight for the traditional gender divisions or to view male violence against women as an insignificant problem worth avoiding. Both perspectives will perpetuate the problem. Each helps ensure that the social constructionist factors which encourage male violence against women will not be seriously threatened; state support for treatment services for women, children, and men will not substantially increase; and, most importantly, women's emotional, physical, and sexual lives will continue to be viewed as expendable and thus remain in jeopardy.

This intolerable situation need not continue. It can be changed. While a tremendous amount of work lay ahead, it is not an impossible task. In the next chapter, several concrete suggestion are provided for individuals who want to help break the silence, and end the violence.

CHAPTER SEVEN: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

INTRODUCTION

- 1. IF YOU ARE A VIOLENT OFFENDER
- 2. IF YOU KNOW SOMEONE WHO HAS OFFENDED
- 3. IDENTIFY YOUR SYSTEM(S)
- 4. IDENTIFY YOUR AREA(S) OF INTEREST/CONCERN
 - A. Among Men
 - B. Political Activities
 - C. Within The Education System
 - D. Within The Private and State Business Sectors
 - E. Clinical And Social Service Necessities
- 5. DO NOT REINVENT THE WHEEL
- 6. BE CREATIVE
- 7. THE IMPORTANCE OF SELF-CARE

CHAPTER SEVEN: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

INTRODUCTION

There are still many obstacles to ending male violence against women. Men continue to commit an appalling number, and range, of emotionally, physically, and sexually violent crimes against women (Chapter One). These statistics unfortunately are ignored and minimized, even to the point of glorifying male violence against women. Substantial efforts are necessary to publicize and criticize male violence. The silence on men's violence must permanantly be broken.

The victims have also been ignored (Chapter Two). Victim's reactions vary considerably and can be influenced by, among other things, the nature of the attack, its duration, the victim's relationship to the offender, and the woman's previous history of abuse. By listening to victims, many counsellors have begun to realize that the effects of abuse are not necessarily linked to specific varieties of violence. Victims of different forms of violence may experience identical ef-Diminished self-esteem and anger are just two examples. Vicfects. tim's stories have helped a growing number of individuals recognize that emotional putdowns, sexual harassment, date rape, battering, femicide, and other crimes only are variations on the same theme--male violence against women. Efforts at better publicizing male violence should not be aimed just at increasing popular awareness of statistics. People need to recognize the links between the numerous crimes against women, that most offenders are men, and that the majority victimize women they know. Men need to be held responsible for their crimes; women must no longer be blamed for male violence.

Increasing knowledge about male violence against women can lead to the question asked in Chapter Three: why are men violent? The answers are complex. Despite our reoccuring tendency to look for physiological answers, or blame it all on the family, such explanations are not supported by the evidence. While the family is a crucial component, the media, the military, male peer groups, sport, and pornography, are fundamental contributors to the social construction of violent men. Seriously revising these social constructionist forces will involve a tremendous amount of work and incur significant opposition from those wanting to maintain the status quo.

Fundamental changes must also occur with the treatment of male violence. Chapter Four examined the limits of treatments which emphasized physiological and intrapsychic pathology. The women's movement was identified as the catalyst which removed male violence from social and clinical obscurity and placed it firmly on the political stage. The women's movement, as the first major force in the struggle to end male violence, shifted our conceptualization and treatment of male violence from the traditional approaches toward social constructionism. The strength and determination of millions of active women compelled the state to respond.

The state, as the second force in the struggle to end male violence, has been reluctant to fully implement a social constructionist solution (Chapter Five). Many positive changes have occurred in the treatment of male violence. Yet, limits on funding and an apparent unwillingness to seriously and significantly move toward ending the creation of violent men will not adequately address the magnitude of

the existing crisis. The state appears generally content with providing inadequate treatment services for the relatively few offenders who happen to get caught or self refer. This rigidity reveals the limited degree to which one can depend upon the state for an end to the crimes against women.

State funding must be increased. The difficulty of this task is compounded by two main factors: the Western world's economic recession; and a political climate in which state and corporate planners are rapidly dismantelling the welfare state. But such obstacles do not preclude future victories by pro-feminist women and men. Significantly increased pressure could compell the state to institute more fundamental changes to reduce the structural facilitators of male violence. It is unacceptable to take pride in the paltry treatment of a minority of male offenders while ignoring the many who are not in treatment, and the social constructiontionist factors which help create violent men.

Yet without significant pressure from below, the state is unlikely to implement substantial social constructionist reforms; particularly ones which threaten the vested interests, for example, of corporations that exploit traditional masculinities and femininities to sell their products.

To compell state action, the silence on male violence must be broken. To its credit, the women's movement must not relax its pressure for change. Most men, however, have not pressured the state to act more boldly. In fact, many men have been active in trying to block state concessions to feminist demands for change. Other men either continue to offend, remain silent, or try to ignore the violence

perpetrated by their peers. From the victim's perspective, these various male responses are indistinguishable—another woman still ends up being beaten or raped.

Pro-feminist men, as a potential third force in the struggle to end male violence against women, have an obligation to become more vocal and change their male peers. The women's movement has achieved several victories against misogyny since the early 1970s. But to protect the gains, while striving for new ones, additional help is needed. All men must take responbility for male violence. The following sections outline how you can become involved.

1. IF YOU ARE A VIOLENT OFFENDER

- Do not minimize your violence. Do not try and convince yourself it will never happen again. The research on offenders indicates that if a man has been violent, without outside intervention, his violence is likely to increase in frequency and severity.
- Get yourself out of, and stay away from, dangerous situations (ie. leave the house or your relationship) before reoffending.
- Get help immediately:
 - * open the phone book and call a local crisis centre, women's shelter, men's group, or court office for a list of services for offenders in your area.

2. IF YOU KNOW SOMEONE WHO HAS OFFENDED

- Ensure the victim is safe, supported, and knows of appropriate services for help.
- Talk to the offender about his violence. Do not perpetuate or protect the secret. Do not pretend it did not happen or it was not a big deal. Clearly inform your friend that you do not believe it to be acceptable for a man to be violent to a woman. Regardless of the situation, other options exist. Let him know you think he needs help. Strike a balance between confrontation and encouragement. While men need to be confronted about their violence, they also need to be encouraged that changing their behaviour, while difficult, is possible.
- Find out what services exist for offenders and pass on the information. Talk about the advantages of change. Offenders are

- particularly receptive to help during the honeymoon phase following a violent episode.
- Inform the offender that you will be letting others know about the violence. Friends, family, and co-workers need to be informed, particularly if they have regular contact with the offender.
- Do not forget to follow-up. The violent individual may have decided to ignore his problem. Remind him it is unlikely to disappear without outside help.

3. <u>IDENTIFY YOUR SYSTEM(S)</u>

In the process of becoming politically involved to end male violence, one needs to identify the systems within which one wants to effect change. Some individuals may work within several. Others may want to focus their energy in specific areas until they become more familiar with the work. Any efforts are important contributions to the goal of ending male violence against women. The systems in which one may become active include:

- * family
- * workplace
- * clubs and fraternities
- * community
- * province/state

- * friends
- * organizations and unions
- * school/university
- * city
- * country

4. IDENTIFY YOUR AREA(S) OF INTEREST/CONCERN

Select one issue or area about which you feel quite strongly. An emotional commitment to an issue is important. It helps one deal with the considerable resistance. The following items, though not in any priorized order, are some initial areas requiring work.

A. Among Men

- Reject misogynist humour; confront men on their violence.
- Speak out against violence against women.
- Confront homophobia and outline how it discriminates against gays and can hinder male friendships.

- Challenge racism and expose the harm done by racist jokes.
- Try to change the habits of one's friend(s) rather than giving up on the friendship(s).
- Conduct workshops, conferences, townhall meetings exposing male violence against women and how it can be stopped.
- Encourage erotica; expose and reject the misogyny integral to pornography.
- Do not feel compelled to maintain hegemonic masculinity. Take risks with your peers; lying about one's sexual exploits, for example, can perpetuate myths about male and female sexuality. Dishonesty may reinforce the perception that one is a hegemonic male. It also can maintain a significant distance between friends.
- Emphasize that while hegemonic masculinity may have many disadvantages to men, it has many deadly risks to women. Acknowledge that hegemonic masculinity was not foisted upon men; they chose to adopt it and reap the benefits. Highlight the advantages to adopting other varieties of masculinity that do not accept violence against women.

B. Larger Political Activities

- Secure additional and extended programmes for victims and offenders.
 Raising public awareness about the crime of male violence is likely to result in an increase demand for services.
- Ensure that money for offender's services are not siphoned from services for victims.
- Improve the court system to decrease the number of offenders who escape prosecution.
- Increase the legal sanctions against male violence.
- Work to end discrimination against homosexuals and visible minorities.
- Lobby for an expansion of services within correctional institutions.
 While many offenders need to be incarcerated for their crimes. the
- values learned in jail often only compound the offender's existing problems. Thus, in-house and second stage treatment programmes need to be developed--particularly with sex offenders--to ensure the acquisition of new non-violent skills.
- Challenge misogynist comments made by elected and appointed officials.
- Hold fundraisers to generate money to establish, maintain, or expand a local rape crisis centre, battered women's shelter, or offender programme.
- Work to improve daycare services to decrease the economic dependency of many women upon their male partners.
- Lobby for equal pay for work of equal value.
- Support the movement for reproductive choice. Democratic access to safe abortion services is crucial.
- Investigate and publicize if your local government monitors alimony payments. If so, how well are they doing?
- Request state and private funding for public service announcements identifying the varieties and effects of male violence against women, the criminal nature of the acts, and how to get help.
- Participate in the debate on pornography. Erotic material that does

- not perpetuate rape myths and misogyny could be endorsed as an alternative.
- Expose the military's drain on the civilian economy and the resultant reduction in social service expenditures. Critique the military's role in perpetuating hegemonic masculinity and encouraging men to use violence to solve problems.
- Expose the parallels between misogyny and environmental degradation. Many of the same values supporting violence against women contribute to the earth being exploited, raped, and plundered.

C. Within The Education System (Schools, Universities, and Colleges)

- Lobby for courses on assertiveness training, communication skills, and conflict resolution. Such skills are essential to reduce violence and assist victims.
- Request that critiques of battering and rape mythology be required components of family life programmes and ethics courses. Such courses need also address the effects of, and counter, homophobia, racism, and classism.
- Encourage administrators to make women's history and rape prevention courses mandatory.
- Petition for courses on human sexuality which emphasize more than basic biology and reproduction. Birth control information is crucial. Similarly, such courses could help reduce the frequency of sexual assault by helping males develop effective, non-violent communication styles and an increased awareness of male/female sexuality.
- Examine and critique the material used in schools to ensure that male violence against women is properly presented. Material perpetuating or trivializing male violence against women, and other forms of violence, needs to be removed or used as learning tools to realize why they are inaccurate.
- Pressure your local schools and universities to educate their staff how best to end the transmission of racist, sexist, homophobic, clas sist, and other dividing line values to students.
- Insist that rape prevention courses (ones which focus on changing men's behaviour) be required for all males.

D. Within The Private and State Business Sectors

- Lobby for change in the media portrayal of various masculinities and femininities. Hegemonic varieties most often are rewarded while nonhegemonic varieties receive minor parts or are the brunt of malicious stereotypes. Letter writing (ie. to the editor, the company presi dent, or one's elected government representative), demonstrations, and boycotts can be effective. If the corporate manufacturer is the offender, appeal to the television network/magazine company/or radio corporation. If the media company is to blame, work to have sponsors remove their products.

- Encourage affirmative action programmes for women, homosexuals and visible minorities.
- Negotiate extended paternity leaves to increase the sharing of parenting responsibilities.
- Emphasize that men should be able to have time off work to care for sick children.
- Lobby for quality day care services or subsidies to existing private daycares.
- Have your employer provide taxi vouchers to enable women to ride home at night rather than having to take public transit or walk to their cars in parkades.
- Demand improved lighting on company grounds and the provision of escort services to distant parking lots.
- Coordinate or provide workshops on sexual assault, battering, and emotional abuse. For the men, the task would be to challenge their behaviours. For the women, the goal would be to empower them and familiarize themselves with resources.
- Lobby for extensive training of corporate social, or human service, workers so they can assist victims and offenders of violence. Skills include:
 - 1. Tactfully approaching employees suspected of being abuse victims/offenders, encouraging them to look at their situations and emphasizing the availability and importance of getting help.
 - 2a. For Victims: offering protection on the job by sceening phone calls when appropriate and alerting security staff to the possibility of intrusion by the abuser.
 - 2b. For Offenders: as is often done with alcoholics, inform the offender that they may loose their job if treatment is not pursued. Time off work may be provided as an incentive.
 - 3. Establishing a liason with the local domestic violence shelter, rape crisis centre, and offender treatment programme.
 - 4. Be aware of resources that will acquaint battered or sexually assaulted employees with the recourse options within the criminal justice system.
 - 5. Ensure a workplace free of references that perpetuate rape myths, sexual harassment, stereotypes of abused women, or minimize the effects of violence.

While it is not the function of human resources people to solve employees' problems, increased awareness, the desire to intervene, and use of appropriate outside resources can help victims and offenders help themselves.

^{1.} The information pertaining to the potential role played by human service workers in business is from an unknown photocopied source. The citation was not provided. The original uncited source was modified to incorporate points relevant to sexual assault and offenders.

E. Clinical and Social Service Necessities

- Research how best to improve treatment of offenders and victims.
- Involve direct service workers in lobbying for additional state funding. While regular citizens also need to be involved, they may lack the knowledge, confidence, and credibility to emphasize the need for improved services.
- Request that social service workers (social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, para-professionals, teachers, doctors, police officers, and administrators) conduct workshops for their working peers on racism, homophobia, classism, and sexism within the social services. For too long we have ignored, for example, the stories of Natives being beaten by police officers, or homosexuals having to stay in the closet to keep their jobs. Encourage employers to take disciplinary action against employees that continue to perpetuate the various dividing lines.
- Critique the work of professors and writers who ignore or minimize male violence against women.
- Confront social service co-workers who ignore or minimize male violence against women.
- Ensure that men are held responsible for their violence. Counteract the all too prevalent victim blaming.
- Establish sexual harassment prevention codes for the workplace.

5. DO NOT REINVENT THE WHEEL

The above list is just an initial inventory. Other unmentioned issues or areas of concern also should be pursued. To ensure that one does not burn out or waste time and energy, it is essential first to determine in which areas other individuals or community groups already are active. Contact them and determine where work is needed rather than duplicating that which has already been done.

Many of the items listed in the previous section can be addressed within existing trade or professional organizations. Teachers and civil service unions, and community groups can be mobilized to effect changes within their systems and to pressure for the same within the state response to male violence.

Some of the other items on the list may be best addressed within a pro-feminist men's group. One may want to connect with an existing

group. The ease of doing this, however, is very dependent upon where one lives. Large urban centres generally have several groups that often have workshops, gatherings, and film nights that afford them a fairly high profile within the community. Often there are specific counselling centres known to specialize in men's issues that could connect one with an existing group. In smaller centres, the task may be more formidable. Since many groups meet in the homes of individual men, they are unlikely to be listed in the phone book. Thus telephoning a local counselling service or crisis centre may provide the required information. To make this task easier, Appendix I lists some contact addresses of the pro-feminist men's groups in the United States and Canada.

Small communities—and even big cities—may require individuals to create their own pro-feminist men's group. Concerned men should search for like—minded men among their immediate peers, co-workers, and community residents. Ideas for establishing a pro-feminist men's group are outlined in Appendix II and may help individuals prevent some of the pitfalls that have troubled earlier groups.

6. <u>BE CREATIVE</u>

Working to end male violence need not always involve letter writing and protesting. While male violence is not a laughing matter, humour and sarcasm, for example, can be used to convey a point that otherwise might not be well received. Social change is required and if humourous skits and plays can accomplish the goal, they need to be part of the solution. Traditional hegemonic men have many qualities that

could quite humourously—and effectively—be parodied. Visual artists also could be active in portraying the type of world we want to leave behind and the one we want to work toward.

7. THE IMPORTANCE OF SELF-CARE

Effecting social change is not easy work. Individuals need to identify their loci of support. Where are they going to be affirmed, nurtured, and encouraged to maintain their work for an end to male violence. Potential candidates are one's friends, family, men's group, workplace, school/university, community, or individuals within various national organizations. These supports need to be put into place and maintained to ensure their vitality when they are needed. Do not act as if they are not required; use them. Hegemonic men pretend they are completely independent of all others. In reality, it is a sign of strength to be able to acknowledge that one needs, and values, support.

To succeed at the task of ending male violence requires that one establish far reaching goals while being exhuberant about small gains. The struggle to end male violence is not an easy one; feminists that have been involved for years can attest to that. While disillusionment and dispair are normal responses, individuals must remain angry that these crimes against women continue virtually unimpeded. Those intent on ending male violence against women must pace themselves—for it will be a long haul—and never give up. The crimes against women must end.

APPENDIX I: NORTH AMERICAN PRO-FEMINIST MEN'S GROUP CONTACTS

In The United States

The best listing of American men's groups and services has been compliled by RAVEN (Rape And Violence End Now) in, <u>The Ending Men's Violence National Referral Directory</u> (St. Louis, MO: The St. Louis Organization For Changing Men, 1986). The directory can be ordered through RAVEN. Address inquiries to:

RAVEN (Rape And Violence End Now) P.O. Box 24159 St. Louis, MO, USA, 63130 or phone (314) 725-6137.

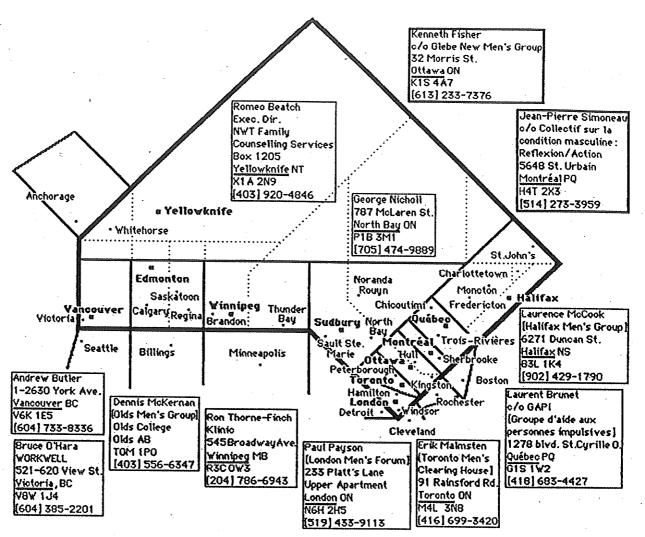
In Canada

The best listing of Canadian men's groups and services has been compiled by the Glebe New Men's Group. See: Kenneth Fisher, for the Glebe New Men's Group, <u>Men's Groups: Toward A National Listing</u> (Ottawa: Glebe New Men's Group, 1988). Address purchase inquiries to:

Kenneth Fisher C/O 32 Morris Street Ottawa, Ontario Canada, K1S 4A7 or phone (613) 233-7376

The Canadian directory included a map of contact people across the country (See Figure AI-1: Toward A National Men's Network).

FIGURE AI-1: TOWARD A NATIONAL MEN'S NETWORK



Ottawa-Hull Men's Forum.- c/o Jack Wiggin 82 Rothwell Dr. Ottawa ON K1J 7G6 [613]746-1865

Kingston Men's Forum - c/o Mac Gervan 256 Mowat Ave. Kingston ON K7M 1K9 [613] 546-0114

Toronto Men's Forum - c/o Benny Andersen #704-50 Graydon Hall Drive Don Mills ON M3A 3A4 [416] 445-0769

London Men's Forum - c/o Joseph Dunlop-Addley & Terry Boyd 17 Marley Pl. London ON N6C 3S9 [519]482-3933

Winnipeg Men's Forum - c/o Mark Etkin 921 Palmerston Ave. Winnipeg MB R3G 1J8 [204] 783-0275

Men's Network for Change -Bob Alexander (416) 698-8669 Greg Carter [519] 749-0989

David Currah [519] 837-1793 Doug Hayman [807] 622-4655 Bert Young [514] 457-9758

Men's Network News - c/o Mac Gervan 256 Mowat Ave. Kingston ON K7M 1K9 [613] 546-0114

Men For Women's Choice - Michael Kaufman/Gord Cleveland 555 Bloor St. W. Toronto ON M5S 1Y6 [416] 538-3086

APPENDIX II: SUGGESTIONS ON FORMING A PRO-FEMINIST MEN'S GROUP

Forming a pro-feminist men's group can help individual men find support, an environment in which to develop effective communication and interpersonal skills, and connect with other men in a political process. By facilitating changes among men, pro-femininist men's groups can play an important role in the effort to end male violence.

Pro-feminist men have created groups which parallel the consciousness raising model developed during the early 1970s by the women's movement. This has afforded pro-feminist men the advantage of learning group structures and processes which can facilitate individual and collective growth. They also have learned some of the potential problems.

Bill Dare has compiled a useful resource which identifies how best to use the consciousness raising model in the context of a pro-feminist men's group. Dare acknowledges that the process of forming or entering a group can be rewarding, different from what most men have experienced, and scary. In summarizing the process numerous North American men have been undertaking, Dare's guidelines can help individuals who

Susan Shorr, and Leonard Jason, "A Comparison Of Men's And Women's Consciousness Raising Groups," Group, 6(4), Win 1982, 51-55.

^{2.} Bill Dare, "Consciousness Raising Groups," in Pierre Coté, Bill Dare, and Martha Muzychka, <u>Men Changing: A Resource Manual For Men's Consciousness Raising</u> (Ottawa: The Men's Project and the Alternative Future Institute, 1985), 45-53. The material for this appendix was drawn primarily from Dare's chapter.

Another helpful resource for individuals starting a pro-feminist men's group is Bob Brannon, and Jim Creane, "How To Form A Consciousness-Raising Group," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 13, Fal 1984, 35-37.

are in the process of forming or maintaining a group be alert to what to look for and avoid in group processes.

PART II: FORMING A GROUP

There are many different and equally valid ways to form a group. Ask friends or co-workers that may be sympathetic to the idea and, if necessary, have them enquire through their circle of friends and associates for other interested individuals. Asking such questions can be scary. To minimize this, some men advertise in the classified section of an appropriate newspaper or put a notice on a relevant bulletin board.

If you know of a group, you could contact one of the members about the possibility of joining. If you believe a group exists in your area but do not know how to make contact, connect with a crisis centre, women's group, or a local resource/counselling service for referal information. Finding an existing group can involve a little leg work and sleuthing, but if it may be worth the effort.

Dare notes that a group works best if each person knows at least one other group member. This helps connect members and accelerates the period often required for members to establish trust. If another member is a friend or acquaintance, one is more likely to open up to the group and not simply engage in superficial conversation. If everyone knows someone else, this helps build in a history or commraderie into the group that can make the gatherings more rewarding.

Appendix I lists some initial contact addresses.

Dare emphasizes the importance of limiting the size of the group to between six and ten members. In larger groups, individuals may not have sufficient opportunity to thoroughly express themselves. Dare also advises that it is advantagous to have an all male group for two reasons. First, it may be easier for some men to open up and discuss previously unmentioned aspects of their personalities. Second, it encourages men to be active listeners and caregivers within the group. If women are present, many men can quickly assume—often without noticing—the more traditional group leader role and expect the women to take care of the group.

PART III: GETTING STARTED

The following factors should be dealt with early in the group's formation and attended to throughout its existence.

1. Expectations

All group members need to clarify their expectations. What is it that they hope to obtain and contribute to the group? What are their needs? Do individuals feel that enough of their needs will be met by the group? If there appear to be significant incongruities between the needs of one individual and the rest of the group, negotiated compromises may resolve the differences. If not, the individuals may choose to connect with another group.

2. Ground Rules

Confidentiality is a crucial issue. For the safety of all group members, it is important for individuals to agree to leave with the group specifics of what was said or done. Most groups agree that names

and identifying details will not be talked about outside of the group. If this is not followed, the sense of safety within the group can plummet and reduce the risks individual men might otherwise be willing to take. For some men the group can be a stage to try out new skills or ways of interacting. While it is hoped that they will one day take those changes to the world outside of the group, this is less likely to happen if they never feel safe enough in the first place to try.

There are, however, some limits to confidentiality. When a group member makes reference to something that may jeopardize the life or safety of themselves or another individual, the secret cannot be maintained. The necessary people (ie police, hospital staff, or family members) need to be informed.

3. Location

Location can affect the frequency with which members attend and the depth to which they will feel safe to reveal their inner thoughts and emotions. In the pursuit of comfort, however, it remains important to avoid the inevitable distractors (ie. turn off the television). Many groups prefer to rotate the location from one person's place to another to avoid one individual feeling like a permanant host and allowing others to do less work.

4. Time and Commmittment

Before starting a group it is important to clarify group members' expectations regarding frequency and duration of meetings. Some groups meet once every one or two weeks, particularly when the group is just forming. Other groups vary; when something of importance requires more discussion, they may meet more frequently than during other times of

the year. Depending upon the commitments of the group members, they may decide to meet more or less often. It is important to clarify how people feel about other members missing meetings. Is it acceptable or intolerable? How frequently must one attend? Group members should clarify these issues at the beginning to avoid future difficulties.

5. <u>Decision Making</u>

Decision making processes can significantly affect the strength, vitality, and longevity of the group. Options include: consensus (all members support a decision arrived at by a synthesis of everyone's ideas); majority rule; accepting a facilitator's decision; or unanimous support. Of these, the consensus approach, while possibly more difficult and time consuming in the short term, may be best in the long run. If individuals start imposing their will on the group and leaving people out of the decision making process, internal animosity and resentent may tear apart the group.

At the end of each meeting members could summarize what was agreed upon. At the next meeting they could review the conclusions and determine if in the intervening time there remains a common vision and purpose. This also is an appropriate time for members to identify new issues and determine if other members are interested in integrating these into the group agenda. Periodic reviews and revisions should be continued throughout the group's existence to ensure that individuals feel they can have an imput into the group's direction.

6. Not A Therapy Group

Throughout the life of the group, members need to be clear on their limits as helpers. Issues may be brought to the group by one

member that are really beyond the scope of the group. Specific meetings may focus on one individual if their current situation could benifit from the help. If, however, this need continues and the group begins skewing its activities and time to help one person, the individual may need to be encouraged to seek additional help outside of the group.

PART IV: PRELIMINARY ACTIVITIES

The following are some potential exercises provided by Dare that can be used to help members begin working together as a group.

- * Each member talks about their life histories focussing on either earliest memories, adolescence, adulthood, or a general review. While possibly requiring a few meetings to accomplish, this can help members become acquainted with one another's background, values, and goals.
- * Each person can talk about how they feel about being in a men's group. This can be an opportunity for individuals to acknowledge that considerable diversity is possible, acceptable, and to be valued.
 - * Talk about feelings or events that make one happy, or upset.
- * Agree on a topic and have each member talk about what that issue means to them and to the community they represent. Members could also provide some explanation of how their interpretation and value of a specific issue has changed throughout their life.
- * Request that all group members read an article or book and discuss the item at the next meeting.
- * Invite external resource people to present on specific issues group members have decided they need some additional information.

- * Conduct role plays of various issues to help sort out peronal and political positions.
- * Trace one's body on a large piece of paper and talk to the group about one's relationship with one's body and its various parts.
- * Do non-verbal exercizes to help members develop other communication skills.

PART V: GROUP PROCESS ISSUES

It is very important to be alert to group process and do the work necessary within a group to keep it smoothly functioning. Being aware of the following can help in this task.

1. Group Facilitation

The group should determine how it will be directed. Many groups operate without a facilitator. Others find it helpful to have someone responsible for coordinating activities (ie. discussions, readings, or demonstrations). While one person can be chosen as the facilitator, it is advantagous to rotate this responsibility equally. Doing so allows group members to feel more equal within the group. If this equality is achieved, individual participation may increase. People need to be wary of the member(s) that may want to take control of the group. While this can be convenient in the short term—they may do most of the work—in the long term, other individuals may start loosing input toward, control of, and interest, in their group's direction.

2. Checking In / Checking Out

At the start of each meeting it can be helpful to go around the group and have each person spend a few minutes relating what has

happened in their lives since the group last met. This can allow members to reconnect with each other and serve to identify if there are issues or subjects that need to be priorized for more detailed discussion later in the meeting.

When ending a meeting, it is important for each person to reflect on the time spent together. Did they learn anything new? Did they sort out an issue? Or could they relate how they were feeling about something that occurred in the group? Each group member's comments do not necessarily require responses from others. If further discussion appears necessary, members may agree to flag the issue for a future meeting. The check outs should be seen as a time when members can express their sentiments and accept that often there will not be a consensus.

3. Honesty And Risk Taking

Being honest about one's self can be very scary, particularly if one does not how the group will respond. Other risk taking (ie. nurturing or confronting others) also can be intimidating. Yet if individuals are to grow beyond their traditional masculinities they cannot always stay with what is safe.

If, however, men do not feel there is a baseline level of trust and security within the group, honesty and risk taking may be limited; individuals may feel inhibited to speak or act. If such tension exists, members should talk it over with the group and hopefully work toward a positive resolution. Group members should respect the wishes of individual members who choose not to take risks.

4. Listening

This is a crucial skill in maintaining a healthy group. Many men need to become better listeners. All too often, individuals may be formulating, for example, a whitty reply without sincerely attending to the previous speaker. By not listening attentively one is not respecting the other person. Inattentive listening also can prevent one from hearing the depth of the subject about which an individual is referring. This lost information easily can aggravate existing divisions within the group.

PART VI: FEEDBACK AND CONSTRUCTUIVE CRITICISM*

Being able to give and receive feedback and constructive criticism can be very difficult. Yet these can be two of the most important tools for building individual and collective growth and group cohesion. The following are some guidelines.

1. How To Give Feedback And Constructive Criticism

When giving constructive criticism, individuals need to examine their motives. Why does one want to tell something to another person. Is it to clarify the relationship between the two people? Is it to help--or hurt--them? Individuals need to ask themselves if the criticism is justified. If so, then...

*Step One: Be Concrete: Be very specific. Can one succicntly describe, with clear examples, what it is about an individual that is

^{4.} For the section on feedback and constructive criticism, Dare, "Consciousness Raising Groups," 49-50, cites Peter Padbury's precis of Gracie Lyons, Constructive Criticism (San Francisco, IRT Press, 1978).

troublesome? Separate out the vague, sweeping generalizations and negative sentiments from the actual piece about which one wants to comment.

*Step Two: Describe How The Situation Makes One Feel: Identifying one's feelings often can be the first step in recognizing that something is wrong and we need to speak up. It also helps us focus more clearly on the problem. It prevents individuals from ignoring the concerns and allowing them to surface later on in more destructive ways through resentment or silence. Clarifying one's feelings helps gets things out in the open and identifies to the other person that an action or statement of theirs had certain, possibly unanticipated or undesired, effects.

*Step Three: State What You Want The Other Person To Do: If there is a certain person or an action of an individual that is causing difficulty, identify it to them either privately or within the group setting. But be specific. Addressing it to the group as a general issue is less likely to resolve the problem. The person for whom the comment was intended may not recognize that the statement was directed toward them. They may assume the comment was intended for another group member and pay little attention.

*Step Four: Idenify The Purpose: Identify to the individual why changes in their behaviour may be helpful. Highlight how the change may benefit the individual, or the group.

*SUMMARY: Identify to the person that when they do A(observation), you feel B(emotion) and want them to do C(action-want), because of D (purpose).

2. How To Receive Feedback And Constructive Criticism

Two skills are important. One needs to be able to paraphrase, or put into our words and repeat back to the person what was just said to us. This ensures that the message recieved is the one the person intended. If there is some discrepancy, the two people may need to respond back and forth, paraphrasing each other, until there is a consensus as to what is the real comment or criticism. It is important not to start responding until one is clear about what the other person is saying. This procedure underlines the importance of effective listening.

Before and after the point has been established, one needs to empathize with what the recipient may be feeling. Try and view ourself from the other person's perspective to better recognize the effects of our words, actions, or absence of either.

PART VII: PROBLEMS TO AVOID IN GROUPS

1. Intellectualizing

This is one of the most significant hurdles for men to overcome. Too often they get locked into a perspective where they theorize and prophesize about ideal situations, talk about how others should change, but do not look at how they can do alot in their our own lives to effect changes. Intellectualizing, in itself, is not evil. The problem occurs when it is divorced from the real life of the individual and their personal support system. It can be helpful for the men to talk in the first person using "I" instead of "they, them, we, us, or you". As well, the men should try to fit their theories with their concrete,

rather than an abstract, reality. One way to help reach this goal is to have men recognize the difference between the "I think" perspective, located in the head, from the "I feel" which is more emotive and felt at a gut or intuitive level. Historically, hegemonic male culture has devalued feelings as non-hegemonic, typical of women or gay men. Men need to reclaim their full range of feelings if they are to be able to change and end their sexist behaviour. Otherwise they are unlikely to empathize with women to really understand why the violence must end.

2. Domination

Some people will talk more than others. This is not a problem unless the verbosity of some is silencing others. Groups need to attend to why some members are always, and others never, silent. While individuals should not be forced to speak, groups can try and make it a little easier for them. Tactics include asking all members to talk about a specific issue before opening up a more general open discussion. Second, individuals can ask a silent member for their thoughts on a specific issue. Third, a speaker's list could be kept to ensure that the more boisterous members are kept in check. The issue of internal competition even could be brought forward for discussion. The point is not to expect all to speak equally, but rather to attend to those who want to verbally steamroller others, and those who repeatedly allow others to speak for them.

3. <u>Judging</u>

As much as possible, judging--or coming to conclusions about others--is something that should be avoided within the group. The problem with judging is that we may make inaccurate conclusions about

other group members and impair our future relations with them. Judging can also restrict changes within others as we may expect a proscribed list of actions from an individual who may be trying to broaden their repetoire. While feedback and constructive criticism, when used appropriately, can be beneficial to the group process, judging is not helpful. Recognizing and identifying when one is judging others can help group members halt this destructive practice.

4. Group In A Stall

Members need to be alert to when the group has reached an impasse. It may seem as if the group is not going anywhere. There may be some interpersonal dynamics between a couple of the members that are impairing the whole group. When an impasse occurs or member apathy toward the group is increasing, it is important to address the problem. Talk about, and resolve, it in a constructive manner. If members feel it is necessary, or would be easier, they may choose to have an outside facilitator come into the group and help it through this difficult time.

PART VII: CHALLENGING AND CONFRONTING SEXIST BEHAVIOUR AND ATTITUDES

Men's pro-feminist groups provide a forum for men to challenge themselves and other group members to look at how men contribute to the oppression and exploitation of women. This task often compells discussions about how to avoid such complicity. Such discussions, while sometimes difficult, are essential to the success of the group in contributing to the end of male violence against women. Confrontations—both within and outside of the group—must be clear but supportive. If the intent is to decimate and humiliate an individual, one may well

achieve that goal but loose the more important one of helping the individual change their behaviour. Members need to balance confrontation with and affirmations of the positive qualities of the other man.

The following is an initial list of topics for discussion. The goal is to raise individual and collective awareness of male violence as a crime against women and to help formulate and implement solutions.5

- 1. Men and children
- 3. Men and birth control
- 5. Family planning/values & goals
- 7. Women's sexuality
- 9. My sexuality
- 11. Men's gender roles
- Monogamy/Fidelity
- 15. Men doing housework
- 17. Sexism, male privileges
- 19. Men and aggression, rape
- 21. Anger toward women/men
- 23. Men's power over women
- 25. Death and dying
- 27. Men and dance/movment
- 29. Homophobia/Heterophobia
- 31. Women's issues
- 33. The Men's Movement
- 35. The good things in men
- 37. Women's history
- 39. Gains and losses in change
- 41. Myth, dreams & symbols
- 43. Aloneness vs. loneliness
- 45. Independence & interdependence
- 47. Creativity
- 49. Growing up male

- 2. Parenting
- 4. Divorce and child custody
- Men's sexuality
 - 8. Homosexuality/Bisexuality
- 10. Fantasies, sexual or not
- 12. Relationships with others
- 14. Alternatives to marriage
- 16. Sports culture
- 18. Men & work, jobs
- 20. Anger
- 22. Violence & its alternatives
- 24. Men's mid-life crises
- 26. Body awareness
- 28. Expressing emotions 30. Feminism
- 32. Fear of being "feminine"
- 34. Men & quilt
- 36. Stress & men's health
- 38. How to enact new male roles
- 40. Intimacy
- 42. Peer group vs. lone wolf
- 44. Self-actualization & esteem
- 46. Men & spiritual values
- 48. Competing/supporting
- 50. Our fathers

CONCLUSIONS

Attending to the needs and process of the group and its individuals are important requirements for encouraging the growth and life of

s. Tony Krebs, <u>Facilitators Manual For Men's Consciousness And</u> Support Groups (Seattle: Metrocentre YMCA Seattle Men's Program's Unity 1982), cited in Dare, "Consciousness Raising Groups," 51-52.

the group. While each group will be unique, the forementioned suggestions can help protect and strengthen the group and encourage its ability to confront and end male violence against women.

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