

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

RON THORNE-FINCH

A thesis submitted to the Faculty  
of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Social Work

Faculty Of Social Work  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
Canada

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BY

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This work is dedicated  
to my father Al Finch  
for letting me know very early in my life  
that I did not have to be violent  
to be a man,  
and  
my three year old son  
Jesse Thorne-Finch  
in the hope that the men of his generation  
will be less violent toward women than the men of mine.

## INTRODUCTION

For centuries men have exercised control over women. Emotionally, physically, and sexually violent males have made women serve their needs and succeeded in perpetuating a powerful patriarchy. While some men have adopted a feminist perspective<sup>1</sup>, many have not, and the threat of violence lay not far enough beneath the surface of human relations. This history is not well enough known.

Even people familiar with the plight of women sometimes conclude that the relations between the sexes have stabilized and become more equal, and credit the women's movement of the 1970s for rectifying earlier injustices. But often the effect is to suggest that the feminists have succeeded and should now quietly disappear. After all, we need to move on to even more compelling crises--for example, child abuse or teen suicide.

The pages which follow explore the fallacies behind such complacency. While many of the practices and laws restricting women have changed, very often they have only been modified or modernized. There may have been an improvement in the opportunities available to many women in the Western world, especially among the middle and upper classes, but the gains have not been such as to offset the overall inequality of power between men and women.

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<sup>1</sup>. A fairly concise definition of feminism is as follows: "a feminist is a person who favors political, economic, and social equality of women and men, and therefore favors the legal and social changes that will be necessary to achieve that equality." The definition was written by Janet Shibley Hyde, Half The Human Experience: The Psychology of Women (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co., 1980), 405-406.

Change is threatening. Rather than restructuring the foundations of our social system and building a new one based on equality for all regardless of sex, age, colour, religion, sexual preference, or social class, we have deluded ourselves into believing that the power of men over women is decreasing.

Even if the power imbalance between men and women has changed, the accomplishments to date have failed to end the daily emotional, physical, and sexual threats endured by women. To verify this fact, the first chapter will examine the pervasiveness of male violence against women. While some gaps exist in the literature, the chapter will review what we know about the sexual, physical, and emotional abuse of women by men. A theoretical framework that integrates the seemingly divergent forms of male abuse of women also will be proposed.

With the parameters of the problem delineated, Chapter Two will examine the numerous short and long term emotional and physical effects of male violence. For too long, our society has ignored, trivialized, and denied the horrific and diverse effects of male violence against women.

The third chapter will examine how we have attempted to conceptualize why men commit violent acts, allowed the violence by other men against women to continue unchecked, and failed to take responsibility for their behaviour. After examining the answers proposed by various physiological and intrapsychic theorists, the discussion will proceed to an examination of the many key components of contemporary culture and the effect they have in generating and perpetuating male violence against women. Among others, this list includes the contemporary

family, the media, pornography, academia, sport, and the state. Reviewing the role of each will clarify that masculinity and its byproduct (violence against women) are primarily cultural constructs.

Chapters Four and Five will examine what is being done to stop male violence against women. In Chapter Four, the discussion will begin with a critique of the traditional treatments of violent men, then move to examine the role of the women's movement in making male violence a public issue and pressuring the state for social and political changes. The responses of the state to the demands of feminism for an end to male violence will be evaluated in Chapter Five. It will be evident that despite many steps, the current government response fails to address the magnitude and pervasiveness of the problem, and leaves intact the social factors and institutions which create violent men.

The feminist demand for an end to male violence has generated a response not only from the state, but also from men. How men have reacted to these demands will be the focus of Chapter Six. Many reforms have recently been attempted as groups of men gather to examine and change their image of healthy masculinity. While a relatively new phenomenon, we need to know more about men intervening to stop male violence against women. The potential of this largely untapped third force in halting male violence against women is an unknown quantity and requires examination. Yet despite the advances among some men, the massacre of fourteen women in Montreal in December 1989 attests to the strength of the male resistance to change.

While gains have been made, a tremendous amount of work remains.

In evaluating our society's response to male violence, the first six chapters will have identified the issues and social institutions that require significant change if we are to end the ancient tradition of male violence against women. Chapter Seven will provide an outline of how concerned individuals can work together to pool existing resources and end the reign of terror against women.

Before proceeding to the first chapter, it is important to outline two important parameters of this study. The first relates to the decision to focus only on the abuse perpetrated on adult victims. While many of the issues are similar between abused children and adults, there are some factors which are unique to children and it seemed best for such issues to be dealt with at another time and in another forum. Hopefully someone will do this in a context which examines the anti-child features of much of contemporary Western culture.

A second caveat involves the decision to focus specifically on the abuse perpetrated by men against women. The rationale for this was based on several points. First, when one reviews the possible permutations of female-female abuse, female-male abuse, male-male abuse, and male-female abuse, the latter is the most numerically significant of the four. Second, while male-male abuse may also be frequent, less of it occurs between acquaintances, as is often the case with male-female violence. A third consideration is that until recently male violence against women received very little attention. While we have long studied the violence men have inflicted on other men on the streets or in battle--often with the intent of documenting 'heroism' rather than eradicating violence--insufficient attention has been focussed on men

abusing women. For a long time, it was not seen as an important issue. This study is an attempt to redress the imbalance. It is hoped that the issues examined here may be of utility to researchers examining other violent dyads.

It also should be noted for whom this study was undertaken. At one level it is for all those involved in the issue of male violence against women. Thus women who have experienced some or all of the various types of male violence or the counsellors working with the female victims and male offenders will find it helpful. But the real target population for this work is the much larger and more general audience: all men. Whether they are a perpetrator of violence, a counsellor working with offenders, or a male attempting to learn about how he "became a man", the pages which follow may help men recognize in themselves the ways they have abused women, and more importantly, how to end the violence. We can no longer excuse ourselves and pretend it does not happen. All of us are responsible in some ways--even if only indirectly. Distancing ourselves from this issue will not help: only our active involvement will bring about the needed changes. The time has come. The longer we procrastinate, the more we threaten the emotional and physical well being of millions of women.

## CHAPTER ONE OUTLINE: HOW PERVASIVE IS THE PROBLEM?

### PART I: INTRODUCTION

### PART II: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### PART III: TYPES AND FREQUENCY OF ABUSE

- \* Battering
- \* Emotional Abuse
- \* Femicide
- \* Sexual Assault
  - Who Are The Victims
  - Types Of Sexual Assault
    - a. Date Rape
    - b. Marital Rape
  - Assessing The Frequency Of Sexual Assault
- \* Sexual Harassment
- \* Other Ways In Which Men Abuse Women

### PART IV: SUMMARY OF THE VARIETIES OF MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

## CHAPTER ONE: HOW PERVASIVE IS THE PROBLEM?

### PART I: INTRODUCTION

The majority of men do not recognize the fear that grips the lives of most women. Typically men are oblivious to their responsibility for creating and maintaining a large portion of that fear. While they may not be able fully to comprehend the depth of the feeling, they can no longer ignore what they are doing to the other half of the human race.

As a society, we need to start asking questions. What are the numerous ways in which men abuse women? What are the short and long term effects of experiencing a series of emotional, sexual, and physical attacks by strangers and loved ones? What is it like having to endure this reign of terror? To answer these and other questions, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first will provide a theoretical framework for connecting the seemingly disjointed variations in the way men sexually, emotionally, and physically abuse women. The second, by reviewing the contemporary literature, will outline the frequency of the major manifestations of male violence against women. Chapter Two will highlight the short and long term effects of abuse.

While we do not yet possess all the pieces of the abuse puzzle, an abundance of available information enables us to develop a fairly clear picture of the extent and effects of the problem. It is not at all pretty.

### PART II: A Theoretical Framework

For too long our society has worked to bury the issues of sexual, emotional, and physical abuse. This is not surprising as we have not



always had a lot of information for recognizing the connections. Traditionally, victims<sup>1</sup> did not feel safe enough to talk publicly, and if they chose to speak to trusted family members or friends, the issue commonly remained a closely guarded secret. Similarly, perpetrators were content to remain silent and pretend that nothing was happening. If they did discuss their abusive habits, generally the intent was to joke about how badly the surviving-victim wanted or deserved what she received. While some incidents did make it to the community grapevine, often they remained things about which people would only whisper. Such secrecy artificially reduced the perceived frequency with which crimes against women occurred and only further victimized the few unfortunate

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<sup>1</sup>. Within the literature and also segments of the women's movement, there is considerable anguish over the use of the terms victim and survivor. Those opposed to the use of the term victim typically argue that we should not, as the term tends to imply, that the individual is helpless and unable to overcome the effects of the crime. Often those using the term survivor reserve it for women who have gone through therapy to work on their abuse history. Yet this discriminates against the women that have not, for whatever reasons, sought therapy. The simple fact of being alive makes one a survivor even if in fact to have lived with the abuse a long time one had to partake in coping mechanisms others might describe as self-destructive. Those preferring the word victim do not view it to be so debilitating and argue that it acknowledges the person had a criminal act perpetrated against them that should not be forgotten.

One feminist counsellor, Anne Merrett, has proposed the use of the term "surviving victim" as a compromise of the two positions. Her term skillfully acknowledges that a woman, in fact, was victimized but also acknowledges that she has survived--even if that has required undertaking self-destructive activities. (Anne Merrett, conversation with the author, October 6, 1989).

In this study, Merrett's phrase will be used. Yet, while a significant improvement, it too does not--as Merrett acknowledges--cover all the permutations. Not all victims survive. For this reason, and for the purpose of literary variability, victim and survivor also will be used.

It also should be noted that not all victims are female. In the context of this project, however, one can assume that the gender of the victims, unless specifically stated otherwise, will be female.

women whose stories did become the talk of the town.

Such practices still exist in most parts of the world. But important changes have begun. The major catalyst has been the feminist movement of the early 1970s which established a milieu in which millions of previously silent women could talk about the pain inflicted upon them throughout their lives.<sup>2</sup> As the numbers of women speaking out continued to increase, it became evident that men do abuse women in a variety of ways--sexually, emotionally, and physically. Though often there are important issues separating the victims, common themes emerge. When male offenders convey their reasons for abusing women, typically the answers include their desire to denigrate, discredit, embarrass, hurt, use, abuse, or isolate women.<sup>3</sup> The similarity in the motives and effects helps one recognize that the various forms of abuse are all variations on a larger theme--male violence against women.

In an attempt at understanding this horrific phenomenon, there exists a popular perception that the three major varieties could be placed on a continuum with emotional and sexual abuse at the low and high ends respectively, and physical abuse in between. This approach is an important improvement on the previous tradition of ignoring

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<sup>2</sup>. The revival of feminism originated in the Western industrial countries but continues to have repercussions throughout the world. Yet its gains have not been globally uniform. Increased material wealth, greater availability of education, different religious codes, and other factors affect the national and international spread of feminism. Some women in India, for example, due to their wealth, may be significantly less oppressed than a working class woman in North America. The greater strength of feminism in First World countries is not, as it is sometimes assumed, primarily a function of First World men being more tolerant or sophisticated.

<sup>3</sup>. See, for example, Timothy Beneke, Men On Rape: What They Have To Say About Sexual Violence (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982).

crimes against women; it succeeds in linking together the many varieties of male violence. Yet the continuum concept also embodies its own theoretical and practical problems.<sup>4</sup> One of the most important is that it can trivialize some very destructive behaviours and create arbitrary divisions between victims and among offenders. What we are learning from the painful stories told by abuse victims is that physical abuse, for example, is not always more destructive than emotional abuse, nor is it always less painful than sexual abuse.

In an attempt to integrate this reality into a working theory, it would be advantageous to utilize a circular perspective that highlights, rather than ignores the links between the various forms of male violence against women and does not prioritize one form of violence before another along a linear continuum.<sup>5</sup> The major advantage of such a perspective is that it allows each individual victim to more clearly delineate her experience and not be forced to fit her experience to a theoretical perspective. The circle model more easily fits with her experience.

Clients and clinicians need to be creative in adapting this model to best illustrate each individual's history of violence. Clients could use several circles, each representing a form of emotional, physical, or sexual abuse surviving victims have experienced in their

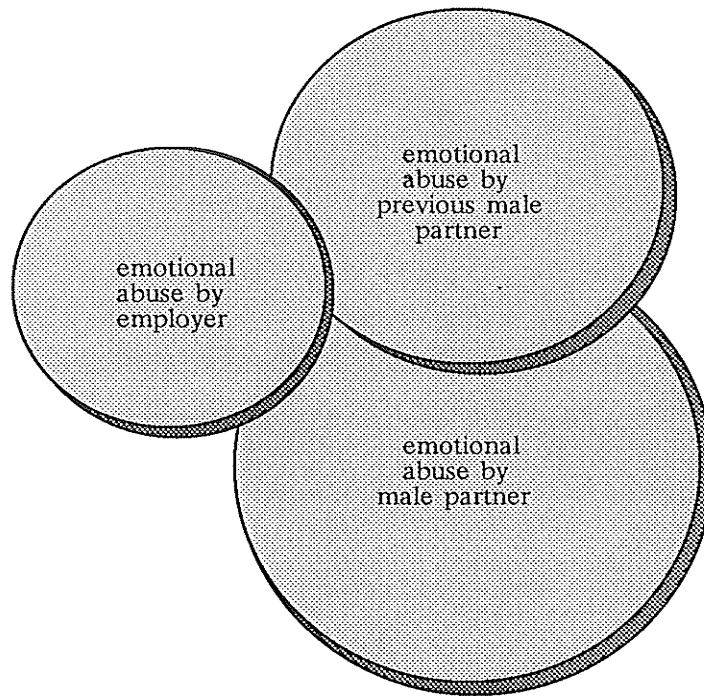
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4. For a discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of the continuum, among others, see: Liz Kelly, "The Continuum Of Sexual Violence," in Jalna Hanmer, and Mary Maynard, Women, Violence And Social Control (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1987), 46-60.

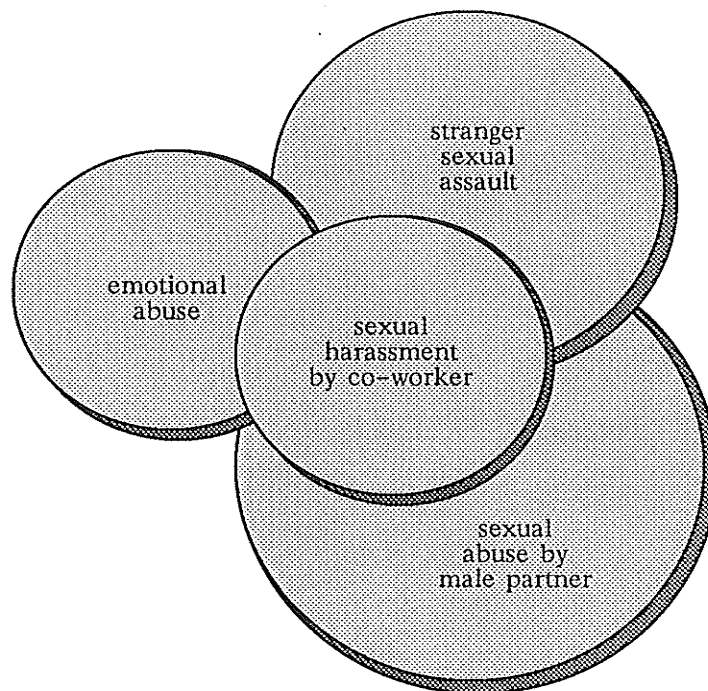
5. Ibid. Kelly, despite commenting upon the potential and real problems with the continuum, adheres to a linear format.

lives. A woman could place each circle in relation to the other to match her experience. If she perceived a significant overlap in the effects, for example, she could move the circles accordingly. Women may choose to depict the various ways in which they were abused by one offender, or her collage of circles could depict the abuse she has suffered from several men. A woman may also choose to illustrate themes. Three different drawings could represent how she feels she was abused by relatives, acquaintances, or strangers. The woman could use the drawings to represent phases of her life or to depict the major issues for her during different phases of therapy. While the results of each collage will be different for each woman, the completed image could be very powerful. In itemizing the various experiences with male violence, women can begin to notice the links between the assaults and their effects (see Figures I-1 to I-3).

The circle model's integrative approach not only helps victims clearly chart their experience but can go a long way in reformulating the popular and professional perceptions of the various forms of male violence against women as relatively distinct entities. In recognizing the links between the various types of male violence against women we can better expose, and change, that which contributes to our culture's epidemic of misogynist behaviours.



**Figure I-1:** Representation Of A Woman's Experience That Has Involved Only Emotional Abuse.



**Figure I-2:** Representation Of A Woman's Experience That Has Involved Emotional Abuse And Significant Sexual Abuse.

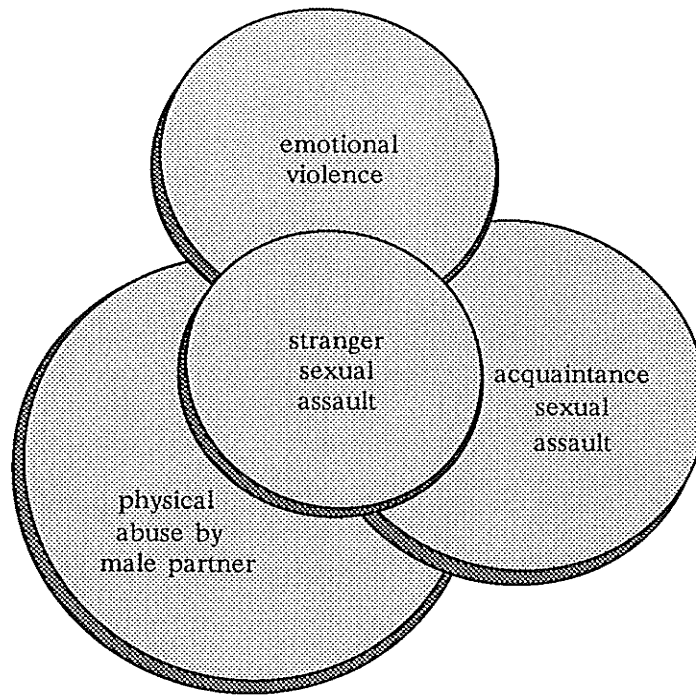


Figure 1-3: Representation Of A Woman's Experience That Has Involved Significant Levels Of Emotional, Physical, And Sexual Abuse.

### PART III: TYPES AND FREQUENCY OF ABUSE

To substantiate the theoretical proposal established in Part II, this section will examine numerous variations of male violence against women. They will be reviewed alphabetically; to do otherwise could minimize some forms of male violence that have traditionally been viewed in our society as less harmful.

BATTERING

As with all forms of abuse against women, the statistics on battering are incomplete. The reasons for this are clear enough. While reports do turn up in police files, numerous abused women do not feel it is safe to call the police. If they or a neighbor did call, many victims deny that anything was seriously wrong once the police arrive. And unless there were overt physical signs of abuse many investigating police officers would only report the incident as a simple lover's quarrel or family dispute and do nothing else. Even among police officers sympathetic to the plight of the female victim, there is a reluctance to become involved in domestic disputes; they know that of all police calls "domestics" are the ones most likely to end with an officer killed or wounded.<sup>6</sup> Hospital files are equally unreliable. Many

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<sup>6</sup>. Teuvo Peltoniemi, "Family Violence: Police House Calls in Helsinki, Finland in 1977," Victimology: An International Perspective, 5 (2-4), 1980, 213-224; Anna Kuhl, "Community Response To Battered Women," Victimology: An International Perspective, 7(1-4), 1982, 49-59; Nan Oppenlander, "Coping Or Copping Out: Police Service Delivery in Domestic Disputes," Criminology, 20(3-4), Nov 1982, 449-465; Eva Buzawa, "Police Officer Response To Domestic Violence Legislation In Michigan," Journal Of Police Science And Administration, 10(4), Dec 1982, 415-424; Charles Pelton, "Family Protection Team," Conciliation Courts Review, 21(1), Jun 1983, 87-94; Roger Loeb, "A Program Of Community Education For Dealing With Spouse Abuse," Journal Of Community Psychology, 11(3), Jul 1983, 241-252; Stephen Brown, "Police Responses To Wife Beating: Neglect of a Crime of Violence," Journal Of Criminal Justice, 12(3), 1984, 277-288; Robert Worden and Alissa Pollitz, "Police Arrests In Domestic Disturbances: A Further Look," Law And Society Review, 18 (1), 1984, 105-119; Richard Berk; Sarah Fenstermaker Berk; Phyllis Newton; and Donileen Loseke, "Cops On Call: Summoning the Police to the Scene of Spousal Violence," Law And Society Review, 18(3), 1984, 479-498; Donald Dutton, "Interventions Into The Problem Of Wife Assault: Therapeutic, Policy and Research Implications," Canadian Journal Of Behavioural Science, 16(4), Oct 1984, 281-297; Robert Homant and Daniel Kennedy, "Police Perceptions Of Spouse Abuse: A Comparison of Male and Female Officers," Journal Of Criminal Justice 13(1), 1985, 29-47; Daniel Bell, "Domestic Violence: Victimization, Police Intervention, and Disposition," Journal Of Criminal Justice, 13(6), 1985, 524-534; Dale

women in serious need of immediate medical attention avoid health care institutions. They know the social stigma against battered women and fear discovery. One wonders how many broken bones mend improperly at home because the woman was too afraid to go to a hospital.

Despite their incompleteness, the statistics on battering allow us to know that the lives of many women are filled with terror and a frequent and frightening series of violent episodes.

\* In Canada it is estimated that 800,000 women are beaten in their homes each year.<sup>7</sup> This is approximately equivalent to 1 in 10 women in a marriage or marital-type relationship.

\* An October 1988 Gallup poll found that 23 percent of Canadians personally know a woman who has been assaulted by her spouse.<sup>8</sup>

\* A US study by Murray Straus, revealed that 1.8 million women each year are beaten by men with whom they are in a relationship.

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Buchanan and Patricia Perry, "Attitudes Of Police Recruits Towards Domestic Disturbances: An Evaluation of Family Crisis Intervention Training," Journal Of Criminal Justice, 13(6), 1985, 561-572; Gary Bowen and Andrea Sedlak, "Toward A Domestic Violence Surveillance System: Issues and Prospects," Response To The Victimization Of Women And Children, 8 (3), Sum 1985, 2-7; Pam Waaland and Stuart Keeley, "Police Decision Making In Wife Abuse: The Impact of Legal and Extralegal Factors," Law And Human Behavior, 9(4), Dec 1985, 355-366; Carole Bandy, Dale Buchanan, and Cynthia Pinto, "Police Performance In Resolving Family Disputes: What Makes The Difference?" Psychological Reports, 58(3), Jun 1986, 743-756; Ronald Dolon, James Hendricks, and M. Steven Meagher, "Police Practices And Attitudes Toward Domestic Violence," Journal Of Police Science And Administration, 14(3), Sep 1986, 187-192; and Wayne Anderson and Barbara Bauer, "Law Enforcement Officers: The Consequences of Exposure to Violence," Journal Of Counseling And Development, 65(7), Mar 1987, 381-384.

<sup>7</sup>. Janet Bagnall, "Wife Beaters: Few Culprits Undergo Therapy; Even Fewer Give Up Violence," Montreal Gazette, Nov 16, 1987.

<sup>8</sup>. Marcia Kaye, "The Battle Against Men Who Batter," Canadian Living, 15(8), 45-46, 48, 50, 52-53.



While sizeable, Straus notes this figure does not include the increasing number of unmarried women that are also susceptible to abuse. Straus's figure also masks the frequency of abuse; how many of these women were struck once while others were hit repeatedly?"

\* US FBI figures indicate that a married woman is beaten every 30 seconds in the US. This translates into 2,880 women beaten every day or 1,051,200 every year. The researchers note this is a conservative figure and estimate that 28 percent of all couples experience violence in their relationship.<sup>10</sup>

\* Lenore Walker estimates that there is a 50 percent chance that any woman has been battered.<sup>11</sup>

\* An increasing number of women dating or in the early stages of a relationship are being physically abused by their male partners.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>. Murray Straus, "Wife-Beating: How Common and Why?" in Murray Straus and Gerald Hotaling (eds.), The Social Causes Of Husband-Wife Violence (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 23-36.

<sup>10</sup>. William Stacey, and Anson Shupe, The Family Secret: Domestic Violence in America (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983), 2-3, cited in Connie Guberman and Margie Wolfe, No Safe Place: Violence Against Women and Children (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1985), 44.

<sup>11</sup>. Lenore Walker, The Battered Woman (New York: Harper & Row, Pub., 1979), 19, quoted in Maureen Pirog-Good, and Jan Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs: A National Survey," Response: to the Victimization of Women and Children, 8(3), Sum 1985, 8-12.

<sup>12</sup>. For material on dating physical violence see: Rosemarie B. Bogal-Allbritten and William L. Allbritten, "The Hidden Victims: Courtship Violence Among College Students," Journal of College Student Personnel, 26(3), May 1985, 201-204; Kimball Austin Millar and Elaine King Miller, "Self-Reported Incidence of Physical Violence in College Students," Journal of American College Health, 32(2), Oct 1983, 63-65; Nona K. O'Keeffe, Karen Brockopp, and Esther Chew, "Teen Dating Violence," Social Work, 31(6), Nov-Dec 1986, 465-468; Carol K. Sigelman, Carol J. Berry, and Katharine A. Wiles, "Violence in College Students' Dating Relationships," Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 14(6),

Like many of their married counterparts, these women hope that the violence will end and often ignore that the frequency and severity of the attacks generally increase over time.<sup>13</sup>

\* Not surprisingly, men--even when asked--underreport their levels and frequency of violence.<sup>14</sup>

\* Abusive men show a marked tendency to attribute their violence to external factors. While their wives may recognize that the anger was internally generated, the men were more likely to believe it was due to their situation or something or someone in their environment.<sup>15</sup>

\* Men who are violent toward their female partners frequently abuse alcohol or drugs. One study by Frances Fitch and Andre Papan-  
tonio found alcohol and drug abuse rates of 59 percent and 18 percent

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Nov-Dec 1984, 530-548; William J. Mathews, "Violence In College Couples," College Student Journal, 18(2), Sum 1984, 150-158; Bruce Roscoe and Nancy Benaske, "Courtship Violence Experienced By Abused Wives: Similarities in Patterns of Abuse," Family Relations, 34(3), Jul 1985, 419-424; James M. Makepeace, "Life Events Stress and Courtship Violence," Family Relations, 32(1), Jan 1983, 101-109; and Bruce Roscoe and Tammy Kelsey, "Dating Violence Among High School Students," Psychology, 23(1), 1986, 53-59.

<sup>13</sup>. Walker, Battered Woman, Chapter 3: "The Cycle Theory Of Violence", 55-77.

<sup>14</sup>. Ernest N. Jouriles and K. Daniel O'Leary, "Interspousal Reliability of Reports of Marital Violence," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53-3, Jun 1985, 419-421; and Jeffrey Edleson and Mary Pat Brygger, "Gender Differences In Reporting Of Battering Incidences," Family Relations, 35(3), Jul 1986, 377-382.

<sup>15</sup>. Nancy M. Shields and Christine R. Hanneke, "Attribution Processes in Violent Relationships: Perceptions of Violent Husbands and their Wives," Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 13-6, Nov-Dec 1983, 515-527.

respectively.<sup>16</sup> Another, by Patricia Eberle, found that only 16 percent of the batterers used alcohol excessively during the test period and that 65 percent showed an inconsistent pattern of use, no use, or some use.<sup>17</sup> Kenneth Leonard et. al. found among a community based sample of blue-collar workers, a higher percentage of battering among those with alcohol problems than among those without.<sup>18</sup> These variations in the literature are changing the previous belief that violence is a result of excessive alcohol consumption. While often involved in violent incidents alcohol does not cause male violence.<sup>19</sup>

\* Domestic violence is not restricted to the poor. One study revealed that at least 10 percent of professional men beat their wives. The exact numbers are unknown as financial status can keep one out of the statistics. One can avoid the places where researchers often collect data such as state funded shelters and counselling centres and instead stay in hotels and seek private therapy.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>. Frances J. Fitch, and Andre Papantonio, "Men Who Batter: Some Pertinent Characteristics." The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 171-3, Mar 1983, 190-192.

<sup>17</sup>. Patricia Eberle, "Alcohol Abusers and Non-Users: A Discriminant Analysis of Differences Between Two Subgroups of Batterers," Journal of Health and Social Behaviour, 23-3, Sep 1982, 260-271.

<sup>18</sup>. Kenneth E. Leonard, Evelyn J. Bromet, David K. Parkinson, Nancy L. Day, and Christopher M. Ryan, "Patterns of Alcohol Use and Physically Aggressive Behaviour in Men," Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 48-4, Jul 1985, 279-282.

<sup>19</sup>. Jeanne P. Deschner, The Hitting Habit: Anger Control for Battering Couples (New York: The Free Press, 1984), 31; and Lewis Okun, Woman Abuse: Facts Replacing Myths (New York: State University of New York, 1986), 57-58.

<sup>20</sup>. Anastasia Toufexis, "Home Is Where The Hurt Is," Time, 130-25, Dec 21, 1987; and Linda MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten: Preventing Wife Battering in Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the

\* The major sources of conflict between men and women center on three main issues--possessiveness and jealousy, money, and domestic labour.<sup>21</sup>

\* Police response affects offender recidivism. One study conducted by the Minneapolis Police Department found that of the batterers who received only counselling from the police, 35 percent reoffended within six months. Among the batterers that were arrested, however, only 19 percent beat their wives again within six months.<sup>22</sup> A Canadian study revealed slightly less favourable results: from 75 to 100 percent of violent men are non-abusive while in treatment but in four months, the rate drops to between 50 and 60 percent.<sup>23</sup>

\* While one 1985 US nationwide study<sup>24</sup> found that men and women attack each other in roughly equivalent numbers, and it is not uncommon for men to talk about being abused by their wives, such findings and statements need to be placed in a social context. Without minimizing violence by women against men, one should remain critical of offender's self reports for several reasons. First, while there may be similarities in the numbers of attacks, between 75 and 98 percent of the

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Status of Women, June 1987), 21.

<sup>21</sup>. R. Emerson Dobash, and Russell P. Dobash, "The Nature And Antecedents Of Violent Events," British Journal of Criminology, 24-3, July 1984, 269-288.

<sup>22</sup>. Barbara Mathias, "Lifting The Shade On Family Violence," Family Therapy Networker, 10-3, May-Jun 1986, 20-29.

<sup>23</sup>. The research was conducted by the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, Health and Welfare Canada and was noted in Janet Bagnall, "Wife Beater," The Gazette, Nov 16, 1987.

<sup>24</sup>. The unnamed study was referred to in Toufaxis "Home," Time, 130-25, Dec 21, 1987.

attacks by women against men are retaliatory--they are trying to fight back or defend themselves against their partners.<sup>25</sup> Second, a woman who has been repeatedly abused by her male partner, and knows that he is heading toward a violent episode, may try to precipitate, rather than continue waiting, for the violence. Third, women generally are smaller than men and therefore probably inflict less physical harm. Fourth, even if the man and woman are of similar physical stature, generally the woman is not as practiced at using her physical strength in fighting and thus may overestimate her potential. It is also the case that if a man is abused, statistically he is less likely to be financially dependent.<sup>26</sup>

\* Many male batterers suffer from serious self-esteem problems. Regrettably, rather than deal with their issues, they take it out on their female partners.<sup>27</sup> A study by Diane Goldstein and Alan Rosenbaum supported the association between low self esteem and battering, but also demonstrated that abusive husbands were more likely to perceive their wives actions as threatening to their self-concepts.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>. The two estimates, respectively, are from Toufaxis, "Home," Time, 130-25, Dec 21, 1987; and Daniel Saunders, "When Battered Women Use Violence: Husband-Abuse or Self Defense?" Violence And Victims, 1(1), Spr 1986, 46-60.

<sup>26</sup>. Toufaxis, "Home," Time, 130-25, Dec 21, 1987.

<sup>27</sup>. Peter H. Neidig, Dale H. Freidman, and Barbara S. Collins, "Attitudinal Characteristics Of Males Who Have Engaged In Spouse Abuse," Journal of Family Violence, 1-3, 1986, 223-23.

<sup>28</sup>. Diane Goldstein and Alan Rosenbaum, "An Evaluation of the Self-Esteem of Maritally Violent Men," Family Relations, 35, Jul 1985, 425-428.

\* Batterers tend to be less expressive than their female partners. While most men are socialized not to convey a very wide range of emotions, a batterer's communication skills--and his willingness to use them--appear even more restricted. Most batterers report a difficulty identifying their emotions when they do occur. While accurate, we must not ignore how functional such inexpressiveness can be in maintaining power within the family. Other family members are compelled to keep guessing what the man wants or needs and attempting to provide it in the vain hope that a violent incident can be avoided.<sup>29</sup>

\* Many are very quick to blame the victim for the assaults. Gertrude Summers and Nina Feldman found that bystanders, upon viewing various violent encounters, blamed the women directly in relation to the supposed intimacy of the relationship. The more intimate the relationship, the more the woman was held responsible for the violence.<sup>30</sup>

\* While battering levels tend to be higher in second marriages than in first, this is not simply a function of the increased complexity often associated with second marriages. It is the experiences and coping mechanisms of the individuals before the marriage that influence

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<sup>29</sup>. J. Balswick, and C. Peek, "The Inexpressive Male: A Tragedy of American Society," Family Coordinator, 20, 1971, 363-368; A.L. Ganley, and L. Harris, "Domestic Violence: Issues in Designing and Implementing Programs for Male Batterers," Paper presented at American Psychological Association meeting, Toronto, 1978; J. Balswick, "The Inexpressive Male: Functional Conflict and Role Theory as Contrasting Explanations," Family Coordinator, 28, 1979, 331-336; B.E. Carlson, "Battered Women And Their Assailants," Social Work, 22, 1977, 455-468, cited in James Ponzetti; Rodney Cate; and James Koval, "Violence Between Couples: Profiling the Male Abuser," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 61-4, Dec 1982, 222-224.

<sup>30</sup>. Gertrude Summers, and Nina S. Feldman, "Blaming The Victim Versus The Blaming The Perpetrator: An Attributional Analysis of Spouse Abuse," Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 2-4, 1984, 339-347.

the levels of violence.<sup>31</sup>

\* The length of time one has been in a relationship does not guarantee that one will not be physically abused by one's partner. Some women experience their first physically violent incident after years of physical non-violence; others are battered shortly after meeting the individual; while some women are battered on their wedding night. The research, while displaying a wide range, does indicate that most violence begins within the first 5 years of a relationship.<sup>32</sup>

\* The evidence on the age of the abuser is contradictory. Straus et al, and the US National Crime Survey found the rates highest among offenders under 30. Gelles found the most violence among men between 41 and 50 years, while O'Brien obtained 64 percent of his reports of abuse in couples that had been partnered for 13 to 37 years.<sup>33</sup> Thus there do not seem to be periods when men will not be violent if they are physically capable.

\* Size of the abuser is not a factor determining whether abuse may occur. Abusers seldom look the type. They need not be the muscular, brawny, young, working class stereotype. Batterers can be paunchy, balding, business executives in three piece suits. The traditional stereotype serves to mask violent middle and upper class men. A second

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<sup>31</sup>. Debra Kalmuss, and Judith A. Seltzer, "Continuity Of Marital Behaviour In Remarriage: The Case of Spouse Abuse," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 48-1, Feb 1986, 113-120.

<sup>32</sup>. Lewis Okun, Woman Abuse: Facts Replacing Myths (New York: State University of New York, 1986), 49.

<sup>33</sup>. For more on the contradictions in the literature see Okun, Woman Abuse, 42-43.

stereotype that batterers are alien or demented in their physical appearance, only serves to further remove the possibility that the guy next door beats his wife.

\* There are certain situations, locations, or times of the day when a man is statistically more likely to become physically violent to his female partner. Richard Gelles, notes the following:

1. The typical location of marital violence is the kitchen. The bedroom and living room are the next most likely scenes of violence.
2. The bedroom is the most likely place for a female to be killed. Here conflicts often occur at night, when there is no place to go.
3. The bathroom is the most frequently occupied room during an assaultive incident. This is typically the room in the house that always has a lock and is often used as a refuge.
4. Marital couples most often engage in physical conflict between 8:00 p.m. and 11:30 p.m.
5. Marital violence is more frequent when neither spouse works outside of the home, or when they work on alternating shifts.
6. Dinnertime is a particularly dangerous time of the day because of the accumulation of frustration by the end of the day.
7. Weekends are more conducive to domestic violence than weekdays.
8. Holidays, such as Christmas or New Year's Eve, are notable 'trouble times'.<sup>34</sup>

The work of Gelles and others shatters the notion that the home is a safe place--at least for women. It appears more likely that the home is where men are relatively free to rule as they please. And judging from the statistics reviewed above, for an alarming number of men this

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<sup>34</sup>. Richard J. Gelles, "No Place To Go: The Social Dynamics of Marital Violence", in Maria Roy (ed.), Battered Women (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977), 46-62, quoted in Connie Guberman and Margie Wolfe (eds.), No Safe Place: Violence Against Women and Children, Toronto: The Women's Press, 1985, 46.



involves the use of physical violence. Yet, seldom do they stop with just one form of violence. They may also be emotionally abusive.

### EMOTIONAL ABUSE

How many generations of children have grown up singing the nursery rhyme "sticks and stones may break my bones but names will never hurt me"? One still hears it today. Every child hoped that it would ward off the harmful effects of the names hurled at them. We knew they hurt, but the adults told us to ignore the pain and pretend otherwise. Generally, we were not given the permission to assert ourselves. But somewhere along the way, as we were growing up, this generic message was turned into two very different ones. Little boys increasingly were encouraged to stand up and say no to any insults even if that meant being emotionally abusive in return. While physical fighting may have been frowned upon in some families or social classes, often it was tolerated, if not encouraged. After all, "boys will be boys". For girls, however, there was a powerful cultural impediment that restricted their freedom to speak. Girls had to be "nice". Many words that were acceptable coming out of a boys mouth were forbidden for a girl. Physical contact also was unthinkable as one would not want the young lady to mess her fine clothes or reputation. What made this double standard worse was that it continued and was strengthened as the young girl matured. If she wanted to be a good wife, for example, she was told to defer to her husband on most issues.

This dichotic socialization process is not limited to the distant past. Emotionally abusive actions are an integral part of contemporary

culture. Slowly we are recognizing that emotional abuse is not accidental and that one of its primary functions is to keep a specific group--in this instance, women--stereotyped and subservient. Interestingly, relative to physical and sexual abuse, our society most often trivializes the negative effects of emotional abuse. This may explain why it appears to be the most acceptable form of male violence against women and the variety with which men appear to be the least discriminating. While statistically men are more likely to sexually assault an acquaintance, or physically abuse only their relationship partners, the same limits do not exist when it comes to emotional abuse. All women are targets; wives, dates, friends, co-workers, even anonymous women on the street.

While some might argue that too little research has been done on the effects of emotional violence, we must not let this claim be used to block any changes in our society until a sufficient number of studies have been completed. If we listen to women talking about their past experiences, we learn that emotional abuse can be extremely traumatic. For many, it may be too traumatic, even more devastating than other forms of abuse. Lenore Walker, in her interviews with battered women, found that the attacks on self-esteem were the most hurtful and debilitating effects of their abuse.<sup>39</sup>

It may be fairly easy to define emotional abuse as "behaviour sufficiently threatening to the woman so that she believes her capacity to work, to interact in the family or society, or to enjoy good physical

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<sup>39</sup>. Walker, Battered Woman, 1979, cited in Richard Stordeur, and Richard Stille, Ending Men's Violence Toward Their Partners: One Road To Peace (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Pub., 1989), 223.

or mental health, has been or might be threatened".<sup>36</sup> Yet, in many day to day situations, it is more difficult to know when one is emotionally abused. Even if a person's perceptive skills have been heightened, emotional abuse can remain something intangible. Commonly, we are disarmed and vulnerable to the damaging words or actions of others. The subtlety with which emotional abuse can be delivered encourages people to minimize the potentially longlasting and devastating effects. This contrasts sharply with sexual assault and battering, for example, where the attack generally is very identifiable. Emotional abusers can be covert; the criticisms often feel too subtle or insignificant to quibble about, but are denigrating enough to hurt, and the effects can be cumulative.

Yet subtlety is not the only factor explaining why emotional abuse can be so devastating. Emotional abuse can also be blatant, yet the victim still may not protest. If a woman has matured in a familial or social context where women accept such treatment, it is less likely she is going to openly question the status quo and confront the abuser. The magnitude of the problem is compounded since emotional abuse is generated not only by individuals but through several institutions. A prime example is the pornography industry (see below Chapter Three). The massive increase in the availability of pornographic material is a horrifying trend.<sup>37</sup> It is equivalent to having hate literature available at your corner store. Women are portrayed in the most limited of

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<sup>36</sup>. Pat Hoffman. "Psychological Abuse Of Women By Spouses And Live-In Lovers," Women and Therapy, 3-1, Spr 1984, 37.

<sup>37</sup>. Not A Love Story: A Film About Pornography, National Film Board of Canada, Studio D, 1981.

roles--always wanting sex and often enjoying violence. Depicting women in this manner initiates some very negative repercussions. Among others, it limits a woman's capacity to believe she can be other than the seductress of the porno films or feel she may be valued for rejecting this role.

Emotional abuse may take numerous other forms. One example is a husband putting down his wife in public throughout their marriage. When the couple socialized, for example, the woman might have been the brunt of supposedly humorous jokes or teasing, or had to listen while her husband regaled the assembled acquaintances about the five most recent examples proving she was stupid, fat, unattractive, or not interested in sex. Though the content may have differed each time they went out, for that woman the process and effects could remain much the same. Over time, if she did not assert herself and demand a revision of the dynamics of their relationship, it is likely that she would suffer a reduction in her self-esteem and assertiveness, and she could become less skilled at knowing what it was she needed for herself to feel positive, happy, and self-satisfied.

An insidious yet often ignored example of emotional abuse is when a woman goes to do a task and a man quickly rushes to do it for her. While his motives may be well intentioned, he needs to recognize that in not letting her do things for herself, he is reducing her sense of autonomy and independence. If this happens repeatedly--as it often does for women in our society who want to open a door, change a flat tire, adjust the idle on their carburetor, or enter a traditionally

male profession--a sense of learned helplessness can be induced.<sup>38</sup> With time, the individual can begin to believe that she is incapable of accomplishing these and other tasks.<sup>39</sup>

There are numerous other ways in which men can be emotionally violent. They may refuse to express their feelings; ignore their partner's response or cut them off in mid sentence; sulk; refuse to talk; withdraw affection or sex to punish; threaten to end the relationship; tell other people untrue or secret things about their partner; insist their female partner is demented, evil, or crazy; create exhaustion or dependency; give occasional rewards for obedience; block any desire or attempts to work or study outside the home; enforce social isolation; enforce trivial demands; or embarrass or proposition their partner's friends.<sup>40</sup> The emotional abuse can result in the woman hiding for several hours, trying to avoid her partner. Many women even ask to be

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<sup>38</sup>. Walker, The Battered Woman, 42-54.

<sup>39</sup>. The process of repeatedly and, often, subtly emotionally abusing people so that it results in a reduction in their self-esteem, often to the point of its extinction, is not limited to women. Individuals do the same with children. A child that is unremittingly told they are bad or stupid, may begin to believe it. All of us have scars from our childhood that impair our ability to function as happy, healthy, confident, and assertive adults. For many children, the abuse has been too extensive, the wounds too deep. Every year, thousands of adolescents kill themselves before reaching adulthood, while many of the survivors are severely emotionally handicapped.

<sup>40</sup>. Examples were culled from Klinik Community Health Centre, Evolve: Men's Program Intake Form (Winnipeg: Klinik, Inc., 1989), Part B-5; and Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 237. Stordeur and Stille adopted theirs from Biderman's Chart of Coercion presented originally in an Amnesty International publication.

beaten "to end the unbearable tension and uncertainty."<sup>41</sup>

Numerous women are repeatedly threatened with weapons. While there may not be any physical abuse, and the threats may occur with a startling regularity, this usually does not result in a diminished effect on the victim. Straus et al. have found that at least 190,000 US men each year threaten their female partners with a gun or knife, and that 144,000 male partners shoot, stab, or shoot at their female partners, on average, over five times each.<sup>42</sup>

Pat Hoffman<sup>43</sup>, in one of the few studies to date, interviewed twenty-five self-identified psychological abuse victims of husbands or live-in lovers. She discovered something particularly important; nineteen of the men criticized their partner's point of strength. If a woman excelled at cooking, she was told her food was terrible. If she was creative at decorating, she was told things looked awful and did not match. Hoffman recognizes that having something in which we take pride denigrated is extremely devastating. It creates more dissonance. All of us know our weaknesses and can expect criticism around those issues. But the effect is more traumatic when something about which we are very proud is ridiculed.

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<sup>41</sup>. Frances Purdy and Norm Nickle, "Practice Principles For Working With Groups Of Men Who Batter," Social Work With Groups, 4(1981), 111-122, cited in Jeffrey Edleson, "Working With Men Who Batter," Social Work, 29, May-Jun 1984, 237-242.

<sup>42</sup>. Murray Straus, "Wife Beating: How Common and Why?" Victimology, 2(3-4), 443-459 cited in Okun, Woman Abuse, 38,130.

<sup>43</sup>. Hoffman, "Psychological Abuse," Women And Therapy, 3-1, Spr 1984, 37-47.

Seldom were the women immediately affected by the insults; most could not pinpoint when they began adopting some of the abuser's perceptions of their abilities. All stated that the longer the abuse continued, the more they were likely to believe what they heard. Similarly, the women were repeatedly told that the relationship they were in was the best they would ever get. Seventeen of the women in the study left the relationship when the situation seemed unbearable. Significantly, however, women only left the situation once they were concerned about the mental health of their children or had established important supports through friends at work. This evidence reinforces the need for social and community supports if women are going to be able to leave abusive relationships.

Eight of the women in Hoffman's study had extreme physical effects from the abuse. In three of these cases the women suspected they had a brain tumour, five were suffering extreme gastrointestinal difficulties. Four of the eight women had seen a neurologist who had been unable to find anything physiologically wrong, suspected psychological abuse, and referred them for an appropriate counselling follow-up.

Hoffman makes reference to the similarities in responses between the women in her studies and the hostages examined by Jenkins (1981) and Hatcher (1981). The women Hoffman studied wanted to speak out, but were afraid to tell their stories. Often it was too painful or they were afraid nobody would listen. This was understandable. All of the women had seen a physician or psychologist for symptoms related to the abuse. The women seeing the former were given anti-depressants for their nervous conditions. None of the psychologists the women saw

informed them that they may be suffering from psychological abuse, nor did any pursue the nature of the relationship with the abusive men. Pill-pushing psychiatrists and physicians are often following the "easy" way out, and are themselves engaged in a type of abuse of women.

At the time Hoffman's article went to press, two of the women were continuing to have severe anxiety attacks despite being in new relationships. Responses included hyperventilating, extreme depression, fear, and dissociative disorders. Flashbacks often impaired a woman's ability to separate her new and old relationships. For many women the longer term effects made it difficult to choose appropriate actions.

Seven women had chosen to stay in their relationships at the time of the article. Hoffman expressed concern for their emotional and physical well being. Not surprisingly the women who stayed in their abusive relationships did not report an improvement in their emotional state, while all women who left reported a significant improvement. Hoffman also found that a woman's positive rating increased in proportion to the length of time she had been away.<sup>44</sup>

#### FEMICIDE

When one examines reports about homicide in various countries, the statistics are often not broken down according to the sex of the victim and are without an explanation outlining the context in which the murders occurred. This is another example of how abuse toward women is

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<sup>44</sup>. Ibid. For an excellent examination of the effect of the female socialization process on women, and how to overcome it, see Linda Tschirhart Sanford and Mary Ellen Donovan, Women And Self-Esteem: Understanding and Improving the Way We Think and Feel About Ourselves, New York: Penguin Books, 1988.



ignored or trivialized and how women are written out of human history. While it is important to know that the homicide rate has increased by a certain percent over a specified time period, such figures are not very helpful. If we are to identify and implement the social policy changes needed to reduce the number dead, we need to know who is being killed, why, and in what context. Increasing numbers of researchers are arguing for a revision in our data collection in order to make women's experiences visible in the statistics.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the need for improvements in information gathering systems, the available figures are disconcerting:

\* Women are the victims of spousal murder in 52 percent of the incidents, with the husband in the remaining 48 percent.<sup>46</sup> Husbands are six to seven times more likely than their wives to have initiated the violence in the setting that eventually lead to the woman's death. Another study found that approximately 9 percent of wives murdered were killed after they had initiated violence, compared to 60 percent of the husbands killed in "victim precipitated" murders.<sup>47</sup>

\* The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics indicates that of the 210 solved domestic homicides in 1987, more than one-third involved the

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<sup>45</sup>. Among others see Deborah Cameron and Elizabeth Frazer, The Lust To Kill: A Feminist Investigation of Sexual Murder (New York: New York University Press, 1987), 5.

<sup>46</sup>. M. Wolfgang, "Family Violence And Criminal Behaviour," Bulletin Of American Academy Of Psychiatry And The Law, 4, 1976, 316-327, cited in George Barnard; Hernan Vera; Maria Vera, and Gustave Newman, "Till Death Do Us Part: A Study of Spouse Murder," Bulletin Of The American Academy Of Psychiatry And The Law, 10(4), 1982, 271-280.

<sup>47</sup>. Dobash and Dobash, "Wives: The 'Appropriate' Victims of Marital Violence"; Martin, Battered Wives, cited in Okun, Woman Abuse, 36.

murder of a woman by her husband. They also note that of the 16 per cent of cases where the husband was killed, many of the wives were acting in self-defence.<sup>48</sup>

\* Specific structural appeasers of male violence also need to be exposed. One American study found that in 85 percent of domestic homicide cases the police had been called for help at least once, and in 50 percent of such cases, the authorities had been called at least 5 times prior to the murder.

\* The list of serial killers is noticeably absent of female offenders; women comprise the majority of the victims. From Jack the Ripper to the Yorkshire Ripper or Ted Bundy it is women who repeatedly are the victims. Deborah Cameron and Elizabeth Frazer argue that to examine the issue of serial murderers without also examining gender issues is to miss one of the central problems--it is men that are more likely to kill.<sup>49</sup> Elizabeth Stanko notes the significant degree to which such murders remind all women of their vulnerability to attack and the limited effectiveness of the state to protect them.<sup>50</sup>

\* Many Third World women are at risk because of various remaining misogynist traditions. Suttee--though outlawed in 1829--remains one of the most intransigent. It is a Hindu ritual in which a widow is burned alive on her husband's funeral pyre. Since 1947, 22 cases have been

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<sup>48</sup>. Kaye, "Battle Against Men," 45-46, 48, 50, 52-53.

<sup>49</sup>. Cameron and Frazer, Lust To Kill, 1987.

<sup>50</sup>. Elizabeth Stanko, Intimate Intrusions: Women's Experience of Male Violence (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).

reported, with the incidence increasing in the more recent period.<sup>51</sup>

\* A newer variety of femicide recently has been made possible due to advances in medical technology. Amniocentesis, a procedure usually used for determining if a fetus has genetic defects, reveals the sex of the fetus. Many Indian medical clinics have run adds saying, "Boy or girl, know the sex of your unborn child." The result has been the large scale abortion of baby girls which are considered a severe liability in India--women who deliver girls lose social status and the parents later will have to pay a substantial dowry to marry her off. One study in Bombay of 8,000 abortions following amniocentesis in 1986 revealed that all but one were performed on female fetuses.<sup>52</sup>

The custom of aborting female fetuses is fueled, among other things, by dowry-burning, another illegal, misogynist custom. The groom and his family often threaten the bride's family with the death of their daughter unless they pay handsomely. Typically the threat is repeated and the ransom raised each time. When the money, jewels, appliances, and sometimes cars are not forthcoming, the woman often ends up dead. The official statistics are that five Indian women are murdered each day in this fashion; activists groups contend that there may be ten for every reported murder.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>. Canadian Council on Social Development, "The Global Injustice: Family Violence and What's Being Done About It--Around the World," Vis-A-Vis: A National Newsletter on Family Violence, 7(1), 1-2.

<sup>52</sup>. Canadian Council on Social Development, "Global Injustice," 7(1), 8-9.

<sup>53</sup>. Ibid.

\* Third World countries do not have a monopoly on femicide. North American newspapers provide a continuous supply of death reports. Often without much of an accompanying story, the facts of the life snuffed out are a painful, but daily, fare. Here are some examples from the San Francisco Bay area:

Janet Ann Taylor (age 21): Strangled and dumped by the side of the road in San Mateo County.

Mariko Sato (age 25): Stabbed, hacked and shot. Her body was stripped from the waist down, wrapped in a blanket and stuffed in a trunk in a San Francisco apartment.

Darlene Maxwell (age 28): Tied at the neck, wrists, and ankles with a rope. Gagged with her own underwear, strangled and left in an industrial area of San Francisco. Her body was not identified for 2 days after being found.

Betty Jean Keith (age 25-30): Stabbed in the throat and left in the water off Richmond sometime between midnight and 5 a.m. Her body was found the same day, but not identified for three days.

Mary E. Robinson (age 23) Stabbed eighteen times by her boyfriend. 'She called me a coward,' he said. 'She said I was afraid to fight for my rights.' San Francisco.

Lucy Ann Gilbride (age 52): Slashed and clubbed to death in her home in San Rafael....

Diane David (age 36): Beaten, tied, gagged, and stabbed, and left in her apartment in San Francisco

Arlis Perry (age 19): Stabbed, strangled. Raped with alter candles in a church on the Stanford campus. She had been stripped from the waist down.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>. Witness 1: U.S.A. "Violence Against Women", in Diana E.H. Russell and Nicole Van de Ven (compilers and editors), Crimes Against Women: Proceedings of the International Tribunal (East Palo Alto, CA: Frog in the Well, 1976, 144-146. The word "femicide" was coined by Carol Orlock and the list of femicide cases was compiled by Louise Merrill from various San Francisco newspapers.

One need not live in the San Francisco area to be exposed to such horrors; they are a common part of our society. Such murderers are rarely as crazy as we might like to think; nor is the occurrence of these crimes as rare as we might hope. And even if they were, the fear of being a victim is an important element of social control that severely restricts a woman's sense of freedom in her society.<sup>55</sup> That men are not taking to the streets to end these crimes against women, or thoroughly understanding women's legitimate fears, implicates even those who have not yet committed femicide.<sup>56</sup> But as women know, femicide is not the only form of male violence they need to fear.

#### SEXUAL ASSAULT

For the purpose of this work the following definition is used:

Unconsented use or attempted use of a woman's body (kissing, fondling, or sexual intercourse) due to her being forced, emotionally or physically threatened, drugged, unconscious, or in some way made physically helpless.<sup>57</sup>

Definitions, however, are only a starting point. One needs to examine who are the most likely victims, the various types of sexual assaults, and the frequency with which women have to contend with this violent crime.

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<sup>55</sup>. Stanko, Intimate Intrusions, 1985.

<sup>56</sup>. Witness 1, in Russell and Van de Ven, Crimes Against Women, 144-146.

<sup>57</sup>. This is a reworked and expanded version of Diana Russell's definition. See Diana Russell, Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Sexual Abuse, and Workplace Harassment, Vol. 155 Sage Library of Social Research (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1985), 67.

### Who Are The Victims?

To be a victim of sexual assault one does not need to be young or old. Victims reported to police have ranged in age from children several days old to seniors well into their 90s. Victims need not be stereotypically attractive, blond haired or brown, tall or short, thin or fat, wearing the clothes of a stripper or those of a nun, have sight, speech or hearing. One need not be able to walk, run, or even crawl. One does not have to be on the street, or locked within the house. If a woman is on the street, she will likely need to prompt bystander assistance. If she is fortunate they may call the police, but bystanders seldom physically intervene.<sup>88</sup>

Many people think women should be afraid of strangers; yet sexual assaults by acquaintances occur more frequently than those by strangers. It is a woman's coworker, boss, neighbor, lawyer, doctor, classmate, plumber, priest, and emotional partner that she most needs to fear. Women who have been sexually assaulted by an acquaintance are less likely to seek counselling, get medical attention, or report to the police. Victims of the "classic" sexual assault, involving a violent attack by a stranger, are most likely to report to the police as they see themselves as true crime victims. Women who feel the criminal justice system is not very effective or likely to take their report very seriously are less likely to report. From this one can anticipate that Native, Black, Hispanic, Asian and other North American minorities--particularly if they are in the working class--are less

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<sup>88</sup>. R. Lance Shotland and Charles A. Stebbins, "Bystander Response To Rape: Can A Victim Attract Help?" Journal of Applied Social Psychology, Vol. 10(6), 1980, 510-527.

likely to report or get help. In summary, a person need not be anything in particular; not even female, though that increases the probability of being assaulted. Just being near men statistically increases the likelihood of one being sexually assaulted. Even the dead are sexually assaulted.<sup>59</sup>

#### Types Of Sexual Assault

It is a myth that there is only one type of sexual assault; the stranger jumping out of the bushes at night and assaulting a randomly

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<sup>59</sup>. K. Edward Renner and Carol Wackett, "Sexual Assault: Social and Stranger Rape," Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health, 6(1), Spring 1987, 49-56; John Briere, Shawn Corne, and Marsha Runtz, "The Rape Arousal Inventory: Predicting Actual and Potential Sexual Aggression in a University Population," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, 1984; Barbara White and Donald Mosher, "Experimental Validation Of A Model For Predicting The Reporting Of Rape," Sexual Coercion and Assault, 1(2), 1986, 43-55; E.R. Mahoney, Michael Shively, and Marsha Traw, "Sexual Coercion and Assault: Male Socialization and Female Risk," Sexual Coercion and Assault, 1(1), Jan 1986, 2-8.

For information on sexual murderers see: Ann Burgess, Carol Hartman, Robert Ressler, John Douglas, and Arlene McCormack, "Sexual Homicide: A Motivational Model," Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1(3), Sep 1986, 251-272; Robert Ressler, Ann Burgess, John Douglas, Carol Hartman, and Ralph D'Agostino, "Sexual Killers And Their Victims: Identifying Patterns Through Crime Scene Analysis," Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1(3), Sep 1986, 288-308; and Robert Kessler, Ann Burgess, Carol Hartman, John Douglas, and Arlene McCormack, "Murderers Who Rape And Mutilate," Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1(3), Sep 1986, 273-287.

While sexual assaults exist between other permutations of the two genders, the most prevalent involves men assaulting women. Estimates are that approximately 90 percent of incest and sexual abuse victims are women [Gillian Chase, "An Analysis Of The New Sexual Abuse Laws", Broadside, 4(4), 53-54]. Of the annually arrested perpetrators of forcible sexual assault in the United States, 0.8 percent are women [FBI Uniform Crime Report cited in Diana Russell, Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse, And Workplace Harassment, Vol. 155 Sage Library of Social Research (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1985), 67].

chosen woman.<sup>60</sup> While this still happens, the vast majority of offenders are known to the victim. Chances are high they may even be someone the woman is dating or has married.

### Date Rape

This is one of the emerging subcategories of sexual assault. During the 1970s, as more women talked about their sexual assaults, it became clear that a large number of sexual assaults were occurring in various dating situations. Its significance originally was minimized, largely because people still wanted to believe that most sexual assaults were between strangers. But as the numbers of reported cases continued to rise, writers such as Karen Barrett began to question if, in fact, there was an epidemic.<sup>61</sup> As more women continued to come forward with their stories, the answer clearly was yes.

The results of a three year study conducted by Mary P. Koss, a Kent State University psychologist, published in Ms. magazine in September 1982, for example, are rather startling. The survey included more than 7,000 students at 35 American college campuses. Of the women surveyed, 52 percent had experienced some form of sexual victimization and according to a standard legal definition one in eight women were the victims of sexual assault. One in every twelve men admitted to having fulfilled the prevailing definition of sexual assault, "yet

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<sup>60</sup>. For more information on sexual assault myths, see below Chapter Three.

<sup>61</sup>. Karen Barrett, "Date Rape: A Campus Epidemic?" Ms., Sep 1982, 50-51, 130.



virtually none of those men identified themselves as rapists." The study also revealed that of the women who were sexually assaulted, almost three quarters did not identify the experience as a sexual assault. This says something about what appears to constitute "normal" male heterosexuality and about the willingness of women to speak up. The Ms. study also found that 47 percent of the sexual assaults were by first or casual dates, with eighteen being the woman's average age. The location of the assaults also was of interest. While 80 percent occurred off-campus, more than 50 percent occurred "on the man's turf: home, car, or other". Yet despite the frequency with which this offence occurred, more than a third did not discuss the offence with anyone and over 90 percent did not report the offence to the police.<sup>62</sup>

The secrecy of this sampled population does not differ greatly from other groups. Repeatedly we are learning that the more a woman knows the rapist, the less likely she is to identify the event as a sexual assault and to report incidents to anyone--let alone the police.<sup>63</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that traditionally there has not been much publicity afforded to date rape.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>. Ellen Sweet, "Date Rape: The Story of an Epidemic and Those Who Deny It", Ms., Oct 1985 56-59; 84-85.

<sup>63</sup>. Russell, Sexual Exploitation, 1985.

<sup>64</sup>. For more information on date rape see, among others, Frank Costin, "Beliefs About Rape And Women's Social Roles", Archives Of Sexual Behaviour, 14(4), Aug 1985, 319-325; E. Sandra Byers and Paula Wilson, "Accuracy Of Women's Expectations Regarding Men's Responses To Refusals Of Sexual Advances In Dating Situations," International Journal of Women's Studies, 8(4), Sep-Oct 1985, 376-387; R. Lance Shotland and Lynne Goodstein, "Just Because She Doesn't Want To Doesn't Mean Its Rape: An Experimentally Based Model of the Perception of Rape in a Dating Situation," Social Psychology Quarterly, 46(3), 220-232; Charlene L. Muehlenhard, Debra Friedman, and Celeste Thomas, "Is Date Rape Just-

The scenarios for various dating assaults do vary. In some, the two people may have just met and are on a first date or they have been in a relationship for a long time. R. Lance Shotland refers to this as 'early date rape' and 'relational date rape', respectively.<sup>65</sup> While Shotland's categories may be helpful, the most important point from the current evidence is that the assault can occur at any time within a dating relationship. For some women, the assault may occur later, after she has married.

### Marital Rape

This is one of the least discussed forms of woman abuse.<sup>66</sup> A major reason is that in many jurisdictions marital rape remains a legal impossibility. The historic origins of this situation are in the 17th century when British jurist Matthew Hale proclaimed, in essence, that

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ifiable?: The Effects of Dating Activity, Who Initiated, Who Paid, and Men's Attitudes Toward Women," Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9(3), Sep 1985, 297-310; Eugene Kanin, "Date Rapists: Differential Sexual Socialization and Relative Deprivation," Archives of Sexual Behaviour, 14(3), Jun 1985, 218-232; Charlene Muehlenhard and Melaney Linton, "Date Rape and Sexual Aggression in Dating Situations: Incidence and Risk Factors," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 34(2), Apr 1987, 186-196; Gloria Fischer, "College Student Attitudes Toward Forcible Rape: Changes After Taking A Human Sexuality Course," Journal of Sex Education and Therapy, 12(1), Spr-Sum 1986, 42-46.

<sup>65</sup>. R. Lance Shotland, "A Preliminary Model of Some Causes of Date Rape", Academic Psychology Bulletin, 7(2), Sum 1985, 187-200.

<sup>66</sup>. Within the literature there exists a debate as to whether marital sexual assault should be considered a manifestation of domestic violence or one of the various types of sexual assault. This split reflects the two areas in which this crime was "discovered". For more on this debate see Christine Hanneke, and Nancy Shields, "Marital Rape: Implications for the Helping Professions," Social Casework, 66(8), Oct 1985, 451-458, and Christine Hanneke; Nancy Shields; and George McCall, "Assessing the Prevalence of Marital Rape," Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1(3). Sep 1986, 350-362.

women were the chattel of their male owner. Hale's often quoted phrase is as follows:

The husband cannot be guilty of a rape committed upon his lawful wife, for by their mutual matrimonial consent and contract the wife hath given up herself in this kind unto her husband which she cannot retract.<sup>47</sup>

Despite the significant changes that have occurred during the last 300 years regarding the property, franchise, and legal rights of women, the Hale doctrine frequently is cited to prevent the charging of men for sexually assaulting their wives. Until 1983, when the Canadian sexual assault laws were changed, it was not possible for a man to be charged with marital rape.<sup>48</sup> In 1986, a similar situation existed in 27 American states.<sup>49</sup> While many courts continue to argue whether marital rape is possible, for thousands of women throughout the world there is no doubt. Increasing numbers of those women have begun talking to various interested researchers. The results have been disheartening.

One estimate is that marital rape may affect at least one in eight

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<sup>47</sup>. Cited in Lee Bidwell and Priscilla White, "The Family Context of Marital Rape", Journal Of Family Violence, 1(3), Sep 1986, 278.

<sup>48</sup>. Prince Edward Island Advisory Council On The Status Of Women, Believe Her!: A Report on Sexual Assault and Sexual Abuse of Women and Children, prepared by Lyle Brehaut (PEI: PEI Advisory Council On The Status Of Women, March 1989), 6.

See below Chapter Four, for the changes to the Canadian sexual assault laws.

<sup>49</sup>. The US figures are from David Finkelhor and Kersti Yllo, License To Rape: Sexual Abuse of Wives, New York: The Free Press, 1985, cited in Hanneke, Shields, and McCall, "Prevalence of Marital Rape", 350.

wives.<sup>70</sup> Making matters worse, most marital rape victims are being victimized in other ways. The man who sexually assaults his wife is also likely to be physically and emotionally abusing her.<sup>71</sup> Estimates as to the number of battered women sexually assaulted by their husbands range from 18 percent<sup>72</sup> to 41 percent.<sup>73</sup> Daniel Sonkin, Del Martin, and Lenore Walker found that 59 percent of the battered women in their sample were forced against their will to have sex with their partners. Forty-nine percent stated that this had occurred more than once. Approximately 41 percent of the women sampled also acknowledged their forced involvement in various sexual acts which included being threatened with firearms, physically battered, tied up, or intimidated.<sup>74</sup>

Many batterers explain their behaviour by saying that after they have physically abused their wives they feel really guilty about what

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<sup>70</sup>. Diana Russell, "Rape In Marriage: A Case Against Legalized Crime", paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, November 1980, and Diana Russell, "The Prevalence and Impact of Marital Rape in San Francisco", paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, August 1980, both cited in Lee Bowker, "Marital Rape: A Distinct Syndrome?", Social Casework, 64(6), Jun 1983, 347-348.

<sup>71</sup>. Pagelow, "Double Victimization of Battered Women: Victimized by Spouses and the Legal System", paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, Nov 1980, cited in Irene Frieze, "Investigating the Causes and Consequences of Marital Rape", Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 8(3), Spr 1983, 535.

<sup>72</sup>. Julie Doron, "Conflict and Violence in Intimate Relationships: Focus on Marital Rape", paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, Aug 1980.

<sup>73</sup>. Frieze, "Investigating the Causes and Consequences of Marital Rape," 532-555.

<sup>74</sup>. Daniel Sonkin; Del Martin; and Lenore Walker, The Male Batterer: A Treatment Approach (New York: Springer Pub., 1985), cited in Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 22.

they have done and want to make up with their partners. Yet, instead of leaving their partner alone, they force her into sexual intercourse, which only adds to the existing physical and emotional abuse. Such a rationalization for violence should be seen for what it is. Marital rape, like other forms of abuse against women, is, in reality, an attempt by the man to have power, or control, over his partner. The often brutal nature of this power struggle is becoming clearer as each victim speaks out.

Lee Bowker collected information from 146 in-depth interviews with women who had experienced marital violence but had been free of violence for at least one year prior to the interview. She found that 33 (or 23 percent) of the relationships covered by the interviews involved marital rape. Bowker notes that because of the voluntary nature of the sample recruitment, the results of the study do not describe all marital rape victims. She refers to her findings as "exploratory results." Although the results cannot be generalized, they are of interest.

Bowker found that the families in which marital rape occurred were not any more socially isolated than families in which the violence was restricted to nonsexual forms. The relationships where marital rape occurred were also characterized by low relationship satisfaction and an increased degree of continuous disagreement over finances, friends, drug/alcohol use/abuse<sup>78</sup>, and marital violence. These marriages also

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<sup>78</sup>. In this study the phrase "drugs and alcohol use/abuse", is used despite its redundancy and awkwardness, for two reasons. First, due to the relatively thorough integration and normalization of alcohol consumption in our society and the resultant desensitization to its social effects, alcohol often is not viewed as a drug, despite the pharm-

had greater numbers of violent incidents when compared to physically violent relationships where rape did not occur. If the women sought help, most did not identify themselves as having been sexually assaulted, and the sexual violence often remained undiscussed.

While reminding the reader of the nonrepresentative nature of the sample, Bowker concludes the following: counsellors should be ready to anticipate the presence of marital rape and not wait until the woman offers the information; women in raping relationships would likely need supplementary services to deal with the additional degradation associated with sexual assault; and marital rape is likely to damage a relationship to the extent that workers in the field may be best advised to help the couple learn how to live their lives apart.<sup>76</sup>

Another survey of 323 women directed by David Finkelhor and Kersti Yllo in the spring of 1981 does not have the same sampling problems as the Bowker study. Finkelhor and Yllo were conducting a larger study on the issue of child sexual abuse and recognized that they had a cadre of well trained interviewers asking individuals about sexual victimization. They realized it would be opportune to adapt the survey and add questions about marital rape. It was fortunate that they piggybacked the two surveys and obtained the additional information. But like most studies, this one has some limitations. While the results are representative of the city of Boston, Massachusetts, it is only representative of those women who had a child between the ages of 6 and 14 living

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ecological evidence to the contrary. Similarly, use and abuse are relative terms. Combining them can overcome any semantic obstacles that can impede an accurate assessment of the problem.

<sup>76</sup>. Bowker, "Marital Rape," 347-352.

with them. Thus the survey does not include women who were married but did not have children; women who were married but their children were old enough to have left home; and few women who were married less than six years. Despite these limitations, the results were startling.

The question "Has your spouse ever used physical force or threat to try to have sex with you?" resulted in the following picture:

- 10 percent of the married or previously married women's partners had "used physical force or threat to try to have sex with them."
- Of this 10 percent (N=50), 59 percent either had some college courses or a college degree.
- Most of the women were married to their abuser (76 percent) with the remainder cohabiting.
- While there was a variance in the length of relationship from less than one year to more than 15 years, the mean length was 6 years. Despite this 52 percent had divorced, 24 percent separated, 18 percent unspecified, and 6 percent still living together.
- The major reported areas of conflict were housework (5 percent), jobs (17 percent), jealousy (27 percent), children (27 percent), drinking (27 percent), money (29 percent), and, not surprisingly, sex (49 percent).
- While 28 percent of the victims had forced sex once only, 50 percent of the women endured it more than 20 times.
- The men raped their partners at the beginning (31 percent), or in the middle (40 percent), of a relationship, but the frequency clearly increased near the end of the relationship (69 percent) with rapes also occurring after separation or divorce (24 percent).
- The characteristics of the marital rape experience included forced sex after a beating (40 percent), forced vaginal intercourse (94 percent), forced anal intercourse (32 percent), forced oral-genital sex (20 percent), and forced sex in presence of others (24 percent).
- The majority of the assaults occurred in the couple's bedroom (74 percent), with the husband drinking during at least one episode (70 percent), and the woman being unable to successfully resist the forced sex (73 percent).
- While 72 percent of the women called it rape, 40 percent did not tell anyone.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>. David Finkelhor and Kersti Yllo, License To Rape: Sexual Abuse of Wives (New York: The Free Press, 1985), 6-7; 213-219.

### Assessing The Frequency of Sexual Assault

Another major myth about sexual assault is that it does not happen very frequently. But the enormous, and still growing, body of statistical and anecdotal information about sexual assault attests to the inaccuracy of this myth. A.G. Johnson, for example, has estimated that "the average American woman is just as likely to suffer sexual attack as she is to be diagnosed as having cancer, or to experience divorce."<sup>78</sup> And Johnson's calculations excluded married women and females under 12 years of age.

One of the most statistically reliable studies<sup>79</sup> to date is the Diana Russell survey.<sup>80</sup> The results are startling. Of the 930 women

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<sup>78</sup>. A.G. Johnson, "On The Prevalence Of Rape In The United States," Signs: Journal of Women, Culture, and Society, 6, 146, cited in Bidwell and White, "Family Context of Marital Rape", 277-287.

<sup>79</sup>. Regrettably many of the other works suffer from serious methodological problems. The following are three examples. Sandra Sutherland and Donald Scherl, "Patterns of Response Among Victims of Rape," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 40(3), Apr 1970, 503-511, used a sample of 13 white middle-class young women who worked in mixed race core area community projects and reported their assaults. This hardly constitutes a random sample. Ann Wolbert Burgess, and Lynda Lytle Holmstrom, "Rape Trauma Syndrome," American Journal of Psychiatry, 131(9), Sep 1974, 981-986, while using a larger sample size (N=109), once again, they too only worked with reported assaults. A similar approach was used by Lorene Clark and Debra Lewis, Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1977). In using the Toronto Police records they were working only with the reported cases. This is not to say that the observations of these and other authors utilizing similar techniques are not useful, rather that they must be kept in perspective and within certain limits. Each of these works provides excellent summaries of the possible symptoms exhibited by the victims, but they become unreliable when they start making statements about victims in general. In essence, these studies often can only give us small and sometimes conflicting pieces to a much larger picture, the totality of which we have yet to delineate.

<sup>80</sup>. Russell's major goal, "was to obtain a more accurate estimate of the incidence and prevalence of rape and other forms of sexual abuse (ie. the sexual abuse of children) among the general population of wo-



interviewed, 41 percent had been a victim of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault at sometime in their lives, and 3 percent had been sexually assaulted by their husbands. Of the women who had been a victim of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault, 50 percent reported more than one such experience. Russell estimates that a women 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's results shatter the myth that sexual assault rarely occurs in our society and reveals the weakness of other surveys. Russell's estimated incidence of sexual assault and attempted sexual assault in 1978 (35 per 1,000 women over 17 years of age) was just over 7 times higher than that reported by the National Crime Survey for San Francisco (1978) and more than 13 times greater than the Uniform Crime Reports (1978)--despite the latter including women of all ages. Such differences should prompt other surveyors of sexual assault to utilize similar information gathering techniques; a man in a business suit standing on a woman's doorstep or in the hallway of her apartment

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men (p.34)."

To achieve this goal, carefully trained interviewers, during the summer of 1978, met with 930 randomly selected adult women residents drawn from a San Francisco probability sample. San Francisco was chosen as it was larger than the nearby Berkeley or Oakland and thus could increase the perceived credibility of the results. Possibly to avert any homophobic concerns, Russell notes that while San Francisco has a large gay population, this does not affect the prevalence of heterosexual sexual assault or--contrary to another popular myth--the sexual abuse of children. San Francisco's sexual assault rate per 100,000 (1978) was comparable to other American cities (San Francisco, 86; Los Angeles, 83; Boston, 84; Cleveland, 88; and Dallas, 91). The interviews were in-residence, private, confidential, and--on average--one hour and twenty minutes. By establishing a good rapport with the residents, the Russell interviewers worked to minimize underdisclosure. Whenever possible, the race and ethnicity of interviewers were matched. Each participant was paid \$10.00 for her participation. See: Russell, Sexual Exploitation, 34.

asking questions about her sexual assault history is not likely to obtain a high incidence rate.<sup>81</sup>

The Russell survey's statistics on reporting and conviction are equally unsettling. Only 9 percent of the nonmarital sexual assaults and attempted sexual assaults experienced by the women surveyed filed police reports; 2 percent resulted in arrests; and 1 percent resulted in conviction. Russell's survey found that there was a sizeable difference between reported and unreported cases. The reported cases were more likely to involve a stranger (30 percent) as compared to date rape (1 percent). Thus, it is erroneous to generalize conclusions based on reported sexual assaults to unreported sexual assaults. Yet many earlier studies involved clinicians interviewing the first fifteen sexual assault victims that came into an emergency ward.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, with a 1 percent conviction rate, the studies based on incarcerated sexual assault perpetrators are an unreliable source of information on rapists in general.

Another issue the Russell study illuminated is acquaintance sexual assault; it emerges as the most prevalent type when sexual assault and attempted sexual assault are combined. The breakdown of victims is as follows:

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<sup>81</sup>. For more information on Russell's method and results see Russell, Sexual Exploitation, 34-36.

<sup>82</sup>. See, for example, Ann Wolbert Burgess, and Lynda Lytle Holstrom, "The Rape Victim in the Emergency Ward", American Journal of Nursing, 73-10, Jul-Dec 1973, 1741-1745. While extremely informative and useful with the population sampled, it is not generalizable outside of the hospital setting.

14 percent by acquaintances<sup>83</sup>  
 12 percent by dates  
 11 percent by strangers  
 8 percent by husbands or ex-husbands  
 6 percent by lovers or ex-lovers  
 6 percent by authority figures  
 6 percent by friends of the respondent  
 3 percent by boyfriends  
 3 percent by relatives other than husband  
 2 percent by friends of the family.<sup>84</sup>

When the category of acquaintance sexual assault/attempted sexual assault is expanded to include rape by the respondent's friends, friends of the family, dates, boyfriends, lovers, ex-lovers, authority figures as well as acquaintances, then 35 percent of the women in Russell's survey were sexually assaulted at least once by an acquaintance as compared to 11 percent by strangers and 3 percent by relatives (other than the husbands or ex-husbands).<sup>85</sup>

What makes the frequency with which women are sexually assaulted even worse is the knowledge that it is only one of the many ways in which men abuse women.

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<sup>83</sup>. Russell uses the phrase acquaintance assault in two different contexts thus causing some confusion. In the narrow sense, acquaintance rape refers to sexual assaults committed by an individual known to the victim, but not a date, friend, relative, etc. Acquaintance rape in the larger sense, and the definition more commonly used, implies that the woman was assaulted by someone she knows. This could include friends, dates, family members, etc. Diana Russell, Sexual Exploitation, 1985, 283-285.

<sup>84</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>. Ibid. The variety in the totals is caused by several women having been victimized more than once.

## SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Of the various types of abuse against women this is one of the most nebulous. A major problem relates to attempting to define what it constitutes. Kamini Maraj Grahame, a feminist researcher of sexual harassment, has examined several of the existing definitions and created one that is most inclusive. She states that:

sexual harassment can be defined as persistent or abusive unwanted sexual attention made by a person who knows or ought reasonably to know that such attention is unwanted. Sexual harassment includes all sexually oriented practices and actions which may create a negative psychological or emotional environment for work, study, or the buying or selling of services. It may include an implicit or explicit promise or reward for compliance or an implicit or explicit threat for noncompliance. Threats may take the form of actual reprisals or denial of opportunity for work, study, or the purchase or sale of services.<sup>84</sup>

Very often women do not identify specific actions by men as sexually assaultive, particularly if they were originally socialized to accept responsibility for having initiated the unwanted and harassing male advance. Yet, even if they cannot put a proper label on the action, those same women usually recognize the knot of fear, anger, and shame in their stomachs. They have felt these before.

Women have grown up in a society which overtly and covertly told them that at any moment any male may choose to perceive them not as an equal human being but instead as a sexual object to be leered at,

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<sup>84</sup>. Kamini Maraj Grahame, "Sexual Harassment", in Connie Guberman and Margie Wolfe, No Safe Place: Violence Against Women and Children, Toronto: The Women's Press, 1985, p. 112. Grahame cites the following as central to the creation of her definition: Catherine MacKinnon, Sexual Harassment of Working Women, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979; and The Report of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Sexual Harassment, Toronto: York University, 1982.

fondled, promised job advances if they complied, or threatened with reprisals if they did not. All this often occurred within the nebulous world of innuendo, fleeting glances, or obscure body language. How many women office workers have wondered, "What did he mean when he said I was the best office assistant he had ever employed and why did he have that look in his eye?" Often the response for the woman is a sense that something is wrong, coupled with the socialized cognitive process that encourages her to doubt her own intuitive senses and assume that the man in question is trustworthy.

At other times the harassment is overt. A female employee is called into her male boss's office supposedly to discuss a recent corporate opening with increased pay and fringe benefits. While asking for more details of the position the woman notices that her boss is massaging his genitals through his suit and leering at her while he licks his lips. She is not dumb. She knows what is underway. This is not the first time this has happened to her and it is unlikely to be the last.

Numerous studies and surveys attest to the frequency of sexual harassment. In 1980 the Thunder Bay Committee on Sexual Harassment asked women if they felt sexual harassment to be a serious problem--83 percent said yes and 40 of the respondents admitted already having suffered serious repercussions from sexual harassment. Among the respondents to a 1981 Women in Trades questionnaire, 92 percent felt they had been sexually harassed.<sup>87</sup> The Women's Rights Committee of the British Columbia Federation of Labour and the Women's Research Centre

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<sup>87</sup>. Marlene Kadar, "Sexual Harassment As A Form Of Social Control", in Fitzgerald, Guberman, and Wolfe, Still Ain't Satisfied, 170.

questioned unionized women in British Columbia about their sexual harassment histories. Surveys were sent to those women that requested them. Of the completed forms, admittedly a skewed sample, 90 percent had experienced sexual harassment.

American statistics similarly indicate a serious problem. Percentages of women reporting that they have experienced sexual harassment on the job range from 40 to 88 percent depending upon the study.<sup>88</sup> One of the most extensive studies to date was done for the US Merit System's Protection Board (MSPB). In 1981 the board asked 23,000 American federal employees about their sexual harassment histories. They found that 42 percent of the respondents had experienced sexual harassment within the two years prior to the study. Of the 42 percent, 12 percent had experienced what was termed 'less severe sexual harassment'. This included unwanted suggestive remarks or gestures, unwanted sexual teasing, jokes, remarks or unwanted pressure for dates. The 29 percent that experienced 'severe sexual harassment' received unwanted letters, phone calls, or materials of a sexual nature, unwanted touching or pinching, or unwanted pressure for sexual favours. One percent of the respondents experienced actual or attempted sexual assault.

Elizabeth Stanko reviewed the highlights from the MSPB study in Intimate Intrusions: Women's Experience of Male Violence. She notes

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<sup>88</sup>. M.A. Lagen, Report On Sexual Harassment In Federal Employment (Boston: New Responses, 1979); Working Women United Institute, Sexual Harassment On The Job: Results of a Preliminary Survey (New York: Working Women United Institute, 1975); and B.C. Errington and A. Davidson, Sexual Harassment In The Workplace (Vancouver: British Columbia Federation of Labour and the Vancouver Women's Research Centre, 1980). Cited in Lorna Cammaert, "How Widespread Is Sexual Harassment On Campus?", International Journal of Women's Studies, 8(4), Sep-Oct 1985, 389.

that the age and marital status varied among the women who reported sexual harassment. Younger, single women seem more likely to report being sexually harassed: 67 percent of women ages 16 to 19 reported being sexually harassed as compared to 33 percent of women ages 45 to 54; 53 percent and 37 percent of the women that reported having been sexually harassed within the last two years were single, or married, respectively.<sup>89</sup>

Stanko also examined several British surveys and found that the results were comparable. TV Eye and NALGO, the union of local civil servants, surveyed the Liverpool City Treasurer's Department. Of the respondents, 36 percent reported experiencing sexual harassment. One 1982 study of 799 managers and employees from Alfred Marks Bureau Ltd. branches throughout the UK found that 66 percent of the employees and 86 percent of the management reported being aware of some forms of sexual harassment being present in their office. Furthermore, 51 percent of the females admitted having been sexually harassed in their working lives. Stanko states that a study in the United States by the Harvard Business Review found that approximately 42 percent of women experienced sexual harassment. When Carey Cooper and Marilyn Davidson took the same approach in the UK, they found that 52 percent of the women managers had experienced sexual harassment.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>. See Stanko, Intimate Intrusions, 59-69. Russell, in Sexual Exploitation, 281, also speaks highly of the statistical validity of the Merit Systems study.

<sup>90</sup>. See Stanko, Intimate Intrusions, 59-69. Stanko gathered her information from Susan E. Martin, 'Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: From Occupational Hazard to Sex Discrimination', paper delivered at the Law and Society annual meeting, Amherst, Massachusetts, 1981; E.G.C. Collins and T.B. Blodgett, 'Sexual Harassment--Some See It--Some

The research to date indicates two main findings. First, sexual harassment is a serious problem. Second, the current statistics underestimate the actual level in our society. Gillian Walker, Lynda Erikson, and Lorette Woolsey, in a study of sexual harassment in academic settings, indicate that the recognition and identification of an act as sexually harassing depends to a large degree on the perceptions of the viewer.<sup>91</sup> While the action by the man may remain the same, different women may view it in different ways. It follows that women possessing more traditional sex role beliefs are less likely to identify an incident as sexually harassing<sup>92</sup>, thus attesting to the need for more education and awareness about the issue.

Another point needs to be made. Within many middle class circles there exists a myth that distasteful things, such as sexual harassment and the like, are more of a working class phenomenon. The presumption is that middle class women are not harassed as frequently and middle-class men are not as likely as their working class counterparts to be

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Won't', Harvard Business Review, 59(2), 1981, 76-95; and Carey Cooper and Marilyn Davidson, High Pressure: Working Lives Of Women Managers (London: Fontana, 1981), 100. Stanko cites Ann Sedley and Melissa Benn, Sexual Harassment at Work (London: NCCL Rights of Women Unit, 1982), 11 for the Liverpool survey results; and Nathalie Hadjifotiou, Women and Harassment at Work (London, Pluto Press, 1983), 10 for the results of the Alfred Marks Survey.

<sup>91</sup>. Gillian Walker, Lynda Erikson, and Lorette Woolsey, "Sexual Harassment: Ethical Research and Clinical Implications in the Academic Setting", International Journal of Women's Studies, 8(4), Sep-Oct 1985, 424-433.

<sup>92</sup>. See, for example, Sheila Kitzinger, "Sex And Power", Women's Experience of Sexuality (London: Dorline and Kindersley, 1983); Inger Jensen and Barbara Gutek, "Attribution and Assignment of Responsibility in Sexual Harassment," Journal of Social Issues, 38(4), 1982, 121-136; and Gary Powell, "Effects of Sex Role Identity and Sex on Definitions of Sexual Harassment," Sex Roles, 14(1&2), 1986, 9-19.



perpetrators. The evidence to date indicates that sexual harassment, like all other forms of violence against women, readily crosses class lines. Each appears to have less to do with the class of the offender or victim, than of the perceived power level of one person relative to the other. Many wealthy women may be abused by an unemployed man in situations where the man holds a power advantage. While that same man might not be inclined to sexually harass a woman while applying to her for a job, were he to meet her on the street her earlier power advantage may well have disappeared.

The street, while clearly one area where men's power remains largely unchallenged, is not an isolated example. A second is the family home, which is also the major context for most physical and a considerable amount of sexual violence. Sexual harassment of female family members remains fairly common--though probably less willingly tolerated in the current period. The opposition from within the family has developed largely as a result of increasing numbers of women refusing to tolerate childhood sexual abuse. Either intuitively or from their own experience, they recognize that sexual harassment may result in, or be an indication of, other forms of sexual abuse.

The workplace, however, remains the main context in which women have been asserting themselves against sexual harassment. This is where most of the public opposition, resistance, and legal challenges to sexual harassment have been generated. While women may continue to feel relatively more isolated when demanding changes on the street or in the family, it should not be too surprising that this power struggle exists most openly in the workplace. In offices and factories women

have a strength in numbers they are using to their benefit. The workplace is also a more public institution so women can more easily draw upon civil liberty legislation to protect themselves. It is relatively more difficult to have the state involve itself in protecting women's rights within the family. Yet, even there, major victories have been won. While the power struggle is not yet over, there is hope for those opposed to sexual harassment. Slowly, more people are recognizing that the main purpose behind the sexual harassment of women is not just to crack a cute joke but instead to exert male power over women.<sup>93</sup>

#### OTHER WAYS IN WHICH MEN ABUSE WOMEN

While less is known about other varieties of abuse, increasing evidence from around the world verifies that the lives of millions of women are traumatized by additional crimes. The examples include female castration<sup>94</sup>, forced sterilization<sup>95</sup>, surgical atrocities<sup>96</sup>,

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<sup>93</sup>. Among others, see MacKinnon, Sexual Harassment, 1979; Sheila Kitzinger, Women's Experience of Sex, 265-270; Dusty Rhodes and Sandra McNeill (eds.), Women Against Violence Against Women (London: OnlywomenPress, 1985).

<sup>94</sup>. While not commonly practiced in the West, female castration is a common factor for many women in the Third World. It includes clitoridectomy (the removal of the clitoris), excision (the removal of the clitoris and the adjacent parts of the labia minora or all the exterior genitalia except the labia majora), and infibulation (excision followed by the sewing of the genitals to annihilate the entrance to the vagina except for a tiny opening to allow for the passage of blood and urine). These surgical procedures generally are done without anesthetic, causing untold pain, infection, and death to many women. One report indicates that 85 percent of Guinea women are excised. Clitoridectomy reportedly is practiced in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Sudan, Egypt, Ethiopia, Syria, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, and among many African tribes. For more on female castration see Russell and Van de Ven, Crimes Against Women, 150-153.

persecution of lesbians<sup>97</sup>, involuntary prostitution<sup>98</sup> and motherhood<sup>99</sup>,

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<sup>95</sup>. Many Third World women are manipulated to undergo sterilization through state sponsored advertising campaigns about the demographic explosion being the sole cause of Third World poverty. By ignoring other factors such as excessive state militarization, corrupt ruling elites, and an international monetary system that encourages Third World underdevelopment, such campaigns have sent thousands of women to state sponsored clinics. In Columbia, 40,000 women were sterilized between 1955 and 1965; in Brazil, 1 million between 1961 and 1971. Puerto Rico has the highest sterilization rate in the world. One 1968 study revealed that 35 percent of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age had been sterilized. The comparable figures for India and Pakistan (both have public sterilization programs), were 5 and 3 percent respectively. The Puerto Rican rate compelled 19 clinics, working at maximum capacity, to sterilize 1,000 women per month. Ninety percent of the cost of the sterilization program was financed through the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. See Russell and Van de Ven, Crimes Against Women, 27-29; and Robin Morgan (ed.), Sisterhood Is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1984).

<sup>96</sup>. Surgical atrocities include all operations provided for women so that they may fulfill the existing stereotype of traditional feminine beauty. While in the 19th century women were having ribs removed so they could easily cinch their corsets at the waist, things have yet to considerably change in the 20th century. Women undergo liposuction, which involves first dissolving and then suctioning out supposedly unsightly cellulite from most any unwanted location. The longterm safety of this technique is not known. Other techniques to beauty include breast reduction, or the more common, breast implantation. There also are a multitude of diets with which many Western women are threatening their lives in order to loose a few pounds. This occurs despite mounting evidence that fad diets often result in the person putting on more weight in the long run, thus creating for many women a vicious and repeated cycle of dieting, loosing, and gaining. For information on how the medical establishment regularly discriminates against women see Robert Mendelsohn, Male Practice: How Doctors Manipulate Women (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1981).

<sup>97</sup>. We also need to remind ourselves of the extent to which women who choose to act on their attraction to other women are abused by men that believe all women must automatically desire men. See, for example, Persimmon Blackridge and Sheila Gilhooly, Still Sane (Vancouver: Press Gang Pub., 1985).

<sup>98</sup>. See, for example, Mimi H. Silbert, "Prostitution And Sexual Assault: Summary of Results," International Journal of Biosocial Research, 3(2), 1982, 69-71.

psychological and institutional brutality<sup>100</sup>, and other atrocities. While some differences or variations in the way men abuse women exist between First World and Third World countries, female abuse is not limited to Western males.

#### PART IV: SUMMARY OF THE VARIETIES OF MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

There appear to be no limits beyond which many men will go in order to abuse women. Our society is one in which women are derided, beaten, kicked, fucked, mutilated, maimed, and murdered on a daily basis. When one examines the multitude of specific forms in which men abuse women, what emerges is a common theme of violence against women which links the numerous manifestations. Too often, the actual act is secondary to the violence; a vehicle for its transmission from the man to the woman. This underlying and connecting theme is particularly evident when one examines, as is done in Chapter Two, the effects of male violence on women.

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<sup>99</sup>. For more on the history of the availability of contraception and abortion in Canada as well as the Canadian abortion debate see: Henry Morgentaler, Abortion and Contraception (Toronto: General Publishing, 1982); Kathleen McDonnell, Not An Easy Choice: A Feminist Re-Examines Abortion (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1984); Anne Collins, The Big Evasion: Abortion, The Issue That Won't Go Away (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1985); and Angus McLaren and Arlene Tigar McLaren, The Bedroom And The State: The Changing Practices of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880-1980 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986).

In the late 1980s, the struggle over a woman's right to control her body's reproductive capacity was highlighted by several court challenges to a woman's right to proceed with an abortion when her male partner was opposed. See, for example, Donn Downey, "Dodd Wins Bid To Have Abortion: Notice of Hearing Insufficient, Court Sets Aside Injunction Order," The Globe and Mail, Jul 12, 1989.

<sup>100</sup>. For an excellent introduction to many of the abuses women endure in our current physical and mental health institutions see Phyllis Chesler, Women and Madness (New York: Avon Books, 1972).

## CHAPTER TWO OUTLINE: THE EFFECTS OF MALE VIOLENCE

### PART I: INTRODUCTION

### PART II: EMOTIONAL RESPONSES

- Anger
- Depression
- Disinterest In/Fear Of Interpersonal, Emotional, Or Sexual Contact
- Increased Fear And Anxiety
- Memory Loss, Numbness, Or Disassociative Behaviours
- Diminished Self-Esteem And Self-Confidence, And Increased Self-Blame And Deference
- Suicidal Or Homicidal Thoughts And Actions
- Lowered Or Eradicated Trust

### PART III: PHYSICAL RESPONSES

- Increased Drug/Alcohol Use And Abuse
- Eating Disorders
- Gastrointestinal Irritability
- Genitourinary Disturbances
- Physical Trauma
- Unwanted Pregnancies
- Sexually Transmitted Diseases
- Skeletal Muscle Tension And Sleep Disorders

### PART IV: CHAPTER SUMMARY

## CHAPTER TWO: THE EFFECTS OF MALE VIOLENCE

### PART I: INTRODUCTION

Knowing the various ways in which men are violent toward women is an important first step toward understanding and changing how men relate to women. The next step entails understanding the pervasive effects of male violence. Without this knowledge it is easy to perpetuate the trivializing of male violence as somehow inconsequential to women's lives. In an attempt to rectify the problem, this chapter will review the emotional and physical effects of male violence.

Admittedly, the effects can be mediated by numerous factors. These include: the woman's previous value system; her abuse history; the nature of the violence; whether the assailant was known to the victim; the woman's age; how soon she sought help after the violence; and how effective were those she contacted for assistance.<sup>1</sup> But one thing we have learned from twenty years of women telling their stories is that vast differences exist in how individual women respond to male violence. There is not--and need not be--any set response. Thus, the following examination of the effects of male violence against women

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<sup>1</sup>. Lawrence Cohen, and Susan Roth, "The Psychological Aftermath Of Rape: Long-Term Effects and Individual Differences in Recovery," Journal Of Social And Clinical Psychology, 5(4), 1987, 525-534; Michelle Lenox, and Linda Gannon, "Psychological Consequences Of Rape And Variables Influencing Recovery: A Review," Women And Therapy, 2(1), Spr 1983, 37-49; Debra Popiel, and Edwin Susskind, "The Impact Of Rape: Social Support as a Moderator of Stress," American Journal Of Community Psychology, 13(6), 1985, 645-676; Robin Warshaw, I Never Called It Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 65-82; and Barbara Stewart; Carol Hughes; Ellen Frank; Barbara Anderson; et. al., "The Aftermath Of Rape: Profiles of Immediate and Delayed Treatment Seekers," Journal Of Nervous And Mental Disease, 175(2), Feb 1987, 90-94.

will proceed alphabetically; to do otherwise could prioritize some effects as more or less significant.

It is also worth acknowledging that not all victims of male violence suffer the following effects. Victims of emotional abuse, for example, will not necessarily endure all of the physical effects suffered by victims of sexual or physical violence. Traditionally, these differences have been used to justify keeping separate any examinations of the different forms of male violence against women. What is emerging, however, is a consensus that the number of similarities among the effects of the three main forms of male violence against women far outnumber the differences. From the victim's perspective, often it does not matter how many effects of male violence she may be suffering; all are significant and can make her life difficult, even to the point of suicide.

## PART II: EMOTIONAL RESPONSES

### Anger

Considering the statistics reviewed in Chapter One, it is understandable that many women are extremely angry. Yet our society generally deems any anger exhibited by women as unacceptable. What contains the incredible levels of anger experienced by victims of sexual harassment<sup>2</sup>, battering<sup>3</sup>, marital, acquaintance and stranger rape<sup>4</sup>, for

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<sup>2</sup>. Catherine MacKinnon, Sexual Harassment Of Working Women (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 47-55.

<sup>3</sup>. Linda MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten: Preventing Wife Battering in Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, June 1987), 11-18.

example, are the numerous individual and social mores which tell a woman that it is not her place to be angry at men and instead encourage her to blame herself. The result of internalising anger is that many women learn to divorce themselves from their feelings in order to ignore the rage within. This in turn compels many women to spend an inordinate amount of time and energy trying to keep on the lid that contains their anger, all the while questioning what is wrong with them that they either have these feelings or experience difficulty feeling. Our society's tradition of blaming female victims for male violence perpetuates the silence of women and restricts their ease of connecting with, and willingness to externalize, the anger that is a normal response to having been victimized.<sup>4</sup> This process can rob the individual of much of the pleasure in life as well as limiting the potential contributions to our society of the millions of women that often are compelled to remain forever silent and angry. It is this internalized anger that frequently contributes to the development of other responses

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4. David Finkelhor, and Kersti Yllo, License To Rape: Sexual Abuse of Wives (New York: The Free Press, 1985), 117-138; Jane Dowdeswell, Women On Rape: Firsthand Feelings, Attitudes and Experiences From the Women Involved, Backed Up By The Facts (Wellingsborough, UK: Thorsons Publishing Group, 1986), 75-98; Janet Yassen and Lois Glass, "Sexual Assault Survivors Groups: A Feminist Practice Perspective," Social Work, 29(3), May-Jun 1984, 252-257; Michelle Lenox, and Linda Gannon, "Psychological Consequences Of Rape And Variables Influencing Recovery: A Review," Women And Therapy, 2(1), Spr 1983, 37-49; Anu Sharma, and Harold Cheatham, "A Women's Center Support Group For Sexual Assault Victims," Journal Of Counselling And Development, 64(8), Apr 1986, 525-527; and Flora Colao, and Miriam Hunt, "Therapists Coping With Sexual Assault" Special Issue: Women Changing Therapy: New Assessments, Values, and Strategies in Feminist Therapy, Women And Therapy, 2(2-3), Sum-Fal 1983, 205-214.

5. Susan Turner, and Constance Hoenk Shapiro, "Battered Women: Mourning the Death of a Relationship," Social Work, 31(5), Sep-Oct 1986, 372-376.



to male violence.

### Depression

Many women present themselves at various social service agencies stating that they are feeling depressed. While differences may exist between the popular and clinical uses of the term, the typical responses associated with depression include lowered affect, decreased physical or emotional movement, and changes in sleep and eating patterns. It is common, particularly among women that have lengthy abuse histories, not to connect their negative feelings with having been abused. Yet whether or not they connect the cause and effect, many women suffer short or long term depressive episodes. This occurs among women that have been victims of sexual<sup>6</sup>, physical<sup>7</sup>, or emotional<sup>8</sup> violence. Unfortunately for many women, depression often has been treated as the problem rather than the symptom of some other issue. Many women have been needlessly treated with anti-depressants and psychosurgery because

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<sup>6</sup>. Ellen Frank, and Barbara Stewart, "Treating Depression In Victims Of Rape," Clinical Psychologist, 36(4), Sum 1983, 95-98; Judith Becker, Linda Skinner, Gene Abel, Roz Axelrod, and Eileen Treacy, "Depressive Symptoms Associated With Sexual Assault," Journal Of Sex And Marital Therapy, 10(3), Fal 1984, 185-192; Jose Santiago, Fred McCall-Perez, Michele Gorcey, and Allan Beigel, "Long-Term Psychological Effects Of Rape In 35 Rape Victims," American Journal Of Psychiatry, 142 (11), Nov 1985, 1338-1340; Lenox, and Gannon, "Psychological Consequences Of Rape," Women And Therapy, 2(1), Spr 1983, 37-49; Judith Becker, Linda Skinner, and Gene Abel, "Sequelae Of Sexual Assault: The Survivor's Perspective," in Joanne Greer, and Irving Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor: Current Perspectives on Treatment (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, Co., 1983), 240-266; and Jane Dowdeswell, Women On Rape (Wellingsborough, UK: Thorsons Publishing Group, 1986), 75-98.

<sup>7</sup>. MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten, 11-18.

<sup>8</sup>. Lenore Walker, "Psychosocial Theory Of Learned Helplessness," in Walker, The Battered Woman (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1979).

their supposed helper failed to discover that their client had been beaten or raped at home.<sup>9</sup>

#### Disinterest In/Fear Of Interpersonal, Emotional, Or Sexual Contact

Violence encourages isolation. Many women separate themselves from potential supports because they are embarrassed or afraid of being close to others. Proverbs such as once burned, twice shy have their roots in a social context.

Many men, however, will not let a woman isolate herself. A woman disinterested in or fearing emotional or sexual contact surprises many men. They are socialized to believe that all women are always anxious to copulate with the ever virile male and that 'making love' is the best way to start or repair a relationship. While a woman may want to be cuddled, supported and caressed, this is not likely to happen if she is partnered with a traditional goal oriented male that views a successful sexual conquest as one that ends in ejaculation during penile-vaginal intercourse.<sup>10</sup> Many sexual assaults are committed under the

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<sup>9</sup>. Del Martin, Battered Wives (San Francisco: Volcano Press, 1981), 141-147.

<sup>10</sup>. Most of the information on the physical and emotional effects of abuse still is divided into the different variations of male violence. For information on the effects of sexual violence see: Burgess, and Holmstrom, "Rape Trauma Syndrome," 981-986; Andra Medea, and Kathleen Thompson, Against Rape (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1974), 101-111; Diana Russell, The Politics Of Rape: The Victim's Perspective (New York: Stein and Day, 1975, 1984); McCombie, and Arons, "Counseling Rape Victims", 1980, 121-129; Ellen Bassuk, "A Crisis Theory Perspective On Rape," 1989, 121-129; Colao, and Hunt, "Therapists Coping," 205-214; Judy Katz, No Fairy Godmothers, No Magic Wands, 1984, 21-33, 63-75; Chris Hutchinson, and Susan McDaniel, "The Social Reconstruction Of Sexual Assault By Women Victims", 17-36; and Edward Renner, and Carol Wackett, "Sexual Assault: Social And Stranger Rape", Canadian Journal Of Community Mental Health, 6(1), Spr 1987, 49-56.

rubric of trying to move a relationship along its course or as attempts at reconciliation after an argument.

Not surprisingly, such attacks often only further isolate the woman. The violence can affect a woman's general view toward all men. Diana Russell's study of rape in marriage found that 37 percent of the wives reported "increased negative feeling/attitudes/beliefs/behaviour about (toward) men in general."<sup>11</sup>

Another study, by Judith Becker et. al., of 367 female sexual assault survivors (18-67 years old), revealed significant fears about sex, and that arousal dysfunctions were common. These effects are relatively long lived; 60 percent of the subjects reporting assault-related sexual problems had been assaulted more than three years prior to their assessment for the study.<sup>12</sup> It also is not uncommon for women who feel they have resolved the abuse as best they could to be overwhelmed years later with a series of immobilizing flashbacks simply due to the slightest move by their current sexual partner.<sup>13</sup>

These studies do not stand alone. Repeated references verify the

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Standard resources on the effects of physical violence are: Walker, Battered Woman, 1979; Louise Armstrong, The Home Front: Notes From The Family War Zone (New York: McGraw-Hill Books, 1983); and Martin, Battered Wives, 1981.

An excellent Canadian resource that successfully integrates the various types of abuse against women of all ages is Connie Guberman and Margie Wolfe (eds.), No Safe Place: Violence Against Women and Children (Toronto: Women's Press, 1985).

<sup>11</sup>. Diana Russell, Rape In Marriage (New York: Macmillan Pub., Co., 1982.), 193.

<sup>12</sup>. Judith Becker, et. al. "Sexual Problems Of Sexual Assault Survivors," Women And Health, 9(4), Win 1984, 5-20.

<sup>13</sup>. Finkelhor, and Yllo, License To Rape, 117-138.

above effect among victims of marital rape<sup>14</sup>, sexual assault<sup>15</sup>, sexual harassment<sup>16</sup>, and acquaintance rape<sup>17</sup>; it can significantly affect existing and future relationships.<sup>18</sup> Not surprisingly, as more counselors approached their work with a feminist awareness, they learned that the vast majority of women involved with sexual dysfunction clinics had been victims of some form of male violence.<sup>19</sup>

### Increased Fear And Anxiety

Abuse survivors are less likely to view the world as a safe place. Their fears often are related to their experience. For example, if a dog was used in the assault or if the rapist wore a red bow tie the victim may well have phobic responses to these stimuli. Very often the memories, long locked away, may arise unexpectedly. The victim may have forgotten about the bow tie, to use that example, yet several years later at a job interview her prospective employer wears one. The

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<sup>14</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>. Dowdeswell, Women On Rape, 75-98; Colao, and Hunt, "Therapists Coping," 205-214; and Becker, Skinner, and Abel, "Sequelae Of Sexual Assault," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 240-266.

<sup>16</sup>. MacKinnon, Sexual Harassment, 47-55.

<sup>17</sup>. Warshaw, Ms. Report, 65-82.

<sup>18</sup>. William Miller, Ann Williams, and Mark Bernstein, "The Effects Of Rape On Marital And Sexual Adjustment," American Journal of Family Therapy, 10(1), Spr 1982, 51-58.

<sup>19</sup>. Derek Jelu, in association with Marjorie Gazan, and Carole Klassen, Beyond Sexual Abuse: Therapy With Women Who Were Childhood Victims (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 1988), 108.

woman panics, but is not sure why.<sup>20</sup>

One study, by Jose Santiago, et. al., revealed the obvious. When women that had been sexually assaulted were compared to nonassaulted controls, rape victims were found to be significantly more depressed, generally anxious, and fearful than the controls. Those that had suffered repeated assaults had higher degrees of depression and anxiety.<sup>21</sup>

High levels of abuse in our society also induce several generalized fears among women. Typically, women are afraid to walk the streets at night feeling that the streets are ruled by men; women know they are walking targets for sexual harassment.<sup>22</sup> Such a simple pleasure as walking down a tree lined street on a hot summer evening is denied. Other women, doing shift work in order to feed their families and needing to use public transport, know their safety is a risk every working day. Yet darkness is not the problem; many women feel just as vulnerable to attack in bright daylight. Nor are strangers the only ones to avoid, female victims of acquaintance rape also experience high levels of fear.<sup>23</sup> Not surprisingly, after being sexually assaulted,

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<sup>20</sup>. Colao, and Hunt, "Therapists Coping," 205-214; Steven Girelli, Patricia Resick, Susan Marhoefer-Dvorak, and Catherine Hutter, "Subjective Distress And Violence During Rape: Their Effects on Long-Term Fear," Violence And Victims, 1(1), Spr 1986, 35-46; and Santiago, McCall-Perez, Gorcey, and Beigel. "Long-Term Psychological Effects Of Rape In 35 Rape Victims," American Journal Of Psychiatry, 142(11), Nov 1985, 1338-1340.

<sup>21</sup>. Santiago, McCall-Perez, Gorcey, and Beigel, "Long-Term Psychological Effects," 1338-1340.

<sup>22</sup>. MacKinnon. Sexual Harassment, 47-55.

<sup>23</sup>. Becker, Skinner, and Abel, "Sequelae Of Sexual Assault," in Greer and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 240-266; and Warshaw, Ms. Report on Rape, 65-82.

many victims change their perceptions of the safety of their world in radical ways.<sup>24</sup> Women who have been repeatedly abused can have near phobic fear levels.<sup>25</sup>

Most men, however, either are oblivious to or prey on the fear that grips women. Such men need to consider what it must be like for a woman living in an abusive relationship. Men need to try and comprehend the level of fear that can overcome a woman when she realizes that her male partner is beginning to escalate toward violence; she knows what lies ahead for her. Women respond to this situation in different ways. Some will actually wish their partner would hit them; having to endure the wait can be even more abusive. Some women even throw the first blow in order to start the process.<sup>26</sup> It is these incidents that often are taken out of context and distort the nature of female violence against men. In reality, most battered women are not physically violent. Instead, they usually live with the constant fear of future reprisals.<sup>27</sup> This fear contributes to many abused women being too

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<sup>24</sup>. Kim Lane Scheppelle, and Pauline Bart, "Through Women's Eyes: Defining Danger in the Wake of Sexual Assault," Journal Of Social Issues, 39(2), Sum 1983, 63-81.

<sup>25</sup>. Frank, and Stewert, "Treating Depression," 95-98; Scheppelle, and Bart, "Defining Danger," 63-81; Patricia Resick, Lois Veronen, and Karen Calhoun, "Assessment Of Fear Reactions In Sexual Assault Victims: A Factor Analytic Study Of The Veronen-Kilpatrick Modified Fear Survey," Behavioral Assessment, 8(3), Sum 1986, 271-283; and Girelli, Resnick, Marhoeffen-Dvorek, and Hutten, "Subjective Distress During Rape," 35-45.

<sup>26</sup>. MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten, 11-18.

<sup>27</sup>. Laura Wetzel, and Mary Anne Ross, "Psychological And Social Ramifications Of Battering: Observations Leading to a Counselling Methodology for Victims of Domestic Violence," Personnel And Guidance Journal, 61(7), Mar 1983, 423-428; Jerry Finn, "The Stresses And Coping Behaviour Of Battered Women," Social Casework, 66(6), Jun 1985, 341-

afraid to break the family secret; so they endure the abuse in silence.<sup>28</sup>

A recent trend has been for women to train themselves to fight back, either as individuals or in groups.<sup>29</sup> At one level, this is very practical. Knowing how to gouge a man's eyes out with your car keys, or kick him in the scrotum at the first opportunity may be helpful in preventing an assault. But there is no guarantee that it will not result in even greater rage from the attacker. The real point is that once again women are having to adapt their lifestyle in an often futile attempt at protecting themselves. It is not women that should be the ones doing most of the adapting. If the violence really is to end, it is men that need to change.

#### Memory Loss, Numbness, Or Disassociative Behaviours

Abuse very often leaves the victim emotionally and physically numb. This may be the only way to cope with the trauma of male violence. Some women may block out certain physical sensations, even to the extent of having no sensation, for example, from the waist down. Others may emotionally block their feelings about specific situations. If a woman feels she needs to keep the abuse a secret, she may need to carry on about her life in a robot like fashion. Other women need to

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349; and Guberman and Wolfe, No Safe Place, 46.

<sup>28</sup>. For more on the fear resulting from battering see, among others, Wetzel, and Ross, "Psychological And Social Ramifications Of Battering," 423-428.

<sup>29</sup>. For example, see: Lynn Pacela, Self-Defense (Santa Monica: Goodyear Pub., Co., 1980).

go to the extent of blocking not just their feelings, but their entire memory of the specific violent event or choose to 'space out' even to the point of creating alternate personalities to deal with the abuse.<sup>30</sup>

Memory loss is particularly frequent among sexual assault victims.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, this is not yet common knowledge. Many victims are doubted by friends, family, police, lawyers, and judges. Many bystanders wonder why a person could not remember what happened. And since they cannot often remember large portions of the assault, many people--professional and otherwise--conclude it is being made up.

Memory loss also creates considerable self-doubt among victims. Did it really occur and if so what actually happened? Memory loss makes it extremely hard to proceed to court after charging an individual. Even if a victim did charge an offender, her credibility is shaken when she suddenly remembers new or different evidence than that which was recorded in her police statement immediately after the assault. This process, while increasingly understood in some courtrooms, still significantly reduces the likelihood of convicting a higher percentage of offenders by shifting the focus of the trial on the credibility of the key witness--the female victim--rather than on the guilt of the offender--the man.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>. Walker, Battered Woman, 42-54; and Sandra Sutherland and Donald Scherl, "Patterns Of Response Among Victims Of Rape," American Journal Of Orthopsychiatry, 40(3), Apr 1970, 503-511.

<sup>31</sup>. Dowdeswell, Women On Rape, 1986, 75-98; and Finkelhor, and Yllo, License To Rape, 117-138.

<sup>32</sup>. Lorraine Parrington, Counsellor, Sexual Assault Crisis Programme, Clinic Community Health Centre, Winnipeg, interview with the author, April 12, 1990.

For a clear explanation to the hurdles impeding the prosecution of



Memory loss may also be suffered by physical abuse survivor-victims. They may receive severe cranial injuries that can impair their cognitive capacities. Victims of emotional and physical violence also may experience the loss of selective memories from conscious recall. In order to protect themselves from the horrors of their present existence, they may need to ignore earlier memories from a time in their life, prior to the abuse, when they experienced relative freedom and independence. The contrast between the two periods may be too painful. Physical abuse victims may also selectively forget the numerous beatings they have endured; to do so could be too traumatic--particularly if, as do most women, the individual woman blames herself. If, for whatever reason, a woman felt she could not leave an abusive relationship, she may rework her memories to include only her abusive partners promises to change and ignore the number of times he has put her in the emergency ward.

Realizing that one is not remembering small or large chunks of time, not feeling parts of one's body, or a full range of emotions can be very frightening. Women in such situations need to be reassured that their responses are normal, that they may last for a varying length of time, and need not be permanent. The goal is to help the individual realize that they did what they needed to do in order to survive and should be proud of their ability to have done so. In time,

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sexual offenders in Canada, see: The Victoria Women's Sexual Assault Centre, Working With Survivors Of Sexual Assault, edited and produced by Trace Porteous, Alice Ages, Norrie Preston, Kathryn Rowe, and Sheila Benson (Victoria: Victoria Women's Sexual Assault Centre Publications Committee, 1986).

they may be able to move on to other coping mechanisms.<sup>33</sup>

Diminished Self-Esteem And Self Confidence, And Increased Self-Blame And Deference

Having been sexually harassed<sup>34</sup>, attacked and assaulted by one's husband<sup>35</sup>, a stranger<sup>36</sup>, or an acquaintance<sup>37</sup>, beaten by one's husband<sup>38</sup>, or repeatedly ridiculed by one's partner is likely to reduce a woman's self-esteem and self-confidence while increasing her self-blame and deference to men. If one is told often enough that they are worthless, they are likely to begin believing it. We know this from concentration camp victims<sup>39</sup>, child abuse cases<sup>40</sup>, and basic learning

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<sup>33</sup>. While focussed on helping incest survivor-victims, one recent work skillfully encourages women not to denigrate themselves for having adopted specific coping mechanisms. See Ellen Bass, and Laura Davis, "Coping: Honouring What You Did To Survive," in The Courage To Heal: A Guide for Women Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse (New York: Harper & Row, Pub., 1988), 40-54.

<sup>34</sup>. MacKinnon, Sexual Harassment, 47-55.

<sup>35</sup>. Finkelhor, and Yllo, License To Rape, 117-138.

<sup>36</sup>. Colao, and Hunt, "Therapists Coping," 205-214; and Janet Yassen and Lois Glass, "Sexual Assault Survivors Groups: A Feminist Practice Perspective," Social Work, 29(3), May-Jun 1984, 252-257.

<sup>37</sup>. Warshaw, Ms. Report On Rape, 65-82.

<sup>38</sup>. MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten, 11-18.

<sup>39</sup>. Victor Frankl, Man's Search For Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy (New York: Touchstone Books, 1962); and Mary Romero, "A Comparison Between Strategies Used On Prisoners Of War And Battered Wives," Sex Roles, 13(9-10), Nov 1985, 537-547.

<sup>40</sup>. Don Dinkmeyer, and Gary D. McKay, Parent's Handbook: Systematic Training For Effective Parenting (Circle Pines, Minnesota: American Guidance Service, 1982).

theory.<sup>41</sup> Future abuse acts only aggravate the problem by reconfirming that which they were told by earlier perpetrators.

The loss of self-esteem--if unresolved--can weaken one's sense of being a healthy, normal person deserving of love and appreciation, capable of intelligent, independent thought and creativity. Like internalized anger, low self-esteem contributes to women's silence. Women who do not feel equal to their male counterpart may not even try for things they really want to obtain. If one's past record suggests failure, why set one's self up for another fall?

Deference to men reinforces a woman's low-self image. Examples abound. One that commonly occurs in public and private forums happens when two people are starting to respond to an earlier speaker. Rarely does the woman not defer to a man. Once one is aware of this dynamic it is frightening to witness how frequently this transpires. This is a sad statement on female and male socialization processes. Our society overtly and covertly pressures women to remain silent until the nearest man has finished speaking, regardless of the quality of his content. This can have disastrous implications in a woman's personal and professional life.<sup>42</sup>

Deference is encouraged even without overt violence. Many men, however, use violence to punish women who step out of line. The result is that numerous women, particularly those that have been battered, continually change their behaviour in a desperate attempt at trying to

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<sup>41</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>. Herbert Modlin, "Traumatic Neurosis And Other Injuries," Psychiatric Clinics Of North America, 6(4), Dec 1983, 661-682.

prevent the violence for which they have come to believe they are responsible.<sup>43</sup> Violence or the threat of violence against women robs them of their freedom; most live in constant fear.<sup>44</sup> For many victims of abuse, a large portion of their recovery time is spent rebuilding their self-esteem.

#### Suicidal Or Homicidal Thoughts And Actions

Suicide is one of the coping mechanisms chosen by many abuse victims. Homicide--the desire to kill others--is another outcome of male violence, though statistically less frequent than suicide. Many people trivialize the effects of male violence and question what could have been so bad that the victim wanted to kill themselves or their perpetrators. Yet we need to turn this around and recognize the incredible trauma that male violence can inspire if people are willing to kill in an attempt at escaping the pain. Undoubtably, it is not always just the acts of violence by individual men that may compel individual women to feel that suicide or homicide is the only answer. The dismal manner in which our society ignores male violence against women, or revictimizes them within the social service and legal systems also plays a significant role.

The existing literature--which in fact may underestimate the real extent of the problem--already indicates significantly high levels of

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<sup>43</sup>. Guberman, and Wolfe, No Safe Place, 41-60; and MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten, 11-18.

<sup>44</sup>. Jalna Hanmer, and Mary Maynard, Women, Violence And Social Control (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1987).

suicidal and homicidal thoughts among abused women.<sup>45</sup> While it may be expected that such feelings can occur in the short term, in Diana Russell's survey of marital rape victims, for example, 13 percent said that in the long term they experienced an increase in their "general anger, vengeance, desire to hurt."<sup>46</sup> Others report similarly high levels.<sup>47</sup>

Increased suicidal and homicidal ideation is not limited to victims of marital rape. One study examined a representative sample of 2,004 women aged 18 and older about victimization experience and mental health. After classification of the women into victimization groups, the occurrence of three mental health problems was compared across type of crime. Rates of suicide attempts, suicidal ideation, and "nervous breakdown" were significantly higher among crime victims than among nonvictims. Women that had been victims of attempted rape, completed rape, and attempted sexual molestation had mental health problems more frequently than did victims of attempted robbery, completed robbery, aggravated assault. Nearly one rape victim in five (19.2 percent) had attempted suicide, whereas only 2.2 percent of non-victims had done so. Problems were not mediated by income and were affected only marginally

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<sup>45</sup>. For example, Education Wife Assault, a non-profit community organization in Toronto, reports that a 1984 study on suicide attempts concluded that battered women are far more likely to attempt suicide than other women. Cited in Marcia Kaye, "The Battle Against Men Who Batter," Canadian Living, 15(8), 45-46, 48, 50, 52-53. Others have had similar findings. See: Walker, Battered Woman, 174.

<sup>46</sup>. Russell, Rape In Marriage, 193-195.

<sup>47</sup>. Finkelhor, and Yllo, License To Rape, 117-138.

by age and race.<sup>48</sup> Most of the emotional difficulties experienced by sexual assault victims occur after their victimization.<sup>49</sup>

Battering is responsible for many homicides; one fifth of all those in Canada. The statistics reveal two trends. First, the vast majority of the victims are women; and, second, the woman who kills her husband usually is a battering victim acting in self defence. Canadian murder data from 1961 to 1974 show that 60 percent of all female homicide victims were killed within a family context.<sup>50</sup>

The issue of women acting in self defence and murdering their male attackers was making media headlines in the late 1980s. The issue was discussed on television talk shows and the subject of made for television movies.<sup>51</sup> The legal and moral questions that captivated audiences were two-fold; should a woman that murdered in self defence be charged, and how does the defence prove their case if the woman was the only witness? While interesting and important, the focus was misguided. The media afforded significant attention to the death of relatively few men, when the hourly abuse of women was disproportionately ignored.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>. Dean Kilpatrick, et. al., "Mental Health Correlates Of Criminal Victimization: A Random Community Survey," Journal Of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53(6), Dec 1985, 866-873.

<sup>49</sup>. Colao, and Hunt, "Therapists Coping," 205-214; and Dowdeswell, Women On Rape, 75-98.

<sup>50</sup>. Guberman, and Wolfe, No Safe Place, 46.

<sup>51</sup>. See, for example, The Burning Bed (American Broadcasting Corporation).

<sup>52</sup>. For more on the issue of women killing their male attackers, see: Angela Browne, When Battered Women Kill (New York: The Free Press, 1987); and Cynthia Gillespie, Justifiable Homicide: Battered Women, Self-Defense (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989).

### Lowered Or Eradicated Trust

Trust is a sacred entity. Once it has been destroyed it is particularly difficult to repair. Despite this, numerous social traditions help shatter our ability to trust others. One example is that we tell children to fear sexual abuse by strange men. The stranger with a trench coat, bag of candy, and loitering near the school playground has always been the one to fear. The reality is different. Most people are abused by heterosexual men they know.<sup>53</sup> We tell our children to trust the adults in their lives without also warning them that statistically those loved and trusted adults are the individuals most likely to abuse them. While we have started the healthier process of encouraging children to trust their intuitive instincts as to whether or not they feel safe with specific individuals, our task is not complete. If Susie does not like Uncle Harry because he gives her a "yucky feeling", we need to respect the child's perceptions and not try to deaden her senses by encouraging her to get to know Uncle Harry by spending a weekend alone at his cottage. If we do not listen to our children how can we ask them later when they divulge sexual abuse by a family member, "why didn't you tell us?"

Violated trust is also a central issue for most adult victims of emotional, physical, and sexual violence. Women who have been sexually assaulted, for example, have a particularly difficult time rebuilding trust.<sup>54</sup> After an assault, a woman will be confronted with numerous

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<sup>53</sup>. Diana Russell, Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse, and Workplace Harassment (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984).

<sup>54</sup>. Colao, and Hunt, "Therapists Coping," 205-214; and Yassen and Glass, "Sexual Assault Survivors Groups," 252-257.

(most?) men who still believe that when a woman says no to sexual intercourse she actually means yes. Many men think they have failed sexually if they do not 'score' on a date. Thus they may rape the woman. The second assault only compounds her recovery and may further shatter her attempts at sorting out her world. It was bad enough when strangers could not be trusted, but after a marital or acquaintance rape many women ask themselves if, in fact, any men really can be trusted.<sup>55</sup>

A woman in a physically abusive relationship is in a similar situation. For example, she recently may have been beaten by her husband of 17 years. While the suturing on the wound near her eye is still draining fluid, her house is filling up with flowers and chocolates as he apologizes profusely and promises not to hit her again. But she has heard this many times before. After the last three beatings he also promised to quit drinking, but he has not. Intellectually she knows she should leave--and every one else is telling her to do so--but she wants to trust him. If she does not have the financial or emotional resources necessary for independent living, she is likely again to try and convince herself that her only option is to trust him.<sup>56</sup>

One other alternative is to utilize the existing social service system for legal, financial, or clinical assistance. The evidence, however, reveals a dismal state of affairs for victims of all types of male violence. It suggests that victims typically are revictimized by current social, medical, and legal processes. Anticipating systemic

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<sup>55</sup>. Warshaw, Ms. Report On Rape, 65-82.

<sup>56</sup>. MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten, 11-18; and Wetzel, and Ross, "Ramifications Of Battering," 423-428.



failures significantly reduces the probability of an abused woman reporting the crime, receiving medical attention, or even telling significant friends or family members. The initial assault is compounded by the very system established presumably to provide assistance.

Other researchers have shown that rather than the type of the crime, the victim's characteristics more significantly affect how the criminal justice system responds. Susan Chandler and Martha Torey, for example, studied a total of 408 women--all the sexual assault victims served by the Sex Abuse Treatment Center of a large urban hospital between October 1976 and September 1978. The cases most likely to be processed were those where the rapist was a stranger, a non-Caucasian and had a weapon. Of equal importance was the victim's behaviour and lifestyle. Certain issues that are not legally relevant make specific victims appear more credible. Caucasian women that have not been drinking, do not know the offender, and suffer significant physical injuries are more likely to have their cases successfully moved through the criminal justice system. The victim rather than the offender becomes the one on trial.<sup>97</sup> Chandler and Torey's evidence support the many critics who state that the existing system often is better at protecting the assailant than the victim.<sup>98</sup> The untrustworthiness of the

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<sup>97</sup>. Susan Chandler, and Martha Torey, "The Decisions And Processing Of Rape Victims Through The Criminal Justice System," California Sociologist, 4(2), Sum 1981, 155-169.

<sup>98</sup>. Edward Renner, Carol Wackett, and Shelley Ganderton. "The 'Social' Nature of Sexual Assault," Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne, 29(2), Apr, 1988, 163-173; and Patricia Martin, Dianna DiNitto, Sharon Maxwell, and Diane Norton, "Controversies Surrounding The Rape Kit Exam In The 1980s: Issues and Alternatives," Crime And Delinquency, 31(2), Apr 1985, 223-246.

system is a major reason why assaulted women do not report. Yet many people still ask, usually with incredulity, why battered women, for example, stay in their relationships.

### PART III: PHYSICAL RESPONSES

#### Increased Drug/Alcohol Use and Abuse

Abused women often resort to drugs and alcohol as tools for numbing out the pain of what has happened. This continent's drug and alcohol treatment centres are filled with victims of male violence. While the variety of male violence may range from sexual assault<sup>59</sup>, or battering<sup>60</sup>, the reasons for the various populations of women victims turning to drugs and alcohol often are the same.<sup>61</sup> Yet this process is not always recognized. Drug dependencies too often are treated as the problem rather than the symptom of an earlier cause. Abused woman may be further victimized by a society that has little tolerance, and a lot of scorn, for female alcoholics and drug addicts/abusers.

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<sup>59</sup>. Colao, and Hunt, "Therapists Coping," 205-214.

<sup>60</sup>. Sheila Blume, "Alcohol Problems In Women," New York State Journal Of Medicine, 82(8), Jul 1982, 1222-1224.

<sup>61</sup>. Sandra Turner, and Flora Colao, "Alcoholism And Sexual Assault: A Treatment Approach For Women Exploring Both Issues," Psychological Issues In The Treatment Of Alcoholism, 2(1), Spr 1985, 91-103.

### Eating Disorders

Abused women frequently experience significant changes in their eating habits.<sup>62</sup> For many victims, the changes are likely to be relatively short in duration and concomitant to the violence. Other victims, particularly if they have an incest history<sup>63</sup>, may develop more chronic eating disorders.

Regulating her caloric intake may be the only area an abused woman may feel she can exert influence in a world that, otherwise, appears beyond her control. That legions of women would stuff themselves with thousands of calories, purge themselves through induced vomiting or mass consumption of laxatives (bulimia), or starve themselves over a long period of time (anorexia nervosa) are serious signs of how many women are hurting. Such eating disorders often remain undetected as our contemporary society places greater value on thin women. Thus women that may be starving themselves to death often do not have their thinness questioned. Similarly, a heavier woman that is purging herself with laxatives might be ignored; many would likely assume she is trying to lose weight.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>. Ann Burgess, and Lynda Holmstrom, "Rape Trauma Syndrome," American Journal Of Psychiatry, 131(9), Sep 1974, 981-986; and Peter DiVasto, "Measuring The Aftermath Of Rape," Journal Of Psychosocial Nursing, 23(2), Feb 1985, 33-35.

<sup>63</sup>. Marilyn Wooley, and Mary Anne Vigilanti, "Psychological Separation And The Sexual Abuse Victim," Psychotherapy, 21(3), Fal 1984, 347-357.

<sup>64</sup>. For more on eating disorders, see: Susie Orlach, Fat Is A Feminist Issue (New York: Berkley Pub., 1979); and Kim Chernin, The Obsession (New York: Harper and Row, 1981).

### Gastrointestinal Irritability

Many assaulted women complain of stomach pain and significant changes in appetite. Very often, simply recalling the violent incident can induce nausea. While actual vomiting may more often be limited to sexual assault victims, emotional and physical abuse sufferers may also experience severe gastrointestinal difficulties. For the latter group the problem may be less acute but more chronic in nature. Knowing that one's partner is about to be physically violent or having flashbacks to a sexual assault can induce numerous physiological responses. That women in our society traditionally are not encouraged to talk about what has been done to them only aggravates the problem.<sup>65</sup>

### Genitourinary Disturbances

Women who have had their orifices penetrated frequently experience vaginal discharges, itching, chronic yeast infections, burning sensations when urinating, and general genital discomfort. Vaginal and anal bleeding are not uncommon. Internal and external suturing often is required.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>. Burgess, and Holmstrom, "Rape Trauma Syndrome," 981-986; and Pat Hoffman, "Psychological Abuse Of Women By Spouses And Live-In Lovers," Women And Therapy, 3(1), Spr 1984, 37-47.

<sup>66</sup>. Burgess, and Holmstrom, "Rape Trauma Syndrome," 981-986; and Judith Becker, Linda Skinner, Grace Abel, Julia Howell, and Kathy Bruce, "The Effects Of Sexual Abuse On Rape And Attempted Rape," Victimology: An Integrated Perspective, 7(1-4), 106-113.

### Physical Trauma

Physical trauma can include: general soreness in various parts of the body; broken and fractured bones; missing teeth; torn ligaments; chunks of hair and scalp removed; irritation or trauma to penetrated body parts; temporary or permanent spinal damage; bruised, cut, or burned flesh; or irreparably damaged eyes. Whether the woman was battered<sup>47</sup> or sexually assaulted<sup>48</sup>, the resulting physical trauma can leave permanent physical and emotional scars.

Many workers at abuse shelters and hospitals have made an important observation. Large numbers of batterers hit only in areas of the body that normally would not be exposed in public. Thus rather than bruise their partner's face, many men kick and punch a woman's abdomen or upper legs. Such decisions help verify that the violence was not a spontaneous, uncontrollable reaction, but rather a deliberate choice.

### Unwanted Pregnancies

Countless women have borne children simply because their male partners, society, family, or all of the above implied that to do so is to fulfill one of the major roles as a female. Similarly, an unknown number of married women have been sexually assaulted by their husbands and carried on with the pregnancy. Women who report at a hospital after a sexual assault, however, are routinely treated to induce

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<sup>47</sup>. MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten, 11-18.

<sup>48</sup>. Finkelhor, and Yllo, License To Rape, 117-138; and Warshaw, Ms. Report on Rape, 65-82.

menstruation and prevent a pregnancy.<sup>69</sup> It is unknown how many women that have been sexually assaulted by an acquaintance or stranger carried a pregnancy to term and raised the child simply because they were too afraid to tell anyone of the assault, or did not have access to safe, affordable abortion services.

#### Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs)

Victims of sexual assault have a substantial risk of acquiring a sexually transmitted disease. One recent study found up to 20 percent of the reported sexual assaults resulted in STDs.<sup>70</sup> These can include: chlamydia, gonorrhea, syphilis, trichomoniasis, or AIDS. Most STDs can be treated immediately at the hospital. Others such as AIDS cannot be treated. Many women receive medical care from their family physician, but large numbers do not obtain preventive medical attention. Numerous victims report that the anticipated humiliation of having to undergo an internal examination feels like another assault.<sup>71</sup> While not all sexually assaulted women contract an STD, many live in fear that one will soon develop. The fear or reality of receiving a STD only adds to their already overwhelming resentment and sense of having

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<sup>69</sup>. Anne Wolbert, and Lynda Lytle Holmstrom, "The Rape Victim In The Emergency Ward," American Journal Of Nursing, 73(10), Jul-Dec 1973, 1741-1745.

<sup>70</sup>. Boston Globe, "Rape Victims Suffer Diseases," Winnipeg Free Press, Mar 21, 1980, 31. The article was summarizing a report published in New England Journal Of Medicine, during the week of March 19-23, 1990.

<sup>71</sup>. Dowdeswell, Women On Rape, 75-98.

been soiled.<sup>72</sup>

STDs are not restricted to victims of sexual assault; they also can be found among emotional abuse victims. One example is when a couple has made a commitment to fidelity and the man engages in unsafe sex practices with another person. This could end in the transmission of a disease to the original partner. Commonly, it is when STDs are transferred to the other partner that it becomes difficult to ignore that someone has been engaging in extramarital activities. Despite this, many people--offenders and victims--continue denying the truth despite the rather incriminating medical evidence. The implication of such activities in the AIDs era could be death.

Aside from the direct acquisition of a sexually transmitted disease, male violence can disrupt a victim's emotional and physical homeostasis such that she can be at a significantly increased risk for other diseases in the period immediately following the violent assault or during the often lengthy recovery period.<sup>73</sup>

#### Skeletal Muscle Tension and Sleep Disorders

Tension headaches, fatigue, and tenseness are common. Many women report finding themselves becoming edgy and jumpy over minor incidents. Such somatic responses often contribute to the development or advancement of sleep disorders. These may range from wanting to sleep more to

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<sup>72</sup>. James McGregor, "Risk Of STD In Female Victim Of Sexual Assault," Medical Aspects Of Human Sexuality, 19(8), Aug, 1985, 30-42; and Warshaw, The Ms. Report on Rape, 65-82.

<sup>73</sup>. Libby Ruch; Susan Chandler; and Richard Harter, "Life Change And Rape Impact," Journal Of Health And Social Behaviour, 21(3), Sep 1980, 248-260.

not sleeping well or throughout the night. Nightmares, unsettling dreams, or sudden awakenings also are frequent. Many victims frequently wake up screaming or scream out during their asleep.<sup>74</sup>

While most common among victims of the various types of sexual assault<sup>75</sup>, skeletal tension and sleep disorders occur among other victims. Sleep difficulties may occur, for example, if the abuse was in some way associated with the victim's regular sleep time or location. Did her husband beat her in the bedroom? Was it late in the evening that her partner was most often emotionally violent toward her? Did her husband have a habit of being violent if he was out late with "the boys" on a weekend night of drinking? Whatever the scenario, the reality is that untold numbers of women are silently suffering each night. A common result is that many women turn to increased useage of prescription and over-the-counter sleeping medications, which can be particularly dangerous if the individual is suicidal.

#### PART IV: CHAPTER SUMMARY

With a disgusting frequency, men continue to endanger the emotional, physical, and sexual well being of women. The effects of this attack by one half of humanity against the other often are brutal and typically do not disappear within a short period of time. While the bruises quickly may fade, the effects, for example, on a woman's self-esteem can be permanent. Some women may go into a state of crisis

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<sup>74</sup>. DiVasto, "Measuring Rape," 33-35; and Walker, Battered Woman, 61.

<sup>75</sup>. Colao, and Hunt, "Therapists Coping," 205-214; Dowdeswell, Women On Rape, 75-98; and Warshaw, Ms. Report on Rape, 65-82.



shortly after the violence, proceed through a difficult period, and, more or less, recover.<sup>76</sup> Other women may struggle with the effects of the violence for the rest of their lives.<sup>77</sup>

Male violence against women takes a tremendous toll on individuals, society, and even the next generation.<sup>78</sup> The obvious next

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<sup>76</sup>. For an examination of the relations between crisis theory and sexual assault trauma (SAT) or rape trauma syndrome (RTS) see Libby Ruch, and Michael Hennessy, "Sexual Assault: Victim and Attack Dimensions," Victimology, 7(1-4), 1982, 94-105; Dean Kilpatrick, "Rape Victims: Assessment and Treatment," Clinical Psychologist, 36(4), Sum 1983, 92-95; Lenox, and Gannon, "Psychological Consequences Of Rape," 37-49; Coloa, and Hunt, "Therapists Coping," 205-214; and DiVasto, "Measuring Rape," 33-35.

For information on the appropriateness of SAT/RTS as diagnostic tools and the lengthy struggle for their admissibility in court see Bernard Raum, "Rape Trauma Syndrome As Circumstantial Evidence Of Rape," Journal Of Psychiatry And Law, 11(2), Sum 1983, 203-213; Burgess, and Holmstrom, "Rape Trauma Syndrome," 981-986; and Burgess, "Rape Trauma Syndrome," 97-113; Ann Bristow, "State v. Marks: An Analysis of Expert Testimony on Rape Trauma Syndrome," Victimology, 9(2), 1984, 273-281; Helen Lauderdale, "The Admissibility Of Expert Testimony On Rape Trauma Syndrome," Journal Of Criminal Law And Criminology, 75(4), Win 1984, 1366-1416; and Patricia Frazier, and Eugene Borgida, "Rape Trauma Syndrome Evidence In Court," American Psychologist, 40(9), Sep 1985, 984-993.

The argument against the use of RTS in court (presumably, because it is indistinguishable from post traumatic shock) is presented by Rogers Wright, "Of Slithy Toves, Rape-Trauma Syndrome, Burn-Out, Etc.," Psychotherapy In Private Practice, 3(1), Spr 1985, 99-108.

For information on the cycle theory of violence and learned helplessness see Walker, The Battered Woman, 42-70.

<sup>77</sup>. For information on the long term effects of marital rape see Finkelhor, and Yllo. License To Rape, 117-138.

For information on the long term effects of sexual assault, among others, see: Santiago; McCall-Perez; Gorcey; and Beigel. "Long-Term Psychological Effects Of Rape," 1338-1340.

An important article about the effects of sexual assault often lasting longer than the duration of the resources provided by most rape crisis centres is Pat Gilmartin-Zena's, "Rape Impact: Immediately and Two Months Later," Deviant Behaviour, 6(4), 1985, 347-361.

<sup>78</sup>. While it may be difficult to accurately estimate the cost, one example is illustrative of the magnitude of the problem. A Canadian report on wife battering notes that "70% of the women who stayed in shelters in 1985 came with children: 26% with one child, 27% with two,

question is why are men violent? The answer is the focus of the next chapter.

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and 17% with three or more children. This means that, based on this study's previous estimates of the numbers of women who probably stayed in all 230 shelters across the country in 1985, at least 55,000 children stayed in crisis shelters which accepted battered women. As well, at least another 55,000 were the children of mothers who requested shelter but could not be accommodated. This means that, in 1985, at least 110,000 children were living in homes where the mother sought emergency shelter. Of these, the mothers of at least 86,000 children requested shelter explicitly because they were battered. Most of these children were young. Fifty-two per cent were under five years of age, 32% between five and ten, and 16% between 11 and 18." See MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten, 32. These numbers exclude the children whose mothers do not even attempt to use the existing shelters.

## CHAPTER THREE OUTLINE: WHY ARE MEN VIOLENT?

### PART I: PHYSIOLOGICAL THEORIES

- \* Sociobiology
  - Critique Of Sociobiology
- \* Biosocial Research
  - Brain Structures
  - Hormonal Factors
- \* Summary On The Physiological Factors

### PART II: INTRAPSYCHIC EXPLANATIONS

### PART III: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MALE VIOLENCE

- \* The Ideology Of 20th Century Academia
- \* The Contemporary Family
  - Significant Methodological Weaknesses
  - A Varying Value Placed On Extra-Familial Issues
  - Labelling The Family As Dysfunctional
  - Relative Silence On The Role Of The Family In Encouraging Sexual Violence
- \* Images From The Popular Media
  - Limited Male Roles
  - Adoption Of Modeled Roles
  - Linking Men And Violence
  - Violence Against Women
  - Summary Of The Effects Of The Popular Media
- \* The Military
  - Effects On The Individual
  - Effects On The Peer Group
  - Effects On The Family
  - Effects On Society
- \* Peer Group
  - Boys Clubs (Scouts, Cubs, Beavers, Rovers, etc.)
  - Competitive Sports
  - School
  - Common Threads Throughout These And Other Male Peer Groups
  - Conclusions On The Role Of The Peer Group
- \* Pornography
  - Desensitization To Violence Against Women
  - Coupling Sex and Violence
  - Pornography Creates And Reinforces Several Sexual Assault Myths
  - How Do These Myths Affect Us?
- \* Sport
  - Encourages A Deference To Authority
  - Reinforces Hegemonic Masculinity And Its Links With Violence
  - Summary Of Sport
- \* The Social Construction Of Masculinity: Summary

### PART IV: CHAPTER SUMMARY

### CHAPTER THREE: WHY ARE MEN VIOLENT?

Explanations of male violence against women have been based on three main theories: physiological, intrapsychic, and social constructionist. Physiological theorists focus on genetic and biological factors. Intrapsychic advocates rely on characteristics of individual personality. Social constructionists emphasize social and psychological agents. By reviewing these three approaches this chapter establishes a theoretical foundation for the review of existing treatment approaches in Chapters Four and Five.

#### PART I: PHYSIOLOGICAL THEORIES

There are two main approaches to examining genetic and physiological factors. Sociobiologists, focus exclusively on biological factors. Biosocial researchers examine the influence of biology in the context of social and environmental factors.

#### SOCIOBIOLOGY

Sociobiologists are concerned with determining how specific social behaviours--such as violence and nurturing--are the product of evolution.<sup>1</sup> While the roots of sociobiological theory are in Darwin's 19th century theory of evolution, there have been more contemporary advocates.<sup>2</sup> David Barash states that "sociobiology is the application of

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<sup>1</sup>. Janet Shibley Hyde, Half The Human Experience: The Psychology of Women (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co., 1985), 56.

<sup>2</sup>. Edward Wilson, Sociobiology: The New Synthesis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), and David Barash, Sociobiology And Behavior (New York: Elsevier, 1982), cited in Shibley Hyde, The Psychol-

evolutionary theory to understanding the social behaviour of animals, including humans."<sup>3</sup> Barash and E.O. Wilson, another sociobiologist, argue that numerous forms of human behaviour, including violence, militarism, creativity, and sexual assault, are genetically coded to help increase the adaptive capacity of individuals to increase their ability to spread their genes and thus ensure the longevity of their specific gene pool.<sup>4</sup>

For sociobiologists, society is "a very thin veneer over a basic 'core' of human nature, which is grounded in evolutionary theory."<sup>5</sup> The core of human nature relates male and female reproductive strategies and the different social roles for men and women. Sociobiologists argue that genetic composition determines reproductive fitness, which is "the relative number of genes an animal contributes to the next generation."<sup>6</sup> Traditional gender roles are seen as a function of the different genetic reproductive capabilities of men and women.

Since a man is capable of producing millions of genetically coded sperm each day, sociobiologically, it is in his genetic interest to fertilize as many females as possible and have a limited role in child-rearing. Spending time raising the children could reduce the time available for acquiring new partners for impregnation and thus threaten

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ogy of Women, 56.

<sup>3</sup>. Shibley Hyde, The Psychology of Women, 56.

<sup>4</sup>. Juanita Williams, Psychology Of Women: Behaviour in a Biosocial Context (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987), 131.

<sup>5</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>. Shibley Hyde, The Psychology of Women, 57.

the perpetuation of his genetic code. According to sociobiological theory, men who focus attention on childrearing are genetically less fit. Through a process of natural selection over years, their genetic material would lose to the more fit males who focussed primarily on reproduction.

Conversely, women produce only about 400 ova in a lifetime and can actually carry to birth a limited number of pregnancies due to the length of gestation and lactation, and a relatively shorter reproductive life cycle.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the more genetically fit female would need to expend considerable time and energy to nurture and protect her offspring to ensure the perpetuation of her gene pool. This also would require the female to be more selective about her breeding partner. As Wilson states:

It pays males to be aggressive, hasty, fickle, and indiscriminating. In theory it is more profitable for females to be coy, to hold back until they can identify males with the best genes....Human beings obey this biological principle faithfully.<sup>8</sup>

Sociobiologic theorists offer these genetic reasons as explanations for social differences between men and women. Thus virginity and chastity are important for women. Conversely, for men to ensure the future of their genetic material they often must fight among themselves and against women. Territorial wars and sexual assaults are explained as functional requirements ensuring the genetic material of specific

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<sup>7</sup>. Williams, Psychology Of Women, 131.

<sup>8</sup>. Wilson, Sociobiology, 125, cited in Williams, Psychology Of Women, 131.

males. Sociobiologists view such actions not as crimes of violence but as biological necessities.<sup>9</sup>

Sociobiology revived the historic--and often heated--nature/nurture debate by providing credibility to individuals wanting to ignore the role of social forces in human behaviour. A sociobiological perspective leaves us with no control over our social environment. It implies that we cannot change the relations between men and women. We remain forever captive to the requirements of our genetic material.

### Critique Of Sociobiology

Critics of sociobiology focussed on its numerous fundamental flaws. First, sociobiology is based on several unsubstantiated, ethnocentric generalizations. Advocates often describe as universal their perceptions which stem from white, Western, and industrial cultures. As Ruth Bleier, a critic of sociobiology, states, "sociobiologists make unwarranted generalizations about characteristic human behaviors, such as that...women are coy and marry for upward social mobility."<sup>10</sup> Yet the limited number of wealthy, powerful men in the world makes it difficult to support such a universal law.<sup>11</sup>

A second flaw emerges from the failure to precisely identify how

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<sup>9</sup>. Barash, Sociobiology And Behaviour, cited in Williams, Psychology Of Women, 132.

<sup>10</sup>. Ruth Bleier, Science And Gender (New York: Pergamon Press, 1984), 23, quoted Wilson, Sociobiology, 561. Bleier was quoted in Williams, Psychology Of Women, 132.

<sup>11</sup>. Williams, Psychology Of Women, 132.

genes are coded with complex human behaviour and how the codes are translated into behaviour. No such genetic coding has been discovered.<sup>12</sup>

Sociobiologists also do not account for their ahistorical analysis. Our genetic compositions have been evolving for hundreds of thousands of years, while our current mode of human interaction is more related to a specific historic period and can change within relatively short periods of time. Sociobiologists assume that the existing gender divisions are permanent when, in fact, the evidence to verify this is lacking.<sup>13</sup>

The major failing of sociobiologists is their total disregard of the interaction between biological and social factors in creating human behaviour. Sociobiologists trivialize cognitive capabilities. Ruth Bleier, emphasizes that

what has evolved in response to environmental challenge is the brain and its capabilities for learning and culture, not behaviors themselves. Behaviors are products of the brain's functioning in interaction with the external world, and the innumerable patterns of social behaviors, relationships, and organizations that characterize human societies have evolved through cultural transmission within specific historical contexts.<sup>14</sup>

By ignoring the significant role played by the human mind in acquiring social values and using them when interpreting the external world, sociobiologists have reduced the complex relationships between

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<sup>12</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>. Bleier, Science And Gender, 46, cited in Williams, Psychology Of Women, 133. Italics in Williams.



humans to genetic necessity. While the evidence does not support sociobiological suppositions, sociobiology does provide encouragement for those wanting to "rationalize and perpetuate the subordination of women."<sup>15</sup> Such opportunists also have gathered evidence from biosocial researchers.

### BIOSOCIAL RESEARCH

Biosocial researchers have attempted to determine the interrelationship between human physiology and environmental factors. In relation to male violence against women, the role of human brain structures and hormonal variations have received the most attention.

#### 1. Brain Structures

Frederic R. Stearns, D.D. Thiessen, James R. Averill, Frank Elliot, and John Lion are some of the researchers examining the role of basic brain structures in contributing to violence.<sup>16</sup> Elliot's work is of particular interest as he highlights the phylogenetically ancient limbic system of the brain which includes the hippocampus, the amygdala, and the septum. The limbic system is associated with olfaction,

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<sup>15</sup>. Shibley Hyde, The Psychology of Women, 62.

<sup>16</sup>. Frederic R. Stearns, Anger: Psychology, Physiology, Pathology (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, Pub., 1972); D.D. Thiessen, The Evolution and Chemistry of Aggression (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, Pub., 1976); James R. Averill, Aggression: An Essay on Emotion (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1982); Averill, Aggression (1982), 44; Frank A. Elliot, "The Neurology of Explosive Rage: The Dyscontrol Syndrome", in Maria Roy (ed.), Battered Women: A Psychosociological Study of Domestic Violence (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold. Pub., 1976), 98-109; Frank Elliot, "Biological Contributions to Family Violence", in Lawrence R. Barnhill, Volume Editor, Clinical Approaches to Family Violence. The Family Therapy Collection, James C. Hansen (ed.) Rockville, Maryland: Aspen Pub., 1982), 36-58; and John R. Lion, "Clinical Aspects of Wife-battering", in Maria Roy (ed.), Battered Women (1976), 126-136.

autonomic functions, and certain aspects of emotion and behaviour and thus is involved in the progression toward violence.

Another researcher, S. Grossman found that stimulation of the amygdala and septum resulted in defensive and attack behaviours; lesions in this area have produced a calming effect. Grossman also noted that the septum appears connected with feelings of pleasure, often with sexual overtones.<sup>17</sup> Moyer reviewed the animal studies in which the relationship between the amygdala and aggression was examined. He found that different parts of the amygdala seem to control different types of aggression, though he found there was considerable overlap. While more evidence is amassing about the role of the limbic system in behaviour, much remains to be learned. Yet, from the available material, it seems the limbic system may be "important in the instigation and organization of aggressive behaviors that are elicited by a variety of environmental conditions."<sup>18</sup> What has not been clarified in the research, however, is why men are disproportionately more violent than women. One explanation involves men's testosterone levels.

## 2. Hormonal Factors

Testosterone, a hormone central to male/female differentiation, is most frequently cited as a significant contributor to male violence. Yet the evidence does not consistently support the claim. A study of eighteen young men indicated a significant correlation between

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<sup>17</sup>. S.P. Grossman, A Textbook Of Physiological Psychology (New York: Wiley, 1967), cited in Robert Franken, Human Motivation (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Pub., Co., 1988), 316.

<sup>18</sup>. Franken, Human Motivation, 316.

testosterone levels and measures of hostility and aggression.<sup>19</sup> Another study found that ten prisoners with a history of violent and aggressive crimes during adolescence had significantly higher testosterone levels than a similar group of eleven prisoners without a similar history.<sup>20</sup>

Other evidence, however, indicates the links between testosterone and violence are not so clear.<sup>21</sup> Two factors weaken the argument that increased testosterone causes male violence. First, we are not always certain on whether the increased testosterone reported in many studies is a cause or effect of the violent behavior. Second, the effects of testosterone on humans are not as direct as with other animals. It appears that while testosterone may be associated with increased violence, the extent of its effects are not really known and the process is influenced by a multitude of external social factors.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>. H. Persky, K.D. Smith, and G.K. Basu, "Relation Of Psychologic Measures Of Aggression And Hostility To Testosterone Production In Man," Psychosomatic Medicine, 33, 1971, 265-277, cited in Shibley Hyde, The Psychology of Women, 240.

<sup>20</sup>. L.E. Kreuz, and R.M. Rose, "Assessment Of Aggressive Behaviour And Plasma Testosterone In A Young Criminal Population," Psychosomatic Medicine, 34, 1972, 321-332, cited in Franken, Human Motivation, 322.

Kreuz and Rose's results have been supported elsewhere. See: J. Ehrenkranz, E. Bliss, and M.H. Sheard, "Plasma Testosterone: Correlation With Aggressive Behaviour," Medicine, 36, 1974, 469-475; and R.T. Rada, D.R. Laws, and R. Kellner, "Plasma Testosterone Levels In The Rapist," Psychosomatic Medicine, 38, 1976, 257-268, cited in Franken, Human Motivation, 322.

<sup>21</sup>. For a review of the evidence, Hyde refers to Robert Rubin, J.M. Reinisch, and R.F. Haskett, "Postnatal Gonadal Steroid Effects On Human Behaviour," Science 211, 1981, 1318-1324. Cited in Shibley Hyde, The Psychology of Women, 240.

<sup>22</sup>. Shibley Hyde, The Psychology of Women, 240.

# SUMMARY OF THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS ON MALE VIOLENCE

Physiological factors--though not to the degree advocated by the sociobiologists--do affect human behaviour. Various components of the brain are involved in acts of aggression. There is some evidence that increased testosterone levels may lead to increased levels of violence. But the essential part, and the one ignored by the sociobiologists and inadequately emphasized by many biosocial researchers, is that environmental factors play a crucial mediating role. Activated brain systems and increased testosterone do not cause male violence. Instead, they appear to increase the likelihood of one being violent, if the environmental factors are conducive to such a response.<sup>23</sup>

The role of external factors should not be underplayed. If activated brain centres and increased testosterone levels caused male violence, offenders would be indiscriminately violent. Yet most offenders are not randomly violent. They are less likely to hit their boss than assault their wives. Similarly, many batterers choose to hit their female partner on her legs or back rather than on the face where friends and family are more likely to realize what is occurring in the relationship.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, the majority of sexual assaults are between acquaintances.<sup>25</sup> If offenders could not control themselves, it seems

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<sup>23</sup>. Franken, Human Motivation, 320.

<sup>24</sup>. Richard Stordeur, and Richard Stille, Ending Men's Violence Against Their Partners: One Road To Peace (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989), 17-54; and Ron Schwartz, Counsellor, Men's Programme, Evolve, A Programme of Klinik Community Health Centre, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Telephone interview with the author, May 7, 1990.

<sup>25</sup>. Diana Russell, Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse, And Workplace Harassment (Beverly Hills: Sage Pub., Ltd., 1984), 285.

unlikely they would be so selective. Despite this evidence, there remains the popular perception that men will periodically 'blow their cool' and that they have little or no control over such events.

Popular explanations for what are perceived as sudden outbursts often emphasize the various physiological explanations.<sup>26</sup> Yet humans cannot instantaneously move from a complete resting state to one of being of physically or sexually violent. While escalation times vary, we need to psychologically and physiologically prepare ourselves for violence. In the process of a our escalation toward violence, numerous physiological responses--as compared to causes--will ensue and can facilitate the progression toward a violent incident. But it is the numerous social mores and institutions (many of which will be examined below in Part III) which encourage and legitimize male violence--particularly against women. Ultimately, men select they actions they implement. While a sexual offender may be quite sexually aroused, he chooses to attack; he is not a captive of his physiology. Nor is the batterer. He may be very angry at his female partner, but nonviolent response options also exist. He can walk out the door.

To date, the nature of the relationship between male physiology and social factors has not become common knowledge. Numerous myths continue to survive about male violence that are based upon inaccurate interpretations of physiological theories. Two examples are: women should not sexually over stimulate, or anger, a man as he may loose control. At one level, such myths indicate a basic ignorance of human

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<sup>26</sup>. Ron Schwartz, telephone interview with the author, May 7, 1990.

physiology. At another, they serve an important political purpose by absolving men of responsibility for their violence.

Additional research is needed to more accurately delineate the role played by physiological factors in the progression toward violence. Yet this research should be placed in the proper context to ensure that the numerous social factors are not ignored or minimized. Equally important is the need to increase the popular awareness of these results and the existing evidence on the importance of social factors in encouraging male violence against women.

Physiological researchers are not alone in having often understated the social origins of male violence. This process has been aided, for nearly a century, by various intrapsychic theorists.

## PART II: INTRAPSYCHIC EXPLANATIONS

Early in the 20th century, some researchers, particularly within the fields of psychiatry, psychology and sociology, began examining individual personalities for explanations of human behaviour. They argued that we need not simply explore physiological interpretations but must also explore the potential individual psychopathology in men, women, or both.<sup>27</sup> This shift away from physiological explanations resulted in a wide variety of potential intrapsychic explanations. Building upon the work of Freud and others, some clinicians believed they had found the root of male violence in various psychological problems. Among others, these researchers identified the following:

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<sup>27</sup>. James Browning, Stopping The Violence: Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men (Ottawa: National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, Health and Welfare Canada, 1984), 1-2.

immature personalities, personality disorders, poor impulse control, low frustration tolerance, dependency, depression, developmental trauma leading to misogyny or other ego functioning problems, fear of intimacy and/or abandonment, jealousy, addiction, and other psychiatric illnesses.<sup>28</sup>

Male offenders often were portrayed as "sadistic or psychopathic, pathologically passive and dependent or potentially brain damaged."<sup>29</sup> Alcohol frequently was cited as a causal factor for most male violence.<sup>30</sup> Other individuals perpetuated a slightly different version of the dominant myth about offenders being suddenly overwhelmed by uncontrollable surges of aggression or sexual desire.<sup>31</sup> While not relying on physiological explanations, they argued that offenders often were provoked by victims and that abusers were "psychologically sick men or part of a criminal subculture."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>. J. Deschner, The Hitting Habit: Anger Control for Battering Couples (New York: Free Press, 1984); M. Faulk, "Men Who Assault Their Wives," Medicine, Science, And The Law, 14(3), 1974, 180-183, and "Men Who Assault Their Wives," in Maria Roy (ed), Battered Women: A Psychological Study of Domestic Violence (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977); J. Lion, "Clinical Aspects Of Wifebattering," in Roy (ed), Battered Women; L. Schultz, "The Wife Assaulter," Corrective Psychiatry And Journal Of Social Therapy, 6, 1960, 103-111; N. Shainess, "Psychological Aspects Of Wifebattering," in Roy (ed), Battered Women; J. Snell, R. Rosenwald, & A. Robey, "The Wifebeater's Wife: A Study of Family Interaction," Archives Of General Psychiatry, 11, 1964); and A. Symonds, "Violence Against Women: The Myth of Masochism," American Journal Of Psychotherapy, 33(2), 1979. Cited in Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 23-24.

<sup>29</sup>. Browning, Stopping The Violence, 1-2.

<sup>30</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>. Fay Honey Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders: Methods and Models (Syracuse, NY: Safer Society Press, 1984), 27.

<sup>32</sup>. Ibid.

The evidence suggests that violent men have not been common in the caseloads of intrapsychic therapists either as self-referrals--they were and continue to be rare, as offenders usually deny what they are doing--or as court referrals, because convictions were uncommon and those that occurred were treated as criminals and incarcerated.<sup>33</sup>

Larger case loads would not have been the solution. For several reasons, intrapsychic explanations were not favourable to the development of a better understanding or treatment of male violence against women.<sup>34</sup> Donald Dutton cites the following problems:

- (1) a tendency to generalize from psychiatric or prison populations to the population in general,
- (2) a failure to use large samples of wife batterers systematically, (3) the tendency to rely on data provided by the victim, and (4) failure to account for acute situational pressures in the battering relationship.<sup>35</sup>

There is also considerable evidence that few offenders suffer from psychopathology<sup>36</sup> and that those who do, fail to display a consistent

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<sup>33</sup>. Joanne Greer, "The Sex Offender: Theories, And therapies, Programs And Policies," the introduction to Joanne Greer, and Irving Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor: Current Perspectives On Treatment (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1983), viii; and Deborah Watts, and Christine Courtois, "Trends In The Treatment Of Men Who Commit Violence Against Women," Personnel And Guidance Journal, Dec 1981, 245-252.

<sup>34</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>. Donald Dutton, "Wife Assaulters' Explanation For Assault: The Neutralization of Self-Punishment," Canadian Journal Of Behavioral Science, 18(4), 1989, 381-390, paraphrased in Stordeur, and Stilles, Ending Men's Violence, 23-24.

For an example of the problems associated with traditional clinical researchers using small sample populations for verifying their theories, see Faulk, "Men Who Assault Their Wives," in Roy (ed), Battered Women, 119-126.

<sup>36</sup>. R. Maiuro, T. Cahn, P. Vitaliano, B. Wagner, and J. Zegree, "Anger, Hostility, And Depression In Domestically Violent Versus Generally Assaultive Men And Nonviolent Control Subjects," Journal Of Con-



pattern for batterers.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, recent evidence indicates that alcohol appears to facilitate but not cause male violence.<sup>38</sup>

The major problem with the intrapsychic approach is that it fails to account for the social context in which the violence occurs or seriously acknowledge the role of society in encouraging and legitimizing male violence against women.<sup>39</sup> While focussing on the individual man's intrapsychic pathology, little attention was afforded to the original source of his values. Nicholas Groth, a clinician working with sexual offenders, argues that when we examine male violence against women,

we are obviously talking about an issue that is much broader than simply a clinical or psychological issue. It is a cultural, legal, a political, an economic, an educational, a medical, spiritual issue. And if we are going to be effective in combatting this problem, it really means approaching

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sulting And Clinical Psychology, 56(1), 1988, 17-23, cited in Stordeur, and Stilles, Ending Men's Violence, 23-24.

<sup>37</sup>. M. Bograd, "Family Systems Approach To Wife Battering: A Feminist Critique," American Journal Of Orthopsychiatry, 54, 1984, 558-568, cited in Stordeur, and Stilles, Ending Men's Violence, 23-24.

<sup>38</sup>. J. Zacker, and M. Bard, "Further Reading On Assaultiveness And Alcohol Use In Interpersonal Disputes," American Journal Of Community Psychology, 5(4), 1977, 373-383; D. Coleman, and M. Straus, Alcohol Abuse And Family Violence, Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, Boston, August, 1979; and P. Eberle, "Alcohol Abusers And Nonusers: A Discriminant Analysis of Differences Between Two Subgroups of Batterers," Journal Of Health And Social Behaviour 23(3), 1982, 260-271, cited in Browning, Stopping The Violence, 1-2.

<sup>39</sup>. For example, see: Faulk, "Men Who Assault Their Wives," in Roy (ed), Battered Women, 119-126; Lion, "Clinical Aspects Of Wifebattering," in Roy (ed), Battered Women, 126-136; and Natalie Shainess, "Psychological Aspects Of Wifebattering," in Roy (ed), Battered Women 126-136.

it from all of these perspectives.<sup>40</sup>

Largely because of the failings of intrapsychic explanations to address the root causes of male violence, they typically are not used by current group programmes.<sup>41</sup> Increasing numbers of therapists have turned toward examining the role society plays in creating violent men.

### PART III: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MALE VIOLENCE

The third major explanation for male violence is that it is a learned behaviour. But to understand why men and not women typically learn these lessons, we need to place male actions within a social context. We live in a culture that is predicated upon the subjugation of women by men. While the exact origins of the patriarchy are open to debate, there is a general consensus that it has thrived for at least several millennia. The sheer longevity of its existence often is used by some observers to support their physiological assumptions. But even if we are uncertain as to the precise series of events that resulted in the establishment of the patriarchy, we are capable of learning how it has replicated itself since its inception.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>. Nicholas Groth, "Juvenile And Adult Sex Offenders: Creating a Community Response," A Training lecture sponsored by the Tompkins County Sexual Abuse Task Force, Ithaca, New York, June 16-17, 1983, quoted in Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 27.

<sup>41</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 26.

<sup>42</sup>. For more on the debates pertaining to the existence, dominance, and passing of various matrilineal societies, see Gerda Lerner, The Creation Of The Patriarchy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Paula Webster, "Matriarchy: A Vision of Power," in Rayna Reiter, Toward An Anthropology Of Women (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 141-156.

One explanation is that through the creation and perpetuation of a plethora of ideas, values, customs, and institutions, men have been able to obtain and maintain power over women.<sup>43</sup> While accurate, this version of feminist theory, though admittedly greatly condensed, insufficiently explains our social reality. We need to recognize that our society is divided along lines other than those just based on gender. The additional factors include class, race, age, sexual preference, and able bodiedness. A perspective that does not connect these seemingly divergent issues can impair our ability to understand people's actions when they are united or divided along class, race, or gender lines.<sup>44</sup>

While the majority of contemporary researchers accept that our society creates violent men, there is considerable disagreement as to which social forces are most influential in the development of male violence. Many researchers fail (or refuse) to acknowledge the role of specific social structures, beliefs, and traditions as catalysts for male violence.<sup>45</sup> The political and clinical implications of a

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<sup>43</sup>. Susan Brownmiller, Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape (New York: Bantam Books, 1980).

<sup>44</sup>. Ned Lyttelton, "Men's Liberation, Men Against Sexism And Major Dividing Lines," in Greta Hofmann Nemiroff, Women And Men: Interdisciplinary Readings On Gender (Montreal: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, Ltd., 1987), 472-477.

The additional dividing lines would help explain a situation, for example, where women of all classes and racial groups may unite in their opposition to sexual assaults by men but two days later, many of the same women, may be on opposite sides of a bargaining table fighting over an attempt to unionize a textile factory. While the majority of factory owners may be male, women do own businesses and do oppress other women. In this specific example, the major issue is one of class and not gender.

<sup>45</sup>. Richard Stordeur, and Richard Stille, Ending Men's Violence Toward Their Partners: One Road To Peace (Newbury Park, Ca.: Sage Publications, 1989), 23-36.

restricted social constructionist perspective on the treatment of violent men will be outlined in detail in Chapter Five. For the purpose of this chapter, it is sufficient to acknowledge that such ideological differences should not come as a surprise. Many people prefer to leave specific sacred cows undisturbed. Sometimes this is too easily done. Most agents of male socialization have many positive qualities that contribute to the development of non-violent men. One's family and peer group, for example, can be essential sources of support, encouragement, and love. These facts are not being questioned. Instead, the focus will be on the more dysfunctional mirror opposite. Like the child that recognized the Emperor wore no clothes, this chapter will expose the components of the major agents of male socialization that elicit, encourage, and legitimize the creation of violent men.

As was done in Chapters One and Two when examining the various types and effects of male violence, the discussion will proceed alphabetically. This is done for three reasons. First, to do otherwise could prioritize, and thus inherently assign more, or less, value to specific agents involved in the social construction of violent men. Second, not enough is known about each agent for it to be rank ordered. And third, at an individual level, some agents have been more significant for certain men. Many of these differences are likely to have resulted because of variations in social class, regional and ethnic cultures, or specific familial traditions. While differences in the relative importance of one agent over another may exist between specific men or groups of men, the common message linking the following

agents of male socialization is that it is acceptable to be violent toward women.

#### THE IDEOLOGY OF 20TH CENTURY ACADEMIA

Social scientists involved in the creation of the male sex role identity (MSRI) theory have inadvertently encouraged and perpetuated male violence. By giving intellectual respectability to the restricted qualities valued in men by our society, they have legitimized violence as normal male behaviour and obfuscated the greater social, political, and economic power enjoyed by many men in our society.

The century old<sup>46</sup> male sex-role identity theory was the dominant tool used by post-1945 Western psychologists to explain male behaviour. Proponents contend that for people to become psychologically mature members of their sex, they must adopt a male or female sex-role identity which includes various traits, values, and actions that are deemed appropriate for their biological sex. According to MSRI theory, completing this process is not guaranteed. For men, absent or ineffective male role models are two factors that may impair an individual's sex-role identity acquisition. If this occurs, the potential outcomes for males include effeminacy or homosexuality (too little masculinity), and

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<sup>46</sup>. Joseph Pleck, a psychologist that has done extensive sex-role research, dates its "initial formulation" or "explicit development" to the 1930s but acknowledges that "the cultural concerns about masculinity" had developed during the previous century. For an excellent brief history of the male sex-role identity theory see Joseph Pleck, "The Theory of Male Sex-Role Identity: Its Rise and Fall, 1936 to the Present", in Harry Brod (ed.), The Making Of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), pp. 21-38.

hypermasculinity (too much masculinity).<sup>47</sup>

Male sex-role identity theory has been the intellectual construct used in thousands of experiments to try and determine the masculinity, femininity, or androgeny of individuals and groups. While some researchers struggled to assess the degree of sex-role identity acquisition within specific populations, others tried to create generalizable assessment tools that could be used with a variety of divergent populations to determine the extent to which they adhered to the expected sex-role behaviours. Despite the failure in creating a cross-cultural analysis, rarely was it questioned whether such a goal was possible. Only recently has the presumed accuracy of MSRI theory been seriously scrutinized.<sup>48</sup>

When one critically examines the emergence of sex-role identity theory, one point becomes clear: the very theory used to test our socially constructed values is itself a product of the culture from which it emerged. Specific historical realities created and sustained the enthusiasm for MSRI theory. Its popularity has increased whenever there has been a significant concern about the "manliness" of adult males. In the late 19th century, for example, there was a growing consensus among European and North American elites that increased urbanization and industrialization were placing undue limits on the presumed needs

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<sup>47</sup>. Ibid. The popular linking of effeminacy and homosexuality reflects our society's misogyny. Both groups are viewed as lacking masculinity and thus of less value. As long as women are devalued in our society, many straight men will view labelling gay men effeminate to be a serious insult. If femininity were highly valued in our society, the insult would become a compliment.

<sup>48</sup>. Ibid.

of men to be adventurous pioneers. Many feared that men--in the vernacular of the time--were being feminized.<sup>49</sup> This concern was a major catalyst for the resurrection of the Olympic Games in 1895<sup>50</sup> and the establishment of the international Boy Scouts in 1907-1908.<sup>51</sup> The intent was to strengthen the national stock of men through sport, physical exertion, and other traditionally male activities. Despite these efforts, there was a sense that it may have been too little, too late. This belief was reinforced in the USA, for example, when almost half of their World War I recruits were deemed physically or mentally unfit for military service.<sup>52</sup>

Many of those concerned about the feminization of Western males were relieved by what they viewed as the positive effects of the First

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<sup>49</sup>. For more on the feared feminization of men throughout several periods see Michael Kimmel, "The Contemporary 'Crisis' Of Masculinity In Historical Perspective," in Brod (ed.), The Making Of Masculinities, 121-153.

<sup>50</sup>. Bruce Kidd, "Sport And Masculinity", in Michael Kaufman (ed.), Beyond Patriarchy: Essays By Men On Pleasure, Power, and Change (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 250-265.

<sup>51</sup>. Lord Baden-Powell, a commanding hero of the Boer War, started the Boy Scouts. His Aid To Scouting handbook, originally written to help train British soldiers for the Boer War, was adapted for young boys in 1907-1908. The difficulty the British had in recruiting sufficient able-bodied males and in obtaining a decisive victory no doubt contributed to the enthusiastic, official support for Baden-Powell's programme.

For more on the role of scouting in counteracting the assumed feminization of American men see Jeffrey P. Hantover, "Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity", Journal of Social Issues, 34(1), 1978, 184-195.

<sup>52</sup>. Kimmel, "Masculinity 'Crisis' in Historical Perspective", 121-153. For more on masculinity during the 19th century see Joe Dubbert, A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 13-190.

World War. While millions died, men, once again, were on their own, away from women, fighting for their lives. Traditional acts of heroism, such as enduring enemy fire, were glorified, while conscientious objectors and post traumatic shock victims were ridiculed and offered as proof of the deterioration of men. A real man relished battle--or so went the mythology.<sup>53</sup>

Panic struck again when the war ended and millions of noble soldiers returned from the battle fields only to be thrown back into the factories--if they were lucky enough to get a job; unemployment was rampant. While the mid-1920s seemed to bring some stability, the depression of the 1930s was viewed as a serious threat to the breadwinning virility of men in industrial societies. There was a real fear that even if the economy could be revived, male workers would have lost many of their skills and commitment to hard work. The fear was that the economy might never again be as productive.

It was in this context that Lewis Terman and Catherine Miles wrote Sex and Personality. Its publication, in 1934, gave popular perceptions about men's and women's roles intellectual credibility. Terman and Miles were very clear in their approach; men and women were normal

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<sup>53</sup>. Anne Sterling-Fausto, in Myths Of Gender: Biological Theories About Women and Men (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 129, notes that the difficulty most countries have had in recruiting men for the military debunks much of the mythology that men are innately violent and thus would relish the opportunity to fight in a war. While status is provided to the military hero, it seems many men would rather find it elsewhere.

It also should be noted that the class positions of many of the glorifiers of war typically prevent most from serving or at least keeps them a safe distance from the front lines.



to the extent that they possessed specific sex-appropriate characteristics and were abnormal to the extent that they did not. Their work rapidly gained in popularity and was expanded upon by an army of theorists, particularly in the post-1945 period when there was a quick shift from examining masculinity and femininity to focussing primarily on males. There was growing concern, once again, about the feminization of men.<sup>54</sup>

With the Cold War escalating between the USA and the USSR, American leaders in particular, became obsessed with prioritizing traditionally masculine characteristics, and qualities. MSRI theory was a favourite tool used in an attempt to prove that homosexuality, for example, was the antithesis of traditional heterosexual masculinity. Homosexuality and communism were heralded as the two main threats to American society and often were portrayed as opposite sides of the same coin. With Senator Joseph McCarthy's House Committee on Un-American Activities in full swing ruining the lives and careers of many innocent individuals caught in the political maelstrom, it was a dangerous time for men to exhibit characteristics that were less than what was narrowly defined as traditional. To be free of suspicion one had to walk, talk, sit, act, and be sexual in very specific, proscribed patterns.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>. Pleck, "Male Sex-Role Identity Theory," 21-38.

<sup>55</sup>. For more information on the post-1945 American political climate and the accompanying international context see: Robert and Michael Meerapol, We Are Your Sons: The Legacy of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1975); Walter LaFeber, America, Russia, And The Cold War: 1945-1975 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1976); John Chabot Smith, Alger Hiss: The True Story (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1976); and T.E. Vadney, The World Since 1945 (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1987).

Male Sex Role Identity Theory often was used to verify what was appropriate masculine--as compared to homosexual--behaviour. Yet, the presumption that homosexuality could not be a masculine characteristic pointed to one of the five major failures with sex-role theory. First, masculinity is not a historic constant but instead is a socially produced, fluid concept constantly in the process of creation and evolution. Not all the qualities highly valued in men during the 1980s were likely as important during the late 1940s or, for that matter, the 15th century. As one critic has stated, sex-roles, sex-role stereotyping, and sex-role socialization, are "often written and talked about as if they exist concretely rather than being analytic constructs."<sup>56</sup> A second failing is that the male sex role's most valued traits not only vary historically, but also between specific groups. Characteristics expected within men in an immigrant Italian American community will differ considerably from those desired in an Inuit community in the Canadian arctic. Third, even within a designated community, and during a specific time period, there will be variations between individuals as to what is most valued within a male.

Fourth, and most importantly, sex role theorists failed to recognize that by the very process of prioritizing specific traits as more or less masculine (and thus more, or less, valued), they were playing a big role in legitimizing and solidifying the very thing they were testing. Masculinity is not a single concept. Not all men are goal focused, divorced from their feelings, willing to be violent, and

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<sup>56</sup>. Helena Z. Lopata, and Barrie Thorne, "On The Term 'Sex Roles'", Signs, 3, 1978, 720.

heterosexual. There are, in fact, a multitude of masculinities. The MSRI theorists of the 1950s and 1960s avoided the plethora of masculinities, and instead prioritized a specific, valued, and hegemonic variety.<sup>87</sup>

MSRI theory really only compares one individual against the currently dominant, socially constructed cluster of traits most valued by the influential in our society. MSRI theorists denigrate the massive variety among masculinities and clearly favour specific types of masculinities--primarily the qualities found among young, white, middle and upper class, English speaking, heterosexual, and physically able bodied men.<sup>88</sup> To obtain a highly masculine score when tested one should be rational, virile, low in affect, interested in physical activities, hard working, willing to fight for a principal, usually under control, sometimes short-tempered, and always ready for sex.

By the very act of prioritizing certain values, traits, and goals MSRI theorists reinforce the value or importance of those specific qualities. If a majority of men exhibit a certain trait, it should not automatically follow that the trait becomes masculine--and thus of some intrinsic value. All it really means is that a majority of men tested exhibited that trait. It should not follow, as is often the case, that low scoring individuals should be pathologized for being out of step

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<sup>87</sup>. For more on what hegemony entails see Tom Carrigan, Bob Connell, and John Lee, "Toward A New Sociology Of Masculinity", in Brod (ed.), The Making Of Masculinities, 94.

<sup>88</sup>. The MSRI focus has been reinforced in the more contemporary period through the numerous experiments based upon extremely unrepresentative sample populations--university students in introductory psychology classes.

with the majority of their sex. MSRI theory, and its incumbent notion of hegemonic masculinity creates and helps reinforce the prevalent social myths of what it means to be a "real man". MSRI theory can make individuals feel very inadequate. Inherently, it can make men feel guilty for not being more stereotypically male. It implies that an individual man should be concerned if he is not like most other men and should try to rectify his shortcomings. Thus, whenever there has been considerable fear about the feminization of men--as happened in most industrial countries before World War I, during the 1930s, and again in the United States in the immediate post-1945 period--the real concern is over the popularization of specific varieties of masculinity that are not in the best interests of business and government officials.<sup>59</sup>

The fifth failure of sex-role theory strengthened, and ensured, its popularity. Power and class differences between individuals are masked. Robert Connell notes the potential affinity for role theory and social conservatism. He states that role-theory

offers no resistance to a dominated image of people and a consensual theory of society; most role theorists talk as if these WERE correct, and most role applications argue as if they OUGHT TO BE CORRECT. Role Theory plainly appeals to those who like to think that the social order works by mutual agreement; that people ought to do what they are told, and that there is something wrong with those who don't; that force, oppression, and exploitation aren't very important in the everyday working of society; and that the constraints that do operate on people reflect some kind of wisdom, whether of the older generation (socialization) or of the society as a whole (function).<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>. Pleck, "Male Sex-Role Identity Theory," 21-38.

<sup>60</sup>. Robert Connell, "The Concept Of 'Role' And What To Do With It," Australian And New Zealand Journal Of Sociology, 15(3), Nov 1979, 15. Italics, rather than upper case, were in the original.

It is in this sense that MSRI theory legitimizes and obfuscates male violence against women. It establishes violence as masculine, and thus, in our social context, a more valued characteristic.

Both Pleck and Connell, among others, call for an end to the sex-role theory. Where they differ is in estimating the ease of this process. Pleck appears somewhat more optimistic about sex-role theory no longer being a dominant paradigm. Connell seems to recognize that we still have a distance to travel before sex-role theory is no longer taken very seriously.<sup>61</sup> As an indication that things have not dramatically changed, Figures III-1 and III-2 reveal that sex-role theory reached new levels of popularity during the 1970s. It seems less than coincidental that concomitant to the rise of feminism and the inability of the American military to win a decisive victory in Indo-China, many individuals turned to sex-role theory to try and conceptualize the changes that were happening to modern men. Once again, 20th century social sciences were there to perpetuate a corrupt system.

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<sup>61</sup>. Pleck, "Male Sex-Role Identity Theory," 21-38; and Connell, "Concept Of Role," 7-17.

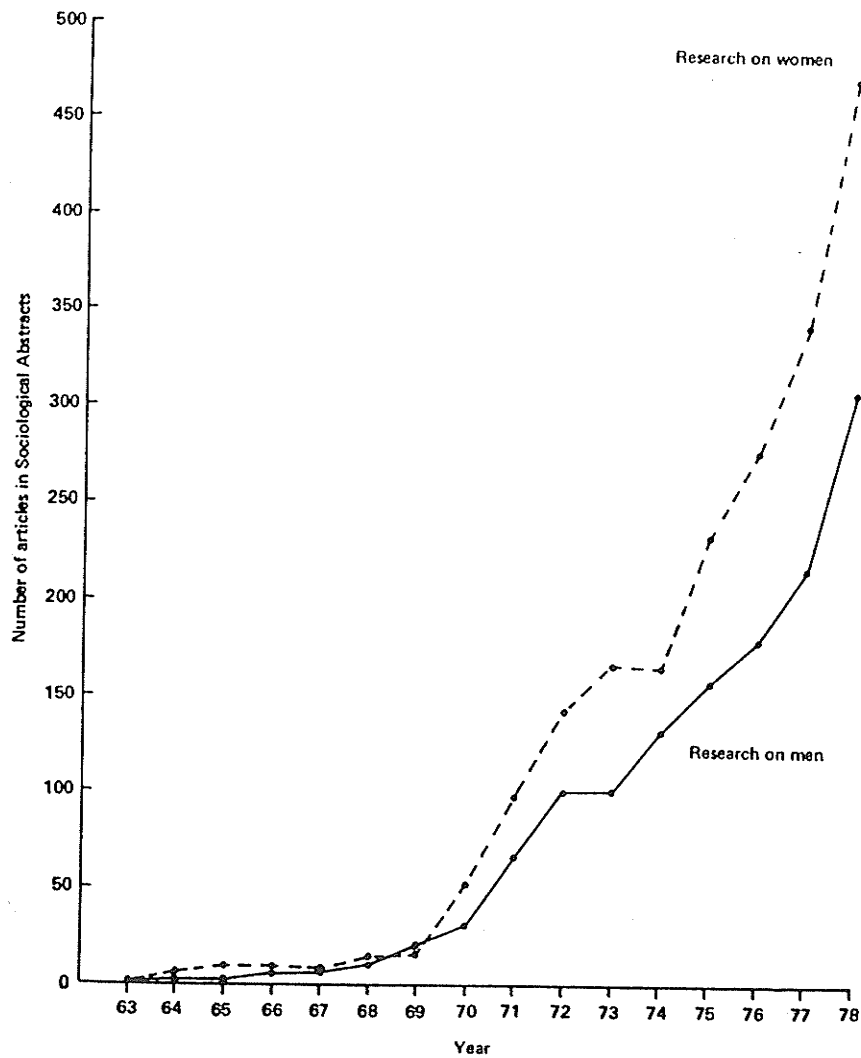


Figure III-1: The Growth Of Sex-Role Research<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup>. Tim Carrigan, Bob Connell, and John Lee, "Toward A New Sociology Of Masculinity," in Brod (ed.), The Making Of Masculinities, 63-100.

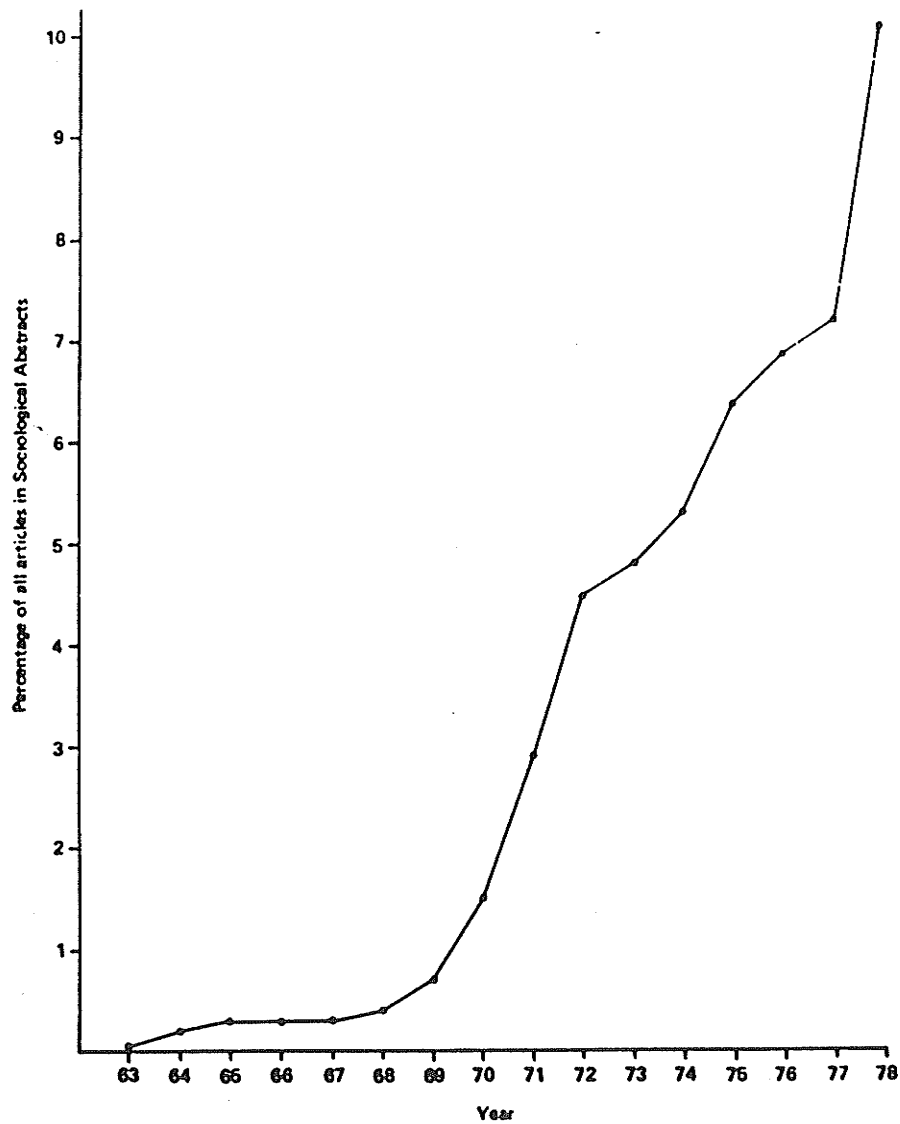


Figure III-2: How Sex-Role Research Claimed A Growing Share Of Research Interests<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup>. Tim Carrigan, Bob Connell, and John Lee. "Toward A New Sociology Of Masculinity," in Brod (ed.), The Making Of Masculinities, 63-100.

## THE CONTEMPORARY FAMILY

Social learning theorists commonly acknowledge that the family is an important context in which many males learn that violence against women is acceptable.<sup>64</sup> Despite this consensus, several problems exist with the literature.

1.) Significant Methodological Weaknesses A typical example is Maria Roy's survey of 150 women sampled at random from 1000 callers on a crisis line. She found that 33.3 and 81.1 percent of the women and men, respectively, came from homes where they were beaten or witnessed their fathers physically abuse their mothers. Unfortunately, when gathering this information, Roy did not speak to the men. Instead she obtained the information from the female respondents who relayed what had been told to them by their partners and in-laws.<sup>65</sup>

Roy herself acknowledged the difficulty in making generalizations from such studies. The use of inferential information garnered from second hand subjects from one crisis centre does not allow one to transfer, with confidence or accuracy, these results to other populations. This information, while helpful, is almost anecdotal and does not give one an accurate impression of what, or why, it is occurring.

Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz present some methodologically stronger studies. They found that witnessing parents attack each other resulted in a tripled rate of conjugal violence for both men and women.

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<sup>64</sup>. For a review of the literature on the intergenerational transmission of violence see Lewis Okun, Woman Abuse: Facts Replacing Myths (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 59-63.

<sup>65</sup>. Maria Roy, "A Current Survey of 150 Cases," in Maria Roy, (ed.), Battered Women: A Psychosocial Study of Domestic Violence (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1977), 24-44.



Thirty-five percent of the men that witnessed domestic violence repeated the cycle. This is significantly different than 10.7 percent of offending partners that never witnessed violence between their parents.<sup>66</sup>

Thus while more reliable evidence does exist, it is what we do with the results that is politically important. The problem is less that people underestimate the role of the family in facilitating the generation and transmission of violence, than that they minimize and ignore extra-familial factors.

## 2.) A Varying Value Placed On Extra-Familial Issues

Significant differences exist between various researchers and clinicians as to the relative weight they afford extra-familial factors as violence encouraging agents of male socialization. There exists a common tendency to emphasize the role of the family and to ignore or minimize factors such as the ideological, economic, and political structures within our society that promulgate beliefs that women are inferior to men and are acceptable scapegoats for their violence. Such authors typically will acknowledge and summarize the importance of extra-familial factors in several paragraphs while spending chapters examining inter-familial causes.

## 3.) Labelling The Family As Dysfunctional

Too frequently, when attempting to explain why violence occurs in a specific family, many theorists label the family dysfunctional. Yet, it is the violent male, not the family, that is malfunctioning. To

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<sup>66</sup>. Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, Behind Closed Doors, cited in Lewis Okun, Woman Abuse: Facts Replacing Myths (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 61.

obfuscate his sole responsibility for his violence works to implicate the other family members--the victims of the violence--as causes for the dysfunction. Admittedly, the man may be very stressed and angry about some important, painful event(s) in his life to which other family members may have contributed, but he is able to choose if, when, where, and how he is violent. He has other options. If he needs help in being made aware of them, the necessary counselling services should be made available, but the other family members must not be implicated as co-conspirators to the violence.<sup>47</sup>

#### 4.) Relative Silence On The Role Of The Family In Encouraging Sexual Violence

While the family often is implicated as a source where males learn to be physically and emotionally violent toward women, there is a considerable gap when one attempts to learn why men sexually offend. Did they learn within their family of origin to be sexually violent? While some males have witnessed sexual violence against their mothers, for example, this is not the case for most sexual offenders.

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<sup>47</sup>. Stordeur and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 25, cite the following family systems examples: S. Hanks, and P. Rosenbaum, "Battered Women: A Study of Women Who Live With Violent Alcohol-Abusing Men," American Journal Of Orthopsychiatry, 47, 1977, 291-306; M. Elbow, "Theoretical Considerations Of Violent Marriages," Social Casework, 58, 1977, 515-526; A. Symonds, "Violence Against Women: The Myth of Masochism," American Journal Of Psychotherapy, 33(2), 1979, 161-173; L. Hoffman, Foundations Of Family Therapy (New York: Basic Books, 1981); J. Geller, "Conjoint Therapy: Staff Training and Treatment of the Abuser and Abused," in Maria Roy (ed.), The Abusive Partner (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1982); D. Everstine and L. Everstine, People In Crisis: Strategic Therapeutic Interventions (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1983); P. Neidig, and D. Freidman, Spouse Abuse: A Treatment Program for Couples (Champaign, IL: Research Press, 1984); J. Weitzman, and K. Dreen, "Wife Beating: A View of the Marital Dyad," Social Casework, 63, 1982, 259-265; and D. Cook, and A. Frantz-Cook, "A Systemic Treatment Approach To Wife Battering," Journal Of Marriage And Family Therapy, 10, 1984, 83-93.

At one level, it may be that the family teaches individual men specific acts of violence. A boy sees his father hit his mother and learns that it is acceptable to hit his wife when he is an adult. Yet we do not know how precisely sons replicate the patterns of violence demonstrated by their fathers. Thus the intergenerational transmission of violence also may occur at a second level. Rather than families simply teaching specific acts of violence (threatening one's female partner with a gun, for example), children may also learn that violence in general is acceptable, regardless of the specific manner in which it is perpetrated. While a boy may witness his father punching his mother, the lesson learned may not only be that punching is appropriate, but that violence against women is acceptable and that the individual perpetrator can decide the manner in which he prefers to offend.

If young males learn in their family of origin that specific acts and/or violence in general are acceptable, this dualistic principle can help explain the vast differences which exist between male offenders. At any given point, each offender has an approximate level of violence beyond which he will not pass, at least for the time being. Thus, some men may slap and punch but will not rape their female partners. Other men will sexually offend, but will not maim and mutilate. But over time, the severity and frequency of the violence often increases.<sup>60</sup>

It is also appears that a similar dualistic principle operates outside of, but interacts with, what was learned in the family. Our

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<sup>60</sup>. Lenore Walker, "The Cycle Theory Of Violence," in Lenore Walker, The Battered Woman (New York: Harper & Row, Pub., 1979), 55-70.

society teaches men that specific acts of violence against women, and/or violence against women, regardless of the manner in which it is enacted, is acceptable, or, at least, tolerable. It is these extra-familial agents of male socialization that must now be examined.

#### IMAGES FROM THE POPULAR MEDIA

Among the factors outside of the family that are central in perpetuating hegemonic masculinity, and its incumbent acceptance of male violence against women, the popular media plays a large role. While the effects of television have been more thoroughly researched, the following patterns are evident in most media.<sup>49</sup>

#### Limited Male Roles

From Rocky to Rambo and Dirty Harry to J.R. Ewing, numerous television and movie plots revolve around young, physically fit, muscular, able bodied, wealthy males who are independent and able to solve all their problems. To do so, they, or someone in their pay, may have to blow up some bridges, shoot several people, engage in car chases, and emerge either unscathed or not bothered by their wounds--real men never cry--so that they can walk off the set with the ever grateful, buxom, blond haired woman fawning over the hero's bulging biceps or bank

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<sup>49</sup>. Potential reasons for the existence of more research on the effects of television include: the presence of the TV in the home; the greater number of hours spent watching the TV relative to viewing movies or reading magazines; and the corporate concern over consumer spending habits. The traditional distinction between the various media have been significantly reduced, however, with the advent of home video rentals and music videos.

account as the credits roll by and the theme music ends the show. While there are exceptions to the rule, too frequently we witness the same theme with only slight variations.

Such roles appear throughout the day, week, and are evident on the Saturday morning television cartoons. A limited variety of masculinities and feminities are packaged and sold to a young and impressionable audience. While the programmes intended for girls involve cleaning, vanity, helplessness (at best, resourcefulness until a man appears), and caring for others. The boys are provided with violent images; creatures running with guns, shooting people, and protecting or rescuing the town, city or planet. During the commercials, the girls pretend to bake and clean, while the boys shoot and slaughter.<sup>70</sup>

#### Adoption of Modeled Roles

The limited male roles contribute to the belief that males are supposed to behave in certain prescribed ways. Admittedly, many researchers will not state that television, for example, directly creates traditional sex role stereotypes in children. There is, however, a growing consensus among those examining the issue, that media images

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<sup>70</sup>. For more on the limited male roles presented in the media see Mike Messner, "Why Rocky III," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 10, Spr 1983, 15-17; Ian Harris, "Media Myths And The Reality Of Men's Work," Changing Men, 16, Sum 1986, 8-10, 44; Richard Dyer, "Male Sexuality In The Media," in Andy Metcalf, and Martin Humphries, The Sexuality Of Men (London: Pluto Press, 1985), 28-43; and Kevin Durkin, "Television And Sex-Role Acquisition 1: Content," British Journal Of Social Psychology, 24(2), 1985, 101-113.

can strongly reinforce existing values.<sup>71</sup>

Nancy Cobb, Judith Stevens-Long, and Steven Goldstein indicate that advertisers who want to target their product to a specific gender need only advertise the product accordingly. They found that children, in their study, aged 4-6, after watching videotapes in which a fantasy character assigned masculinity, femininity, or sex-role neutrality to a standard set of sex-neutral toys, overwhelmingly preferred to play with the sex appropriate toy. In a separate test, they found that when the same toys were identified as inappropriate for their sex, the children preferred to play with another set of less desirable comparison toys.<sup>72</sup> This result may be encouraging as it indicates that at a young age, one could teach children alternative sex-roles. But most toy manufacturers are not interested in social change. If they want to sell an all new plastic submachine gun they will show several young boys having fun shooting each other without anyone dying.

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<sup>71</sup>. Leonard Eron, Rowell Huesmann, Patrick Brice, Paulette Fischer, and Rebecca Mermelstein, "Age Trends In The Development Of Aggression, Sex Typing, And Related Television Habits," Developmental Psychology, 19(1), Jan 1983, 71-77; Barrie Gunter, and Adrian Furnham, "Personality And The Perception Of TV Violence," Personality And Individual Differences, 4(3), 315-321; Barrie Gunter, "Do Aggressive People Prefer Violent Television," Bulletin Of The British Psychological Society, 36, May 1983, 166-168; Chester Pierce, "Television And Violence: Social Psychiatric Perspectives," The American Journal Of Social Psychiatry, 3(IV), Sum 1984, 41-44; Barrie Gunter, and Adrian Furnham, "Perceptions Of Television Violence: Effects of Programme Genre and Type of Violence on Viewers' Judgement of Violent Portrayals," British Journal Of Social Psychology, 23(2), Jun 1984, 155-164; Rowell Huesmann, Kirsti Lagerspetz, and Leonard Eron, "Intervening Variables In The TV Violence-Aggression Relation: Evidence From Two Countries," Developmental Psychology, 20(5), Sep 1984, 746-775.

<sup>72</sup>. Nancy J. Cobb, Judith Stevens-Long, and Steven Goldstein, "The Influence of Televised Models on Toy Preference in Children", Sex Roles, 8(10), Oct 1982, 1075-1080.

Some research indicates that if parents watch the television with their child and later discuss the content of the specific shows or commercials, they can significantly counter the effects of the media on consumerism and sex-role stereotypes.<sup>73</sup> This is good news for parents that are so inclined and able to do so. But the reality appears not very promising for a positive shift in the current generation's sex-role perspectives. Most children spend many hours soaking up media images. One estimate is that the typical 5 or 6 year old watches about 2.5 hours of television per day, with an increase in viewing until it peaks in early adolescence at approximately 4 hours per day. Since television is viewed regardless of holidays, "the average child born today will by the age of 15 have spent more time watching television than going to school."<sup>74</sup> And by the time they are twenty years old, most children will have viewed approximately 800,000 value laden commercials.<sup>75</sup> Of the hours spent watching television, the vast majority is unsupervised and even if the parents are in attendance, their presence does not guarantee a discussion following a show--least of all one that may be critical of the sex-roles portrayed in the show. If the child's parents maintain traditional views on sex-role socialization, the post show discussion--if it happens--may only further

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<sup>73</sup>. See, for example, Kimberly Mattern, and Byron Lindholm, "Effects Of Maternal Commentary In Reducing Aggressive Impact Of Televised Violence On Preschool Children," The Journal Of Genetic Psychology, 146(1), 133-134.

<sup>74</sup>. Robert Liebert, "Effects Of Television On Children And Adolescents," Journal Of Developmental And Behavioral Pediatrics, 7(1), Feb 1986, 43-48.

<sup>75</sup>. Neil Postman interview, "Media File", CBC Radio, Feb 17, 1990.

reinforce the status quo. So while changes are possible, we still have a long way to go if we are to break old patterns.<sup>76</sup>

#### Linking Men and Violence

The research on the issue of violence and the media has been thoroughly investigated--one estimate is that since 1950 there have been over 2500 studies.<sup>77</sup> While considerable evidence points to the negative effects of viewing television<sup>78</sup>, a significant lobby--typically

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<sup>76</sup>. For more on the effects of television advertising see: Barbara Eisenstock, "Sex Role Differences in Children's Identification with Counterstereotypical Televised Portrayals," Sex Roles, 10(5-6), Mar 1984, 417-430; Lori Schwartz, and William Markham, "Sex Stereotyping in Children's Toy Advertisements," Sex Roles, 12(1-2), Jan 1985, 157-170; George Moschis and Roy Moore, "A Longitudinal Study of Television Advertising Effects," Journal of Consumer Research, 9(3), Dec 1982, 279-286; Jonathan Gutman, "The Impact of Advertising at the Time of Consumption," Journal of Advertising Research, 22(4), Aug-Sep 1982, 35-40; Diana Rak, and Linda McMullen, "Sex-Role Stereotyping In Television Commercials: A Verbal Response Mode and Content Analysis," Canadian Journal of Behavioural Sciences, 19(1), Jan 1987, 25-39; and Nancy Cobb, Judith Stevens-Long, and Steven Goldstein, "The Influence of Televised Models on Toy Preference in Children", Sex Roles, 8(10), Oct 1982, 1075-1080.

<sup>77</sup>. David Phillips, "The Impact of Mass Media Violence on U.S. Homicides", American Sociological Review, Vol. 48(4), Aug 1983, 560-568.

<sup>78</sup>. David Loe, Roderic Gorney, and Gary Steele, "An Experimental Field Study," Journal Of Communication, 27(3), Sum 1977, 206-216; Eli Rubinstein, "Television And Behaviour: Research Conclusions of the 1982 NIMH Report and Their Policy Implications," American Psychologist, 38(7), July 1983, 820-825; David Phillips, "The Impact Of Mass Media Violence On US Homicides," American Sociological Review, 48(4), Aug 1983, 560-568; Pierce, "Television And Violence," 41-44; Jonathan Freedman, "Effects Of Television Violence On Aggressiveness," Psychological Bulletin, 96(2), Sep 1984, 227-246; Richard Potts, Aletha Huston, and John Wright, "The Effects Of Television Form And Violent Content On Boys' Attention And Social Behaviour," Journal Of Experimental Child Psychology, 41(1), Feb 1986, 1-17; Lynette Friedrich-Cofer, and Aletha Huston, "Television Violence And Aggression: The Debate Continues," Psychological Bulletin, 100(3), Nov 1986, 364-371; Leonard Eron, and Rowell Huesmann, "Television As A Source Of Maltreatment Of Children," School



with vested interests in the media or corporate communities--continues to fund the production of an equally substantial body of literature refuting the claims of the media critics. This defense of the neutrality of television originated in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a period of rapid expansion in the television industry. Advocates argued that watching violent television is cathartic; the vicarious experience of violence would reduce general aggression as it purges the viewer of such feelings. A 1961 study by S. Feshbach, for example, seemed to provide the proof. College students showed decreased hostility after viewing a violent film--even though they had been goaded by a confederate before the experiment to increase their anger.<sup>79</sup>

Critics of Feshbach's study argued that the decrease in aggression probably was a result of a temporary increase in internal restraints against aggressive acts. To test this hypothesis, Berkowitz and Rawlings, in their 1963 study, once again provoked college students before they viewed a filmed boxing match in which one of the fighters is savagely beaten. The variation on Feshbach's study involved informing

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Psychology Review, 16(2), 1987, 195-202; David Phillips, "The Impact Of Mass Media Violence On US Homicides," in Elliot Aronson (ed.), Readings About The Social Animal (New York: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1988), 132-147; and Leonard Berkowitz, "The Effects Of Observing Violence," in Elliot Aronson (ed.), Readings About The Social Animal (New York: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1988), 235-246.

One study has provided greater detail to the debate by differentiating between the various types of television programming and assessing their respective levels of violence. See Tannis Williams, Merle Zabrack, and Lesley Joy, "The Portrayal Of Aggression On North American Television," Journal Of Applied Social Psychology, 12(5), Sep-Oct 1982, 360-380.

<sup>79</sup>. S. Feshbach, "The Stimulation Versus Cathartic Effects of a Vicarious Aggressive Activity," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 63, 1961, 381.

half of the subjects that the violence they witnessed could be interpreted as "brutality that was unjustified by the victim's prior behavior", and the other half that it was "justified punishment for an unrepentant villain." If the catharsis theory were accurate, the aggression levels would be reduced in both situations. As hypothesized, the subjects who received the "justified punishment" description exhibited more hostility toward the experimenter who had initially provoked them. In believing the retribution justified, their inhibitions about behaving in an aggressive manner were reduced.<sup>80</sup>

Discrediting the catharsis theory in an experiment is very different from changing the popular opinions of millions of people. Throughout the 1960s, many efforts were made to further study and reduce the levels of televised violence. In 1970, for example, after three years of study, the influential United States Surgeon General's scientific advisory committee concluded that there was a "causal relationship" between televised violence and viewer aggression. No previous conclusion of causality had ever been reached by a scientific group.<sup>81</sup>

Yet, even the Surgeon General's report could not redirect television programming. Clearly, the cathartic theory's opponents were up against not only popular beliefs but large corporate backing. If car

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<sup>80</sup>. George A. Comstock, "Sexual Effects of Movie and TV Violence," Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality, 20(7), Jul 1986, 96-101. Another, equally critical study was done by Russell Geen, David Stoner, and Gary Shope, "The Facilitation Of Aggression By Aggression: Evidence Against the Catharsis Hypothesis," in Elliot Aronson (ed.), Reading About The Social Animal (New York: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1988), 247-256.

<sup>81</sup>. Eli A. Rubinstein, "Televised Violence: Approaches To Prevention and Control", Prevention in Human Services, 2 (1-2), Fall-Win 1982, 7-18.

chases and shootings obtained high ratings, which in turn meant big advertising dollars, it was unlikely that the studios would willingly choose to reduce their violent content unless federal legislation or significant public opposition required them to comply. Since the state has shown little interest in enacting such laws and public opposition has been sporadic and lacking equivalent funding, the violence has not been reduced. In fact, in the two decades since the release of the Surgeon General's report, there appears to have been an increase in televised violence, particularly in the 1980s with the arrival of music videos. This escalation has highlighted yet another negative value conveyed in much of the contemporary media.

#### Violence Against Women

On August 1, 1981, Warner Amex Satellite Company launched Music Television (MTV). While originally in only two million homes, by 1984 MTV was in more than 22 million, produced a profit of more than \$60 million in that year alone, and had permanently changed the television and recording business. MTV's success motivated a number of channels and programmes to copy the MTV format in the hope of cashing in on the windfall.

Not only did music videos provide a new forum for creative visual and audio expression while simultaneously reviving declining record sales, they compelled television advertisers to revise the format for most commercials. After witnessing the splashy, capital and technology intensive videos, viewers were not as likely to watch standard commercials with weak scripts and thin soundtracks. Pizzazz was in. This,

coupled with the proliferation of remote control devices for televisions and VCRs, taught advertisers that if they did not captivate the audience within the first 5 seconds of a commercial, the channel might be changed, and some other company with a zippier commercial could entice the viewer to purchase their product. The result of this technological change has been a rapid acceleration in the speed at which images are transmitted.

One study by Richard Baxter and associates revealed the frequency with which violent images are conveyed. Through the use of undergraduate student coders, a random sample of 62 MTV music videos were rated for content. Visual abstractions occurred in 90.3 percent of the videos. Second highest was sex or the portrayal of sexual feelings or impulses at 59.7 percent. Third was dance at 56.5 percent. Fourth was violence and/or crime at 53.2 percent. The breakdown for this category was as follows: physical aggression against people, 26 percent; physical aggression against objects, 16 percent; dance movements imitating violence, 15 percent; destructiveness, 15 percent; use of weapons, 11 percent; physical aggression against self, 8 percent; chase, 7 percent; murder, 3 percent; and victimless crime, 2 percent.<sup>92</sup>

A larger study by Barry Sherman and Joseph Dominick illuminated the gender, class, and racial content of music videos. Between April 6 and May 18, 1984 all videos appearing on MTV, NBC's "Friday Night Videos", and WTBS's "Night Tracks" between 12:30 and 2:30 A.M. (considered video prime time) were recorded. This totalled 42 hours or 366

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<sup>92</sup>. Richard L. Baxter, Cynthia De Riemer, Ann Landini, Larry Leslie, and Michael Singletary, "A Content Analysis of Music Videos", Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 29(3), Sum 1985, 333-340.

videos, an average of 8.7 per hour. The researchers were not interested in performance videos, which totalled 200, so they subtracted them from the remaining 166 concept videos (approximately 45 percent of the total), which were the main focus of the study. Their results are not surprising.

The music video world appeared as predominantly male (men outnumbered women by two to one--the same as in conventional television) and white (there were four times as many whites as nonwhites). Most of the people were between 18 and 34 years of age; few teens were seen, while seniors and children were rare. Raters found that violence occurred in 56.6 percent of the sampled concept videos (in the study cited above, Baxter and associates found 53.2). The average number of separate aggressive acts was 2.86 with some containing 10 or more. Men were the aggressors in almost 75 percent of the cases and an even larger number of times they were the victims. Older adults were twice as likely to be the aggressors as victims. Children were twice as likely to be the recipients of the violence.

The unanticipated occurred when the researchers combined the demographic variables. Forty percent of the women were upper-class while only 30 percent of the men were rated as such. More than 90 percent of the teens were portrayed as lower-class while less than 40 percent of adults fit in this category. Similarly non-whites were portrayed as younger and lower in status. Men were three times more frequently hurt or killed than women, but violence against men was presented more realistically. When the violence was against women, only one in ten appeared visibly affected. Sherman and Dominick noted that too often

the effects of violence against women were glossed over. Similarly, the researchers found that half of the women were provocatively dressed and tended to be portrayed as upper-class. Most of the teens in the videos were male, non-white, and lower-class. And nonwhites were more likely to use weapons and have them used against them than whites. Thus the women were portrayed as "upper-class objects for lower class males with visions of sexual conquest" and weapons were often used to coerce nonwhite females.<sup>83</sup>

Based on the causal relationship found in the Surgeon General's report and the evidence in the Berkowitz and Rawlings study where subjects were more aggressive if told that punishing the victim was justified if they were unrepentant, one can recognize the deleterious implications of a highly violent, sexist, and racist media content.

In an attempt to quell middle class fears that television is encouraging new levels of violence in children, corporate officials often refer to studies indicating the benefits of parents selecting the shows for children, viewing them with the children, and then facilitating a discussion after the show. Such a process can help the children separate myth and image from reality and thus potentially reduce the negative effects of television consumption. Aside from inherently blaming the victim by shifting responsibility for safe television from the producer to the consumer, the corporate giants skillfully evade the reality that most television viewing is not accompanied with the necessary deprogramming. Most rock videos, for example, are viewed with a peer

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<sup>83</sup>. Barry L. Sherman and Joseph R. Dominick, "Violence and Sex in Music Videos: TV and Rock 'n' Roll", Journal of Communication, 36(1), Win 1986, 79-93.

group rather than in a family or individual setting.<sup>84</sup> While adolescents clearly are capable of reasoned thought, they, like all humans, are extremely susceptible to peer pressure. Whether viewed with friends or family, if the viewing environment is such that the adolescent does not feel safe to be critical of the values on the tube, they are unlikely to speak out. Their silence can reinforce the violence.<sup>85</sup>

#### Summary of the Effects of the Popular Media

Much of our contemporary media conveys the message that it is acceptable for males to be violent to other humans. While males more often may be shown being violent toward other men, this still reinforces the belief that men should use violence to deal with their problems. This, in turn, strengthens the other strong media message that minimizes, tolerates, and condones violence toward women. The media, however, is not the only social institution which clearly conveys this message.

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<sup>84</sup>. Tara Ferguson, Account Executive, Much Music Inc., Toronto, states that though they have not surveyed their audience for verification, Much Music assumes most adolescents view rock videos with their friends and not their parents.

As of September 1, 1989, Much Music was available on 90 percent of Canadian cable networks and entered approximately 5 million households.

Tara Ferguson, telephone interview with the author, April 23, 1990.

<sup>85</sup>. D. Millar and S. Baran, "Music Television: An Assessment of Aesthetic and Functional Attributes." Paper presented to the International Communication Association, San Francisco, May 1984. Cited in Sherman and Dominick, "Violence and Sex in Music Videos: TV and Rock 'n' Roll", Journal of Communication, Vol. 36(1), Win 1986, 79-93.

## MILITARY

One may question how an institution like the military can significantly affect the behaviour of individuals which, by the time they are recruited, have had at least 18 years of socialization as a civilian. This section will review several of the venues utilized by the military to more than compensate for this disadvantage.

### Effects On The Individual

Military recruiters are not subtle about their desire to ensure that male recruits are properly programmed.<sup>66</sup> They waste no time in working to break down the individual they have obtained. If the young man has not already, armed services personnel work to ensure that he adopt the rigidly hierarchical, hostile to compromise, uncaring, and violent values of the military.<sup>67</sup> Every new recruit is thrown into basic training, the military's phrase for the process of turning civilians into soldiers, in order to develop human fighting machines; to

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<sup>66</sup>. Although women are recruited into the military organizations of many countries, men comprise the vast majority of recruits (Gwyn Dyer, War: Anybody's Son Will Do, A National Film Board of Canada Production, 1984).

While the role of women in the military requires examination, this section focusses on what the military experience does to men.

<sup>67</sup>. William Arkin and Lynne Dobrofsky, "Military Socialization And Masculinity," Journal Of Social Issues (34)1, 1978, 151-168.

For excellent work on the links between masculinity, the military, and science, particularly in the atom bomb project as the culmination of three centuries of masculine, destructive, and conquering science see: Brian Easlea, Fathering the Unthinkable: Masculinity, Scientists, and the Nuclear Arms Race (London: Pluto Press, 1983); and "Patriarchy, Scientists, and Nuclear Warriors," in Michael Kaufman (ed.), Beyond Patriarchy: Essays By Men on Pleasure, Power, and Change (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 195-215.



turn boys into men.<sup>88</sup> Gwynne Dyer, a critic of the existing international military systems, states,

the secret of basic training is that it is not really teaching people things at all. It is about changing people so that they can do things they would not have dreamt of otherwise. If you want to change people, quickly and radically, what you do is put them in a place where the only right way to think and to behave is the way you want them to. You isolate them. And you apply enormous physical and mental pressure.<sup>89</sup>

Dyer notes that basic training has not significantly changed over the centuries simply because the raw material recruited into the military is essentially unchanged. Our society produces young men that have a fair degree of aggression, a strong tendency to hang around in groups, and an absolutely desperate desire to fit in. The military uses this to develop millions of killers that will operate automatically against the enemy--whoever it may be at the time.<sup>90</sup>

The military skillfully exerts constant pressure to mold the men they want. Recruits are coerced into accepting a variety of masculinity that is held out as the only real option for new male recruits. In the military mindset, if one is not a "real man", he has three other options: boy, homosexual, or woman.

1.) Being Viewed As A Boy: This makes one somewhat redeemable, but change had better occur quickly as this status is not long tolerated. To become a man, one must endure grueling physical endurance tests. One also must silently tolerate various psychological abuses such as

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<sup>88</sup>. Dyer, War: Anybody's Son Will Do.

<sup>89</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>90</sup>. Ibid.

the derogatory name calling during the seemingly endless hours of marching drills, or suffer the indignity of possibly not being allowed a bowel movement during the first week of basic training.<sup>91</sup>

To become the type of man highly valued in the military, one cannot pretend to have adopted the values of the military. To succeed, one must thoroughly integrate the military's hybrid value system that combines heterosexuality with violence. One example, is insightful. The recruit holds his rifle with one hand and his crotch with the other and shouts:

Sir: This is my rifle  
This is my gun  
This for pleasure  
This is for fun!<sup>92</sup>

2.) Being Viewed As A Homosexual: This is the second option, if one is not viewed as a man. In the military, calling someone a homosexual is about the worst--and most frequently used--insult. Most military establishments have a nearly fanatical fear of homosexuality. They know it has the potential to be a major threat. If one is trying to break any connection individuals may have with their emotions, the last thing one needs is men becoming intimate with each other. Homosexuals, real and imagined, have repeatedly been attacked by the military.<sup>93</sup> In many

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<sup>91</sup>. Arkin and Dobrofsky, "Military Socialization And Masculinity," 160.

<sup>92</sup>. James Doyle, The Male Experience (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, Co., Pub., 1984), 226.

<sup>93</sup>. For a description of the US military as a meeting ground for gay men and lesbians during the Second World War, and the beginnings afterwards of gay neighborhoods in cities like San Francisco, see: John D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosex-

countries, the accusation of being a homosexual is adequate reason for a dishonourable discharge. Thus the threat of the accusation helps keep the recruits in line. Men work particularly hard to prove they are the type of men desired by the military.<sup>74</sup>

This system becomes self reinforcing. While the commanding officers may have started accusing the recruits of being gay, the recruits quickly pick up the practice of accusing each other of being a so-called faggot if one's behaviour is not hypermasculine (as if hypermasculinity precluded one from being gay). While gay bashing is not limited to the military, being called a faggot by one's fellow recruits can be a very frightening, and potentially life-threatening, experience.<sup>75</sup> It is not uncommon for such an individual to do something particularly violent to someone or something, in an attempt to forever remove the label.

3.) Being Viewed As A Woman: Reflecting our society's misogyny, it is equally insulting to call a recruit a woman, simply because women often

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ual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 23-39.

A book focussing on the wartime period is Allan Bérubé, Coming Out Under Fire: Gay Men and Women in World War II (New York: Free Press, 1990).

<sup>74</sup>. There are observations on male violence as being linked to homophobia (specifically, men's fear of being perceived as feminine and the stereotyping of gays as sharing feminine attributes) in Michael Kaufman, "The Construction Of Masculinity And The Triad Of Men's Violence," in Kaufman (ed.), Beyond Patriarchy, 12, 17, 19-22.

<sup>75</sup>. Gaybashing, or the direct physical assault attack against someone presumed--for whatever reason--to be gay is but one, albeit an extreme, manifestation of homophobia which involves the more general emotional, financial, physical, sexual, political discrimination against individuals perceived to be gay. For more detail see Greg Kerner, Homophobic Assault: A Study of Anti-Gay Violence (Winnipeg, Gays For Equality, 1983).

are seen as a devalued, but threatening, entity. This combination of viewing females as something to be feared and conquered, endangers their safety. Basic training reinforces this perspective. For example, recruits are shown films warning them of the evils of venereal disease. While it is admirable that the military is concerned with restricting the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, the women in the films typically are portrayed as evil disease carriers. Creating such distrust later legitimizes conquering tempestuous females; there is little official respect for mutually enjoyable sex. The military does not want a bunch of sissies. During a sexual encounter, as in any situation, men are supposed to be in control and call the shots. Women are to be the "receptacle for...sex drives too long held in check." Locker or bar room bragging is right at home in the military. As one person stated: "in basic training...people talked about fucking sheep and cows and women with about the same respect for them all."<sup>96</sup> The use and abuse of women is sanctioned as a way of enabling individual men to affirm their chosen brand of masculinity. Donna Warnock, a US writer, quotes veteran Richard Hale as telling troops on the way to Vietnam, "There's lots of loose ass over there, men, and they just love G.I. dick and best of all they are only gooks so if you get tired of them, you can cram a grenade up their cunt and waste them."<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>. Arkin and Dobrofsky, "Military Socialization And Masculinity," 162.

<sup>97</sup>. Donna Warnock, "Patriarchy is a Killer: What People Concerned about Peace and Justice Should Know," in Pamela McAllister (ed.), Re-weaving the Web of Life (Philadelphia: New Society Books, 1982), 32, quoted in Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, "Feminism and Peace", in Greta Hofmann Neimiroff, Women and Men: Interdisciplinary Readings on Gender (Montreal: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, Ltd., 1982), 518-519.

### Effects On The Peer Group

The military endeavors to make individual men subject to the will and orders of their commanding officers. Since officers cannot always be in attendance in all situations, the military fosters the peer group as a maintainer of the value system. The buddy system helps ensure that individuals are not left alone to think and question the military establishment. The buddy system was not created for the encouragement of intimacy. In fact,

When a recruit mentioned that he and a friend had been separated in violation of the "buddy system" under which they joined, the drill instructor is reported to have asked, 'Do you like Private R?'<sup>98</sup> The next question was, 'Do you want to fuck him?'<sup>99</sup>

The group can assist the officials in controlling and influencing the individual so as to maintain intact the military hierarchy. While individual soldiers may want to question authority or the rationale behind specific orders, they may not for fear of reprisal from the group. Thus, the peer group can play a large role in facilitating the implementation of military inspired violence.

### Effects On The Family

The official word has remained that the military does not have a significant negative effect on the family.<sup>99</sup> This seems strange. Training required that men kill the female within them. The men lived

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<sup>98</sup>. C.J. Levy, "ARVN As Faggots: Inverted Warfare in Vietnam," Transaction, Oct 1971, 18-27, quoted in Arkin and Dobrofsky, "Military Socialization and Masculinity," 163.

<sup>99</sup>. Lt. Col. James McLellan, Canadian Armed Forces, Ottawa. Telephone interview with the author, April 23, 1990.

in an environment that sanctioned violence against women, particularly if they were in combat. They were to be tough and brutal and their problem solving skills were based on violence. All day, they practiced how to punch, shoot, maim, and kill. Even if a man had not done a tour of combat duty, it seems unlikely that when he went home in the evening he would always settle disagreements through peaceful discussion.

The lid on examining violence within military families needs to be lifted.<sup>100</sup> While the frightenly high levels of child, woman, and drug abuse have become something of an open secret among those connected with the military, officially it has been minimized. Most of the rank and file are afraid to say anything. When administrators have acknowledged the problem, there remains a preference to deal with things internally; they do not like admitting the military has negative repercussions on the host society. In their view, if there has been a problem with violence toward oneself, or others, military counsellors are available. Yet relatively few people have risked reaching out for help as everything is placed on the soldier's medical record. Any sign of reduced mental health--even if this consists of questioning why they are being trained to kill or admitting that they beat their wife--could impair the individual's upward mobility in the military. Unless the abuser really went out of control, and flagrantly violated the laws of civil society, the abuse often has been allowed to continue. People pretend that everything is all right, even the abuse victim who feels that to disclose the abuse could well threaten the military career--upon which typically she is dependent--of her father, husband, or

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<sup>100</sup>. Ibid.

friend.

Traditionally, the military has viewed families as liabilities. Their concern has been that new recruits would not mold as easily to the military value system if the family continued to exert a significant control over him. Thus a central part of basic training has been to break the bonds between the recruit and his family. Except for the birth of a child or the death of an immediate family member, personal contact has been prevented. While they have accepted the occasional letter or phone call, both are easily restricted. The ideal woman remains a martyr, enduring the worst, knowing that her partner is doing what is best for her, their children, and the country.

Maintaining women's silence is aided by the extreme isolation most military wives endure. They are expected to move around the planet on a fairly regular basis thus distancing themselves from established family and friends. Living on a military base, or in compound housing, further isolates military wives from civilian peers (or "civies", as they are referred to with derision). Even if contact were desired, different linguistic or cultural backgrounds, frequent relocations, and the knowledge that certain activities will raise the eyebrows and suspicions of the military brass, only further isolate these women. At best, military wives associate with other military people. Their world is extremely closed, isolated, and often reduced to being the support crew for the man in uniform. Such isolation does not guarantee abuse, but significantly raises the ease with which it can occur and remain undetected.

### Effects On Society

We live in a global military order that demands tremendous social, political, economic, and ecological contributions.<sup>101</sup> Growing numbers of people are recognizing that even if we avoid global nuclear annihilation--which many would argue is unlikely without a major shift in our priorities--we will succeed in destroying the values and societies we are so desperately trying to defend. Criticizing of the existing military structure is not, as many defenders would argue, synonymous with believing that the entire structure need be abolished.<sup>102</sup> However desirable, the reality is that individuals trained to defend territories from invasion still are required.

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<sup>101</sup>. Even if all the data were available, it would be particularly difficult to arrive at a total figure as many individual items can have both military and civilian uses. For example, the massive interstate highway system that the United States built in the post-1945 period was designed to allow for rapid troop transport and civilian evacuation in the event of a civil, conventional, or nuclear war.

Noam Chomsky argues that while considerable amounts of information often are available in the West, the existing structures within the media do not encourage, and often appear to impede, its distribution. See: Noam Chomsky, and Edward S. Herman, The Political Economy Of Human Rights Volume I: The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1979), and Volume II: After The Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1979).

<sup>102</sup>. For more on the difficulties experienced by the 1980s peace movement see: Dorothy Nelkin, and Michael Pollak, The Atom Besieged: Antinuclear Movements in France and Germany (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1982); New Left Review (eds.), Exterminism And Cold War (London: Verso, 1982); Ernie Regehr, and Simon Rosenblum, Canada And The Nuclear Arms Race (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co, Pub., 1983); Diana Johnstone, The Politics Of Euromissiles (London: Verso, 1984); Barbara Harford, and Sarah Hopkins (eds.), Greenham Common: Women at the Wire (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1985); and Dimitrios Roussopoulos, The Coming Of World War III Volume I: From Protest To Resistance/ The International War System (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1986).



Existing military establishments excel at making the domestic population feel militarily insecure whenever support seems shaky.<sup>103</sup> And this is done in a typically masculine manner. The bragging of who has the biggest and best missiles is strikingly close to little boys comparing the diameter of their biceps or the length of their penises.<sup>104</sup> This occurs despite an abundance of evidence indicating that most industrial, socialist, and Third World economies on this planet are fiscally overextended because of exaggerated military spending. This contributes to an aggravation of various monetary and political dilemmas; high inflation fueled by massive deficits, minimal capital investment for civilian necessities (houses, social services, or factories producing consumer goods), and, in numerous contexts, restricting, silencing, or slaughtering one's own citizens in order to maintain control over a disgruntled population that witnesses a government's unwillingness to democratically provide the basics of civil society while simultaneously giving the military all that it desires. The following statistics can illustrate the global emphasis on military spending.

- \* The two superpowers have less than 11 percent of the world's population, but 97 percent of all nuclear warheads and bombs.
- \* In the US 170 times as much public research money goes for transport into space as for mass transit on earth.
- \* Three governments in five spend more to guard their citizens against military attack than against all the enemies of good health.
- \* Military-controlled governments are more than twice as

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<sup>103</sup>. Gwyn Prins, Defended To Death: A Study of the Nuclear Arms Race From the Cambridge University Disarmament Seminar (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1983).

<sup>104</sup>. For more on how traditional male values have perverted the issue of national security, see Helen Caldicott, Missile Envy: The Arms Race and Nuclear War (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1985).

likely as other Third World governments to make frequent use of torture and other violent forms of repression against the populace.

- \* At the cost of less than half an hour's world military outlay, the UN's FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] destroyed a plague of locusts in Africa, saving enough grain to feed 1.2 million people for a year.
- \* Weapons of mass destruction, on hair-trigger alert, now hold all of humanity hostage. Enough nuclear weapons are scattered over the globe to kill everyone on earth at least 12 times.
- \* At present levels of world arms spending, the average individual can expect to give up three to four years of [their] life working to pay for it.
- \* Arms imports of developing countries between 1975 and 1985 amounted to 40 percent of the increase in their foreign debt in that period.
- \* Every three days 120,000 children die unnecessarily--the very toll of casualties following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Indeed the children of the world already are living in the rubble of World War III.<sup>105</sup>

Other prices are paid, many that are harder to quantify in monetary units. One example, relates to the training millions of men around the world to kill. In the United States, for example, the military still has to recruit an estimated 1 out of every 4.6 eighteen year old males.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, most European countries have a mandatory two year military tour of duty. While recruiting undoubtedly is made easier by our glorification of the military hero<sup>107</sup>, which is aided, in

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<sup>105</sup>. Ruth Leger Sivard, World Military And Social Expenditures 1986 (Washington, DC: World Priorities, Inc., 1986), 3-7.

For more on the strains the military places on domestic economies, among others, see: Seymour Melman, The Permanent War Economy: American Capitalism in Decline (New York: Touchstone Books, 1974); and Roussopoulos, The Coming Of World War III, Volume I.

<sup>106</sup>. Arkin and Dobrofsky, "Military Socialization And Masculinity," 153.

<sup>107</sup>. For more on the implications of our glorification of specific male heroes, see Mark Gerzon, A Choice Of Heroes: The Changing Face of American Manhood (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1982).

part, by a multi-billion dollar war toy industry<sup>108</sup>, the estimated eighteen million full-time soldiers on this planet<sup>109</sup> continue to be inculcated with violent values. Each one of those men brings back to civil society a high degree of what they learned in the military. Repeatedly being told to "cram a grenade up (a woman's) cunt and waste them" is bound to have some long term effects.<sup>110</sup> Thus we need to recognize the role the military plays in contributing to the currently existing variety of hegemonic masculinity and its acceptance of violence against women. It seems less than a coincidence that the variety of masculinity most preferred in civilian society is not considerably different from that which the military values.

Not surprisingly, many of the same arguments are used to justify male violence against women and war. One popular notion is that war is part of our heritage. Yet, just because a behaviour may be universal does not mean that it is part of our biological nature. While the majority of civilizations may have produced pottery, it does not mean that there is a gene for spinning clay. A second belief is that

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<sup>108</sup>. In 1986, war toys generated \$1.2 and \$16 billion, respectively, in Canada and the United States. The US figure was up from \$10 billion just 6 years earlier. See John Barber, "Warfare In Toyland", Maclean's, 99(50), Dec 15, 1986, 38-41.

The Stop War Toys Campaign indicates that "for every boy aged 5-12 in the US, 2 G.I. Joe products are sold yearly." See: The Stop War Toys Campaign, Box 1093, Norwich, Connecticut, 06360, quoted in Michael Kimmel, and Michael Messner, Men's Lives (New York: MacMillan Pub., Co., 1989), 215.

<sup>109</sup>. Michael Kidron, and Dan Smith, The War Atlas: Armed Conflict--Armed Peace (London: Pan Books, 1983), Part Two: The Weaponry, Subsection 13.

<sup>110</sup>. Donna Warnock cited in Rosenberg, "Feminism And Peace," in Neimiroff (ed.) Women and Men, 518-519.

aggression and war are universal. The existence of peaceful tribal cultures refutes this contention. Similarly, if it were universal and part of our natural heritage, one would assume that the more primitive the society, the higher its level of violence. Yet as Erich Fromm has stated, "the most primitive men are the least warlike...warlikeness grows in proportion to civilization. If destructiveness were innate in man, the trend would be the opposite." Thus, war, like male violence against women, is socially constructed. In diverting the increasingly higher amounts of time, resources, money, and people over to the military we are making individuals within our societies increasingly less able to peacefully resolve conflict and instead making them more violent.<sup>111</sup>

While the military cannot be held responsible for all the indirectly sanctioned violence perpetrated by the men within its ranks, it is no longer acceptable to ignore its responsibility for encouraging violence among those within its ranks and increasing a global milieu in which conflict is resolved through violence. Pretending that the military does not contribute to individual and international violence is a strategy that is wearing thin. If we choose to continue training millions of killers, we must recognize there will be some spillover effects. We lose precious human and natural resources that could be used for human development rather than destruction. An equally important issue is whether we can successfully reintegrate these trained killers into our society. It is unlikely all of them will leave behind

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<sup>111</sup>. Alfie Kon, "Make Love, Not War: We Keep Hearing We Are An Aggressive, Warlike Species, Scientists Keep Telling Us We Have A Choice," Psychology Today, 22(6), Jun 1988, 34-38.

their military values when they hang up their machine guns and battle fatigues. As Gwynne Dyer notes

there is aggression in all of us--men, women, and children, babies. Armies don't have to create it and they can't even increase it. But most us learn to put limits on our aggression, especially physical aggression as we grow up. A crucial part of turning people into soldiers is teaching them to ignore these limits so that in the right circumstances, against the enemy, they'll go all the way and kill.<sup>112</sup>

This is particularly frightening when one recognizes that the pornography industry--one of the Western world's largest and most profitable--bases its profits on portraying women as the enemy. This component will be examined below. But before most males are exposed to pornography, they have already endured the pressures of one or more peer groups that encourage them to be violent.

#### PEER GROUP

As much as we may not want to admit that our parents were right, who we hang around with can have a tremendous influence on what we think, say, and do. While the effect that others may have on us will vary at different times in our lives and between individuals, it is undeniable that we are influenced by others. Despite the rhetoric of masculine independence, the research indicates that men are not significantly less influenced by peer pressure than women.<sup>113</sup> That men are

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<sup>112</sup>. Dyer, Anybody's Son Will Do, An NFB Canada Production, 1983.

<sup>113</sup>. A. Eagly, and L. Carli, "Sex Of Researchers And Sex-Typed Communications As Determinants Of Sex Differences In Influenceability: A Meta-Analysis of Social Influence Studies," Psychological Bulletin,

influenced by others is not inherently problematic. Groups of people can influence individuals toward impressive achievements. What is troubling, and will be the focus of this section, is that for many men, the peer group is an important social learning conduit through which they absorb the methods and acceptability of male violence against women.

There are two main types of peer groups influencing men: the immediate, and the mythical. Both generally exert a strong influence on the individual. The immediate peer group is the one whose existence is generally recognized. It may be comprised of friends, acquaintances, school mates, or co-workers. For individual men, the number, size, and influence of such groups will vary significantly throughout their life. Stereotypically for men, the peer group is most influential during childhood and adolescence. By early adulthood, most men are moving away from their support networks. If they remain connected, they typically may characterize these friends as helpful and important, but not as individuals with whom they could easily talk about crucial personal matters. Since most men at this point in their lives are working to shift their focus from their peer group to an individual, female significant other, and are extremely homophobic, it follows that their

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90, 1981, 1-20; G. Javornisky, "Task Content And Sex Differences In Conformity," Journal Of Social Psychology, 108, 1979, 213-220; and S. Feldman-Summers, D. Montano, D. Kasprzyk, and B. Wagner, "Influence Attempts When Competing Views Are Gender-Related: Sex as Credibility," Psychology Of Women Quarterly, 5, 1980, 311-320. Cited in Elliot Aronson, The Social Animal, 12-55. Aronson notes that women conformed more than men only when the researcher was male or when the group task was male oriented.

friendships suffer.<sup>114</sup>

The second, or mythical, peer group is considerably different in form, but very similar in effect. This group is comprised of all the men in the lives of individual men--all the nameless males that we furtively glance at as we quickly compare ourselves against so as to reassure or castigate ourselves for making, or not making, the grade. The mythical peer group plays a big role in the development and socialization of an individual male. It is nothing tangible, like the immediate peer group, which typically has names to put on real faces. It may be comprised of an individual man's memories of his father ridiculing him for how he threw a football, or it could be his interpretation of a glance he received from an unknown male for wearing a specific article of clothing. The mythical peer group plays a crucial role in encouraging men to thoroughly adopt a hegemonic masculinity, and its encumbent acceptance of violence against women. The mythical peer group is the compilation of images, values, and restrictions we add to, and carry with us, throughout our lives. Whether or not we have an immediate peer group in our lives at a specific point in time is not important, for we always have our mythical peer group which affects our actions and choices as men. It is the mythical peer group which, when the typical male's immediate peer groups are dissolved in early adulthood, continue to significantly influence his behaviour.

What are the values transmitted through the peer group? While individual differences do exist, some generalization can be made about

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<sup>114</sup>. Richard Cohen, "Men Have Buddies, But No Real Friends," For Men, Spr 1987, 7; and Paul Kivel, "The Fear Of Men," Changing Men, 17, Win 1986, 19.

the following late 20th century examples of important male peer groups.

1.) Boys Clubs (Scouts, Cubs, Beavers, Rovers, etc.): Despite the differences between the various groups, substantial similarities exist. Each intends to transmit certain values to the current generation of males. Boys learn how to tie knots, light fires, be independent, thrifty, physically active, resourceful, and set and meet their goals. Each group tries to ensure that young males learn skills that were deemed essential for all boys when scouting was first formed early in the 20th century.<sup>115</sup> While current scouting organizations may try to distance themselves from their early roots, their goals, activities, and organization have not substantially changed. These groups were formed in an effort at compensating for what was perceived to be the feminization of men by late industrial society. Scouting was presented as an institution to revive a sagging masculine virility. It also provided an opportunity for many adult male group leaders, frequently restricted by factory occupations, to fulfill their notions of traditional masculinity.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>. Adolf Hitler's Nazis recognized the "educational potentialities" of the emerging organizations for adolescents in the creation of the Hitler youth. See: Grace Longwell Coyle, Group Work With American Youth: A Guide to the Practice of Leadership (New York: Harper & Brothers Pub., 1948), 11. Coyle cites: Edward Hartshorne, German Youth And The Nazi Dream Of Victory (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941); Erika Mann, School For Barbarians (New York: Modern Age Books, 1938); and Marianne Welter, "A Lost Generation" (Cleveland: School Of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Master's Thesis, 1944).

<sup>116</sup>. Jeffrey Hantover, "The Boy Scouts And The Validation Of Masculinity," Journal Of Social Issues, 34(1), 1978, 184-195



The result is that young boys are removed from female contact and overtly informed that the valued variety of masculinity depends upon them following certain guidelines. The successful scout is eager to acquire all his badges for civic duty, construction, cleanliness, and more. He is also deferential to authority; a good scout respects his elders. Scouting reinforces the mentality of the gang, or in scouting terms, the wolf pack. A good scout is tough, active, and can handle himself in any situation. Reliance on others and cooperation have not been traditional scouting values. A early 20th century quotation is indicative of the scouting ideal.

The REAL Boy Scout is not a "sissy." He is not a hothouse plant, like little Lord Fauntleroy. There is nothing "milk and water" about him; he is not afraid of the dark. He does not do bad things because he is afraid of being decent. Instead of being a puny, dull, or bookish lad, who dreams and does nothing, he is full of life, energy, enthusiasm, bubbling over with fun, full of ideas as to what he wants to do and knows how he wants to do it. He has many ideals and many heroes. He is not hitched to his mother's apronstrings. While he adores his mother, and would do anything to save her from suffering or discomfort, he is self-reliant, sturdy and full of vim.<sup>117</sup>

While scouting does not directly teach boys to be violent toward women, it does introduce and reinforce two important notions that are common to other male peer groups and society at large. The first is a mistrust of women and things feminine. The message is clear; beware of women for excessive association with them will make you less of a man. The second, is that the important values in one's life are to be found

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<sup>117</sup>. J.E. West, "The Real Boy Scout," Leslie's Weekly, 1912, 448. Quoted in Jeffrey Hantover, "The Boy Scouts And The Validation Of Masculinity," Journal Of Social Issues, 34(1), 1978, 191.

among men, particularly among those within the wolf pack--or at least those who adopt a similar, and generally hegemonic, notion of masculinity. The support scouting affords to these two mores forms a foundation upon which the increasingly misogynist values of other male peer groups are laid.

2.) Competitive Sports: While the role of sports in encouraging male violence against women will be examined below in greater detail, it is important to point out the role it plays for many adolescent males. It is through school or community sports that many youth try to verify their hegemonic masculinity or learn the extent to which they do not measure up to their peers. Their degree of success in this area can significantly influence their relative power within the peer group and, in turn, affect the degree to which they can influence the peer group. Once again, hegemonic masculinity is rewarded. Use of the body for goal completion, physical coordination, and fitness are rewarded.

It is in the sporting arena, that many young boys first learn that they are not quite good enough relative to their peers. Early failures can influence future actions. Many men spend the rest of their lives trying to avoid the ridicule they experienced when they were young. This results in many men being extremely competitive, focussed on physical exertion, ignoring physical feelings, and intent on winning.

3.) School: The sheer length of time we spend in school during our formative years makes our school peer groups particularly important. It is here that young boys entering school learn how their older peers will maintain their rank on the pecking order; too often it involves

emotional intimidation and physical force. The fights between young boys on school playgrounds are an important act for those involved in the fight, and for the viewers. They make it clear that physical force is a fundamental component of male power and encourage other males to follow suit. It is also less likely that males who rely on physical strength to solve their problems are going to perfect their nonviolent conflict resolution skills. In fact, in many circles, the man who advocates for the inclusion of conflict resolution skills into a school curriculum may have people, overtly or covertly, questioning his masculinity and sexual preference.

One's school or adolescent peer group also are sources where most males acquire large portions of their knowledge about human sexuality. They quickly acquire significant numbers of myths about male sexuality. These include:

1. Men shouldn't express certain feelings
2. Sex is a performance
3. A man must orchestrate sex.
4. A man always wants and is always ready to have sex
5. All physical contact must lead to sex.
6. Sex equals intercourse.
7. Sex requires an erection.
8. Good sex is increasing excitement terminated only by orgasm.
9. Sex should be natural and spontaneous.<sup>110</sup>

Nowhere is it allowed that young men will not know how to be sexual or will be clumsy. A real man knows how to fuck and has nothing to learn. The message learned is that men always are, or ought to be, in control.

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<sup>110</sup>. The list is from Bernie Zilbergeld, Male Sexuality: A Guide to Sexual Fulfillment (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1981), backcover. While Zilbergeld's list was not intended specifically for adolescent males, it does provide a good summary of that which many young males are taught to value.

Boys begin to view females as physical commodities available for a male's sexual pleasure. Young boys start to view women for the pieces of their body rated against the current mythical feminine ideal. The competition between males and females increases as rape myths are adopted and young males know that to brag of real or fictitious feminine conquests among many male peer groups can score significant ranking points. In a context where, for example, no always means yes, a male regaling his friends about how he ripped off the shirt of a female friend before she succumbed to his evidently amorous advances, is not likely to be accused of acquaintance rape by his peers. His actions, in fact, may urge his peers to do the same; many adult sexual offenders begin offending during adolescence.<sup>119</sup> Within numerous male peer groups, the means, after all, are less important than the goal of "getting laid."<sup>120</sup>

#### Common Threads Throughout These And Other Hegemonic Male Peer Groups

Boys are exposed to at least four common themes in most hegemonic male peer groups. Each one, in and of itself, is problematic. What compounds the problem is that they often act in concert to increase the

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<sup>119</sup>. Robert Longo, "Sexual Learning And Experience Among Adolescent Sexual Offenders," International Journal Of Offender Therapy And Comparative Criminology, (26)3, 1982, 235-241; Joyce Thomas, and Carl M. Rogers, "A Treatment Program For Intrafamily Juvenile Sexual Offenders," in Joanne Greer, and Irving Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor: Current Perspectives on Treatment (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1983), 127-143; and A. Nicholas Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender In A Correctional Institution," in Joanne Greer, and Irving Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor: Current Perspectives on Treatment (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, Co., 1983), 160-176.

<sup>120</sup>. Julian Wood, "Boys Will Be Boys," New Socialist, May-Jun 1982, 41-43.

likelihood of violence against women. They are as follows.

1.) Don't Talk About Your True Feelings: This results in males ignoring how they are emotionally responding to situations and instead responding as they anticipate others expect of them. This is particularly dangerous over time. If a male continues to ignore the plethora of emotional responses to life's multitude of experiences and situations, he may impair his capacity to ever connect with those feelings. Not that the feelings are forever lost, rather the work involved in connecting with them may be substantially increased.

Edward Gondolf and Don Long, among others, have written about the effects on men of funnelling their emotions, particularly how the process can be a significant contributor to male violence against women.<sup>121</sup> They argue that a number of factors come together to restrict men from displaying their full range of emotions (See Figure III-3). What happens over time for many men is they begin to believe that the only acceptable male emotion is anger. What in fact has occurred is that they are ignoring or denying that there were many earlier emotions such as feeling vulnerable, scared, or intimidated, that are not generally acceptable within a hegemonic masculine framework.

The implications of this process are quite evident. Not being able to connect with or identify emotional responses to various situations can impair a man's ability to effectively communicate with others. He runs the risk of never becoming really close to other people simply because he was too afraid or lacked the capacity to let them

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<sup>121</sup>. Don Long, RAVEN, St. Louis, MO., cited in Edward Gondolf, Men Who Batter: An Integrated Approach For Stopping Wife Abuse (Holmes Beach, Florida: Learning Publications, 1985), 42.

The task for men who want to change the old violent and abusive behaviors is to move from the traditional model on the right, where anger is the primary negative or difficult feeling, toward the left, where anger is but one of many clearly identified negative/difficult feelings. We must reclaim our right to the natural human emotiveness that is denied by the limits of traditional masculinity.

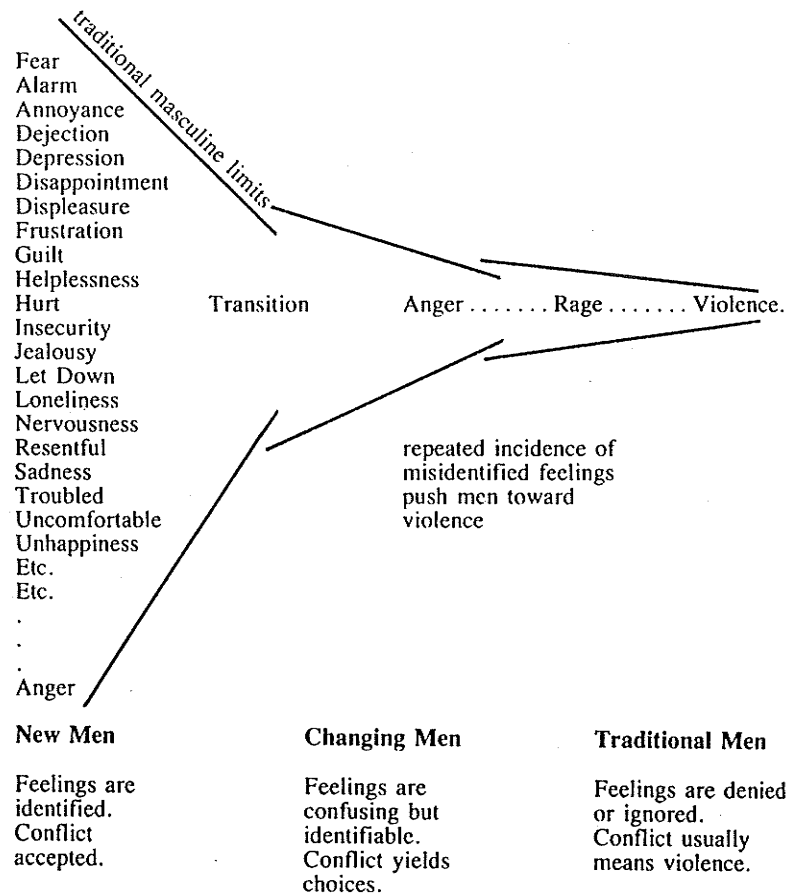


Figure III-3: The Process of Men Funneling Their Emotions.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>122</sup>. Don Long, RAVEN, St. Louis, MO., reprinted in Gondolf, Men Who Batter, 42.

know he cared.<sup>123</sup> There also exists the too real possibility that a man may escalate toward violence because he ignored earlier emotional responses, funnelled his feelings, and rather than dealt with them when things happened, escalated and was violent toward the women in his life. Selecting a female victim was not likely to cause many significant repercussions. Men know that while their boss or teacher may make them incredibly angry, they are unacceptable targets.<sup>124</sup>

2.) Be Aggressive: Building on the pressure for young males not to express a full range of emotions, are the rewards and encouragement provided for aggressive behaviour. This process starts very early and seldom ends. Many parents promote the hegemonic form of masculinity to ensure their sons succeed in life and fit in with their peers. Some parents overtly encourage aggressive behaviour in sons, who, in the parent's view, are not acting tough enough to become "real men." Among others, the process is much more passive, but none the less effective. While girls are dressed in frilly clothes that are impractical for children's play in order to socialize them into specific roles, so are males. The examples are numerous:

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<sup>123</sup>. One recent study has indicated that at age nine or ten, boys and girls are equally close to their best friends. By ages eleven or twelve, boys scoring high on the masculine items of Self-Perception Inventory (a 60 item version of the BEM Sex Role inventory) were significantly less close to their best friends than girls of the same age. These boys were also less close to their friends than other boys who scored equally on masculine and feminine items on the Self-Perception inventory. The Gerald Jones and Myron Dembo study was published in Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 35(4), 445. A synopsis was published in Growing Child Research Review, Apr 1990, 2.

<sup>124</sup>. A sample escalation toward violence is depicted in Chapter Five, V-1.

- \* Advertisements in baby magazines promote army fatigue camouflage sleepers complete with hunting caps, "for the best buddy you'll ever have."<sup>125</sup>
- \* Repeated studies indicate that parents are more physically rough, and less cuddly with young boys.<sup>126</sup>
- \* As children mature, boys are allowed to run, jump, and use physical force more than girls who are likely to be reined in and reprimanded. Boys, after all, will be boys.<sup>127</sup>
- \* From birth, stereotypical families are more likely to provide their boys with war toys. Rather than encouraging them to learn how to cook, clean, and take care of themselves and others, they are encouraged to shoot Uzi machine guns and fantasize with G.I. Joe (who made a profitable comeback in the more conservative 1980s) as he plunders villages and bombs towns. To help develop eye-hand coordination, computer video games reward players for killing or obliterating their prey. It is not coincidental that the word Atari, while popularly known as the name of a top selling computer video game of the early 1980s, also is the Korean verb "to kill."<sup>128</sup>

3.) Goal Completion: The encouragement of aggression and violence in males is compounded by concomitant emphasis on goal completion. As in other parts of hegemonic male culture, goals are most important. Whether the target is the high corporate job, the wife and two kids in the suburbs, or a simultaneous orgasm with one's sexual partner, the process is less important than reaching the end. The focus is on reaching the goal rather than evaluating if it is necessary, and why, or if the chosen process is harmful to one's self or others. Among the peer group, goal completion can be a way of verifying one's connection with a group. Through increasing levels of dares and tauntings, boys can be cajoled into drinking, drugs, break and enters, and crimes of

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<sup>125</sup>. "Daddy's Pride And Joy," an advertisement in Baby Talk, 52(10), Oct 1987, 34.

<sup>126</sup>. Marc Feigan Fasteau, The Male Machine (New York: Dell, Pub., 1975).

<sup>127</sup>. Rhoda Unger, Female And Male: Psychological Perspectives (New York: Harper & Row, Pub., 1979), 167-191.

<sup>128</sup>. Barber, "Warfare In Toyland," 38-41.



violence against people in an effort to try and fit in with a desired peer group.<sup>129</sup> It is not good enough to just be, one has to have accomplished something highly valued by a group. Too often the achievable goals involve the denigration of women.

4.) Women Are Devalued: The peer group reinforces for young males many of the values they may have already learned within their family of origin. The devaluing occurs in two ways. The first involves the multitude of emotional putdowns males hurl at their female peers. While the focus typically is on how the woman's body rates, the jeers also may include comments about her personality, or social skills. The second form of devaluation often is not labelled as such. It involves how men idolize women and put them on pedestals. Traditionally viewed as a compliment, many modern women are realizing there is not much room for maneuverability up on a pedestal. In fact, the very process strengthens a variety of hegemonic femininity that is catastrophically confining. The elevated status allows only certain actions and beliefs, thus restricting--rather than widening--the options open for all women.

Whether men are complimenting or condemning women, too often the result is the same. A woman is objectified. The woman is transformed from a living, breathing person complete with a history, emotions, life experiences, potential, and a soul into a thing with 'a fat ass' or 'huge tits'. She is changed from a person into a thing. Objectification is an important process that facilitates future violence. It is easier to beat and rape something which you do not treat as human,

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<sup>129</sup>. Margo Wilson, and Martin Daly, "Competitiveness, Risk Taking, and Violence: The Young Male Syndrome," Ethology And Sociobiology, 6, 1985, 59-73.

something which is an object. It is considerably more difficult to push a Diane or Joanne down the stairs as compared to a fucking bitch or a whore. Objectification of women into Playboy Bunnies, or Penthouse Pets, decreases the likelihood of perceiving them as human. The result is a decrease in compassion, which in turn can facilitate violence toward others. Objectification of women is discovered repeatedly when interviewing men that have been violent to women.<sup>130</sup>

5.) High Levels of Conformity: Conformity has been defined as "a change in a person's behaviour or opinions as a result of real or imagined pressure from a person or group of people."<sup>131</sup> An increasing body of evidence verifies that the pressure to conform too often is irresistible. Conformity, however, is not a simple fait accompli; there are many factors involved that influence when, where, whether, and to what degree we will change our behaviour to fit with others.

One of the earliest studies on conformity was Solomon Asch's work with groups of people commenting on the length of lines. In one box were three lines of varying length. In another, was one line the identical length as one of the three in the first box. The differences were substantial enough to make it fairly easy to determine which of the two line were of the same length. What pressured subjects to conform was the use of experimenter confederates that would respond according to a predetermined plan. By manipulating the situations in which individuals were asked to respond, Asch obtained a number of

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<sup>130</sup>. David Lampert, Probation Officer, Community and Youth Corrections, Department of Justice, Province of Manitoba, Canada. Telephone interview with the author, April 24, 1990.

<sup>131</sup>. Aronson, Social Animal, 19.

important results. If the subject was asked first to respond their answer was likely to be correct. If one other person answered and dissented from the correct answer, the subject was not likely to conform. Yet when the opposition was increased to two, minority subjects would accept the wrong answer 13.6 percent of the time. If three opposed, the subject's error was 31.8 percent. Raising the ratio higher than three to one did not significantly increase the conformity. What did make a big difference was just having one person side with the subject. Subjects were likely to answer incorrectly only 25 percent as often as under the pressure of a unanimous majority. Asch also verified that having a partner and then being deserted by them dramatically increases the conformity. Other factors include how credible the dissenters or the ally appear to the subject. It is easier to disagree with people with whom one does not want to be associated.<sup>132</sup>

The problem, of course, is that within a peer group, one generally is trying to fit in. Thus the levels of males conforming to other males are high. Elliot Aronson contends that there are at least three responses to social influence. Compliance is the first. The person only agrees to behave in a specific manner as long as there is a tangible promise of reward or threat of punishment. Identification is the second. This involves the person trying to be like the influencer. Like compliance, we are only acting in a specific way. Identification, however, involves a degree of believing in the values or opinions we

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<sup>132</sup>. Solomon Asch, "Opinion And Social Pressure," in Elliot Aronson (ed.), Readings About The Social Animal (New York: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1988), 13-22. Originally appeared in Scientific American, (193)5, 1955.

adopt, compliance does not. The third response is internalization. This is the "most permanent, most deeply rooted response to social influence." At this point one has completely adopted the values or actions as their own. Once it reaches this stage, the influencer is of little importance any more. The value has become the individual's and will be extremely resistant to change.<sup>133</sup>

We do not know where all men are in relation to these three responses to social pressure. While it would be interesting to determine, it is not really essential. It appears that most men have internalized an acceptance of the theory of violence against women. The specific actions, however, will vary between individuals depending upon what they have internalized about what is acceptable. Yet, at another level, whether or not a man has internalized misogynist values is not important. Too often, in order to conform with the group--even if only at the level of being willing to comply--men will commit acts of emotional, physical, and sexual violence against women.

It is within this context that one must place the destructive effect of male silence on violence against women. With Asch's results, one can anticipate what the effect of just one male in a peer group speaking out against a sexist joke or arguing that no really does mean no. To have an ally in the group, would increase the likelihood of others not conforming to the group majority. To remain silent, is to increase the social pressure on other group members to conform. While speaking out may not change the misogynist views of those who have internalized the values, those who are just complying or identifying with

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<sup>133</sup>. Aronson, Social Animal, 12-55.

the values may suddenly be willing to dissent. To date, most men, however, have been content to maintain, rather than break, the silence that perpetuates male violence against women.

Many men, however, are willing to move beyond silence and toward violence. Another famous experiment on conformity illustratives the degree to which humans will hurt one another. Stanley Milgram's classic 1963 experiment involved naïve subjects agreeing to "administer increasingly more severe punishments to a victim in the context of a learning experiment." The subjects utilized a shock generator that had 30 graded switches ranging from Slight Shock to Danger: Severe Shock. Of the 40 subjects, 26 obeyed the experimenters commands and administered the highest shock, while 14 broke off the experiment once the victim protested and refused to continue answer questions. Though Milgram expected signs of tension such as sweating and trembling, he witnessed the "regular occurrence of nervous laughter, which in some [subjects] developed into uncontrollable seizures."<sup>134</sup>

Conformity is not limited to men, but is particularly dangerous when one recognizes that high levels of conformity are occurring within groups of individuals who stereotypically ignore their feelings, are focussed on goal completion, and devalue women.

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<sup>134</sup>. Stanley Milgram, "Behavioral Study Of Obedience," in Elliot Aronson (ed.), Reading About The Social Animal (New York: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1988), 23-36. Originally printed in The Journal Of Abnormal And Social Psychology, 67(4), 1963.

### Conclusion On The Role Of The Peer Group

Admittedly, the peer group is not the only context in which men learn, or relearn, violence toward women. For many males it may start in the family or with the media's portrayal of women and men. But the peer group is a fundamental, and for many men the crucial, learning ground. Peer groups funnel many boys into either complying, identifying, or internalising hegemonic masculinity and its myths about male sexuality, and the acceptability of using emotional, physical, or sexual violence against women to achieve a desired goal.

Like the individual male, the peer group as an entity is influenced by many social forces. One of the major conduits through which many male peer groups acquire their misogynist values is through the consumption of large quantities of pornography. Its role in encouraging male violence against women requires further examination.

### PORNOGRAPHY

While pornography appears to have existed at least as far back as the ancient Greeks<sup>135</sup>, the current multi-billion dollar global industry is primarily a post-1945 industry. Several factors explain why a significant, and initially American, market expanded in the middle of the 20th century.

The US had recently finished fighting the Second World War and Korean War. Millions of American servicemen had received extensive

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<sup>135</sup>. There are numerous histories of pornography. Among others, see: Andrea Dworkin, Pornography: Men Possessing Women (New York: Putnam's Pub., Co., 1980), and Walter Kendrick, The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture (New York: Penguin Books, 1988).

military training, if not actual combat experience, and been exposed to wartime heroism propaganda extolling the virtues of a military masculinity. War heroes were tough, fearless, uncompromising, and fiercely independent. These men also had grown accustomed to the scantily or tightly clothed pin-up women of the 1940s and 1950s. The Betty Grables and Lana Turners were provided to ensure that the American G.I.'s would remember what awaited them back home and would not waver in their commitment for battle.

When war ended, however, and the soldiers returned home, the domestic economy and society were not structured in a manner that easily allowed them to continue developing the wartime hegemonic masculinity. Soldiers, while still needed to maintain the global US postwar economy, were in less demand. This was the grey flannel suit era; conformity to another variety of masculinity was rampant and encouraged. As Barbara Ehrenreich argues, the expectation in the immediate postwar period was for American men to obtain a good job, get married, buy a house, have a couple of children, live in the suburbs, and spend the summers at the cottage.<sup>136</sup>

The sharp contrast between the variety of masculinity expected of the heroic soldier and the grey suited office worker led to a male rebellion. While many men were happy with the security and lifestyle, the masculinity of the grey flannel suit was too claustrophobic for men raised on images of wartime heroism. They were looking for something

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<sup>136</sup>. Barbara Ehrenreich, The Hearts Of Men (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1983), 29-41.

more.<sup>137</sup>

It was in this context, with the publication of the first issue of Playboy in December, 1953, that Hugh Hefner heralded a new era in pornography. As a way of packaging pornography for the masses, Playboy advocated a new lifestyle for middle class, heterosexual, men who, according to the magazine's editorial position, were overly burdened by family obligations. Hefner secured at least thirty year's of prosperity by appealing to a fantasy of wealth, no commitments, and women ravenous for sex.<sup>138</sup>

Packaging was all important. Early advertisements informed readers that Playboy was a trend setter; no longer did one need to carry home a "dirty magazine" in a brown paper bag and keep it hidden under the mattress. Consumers were assured that they could readily leave the "men's magazine" on the coffee table and not be ridiculed.

In actual fact, it was not much of a quantum leap from the wartime pin-up photos of Betty Grable straightening the seams in her nylons or Lana Turner stretching the seams of her sweater to the premier issue of Playboy showcasing Marilyn Monroe, at the time one of America's newest starlets, stretched out on the red silk sheets of a large bed with various body parts strategically exposed. The real shift precipitated by Playboy was not just the increased production of images of naked women. Playboy was selling a philosophy, a lifestyle, which legitimized the increased consumption of these visual images.

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<sup>137</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>138</sup>. For a critique of Playboy's role in accelerating pornography's exploitation of women see Ehrenreich, Hearts Of Men, 42-51.



The values associated with the magazine and lifestyle included: not being committed to a relationship; unabashed heterosexuality; and making lots of money and not having to share it with a wife or children. This lifestyle, while in part a rejection of the postwar hegemonic masculinity, actually facilitated the economic order through the exploitation of women. Many men were unhappy with having to conform to the pressures of large bureaucratic corporate organizations. They feared that grey flannel suit conformity was threatening their masculinity. By reading Playboy, however, they could escape to another world that encouraged frequent, unbridled, heterosexual encounters where they were in control.

The exact number of men who achieved all the components of the Playboy lifestyle was not important. Playboy was selling the perception that it was possible. Suddenly, through the objectification of women, the corporate job became less tedious. Office work could be an means to an end; other options existed, even if only as escape fantasies. The hot sales figures from Playboy's inaugural issue verified it had found a ready market.<sup>139</sup> The figures also announced the arrival of a modern slave trade.

Important similarities and differences exist with the last major slave trade which transported primarily black men from Africa to provide a cheap labour resource for the expanding agricultural economies of the New World from the 16th to the 19th centuries. While the original human commodity exchange may have been abolished, many would argue we have an equally exploitive version with women as the major victims.

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<sup>139</sup>. Ibid.

Though blacks were preferred in the past, today's pornographers are not too particular about a woman's racial origin. They know that if a specific race is not popular with the majority of the pornography consuming public, they can peddle their wares to the specialty market where certain buyers may have a fetish for women of colour.

While the old trade used to sell whole humans, the current one also sells portions of women packaged, once again, for the specialty market. Magazines, movies, and videos market big breasts, shaved vulvas, whipped buttocks, leather wrapped torsos, or prepubescent girls wearing knee high socks and carrying school books. The pornography industry mixes and matches its products to ensure that there is something for every consumer's most bizarre taste.

A woman's earning power within the pornography industry reflects the degree to which she mirrors the current ideal goal for a traditional female: young, thin, and fit. A woman failing on these criteria, however, is not simply discarded by the industry. In the best--or worse--sense of free enterprise, such a woman can increase her marketability if she can provide a unique product. Will she douche with whipping cream, apple pie filling, or chlorine bleach; copulate with a canine; or perform fellatio on an entire football team? Such are the wonders of the current pornography industry that each and every working woman can create a niche for her career. But she had best do it quickly, wrinkles are one thing the industry does not like. Production costs escalate if time is spent air brushing them out.

Not unexpectedly, proponents within the multi-billion dollar industry struggle to protect their profits. They defend the films,

videos, and stage shows as legitimate business ventures providing an important form of entertainment for an established market. Despite the frequent allegations of substantial links with an underground economy funded by international drug smuggling, many within the business take a very high moral position to defend their product. They allege that women are not forced to enlist and that the effects of the industry are only positive. They say it makes the consumers feel good and employs thousands. Who could complain? Of the ten most profitable magazines in the US, six are classified as men's entertainment ventures. The top two, Playboy and Penthouse combined outsell Time and Newsweek combined. In the US, the pornography industry is larger than the film and music industries combined. Pornographic video cassettes outsell non-pornographic cassettes by a three to one ratio. Pornographers admit that within the last two decades their annual profits have shot from \$5 million to \$5 billion. This profit level need not be surprising. A well located adult book, peep show, and live show can pull in over \$10,000 each day. And there is no shortage of adult book shops. One estimate is that the 20,000 across North America outnumber McDonald's restaurants four to one. Pornography is a capitalist success story; "America's most profitable frontier." For years, pornographer's claims went virtually unchallenged. This is no longer the case; the critics have gathered strength.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup>. Not A Love Story: A Film About Pornography, National Film Board of Canada, Studio D, 1981.

In 1977 the California Department of Justice estimated the industry's profits at four billion dollars. It is safe to assume they currently are much larger. For more, see Henry Schipper, "Filthy Lucre: A Tour of America's Most Profitable Frontier," Mother Jones, 5(3), Apr 1980, 30-33; 60-62.

The original opponents came from various churches. Their main concern was with the display of flesh and the vocal and visual acknowledgement that people may be sexually active. It was deemed important to keep a strict rein on the parishioners morality, as many church officials believed it blasphemous to engage in nonprocreative sex. Sex for sex's sake, was sinful. For many years, these were the pornographer's major opponents.

Things changed during the 1960s. The power of most churches eroded as their weekly attendance plummeted. A generation of young people were actively challenging religious doctrine and rejecting many of the remaining repressive remnants of 19th century Victorianism so closely tied with most Western religions. People felt that for too long we had struggled to deprive ourselves of anything sensual. We were not to touch ourselves or others in a sexual manner--or at least admit that we did. We were to keep the body covered as much as possible--even when swimming--for the flesh was sinful. Yet, in rebelling from this claustrophobic, deprived perspective, we ran full speed in the wrong direction. Feminist writer and artist Kate Millett argues that instead of embracing erotica, we were hoodwinked into accepting a burgeoning pornography industry that manipulated a sincere desire for a less repressive sexuality into legitimizing their exploitive product.<sup>141</sup> By the end of the 1960s, the industry was enjoying its most unfettered period. This tranquility did not last long.

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<sup>141</sup>. Kate Millett interview in Not A Love Story: A Film About Pornography, National Film Board of Canada, Studio D, 1981.

In the early 1970s, the emerging women's movement provided significant opposition. Feminists had little difficulty with nudity and in fact often celebrated it as a welcome move away from the earlier repression of sensuality; for too long individuals had been chastised for enjoying their bodies. But feminists recognized that pornography was more than just nudity. They were angered that it displayed a flagrant violation of a man's power over a woman. Violence was the key factor. The repeated images of women on their knees performing fellatio on one or several men, or in some way being violated or degraded, but still ravinously desiring any available man, woman, or broomstick precipitated many local and national efforts to resist or ban pornography.<sup>142</sup>

The debate over censorship has been difficult. Part of the problem has been the use by pornographers of the Western world's belief in freedom of the press to legitimize their business ventures.<sup>143</sup> The difficulty for many feminists opposed to pornography involved establishing a workable definition of what constitutes pornographic material. At a general level, most would concur that pornography involves the visual or auditory display of actions demeaning and violent toward women. This definition, however, is too subjective. How do we as a society establish a consensual agreement as to which images are demeaning to women? While most people may agree that chain saw massacre and rape scenes are pornographic, many magazines and movies fall into a less definite category. Many people may contend that a picture of a

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<sup>142</sup>. For more information on the emergence, and areas of activity, of the women's movement, see below, Chapter Four, Part VI.

<sup>143</sup>. Not A Love Story, Studio D, NFB Canada, 1981.

kneeling women performing fellatio on two standing males portrays a power imbalance between the men and women and thus is pornographic. Yet, does that picture suddenly become non-pornographic if an accompanying image portrays the two men performing cunnilingus on the woman? What is one person's pornography may be another's erotica.

Trying to define pornography was complicated by the variety of seemingly different groups that coalesced to censor pornography. It has been an interesting mix of political philosophies with radical feminists and right-wing conservatives frequently joining forces to limit or ban pornography. Their reasons for action generally are very different. Pro-censorship feminists want to end the generation of material that encourages violence against women. The more right-wing elements of the coalition appear less concerned with violence than in restricting the availability of material which they believe is contributing the diminution of moral values in our society.<sup>144</sup>

On the other side of the debate are many feminists, equally appalled by the misogyny central to pornography, but also fearing the potential outcome of censorship legislation. They know from past examples, the track record has not been promising for exploited social

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<sup>144</sup>. Andre Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon are the two most prominent feminists in the anti-pornography/pro-censorship debate. See: Andrea Dworkin, Pornography: Men Possessing Women (New York: Perigee Books, 1981); Andrea Dworkin, "I Want A 24 Hour Truce During Which There Is No Rape," M. Gentle Men For Gender Justice, 13, Fal 1984, 2-3, 44-45; and Editors, "An Interview With Andrea Dworkin," Sexual Coercion And Assault 1(1), Jan 1986, 17-19.

For more on the social conservative philosophy and contribution to the pro-censorship debate, see: Rebecca Klatch, Women Of The New Right, 1987.

groups.<sup>145</sup> The very laws created to ban pornography could be used to silence birth control counselling, AIDS prevention, art displays, and free speech. Such laws, while initially intended to protect women could be used by specific powerful groups to fulfill various items on the social conservative agenda. The political goals could emphasize prayer in the school and be "anti-sex education, anti-gay rights, anti-pornography, anti-ERA, anti-abortion amendments and anti-evolution."<sup>146</sup>

The pornography and censorship debate has become somewhat of a stalemate. Pro-censorship activists have continued to try and restrict the sale and distribution of pornography. The major effort by anti-censorship feminists has been to encourage significant social value changes by asking numerous questions about the consumption of pornography. For example, if a man spends his lunch hour watching a film in which a female office worker, supposedly in unbridled lust, suddenly rips off her clothes and those of her male coworkers in order to have a mass orgy on the office floor, is this not going to affect how he views the women in his office upon his return from the theatre? Is he going to see them in a different way? Will the women appear less professional, knowledgeable, and skilled in their office duties and more like a sexual commodity? How successfully will he separate the film "fantasy" from reality? How many men viewing that same film will want to make

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<sup>145</sup>. See: Varda Burstyn (ed.), Women Against Censorship (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985), and Burstyn, "Feeling The Heat Of Censorship," Fuse, 45, Spr 1987, 11-18; and Kinsman, Regulation Of Desire, 1987.

<sup>146</sup>. Gary Kinsman, "The New Sexual Censorship Legislation--Just As Bad As Before If Not Worse," Fuse, 45, Spr 1987, 19-20; and Rebecca Klatch, Women Of The New Right (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 201.

the fantasy their reality? In essence, what effect does pornography have on how men relate to women? These and other questions have motivated a cadre of researchers to look for answers. Their results, while not yet complete, confirm three major fears of feminists.

#### 1. Desensitization To Violence Against Women

Numerous researchers are showing through laboratory investigations that media portrayals of aggression against women generally result in more negative attitudes toward and increase aggression against women.<sup>147</sup> Daniel Linz, Edward Donnerstein, and Steven Penrod, for example, have shown that when compared to the control subjects, men who viewed five movies depicting violence against women had fewer negative emotional reactions to the films, perceived them as significantly less violent, and considered them significantly less degrading to women.<sup>148</sup>

Neil Malamuth was one of the first researchers to point to the connection between viewing filmed pornographic violence and increased levels of aggression against women. He had males view either aggressive or non-aggressive pictorials from Penthouse magazine that had been

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<sup>147</sup>. Neil Malamuth and Edward Donnerstein, "The Effects of Aggressive Pornographic Mass Media Stimuli," in L. Berkowitz (ed.), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 15, 1982.

Edward Donnerstein, and Daniel Linz, in "The Question Of Pornography," Psychology Today, Dec 1986, 56-59, warn that we must not draw too narrow a definition of pornography. The effect could be that we might ignore the misogynist values portrayed in the more general media. From their research they conclude "that violence against women need not occur in a pornographic or sexually explicit context to have a negative effect upon viewer attitudes and behaviors" (p.60).

<sup>148</sup>. Daniel Linz, Edward Donnerstein, and Stephen Penrod, "The Effects of Multiple Exposures to Filmed Violence Against Women," Journal of Communication, 34(3), Sum 1984, 130-147.



judged to be equally sexually arousing. The aggressive stimulus pictures implied that the woman was sexually aroused by the rape. The nonaggressive pictures depicted mutually consenting sex. In order to reduce inhibition against aggression, half of the subjects were told that it was acceptable to behave as aggressively as desired. After the stimuli, subjects were insulted by a female confederate and allowed to shock her if they chose. The males that viewed the violent pornography and received the disinhibitory message delivered significantly more shocks than the controls.<sup>149</sup>

Other researchers have supported these results. Edward Donnerstein, for example, had his male subjects angered or treated in a neutral manner and then exposed to a non-aggressive pornographic film, an aggressive-pornographic film, or a neutral film. Upon viewing the film, subjects were provided the opportunity to aggress against either a male or female confederate of the experimenter. The combination of exposure to aggressive pornography, a high level of pre-exposure anger, and pairing with a female confederate victim led to the highest level of aggression. Also of significance, even non-angered male subjects exposed to violent pornography showed significantly higher levels of aggressive behaviour when paired with a female confederate victim.<sup>150</sup>

There also is growing research verification for what many women have argued for years. Suzin Mayerson and Dalmas Taylor investigated

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<sup>149</sup>. Neil Malamuth, "Erotica, Aggression and Perceived Appropriateness," Paper presented at the 86th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Sep 1978.

<sup>150</sup>. Edward Donnerstein, "Pornography and Violence Against Women," Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 347, 1980, 227-288.

the effects of reading pornography on women's self-esteem and attitudes about rape and interpersonal violence and how these effects were mediated by woman's degree of sex-role stereotyping (SRS). They had 96 high and low SRS rated undergraduate females read 1 of 3 sexually explicit stories portraying different combinations of a woman's consent (or no consent) and arousal (or no arousal) to forceful sexual activity. They found that differences attributable to the consent and arousal manipulations were minimal. Yet, compared to not reading a story, reading a story generally led to changes in self-esteem and greater acceptance of rape myths and interpersonal violence. High SRS individuals generally reported lower self-esteem and more tolerance of rape and other violence.<sup>151</sup> This is particularly dangerous in that we know that high SRS women or women whose self-esteem is weakened are significantly less likely to report assaults or seek help.

To compound this problem, recently there has emerged the belief that the effects of pornography in fact may be short lived. By examining the importance of an individual subject's self-reported likelihood to rape (LR), Neil Malamuth and Joseph Centi speculated it may serve as a mediating factor in buffering the effects of pornography. Males that had a high LR score did rate high on their likelihood to act against women. But the results did not indicate that repeated exposure to violent or nonviolent pornography had a significant effect on laboratory aggression in the longer term. Malamuth's and Centi's work has important parallels with Berkowitz's work on media effects. All three

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<sup>151</sup>. Suzin Mayerson, and Dalmas Taylor. "The Effects Of Rape Myth Pornography On Women's Attitudes And The Mediating Role Of Sex Role Stereotyping," Sex Roles, 17(5-6), Sep 1987, 321-338.

warn that one should not trivialize the significance of a short lived effect from viewing violence. While shortlived, it is sufficient to stimulate the viewer's existing behavioural tendencies. Berkowitz alleges that "retrieval cues" found in our environment may be central in reactivating the message portrayed in the media and again strengthen the potential expression of behavioural inclinations. The Malamuth and Centi study revealed that the effects of pornography may not end completely after a short time as they may mix with previously held views through the presence of a retrieval cue. The absence of a retrieval cue of some sort, may well prevent the violence from being exhibited. Once it is provided, however, the effects may be displayed.<sup>152</sup>

This notion that violent pornography may not directly cause men to be violent but may in fact reinforce previously held views is supported by a growing body of researchers. They argue that by the time males read pornography, even as adolescents, they have had many years of internalizing our societies negative values about women.<sup>153</sup> Yet, even if

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<sup>152</sup>. Neil Malamuth and Joseph Centi, "Repeated Exposure to Violent and Nonviolent Pornography: Likelihood of Raping Ratings and Laboratory Aggression Against Women," Aggressive Behavior, 12(2), 1986, 129-137; L. Berkowitz, "Some Thoughts on Anti- and Prosocial Influences of Media Events: A Cognitive-Neoassociation Analysis," Psychological Bulletin, 95, 410-427; and W. Josephson, "The Effects of Violent Television Upon Children's Aggression: Elicitation, Disinhibition or Catharsis?" Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1984.

<sup>153</sup>. Among many others arguing that pornography reinforces previously held views about women, and thus reinforces violence toward women, see: Susan Gray, "Exposure To Pornography And Aggression Toward Women: The Case of the Angry Male," Social Problems, 29(4), Apr 1982, 387-398; Dolf Zillmann, and Jennings Bryant, "Pornography, Sexual Callousness, and the Trivialization of Rape," Journal Of Communication, 32(4), Fal 1982, 10-21; Kenneth Leonard, and Stuart Taylor, "Exposure To Pornography, Permissive And Nonpermissive Cues, And Male Aggression Toward Females," Motivation And Emotion, 7(3), Sep 1983, 291-299; Linz, Donnerstein, and Penrod, "Multiple Exposure To Filmed Violence," 34(3),

we were to definitively determine that pornography only reinforces, as compared to creates, values dangerous to women or that its effects may only be short lived, we still have significant reason to be concerned. The availability of pornography and the annual volumes of sales makes it appear that a large portion of our adult male population are pornography addicts.<sup>154</sup> There always is some available version of pornography, be it on video or paper. Thus the short-lived effects constantly may be repeated and replenished. The resulting cumulative effects may be more long-lasting. Similarly, even if pornography did not create, but only reinforced, negative values, when we reinforce the values of this generation, we are creating the values of the next. While pornography may only reinforce one man's views against women, that man may play an important role in the creation of his son's and daughter's views about women.

## 2. Coupling Sex and Violence

Feminists argued that the display of violence, and not sex, was the problem. The emerging evidence indicates that their concerns were well founded. Levels of violence, rather than sexual explicitness, affect women's safety. Research indicates that it is erroneous to

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Sum 1984, 130-147; and Neil Malamuth, and James Check, "The Effects Of Aggressive Pornography On Beliefs In Rape Myths: Individual Differences," Journal Of Research In Personality, 19(3), 299-320, 1985, 299-320.

<sup>154</sup>. A sample population of university males studied by Dano Demaré, John Briere, and Hilary Lips found that 81 percent of the subjects consumed nonviolent pornography in the last year, while 41 percent and 35 percent used violent and sexually violent pornography, respectively. See, Dano Demaré, John Briere, and Hilary Lips, "Violent Pornography And Self-Reported Likelihood Of Sexual Aggression," Journal Of Research In Personality, 22(2), 1988, 140-153.

assume high sexual explicitness ensures high levels of violence.

Ted Palys, a Simon Fraser University criminologist, wanted to determine if home video technology was increasing the availability of sexual, aggressive, and sexually aggressive content. The experiment involved the selection of 58 videos that were classified in the video outlets as adult (or single-X) and 92 that were labelled triple-X.<sup>155</sup> While all the videos were gathered in various outlets in and around Vancouver, Canada, 89 percent of the videos had been produced in the US, 4 percent in Canada, and 7 percent in Europe. As anticipated, the triple-X videos depicted considerably more sexually explicit content than the adult videos. Quite unexpectedly, however, the adult videos "contained significantly more aggressive and sexually aggressive content, and depicted this violence with significantly greater severity."<sup>156</sup>

Palys's results also helped clarify a popular notion that videos have become more violent. He found no significant increase in aggressive images between 1979 and 1983 for either the triple-X or adult

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<sup>155</sup>. Palys defined "triple-X" as (a) material created primarily for the portrayal of explicit sexual activity; (b) items, or the stores in which they were available, which have been the target of various protest and lobbying groups; (c) the material in "sex specialist" shops; and (d) videos that frequently are cited under the obscenity provision of the Criminal Code of Canada. Palys defined "adult" or "single-X" material as videos that may be labelled pornographic but (a) are available over the counter at most video rental shops--one did not need to go to a specialty shop; (b) were not an embarrassment for the rental store; and (c) have not been targeted for lobbying or media attention. For more information on Palys' coding and selection of the videos, see: T. S. Palys, "Testing The Common Wisdom: The Social Content Of Video Pornography," Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne, 27(1), Jan 1986, 22-35.

<sup>156</sup>. Ibid.

videos. Palys did note that the triple-X videos have become less sexually violent.

This information signals our need to be aware of the effect of images of violence against women in pornography and the more general media. It is these images which encourage and reinforce male violence against women, particularly sexual assault. Sexually violent media images typically are versions of rape scenes which are a fusion of violence in a sexual context. Many of these images, by portraying women as enjoying the violence, reflect the third significant effect of pornography. It reinforces and contributes to negative stereotypes of women by perpetuating various myths that are supportive of sexual assault.

### 3. Pornography Creates and Reinforces Several Sexual Assault Myths

#### Myth #1: Men Rape Because of Uncontrollable Sexual Urges

This belief portrays male sexuality as an autonomous instinct and, like all the myths, removes responsibility from the man for his actions. It implies that the woman is responsible for making sure that she does not precipitate a sexual assault through any actions or dress codes that could sexually arouse the male. In reality, one's sex drive is a learned behaviour, part of the sexual socialization where boys learn that they have a right to use, or abuse, a woman to fulfill their sex drive. Yet, if sexual assault was so instinctual, studies would

not show that 71 per cent are planned in advance or that only 11 per cent are between strangers.<sup>197</sup>

This myth also serves to coerce women into feeling they have to perform sex when they do not want to for fear, for example, that once a man is sexually aroused it can harm his sexual organs if he does not ejaculate. The conclusion is that it is better to submit than to get him angry or upset. This aspect is often referred to as grey rape.

Myth #2: It Is Not Really Possible To Rape A Nonconsenting Adult Female (i.e. No Woman Can Really Be Raped Against Her Will)

Implicit in this myth is the belief that there is no such thing as sexual assault; a woman must consent to sexual intercourse for it to occur. This ignores the reality that fear physically and psychologically impedes, if not paralyzes, a woman's ability to fight back. Not only do 82 percent of the sexual assaults in Canada involve verbal threats or threats with a weapon, but women are socialized to be passive and not fight back.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>197</sup>. Diana Russell, Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse and Workplace Harassment. Vol 155 Sage Library of Social Science Research (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984), 140-142, 284-285.

<sup>198</sup>. Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Rape And Sexual Assault: Fact Sheet #4. Ottawa, Ontario, reprinted in Trace Porteous, Rhona Loptson, and Nora Janitis, Let's Talk About Sexual Assault (Victoria: Victoria Women's Sexual Assault Centre, 1984), 4. For works dealing with female socialization and sexual assault, see: Lorraine Clark, and Debra Lewis, Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1977); Susan Griffin, Rape: The Politics of Consciousness (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Pub., 1979, 1986); Pauline Burt, "A Study of Women Who Both Were Raped and Avoided Rape," Journal of Social Issues, 37-4, 1981, 123-137; Stephanie Riger, and Margaret Gordon, "The Fear Of Rape: A Study in Social Control", Journal of Social Issues, 37-4, 1981, 71-92; Sandra Sutherland, and Donald Scherl, "Patterns Of Response Among Victims Of Rape," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 40-3, Apr 1970, 503-511; and Julia Schwendinger, and Herman Schwendinger, "Studying Rape: Integrating Research and Social Change," in Carol Smart, and Barry Smart (eds.), Women, Sexuality,

This myth removes the responsibility from the man by implying that had the woman really wanted, she could have stopped the assault. It is this myth that often impairs a woman's recovery from the post-assault feelings of self-doubt, guilt, shame, and blame. Unless the woman was severely beaten and bruised, police, hospital workers, clinicians, friends, family, and the victim herself often believe, at some level, that she did not adequately resist and probably consented to the attack. There is a preposterous double standard at work here. If, for example, a person is robbed of their wallet, their violation is not doubted if they were not also physically beaten. Muggings happen without severe visible physical trauma to the victim. Sexual assaults, however, must result in blood, bruises, and broken bones. Otherwise the woman was "just wanting it."<sup>159</sup>

#### Myth #3: "Nice Girls" Do Not Get Sexually Assaulted

This myth gives the false impression that if a woman conforms to the current, socially prescribed notion of nice girl behaviour, she will be immune to sexual assault. This is predicated on the assumption that there is a preconceived way of judging what is "nice" and what is "loose" or "bad". Yet even if there were some collectively agreed upon distinctions, one must ask why "loose women" would be deserving of sexual assault. This sets up a no win situation for women. Society says

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and Social Control (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 104-118.

<sup>159</sup>. Barbara White, and Donald Mosher, "Experimental Validation of a Model for Predicting the Reporting of Rape", Sexual Coercion and Assault, 1-2, 1986, 43-55, Sandra Turner, and Flora Colao, "Alcoholism and Sexual Assault: A Treatment Approach for Women Exploring Both Issues." Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly, 2-1, Spr 1985, 91-103; and K. Edward Renner, and Carol Wackett, "Sexual Assault: Social and Stranger Rape", Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health 6-1, Spr 987, 49-56.



they are supposed to be attractive and alluring yet blames women for their provocative appearance if they are sexually assaulted.

All women are vulnerable to sexual assault. Victims range in age from birth to well into their 90s. Virtue is not a guarantee of freedom from sexual assault. A woman's consent--not her level of socially defined virtue--should be the criterion for a sexual interaction.<sup>140</sup>

Myth #4: Women Ask To Be Raped...And Probably Enjoy It

Once again the woman is held responsible for avoiding behaviour that a man or men may interpret as an invitation for sexual assault. If she does not avoid certain behaviours, she takes the consequences. One problem is that any behaviour by a female could be construed as "asking for it". Not surprisingly, many males in our society feel that women who step beyond those limits (i.e. walking alone at night) are (sub)consciously asking to be sexually assaulted. This myth undoubtedly puts tremendous limits on women's behaviour. It is an important form of social control. Even if our society could itemize the limits, and women did conform to them, they still would not be safe from sexual assault. Women asleep at home or opening their door to allow in a repairman frequently are sexually assaulted.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup>. Clive Seligman, Julie Brickman, and David Koulack, "Rape and Physical Attractiveness: Assigning Responsibility To Victims" (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, draft copy, undated); and Porteous, Loftson, and Janitis, Lets's Talk About Sexual Assault, 6.

<sup>141</sup>. Brownmiller, Against Our Will, 315-317; 319; Carol Smart, and Barry Smart, "Accounting For Rape: Reality and Myth in Press Reporting", in Carol Smart, and Barry Smart (eds.), Women, Sexuality, and Social Control (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 89-103; Riger, and Gordon, "The Fear of Rape," 71-92; and Radar, "Sexual Harassment: A Form of Social Control", 168-180.

### Myth #5: Most Rapists Are Mentally Ill

This myth also removes responsibility for the assault from the man. It says that the man who sexually assaults is mentally disturbed, is not rational, and therefore not responsible for his actions. Yet numerous studies disprove this and show that fewer than 5 percent of all men who sexually assault were psychotic at the time of the assault.<sup>142</sup> So if the vast majority of sexual assaults are committed by normal males, this myth serves two functions. First, it wrongly blames a segment of our population that is already largely ostracized. When dealing with the mentally ill this myth gets reversed; all mentally ill males are rapists. This works to further isolate individuals who--like all people--often could utilize some encouragement and support. The "most rapists are mentally ill" myth also encourages women to trust all "normal" males. This myth often gets combined with the "nice girls don't get raped" myth in the following way. For the woman assaulted by an acquaintance, she might conclude that she was responsible because he was a nice "normal" guy.

### How Do These Myths Affect Us?

Sexual assault myths have been defined as false beliefs about sexual assault "which seek to deny or make light of its effects on the

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<sup>142</sup>. For example, see: C.G. Abel; J.V. Becker; and L.J. Skinner, "Aggressive Behaviour and Sex", Psychiatric Clinics of North America, 3, 1980, 133-151, cited in James Check, and Neil Malamuth, "An Empirical Assessment of Some Feminist Hypotheses About Rape," International Journal of Women's Studies, 8-4, Sep-Oct, 1985, 415.

victim, in fact blame the [sexual assault] on the victim."<sup>143</sup> Sexual assault is a function of a certain kind of society with specific values, beliefs, and definitions central to it, one of which historically and traditionally defined women as the property and possessions of men, and defined men as patriarchs, breadwinners, and rulers. People were accorded status, authority, control, and power in part by their gender.

As with any social/political value system, the ideology it represents becomes entrenched in the day to day functioning of the society. With little or no resistance to the ideology, it becomes accepted as reality, as truth. Moreover, it becomes internalized by both women and men and, consequently, shapes their beliefs and attitudes. When those beliefs distort the definitions of and responses to sexual assault, deny or make light of its effect on the victim, or work to perpetuate male oriented conceptions of sexual assault on the victim, they function as a system of myths, a mythology of attitudes and beliefs around

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<sup>143</sup>. John Briere, Neil Malamuth, and James Check, "Sexuality and Rape Supportive Beliefs," International Journal of Women's Studies, 8-4, Sep-Oct 1985, 398. Italics in the original.

For information on the pervasiveness of sexual assault myths, among others, see: Smart, and Barry Smart (eds.), Women, Sexuality and Social Control, 1978; Martha Burt, "Cultural Myths and Supports For Rape," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1980, 38(2), 217-230; H.S. Field, "Attitudes Toward Rape: A Comparative Analysis of Police, Rapists, Crisis Counsellors, and Citizens," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36, 1978, 156-179, cited in Burt, "Cultural Myths and Supports for Rape," 38-2, 1980, 217; Jeffrey Schrink, Eric Poole, and Robert Regoli, "Sexual Myths And Ridicule: A Content Analysis of Rape Jokes," Psychology, 19(1), 1982, 1-6; Alyce Bunting, and Joy Reeves, "Perceived Male Sex Orientation And Beliefs About Rape," Deviant Behaviors, 4(3-4), Apr 1983, 281-295; Briere, Malamuth, and Check, "Sexuality And Rape-Supportive Beliefs," 398-403; James Check, and Neil Malamuth, "An Empirical Assessment Of Some Feminist Hypothesis About Rape," International Journal Of Women's Studies, 8(4), Sep-Oct 1985, 414-423; and Susan E. Smith, Fear Or Freedom: A Woman's Options in Social Survival and Physical Defense (Racine, WI: Mother Courage Press, 1986).

sexual assault.<sup>144</sup>

The feminist movement has repeatedly argued that male socialization involves learning how to be violent to women.<sup>145</sup> Martha Burt, in an attempt to establish the connection between sexual violence and sociocultural supports for sexual assault, was the first to move from literary critique to operationalizing the concept of sexual assault myths. She empirically linked acceptance of these socially transmitted rape myths to stereotypic sex-role socialization, sexual conservatism, adversarial sexual beliefs (i.e., "In a dating relationship, a woman is largely out to take advantage of a man"), and acceptance of interpersonal violence against women (i.e. "Being roughed up is sexually stimulating to most women"). Burt found the myths to be at least partially endorsed by a majority of the university males she sampled.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup>. Briere, Malamuth, and Check, "Sexuality and Rape Supportive Beliefs," 398-403; and Brownmiller, Against Our Will, 1980.

<sup>145</sup>. Among others, see: Brownmiller, Against Our Will, 1980; Lenore Walker, The Battered Woman (New York: Harper Colophone Books, 1979); R. Emerson Dobash, Russell Dobash, Violence Against Wives: A Case Against the Patriarchy (New York: The Free Press, 1979); Griffin, Rape, 1986; and Susan Schechter, Women and Male Violence: The Visions and Struggles of the Battered Women's Movement (Boston: South End Press, 1982).

James Check, and Neil Malamuth, "An Empirical Assessment of Some Feminist Hypothesis About Rape," International Journal of Women's Studies, 8-4, Sep-Oct, 1985, 414-423, have worked to statistically verify earlier literary hypothesis about sexual assault.

<sup>146</sup>. Martha Burt, "Attitudes Supportive Of Rape In American Culture", House Committee On Science And Technology. Subcommittee On Domestic And International Scientific Planning, Analysis, And Cooperation- Research Into Violent Behaviors: Sexual Assaults, Hearing, 95th Congress, 2nd Session, January 10-12, 1978 (Washington, D.C.: US Printing Office), 277-322; and Burt, "Cultural Myths And Supports For Rape," 217-230.

More recently, Neil Malamuth and colleagues have shown a direct relationship between acceptance of the attitudes described by Burt and self-reported likelihood of raping a woman if given hypothetical freedom from punishment. Briere, Corne, Runtz, and Malamuth reported that, across a variety of samples, approximately 35 percent of college males admitted to some likelihood of sexually assaulting a woman if promised hypothetical freedom from punishment.<sup>167</sup> Briere and Malamuth found that the level increased to 60 percent when the men were asked if they would force a woman to engage in (unspecified) sexual behaviour.<sup>168</sup> Briere, Corne, Runtz, and Malamuth found that 75 percent of their male subjects predicted they would experience at least some arousal to committing a hypothetical sexual assault. The researchers argue that sexual assault behaviour

arises from the sexualization of aggression, dominance, and misogyny, such that sexual aggressors experience sexual arousal while engaging in violence toward women....such 'compound' arousal reflects the mechanism whereby cultural 'needs' to dominate and control women are translated into individual motives for sexual aggression.<sup>169</sup>

It is as yet unclear whether a high self-reporting rate by an individual male given hypothetical freedom from punishment following a sexual

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<sup>167</sup>. John Briere, Shawn Corne, Marsha Runtz, and Neil Malamuth. "The Rape Arousal Inventory: Predicting Actual and Potential Sexual Aggression in a University Population." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association. Toronto, 1984.

<sup>168</sup>. John Briere, and Neil Malamuth. "Self-Reported Likelihood Of Sexually Aggressive Behaviors: Attitudinal Versus Sexual Explanations," Journal Of Research In Personality, 17, 1983, 315-323.

<sup>169</sup>. Briere, Corne, Runtz, and Malamuth. "The Rape Arousal Inventory," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association. Toronto, 1984.

assault is the same as that man's probability to actually sexually assault a woman. While more research is required, the emerging evidence is that 'normal' male sexuality appears to include aggression, dominance, and perhaps, achievement. Thus it is not simply the poorly socialized male that sexually offends, rather it is the one that acts out what is socially conveyed to contemporary men. Pornography plays a crucial role in the socialization of normally violent men as it encourages males to perpetuate sexual and nonsexual violence against women, and teaches women to feel responsible for such crimes. The problem is not sexual explicitness; it is pornography's portrayal of violence against women and its fusion with hegemonic male heterosexuality.<sup>170</sup> Yet despite the importance of pornography as an agent in the creation of violent men, it does not stand alone. Sport is yet another agent.

#### SPORT

Sport can have many positive qualities. It can be a forum for learning about cooperation and healthy solidarity, setting and pursuing goals, building team spirit, seeking excellence, recognizing the value of losing as well as winning, and establishing a context for the healthy expression of aggression.<sup>171</sup> It also can be a vehicle enabling an individual to take better care of their mind and body; when one reviews the statistically average North American's high caloric intake,

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<sup>170</sup>. Demaré, Briere, and Lips, "Violent Pornography And Self-Reported Likelihood Of Sexual Aggression," 1988, 140-153.

<sup>171</sup>. Don Sabo, "Feminist Analysis Of Men In Sports," Changing Men, (18), Sum-Fal 1987, 32.

generally poor cardio-vascular health, and propensity to watch rather than participate in sports, it is clear that more physical activity is needed. These positive qualities are commonly acknowledged. What is not as widely recognized, however, is that sport also contributes to the creation of violent men. This section will focus on the manner in which this is accomplished.

Sport has many critics. Some have a strong class bias. The presumption is that it is not so much the team sports, per se, which cause the violence, but the greater representation of unemployed and working class individuals within those sports.<sup>172</sup> This notion derives from a physiological myth that the lower classes are more violent than the more refined and wealthy--the ones more likely to be involved in individual sports. If there are differences in the class composition of individual and team sports, this is more likely a function of not having the resources to engage in the typically more expensive individual sports than the preference of working class individuals not to do so. Shooting a few baskets into a hoop on a vacant lot is obtainable to most innercity poor; escaping to the mountains for downhill skiing is not. There are not any studies indicating that when the wealthy are involved, the levels of violence are significantly less.

Sport both mirrors and perpetuates the class divisions within our society. At one level, there are many noble ideals about sport as a great leveller between the classes. On the playing field all are to be equal. It is the skill of the players that is being tested. The

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<sup>172</sup>. For a critique of this perspective see E.G. Dunning et. al., "The Social Roots Of Football Hooligan Violence," Leisure Studies (1), 1982, 139-156.

reality, however, is different. Children of the wealthy can afford better equipment and coaches. Even when the poor kids win a game at the expense of the wealthy, the victory does not immediately alter the relations between the classes. Mike Messner has said that it is not uncommon for a losing team of rich kids to assuage their sorrow with a team cheer: "That's all right, that's OK, you'll be working for us someday!"<sup>173</sup>

Other sport critics argue that it is not the class origins of individual players that is of concern. Instead, they have focussed on large team sports as the real culprit in the creation of violent men. They emphasize sport's perpetuation and glorification of male violence through large, organized team competitions such as hockey, football, soccer, baseball, and basketball.<sup>174</sup> Many parents also fear that their community and high school leagues may contribute to this process. They recognize, whether at the local or professional level, sport too often becomes more valued as a vehicle for earning, money, prestige, and power for those involved; winning becomes more important than playing the game.

While these criticisms of team sports are valid, numerous individual sports such as boxing, weight lifting, fencing, javelin, shot put, and others, also can contribute traits which encourage male violence. It is not simply the type of sport that is the problem, but rather the

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<sup>173</sup>. Mike Messner, "Sports And The Politics Of Inequality," Changing Men, (17), Win 1986, 27-28.

<sup>174</sup>. Mike Messner, "Jocks In The Men's Movement", Changing Men (14), Spr 1985, 34-35, notes that "since the late 1960s the left/ counterculture has denounced organized competitive sports because of its extreme Lombardian ethic that 'winning is everything.'"



social context in which it is undertaken. This involves all that is associated with organizing, teaching, practicing, evaluating, or advertising the game. Engaging in physical activity--team or individual--can compel one to be inundated with pressures to conform to the currently hegemonic notions of masculinity and femininity. It is in this sense that sport has contributed to some very dangerous traditions.

#### Encourages A Deference To Authority

While team and individual sports can encourage negative hegemonic qualities, the larger and more hierarchical structure of team sports can encourage a greater deference to authority. John Mitzel, in Sports and the Macho Male, has provided one of the best critiques of sport's role in creating a hierarchy which encourages deference among individuals. He points to all that is involved in picking those who get to play the specific sport, the training needed to regiment the person, the submission to a greater authority required to be part of a team effort, and the exploitation of men, women, and children to manipulate them into fans. He recognizes the importance of the hierarchy to which all adhere; rookies, seasoned players, captains, assistant coaches, head coaches, managers, and owners.<sup>175</sup> The existence of this system,

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<sup>175</sup>. Whether they are an individual or a corporation, team owners often are involved because of the commercial spinoffs for their company. The tendency for beer and liquor corporation involvement appears less than coincidental. They profit from the association of their product with activities, such as sport, which are thoroughly imbued with vestiges of traditional masculinity. It is the gender equivalent to the lengthy tradition of companies wrapping themselves in the national flag and avowing their nationalism in order to boost sales.

John Mitzel, Sports And The Macho Male (Boston: Fag Rag Books, 1976).

with its rules and regulations, can be very restrictive for the individual player.

Too often the primary overt or covert goal is to create a winning team and the degree of regimentation needed to achieve this can be very harmful to the development of the individual. Coming late for practice, not working one's hardest, or simply questioning the content and duration of the exercises could get one thrown out of the organization. If a person does survive, they may be subjected to grueling practices under some less than desirable conditions. Children often are tired if practices are early in the morning or late at night. Tears are not uncommon as the kids anguish over not achieving the perfection desired by their coach, parents, or team mates. Rampant numbers of sports injuries are added to by pressuring children to do things that are not natural for any human or that should be undertaken when the body is more mature. One example is the pressure on boys not to throw a baseball "like a girl"--more of a shot put style with the hand and ball starting behind the ear and the elbow leading the way. What is drilled into young boys is the fear of derision if they do not throw "like a man"--pulling the arm back as far as it will go and snapping the ball overhand past one's ear. This is done despite the evidence that "throwing like a girl" is actually more anatomically correct for the human arm, and that many little league pitchers seriously damage their shoulders.<sup>176</sup> The purpose is clear. The intent is not simply to teach a sport, but rather to prioritize a specific type of activity as masculine

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<sup>176</sup>. Mike Messner, "Ah, Ya Throw Like A Girl!!!," Changing Men, (11), Win 1983-84, 21-22.

and thus afford it significantly more value. Those that achieve this skill can win the rights of privilege; those that fail, the scorn of the crowd.

The parallels to military basic training are unavoidable. Young recruits are obtained and remolded through physical and emotional endurance tests to obtain the skills and values of hegemonic masculinity. Mitzel emphasizes that sport is an important training ground that prepares men for the military. Physical fitness and a willingness to defer to authority are two skills needed to advance within the ranks of the military. Mitzel argues that the sport and military hierarchies are very similar, particularly the support afforded each by our society. Even a sports zealot like former US Attorney General Robert Kennedy recognized the links between sport and the military: "except for war, there is nothing in American life--nothing--which trains a boy better for life than football."<sup>177</sup>

Whether in the military, in sport, or elsewhere, becoming part of the larger whole can be a very comforting experience. One can feel supported by other individuals while the group cooperates to pursue similar goals. Yet problems arise, as often happens in group settings, when individuals relinquish some, or all, of their responsibility for their thoughts, principals, and actions. This may lead the team to victory. But, reducing one's ability to question or dissent from a

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<sup>177</sup>. Mitzel, Sports And The Macho Male, 1976; the Kennedy quote was cited in Marc Feigen Fasteau, The Male Machine (New York: Dell Pub., Co., 1975), 101, who cites Nancy Gager Clinch, The Kennedy Neurosis (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1973), 266.

perceived group consensus can be very dangerous; it can, in some contexts, facilitate male violence.

As was seen in the examination of the peer group, individuals may lose their capacity to disagree with the group's goal. At a larger level, this is part of what occurs every time citizens put their unquestioned faith in their leaders. Examples such as Nazi Germany may appear rather extreme, but reflect what can occur when we defer to a larger authority. Another example--this one more related to the experiences of many women--is the deference to authority that occurs among a group of men when they gang rape a woman. Repeatedly, studies indicate that many of the males involved in a gang rape do so more to fit in with a group of males or out of fear of disagreeing with the perceived group consensus that it is acceptable for men to abuse women.<sup>178</sup> Another example--this one being more socially acceptable--is when a group of men chuckle when their peers joke or talk about being violent to the women in their lives.<sup>179</sup> Once again, while their thoughts may differ, they defer to the group, and their actions support the violence. In both examples, whether the men were too afraid to stand on their own, recognized the potential rewards for being part of the group, or were being goaded by an individual male within the group that was testing the loyalty of the other group members, the violence toward women was allowed to occur. As is too often the case, a woman's body is the testing ground for male rivalry.

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<sup>178</sup>. Patricia Rozee-Koker, and Glenda Polk, "The Social Psychology Of Group Rape," Sexual Coercion And Assault, 1(2), Mar-Apr 1986, 57-65.

<sup>179</sup>. Mitzel, Sports and the Macho Male, 1976.

### Sport Reinforces Hegemonic Masculinity And Its Links with Violence

One of the key components of most sporting activities is competition. It is not an inherently evil quality. Competition can be an incentive to improve one's skill and performance levels.<sup>180</sup> It is something different when winning the game becomes the overriding reason for playing. This reinforces the goal focussed component of hegemonic masculinity. In order to win the game men may refuse to cooperate, be willing to disregard the needs of others, and ultimately use physical force to achieve a goal--and generally are rewarded by society for having done so.

The social context in which sport occurs too frequently positively reinforces only hegemonic masculine behaviour--win at all costs, might is right, and cooperate only if it helps you reach your goal. It is from engaging in sports that many adolescent males first learned they were 'not man enough' to compete and endured the derision of their peers and family. A male not interested in being overly competitive or aggressive, quickly learns that if he does not want to be excluded from a team or a highly valued peer group, he needs to play the game like the big boys. If he has not already done so, he may bury his sensitivity. He hides his interest in plants, insects, flowers, or the creation of beauty. Instead, he crushes, stomps on, and obliterates things in his path that may indicate tenderness or vulnerability. One thinks of a twelve year old boy playing hockey. He tries his best with a shot

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<sup>180</sup>. For an example of how a game could be better structured to develop individual pleasure and skill, see Max Rivers, "Mainely Men Football: An Example of Cooperative Competition," Changing Men (18), Sum-Fal 1987, 32.

on goal, but misses. Instead of commending his effort, the loudest roars from the crowd deride him for his incompetence, or question his sexual preference--as if this were something all twelve year olds had sorted out, or that being gay precluded one's capacity to score a goal.<sup>181</sup> To win the approval of the crowd and others, weight and barbell sets are purchased, by the parent, the son, or both, so he can bulk up his muscles to look like a stereotypical (super)man.<sup>182</sup>

The Charles Atlas bubble-gum comic typifies the threat if one does not comply to hegemonic masculinity. Not only will one get sand kicked in one's face, but there is the risk of losing one's girl friend. Aside from not giving the woman any cognitive capacity to decide otherwise, the comic strip symbolizes the way in which sport is sold as an important vehicle for obtaining hegemonic masculinity.

This form of masculinity also has been important to the nation state. The connections between masculinity, sport and the state, in fact, were central to the revival of the Olympic Games, the pinnacle of sporting events, by Baron Pierre de Coubertin in the late 19th century. Born in Paris in 1863 to a wealthy French family, de Coubertin witnessed first the humiliating defeat suffered by France in the 1870 Franco-Prussian War and then the continued ascension of German and British power over the next several decades. He developed a belief that French

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<sup>181</sup>. For more on the homophobia in sports, see Mike Messner, "AIDS, Homophobia, and Sports," Changing Men (19), Spr-Sum 1988, 30.

<sup>182</sup>. For more on the positive and negative effects of sport on self esteem and masculinity, see Michael Messner, "The Meaning Of Success: The Athletic Experience and the Development of Male Identity," in Harry Brod (ed.), The Making Of Masculinities (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 193-209, and Peter Stein and Steven Hoffman, "Sports And Male Role Strain," Journal Of Social Issues 34(1), 1978, 136-150.

men must be toughened up by sport in order to return their country to its rightful place among world leaders. He spent much of his life and personal wealth pursuing this goal. That de Coubertin was able to achieve this feat, attests not just to his determination, but also the receptiveness of other countries to partake in the adventure. This tradition of using the games as a way of proving superiority--either the individual's or the nation's--continues unabated.<sup>103</sup>

For a long time sport has perpetuated certain myths. While not as easily accomplished in the contemporary period, sport has been an important tool in keeping apart the sexes, races, and classes.<sup>104</sup> People of colour, or those of the lower classes (which often were one and the same) were not allowed to partake.<sup>105</sup> While these barriers have either disappeared, or at least been made more subtle, the division between the sexes continues--not until 1984 did women officially run in the Olympic marathon. There are sports where men and women could compete in mixed teams, but the gender bar prevents this from happening.<sup>106</sup> It is in this sense that Lois Bryson, a critic of the connections between sport and hegemonic masculinity, argues that sport

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<sup>103</sup>. Richard Sutherland, "Olympic Ideals Seem To Be Fading Further Away," Current Therapy, 2(3), Apr 1989, 12-13, 15-16, 24.

<sup>104</sup>. Messner, "Sports And The Politics Of Inequality," 27-28.

<sup>105</sup>. Bruce Kidd, "Sports And Masculinity," in Michael Kaufman (ed.), Beyond Patriarchy: Essays By Men On Pleasure, Power, and Change (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987, 250-265.

<sup>106</sup>. For more on the diminishing sex differences between men and women in sport see Anne Fausto-Sterling, Myths Of Gender: Biological Theories About Women and Men (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1985), 213-220.

serves to ritually support an aura of male competence and superiority in publicly acclaimed skills, and a male monopoly of aggression and violence. A corollary of this is an inferiorisation of women and their skills, and their isolation from the ultimate basis of social power--physical force.<sup>187</sup>

Hegemonic men have largely stolen sport and used it to perpetuate various class and gender goals. One of the results of this is the pervasive manner in which sporting metaphors are used to describe actions valued within hegemonic masculinity and certain nation states. When describing sexuality, for example, certain phrases are common: "Did you get to first base?" "Did you steal a base?" "Did you make it all the way to home?" "Did you score?" And if you did score, "how many times?" When describing military activities, individuals may talk about a nation's first-strike nuclear capacity, refer to a volley of gunshots, or accuse another country of not playing by the rules.<sup>188</sup> Organized sport reinforces a notion central to traditional male culture that male interactions--at the individual or national level--are adversarial and something that require competitive skill and cunning in order to win. Whatever the metaphor, the notion is the same. Women,

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<sup>187</sup>. Lois Bryson, "Sport And The Oppression Of Women," Australia and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 19(3), Nov 1983, 413-426.

<sup>188</sup>. Mike Messner, "Redefining Courage And Heroism," Changing Men, (12), Spr-Sum 1984, 32-33.

Micheal Kimmel, calling it "macho-mouth rhetoric", emphasizes that "politicians have always tried to appear tough and manly, using their military accolades or athletic prowess to prove that they possess the ability to govern." For some examples of macho-mouth rhetoric in the 1988 US presidential campaign, see: Michael Kimmel, "Macho Mouth On The Campaign Trail: The Winning Strategy In '88, Talk Like A Man," Psychology Today, (22)10, Oct 1988, 27.



like enemy territory during war, are to be conquered and are best done by able bodied athletic hulks. Limp-wristed faggots need not apply.<sup>189</sup>

#### Summary of Sport

While many of the negative hegemonic traits reinforced by sport may be learned elsewhere, when one considers the large amount of time many men spend throughout their lives playing, or watching, sport<sup>190</sup>, this important agent of male socialization needs to be held accountable for its contribution.

#### THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY: SUMMARY

While each individual is unique in the exact configuration of the crucial influences in their life, a multitude of powerful social forces encourage, allow, and legitimize male violence. All the major

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<sup>189</sup>. For more on violence in sport, see: Jay J. Coakley, Sport In Society: Issues And Controversies (St. Louis: Times Mirror Mosby College, Pub, 1986); and Michael D. Smith, Violence And Sports (Toronto: Butterworths, 1983).

<sup>190</sup>. While jokes abound about many women being sports widows, the statistics on the estimated number of hours men spend viewing sports are not easily available. But glimpses of the larger picture do exist. During the 1988-89 NHL hockey season, for example, 1,173,000 men (18 years and over) watched each regular season game broadcast on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The figure was expected to increase to approximately 1,891,000 men (18 years and over) during the Stanley Cup [CBC Television Network Sports Sales, Sportstime/Gametime: 1989 (Toronto: CBC Television Network Sports Sales, 1989)].

Available statistics also indicates that 78 percent of Canadian men 20 years and over spend over three hours per week for over nine months of the year engaged in physical activity during leisure time [Canadian Fitness And Lifestyle Research Institute, "Time Spent On Physical Activity In Leisure Time," (Ottawa: CFLRI, 1988).

institutions within our society encourage men to be violent. When we realize that most males go through their lives either moving from one agent to another or are simultaneously under the influence of several agents of male socialization, it becomes clear why more men do not openly reject hegemonic masculinity and its incumbent acceptance of violence against women. With this in mind, the levels of male violence discussed in Chapter One, while not excusable, become more understandable. That many of these forces have been affecting male culture for centuries only complicates the problem.

An overwhelming majority of male activities do not encourage talking about one's feelings, acknowledging tenderness, or releasing control over people or situations. To open up and admit one's humanness within a traditional male value system, would almost be tantamount to admitting failure; not a highly valued quality among many men. But this role playing 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.

While some men have begun to look at the dysfunctional nature of the currently hegemonic male role in encouraging higher stress levels, heart attacks, and early deaths, too often the focus has only been on how it harms the individual male.<sup>171</sup> While important, we must not ignore that it can also be life threatening to the victims of that man's

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<sup>171</sup>. Among others see: Herb Goldberg, The Hazards Of Being Male: Surviving the Myth of Masculine Privilege (New York: Signet Books, 1976); Lawrence G. Grimm and Paul R. Yarnold, "Sex Typing and the Coronary-Prone Behaviors Pattern", Sex Roles, 12(1-2), Jan 1985, 171-178; and Mark Lipton, "Masculinity in Management: Type A Behaviors and the Corporation", Organization Development Journal, 3(1), Spr 1985, 6-9.

abuse. The restriction of acceptable masculinities and the glorification of a hegemonic masculinity dangerous to women is a fundamental part of the problem. As long as this remains unchecked, male violence will not significantly decrease.

Yet despite the role our society plays in facilitating and legitimizing male violence, it cannot be held completely responsible. Our society also teaches other ways of handling situations. The problem is that such actions often are afforded less respect or status by our society. Ultimately each man is responsible for his own behaviour. He chooses to be violent. Whether he learned his violence in his family of origin, through the media, while reading pornography, by hanging out with his friends, playing football, or attending university, he makes choices when he acts. It follows, that he can choose to reject violence.

#### CHAPTER SUMMARY: WHY ARE MEN VIOLENT?

Psychosocial factors are the main reasons for male violence in our society. While the specific causes will vary between individuals, our society, through numerous vehicles, creates violent men. The next two chapters will examine what has been done to treat male violence.

CHAPTER FOUR OUTLINE: A CRITIQUE OF THE TRADITIONAL TREATMENTS  
OF MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

PART I: INTRODUCTION

PART II: TRADITIONAL TREATMENTS OF MALE VIOLENCE

1. LEGISLATIVE SANCTIONS
2. PHYSIOLOGICAL TREATMENTS
  - A. Stereotaxic Surgery
  - B. Testosterone Reduction
    - i. Testosterone And Sexual Activity
      - Castration
      - Hormonal Interventions
    - ii. Sexual Activity And Violence Against Women
  - C. Conclusions On Physiological Treatments
3. INTRAPSYCHIC TREATMENTS
  - Conclusions On Intrapsychic Interventions
4. SUMMARY OF THE TRADITIONAL TREATMENT PERSPECTIVES

PART III: THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

INTRODUCTION

1. BREAKING THE SILENCE
2. SURVIVING VICTIM THERAPY
  - i. Social Context
  - ii. Sex Roles
  - iii. 'Women's Work' Must be Valued
  - iv. Client As The Expert
  - v. Affirm The Positive
  - vi. Collective Strength
3. PRO-FEMINIST VICTIM SERVICES

PART IV: EFFECTS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ON MALE VIOLENCE

## CHAPTER FOUR: A CRITIQUE OF THE TRADITIONAL TREATMENTS OF MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

### PART I: INTRODUCTION

The traditional response to male violence has been to accept or ignore it, or to seek various physiological or psychological explanations. The problem has been seen as insignificant and mainly attributable to individual--and frequently female--pathology.

During the early 1970s the women's movement exposed numerous long ignored factors which support male violence. Feminism was a major catalyst for developing social constructionist explanations and treatment.

The current chapter (Chapter Four), and the two following (Chapters Five and Six), examine the difficulties in the transition from traditional approaches through to social constructionism. There are many clinical and political forces involved in the movement toward, and away from, social constructionism. This chapter examines two main areas: the failure of the traditional treatments of male violence; and the role of the women's movement as the major force pushing toward social constructionism. Chapter Five analyzes two major stages within the state response to male violence against women: family systems therapy, and a more complete social constructionist approach. Chapter Six examines recent responses among men to the demands for an end to male violence against women. It will be evident that important social changes must occur if male violence against women is to end.

## PART II: TRADITIONAL TREATMENTS OF MALE VIOLENCE

Three major perspectives predate the 1970s revival of feminism. These were: passing legislation authorizing male violence; relying upon physiological explanations and treatments; and dismissing male violence as a function of various intrapsychic disorders. Each of these require examination.

### 1. LEGISLATIVE SANCTIONS

For centuries, male violence against women was viewed as something completely normal and often necessary. While this tradition currently is changing, it is far from being extinct. Many men still want to exert power over women.

The actions of men were sanctified while women were blamed for stepping beyond the acceptable and narrowly proscribed boundaries.

R. Emerson Dobash and Russell Dobash, in Violence Against Wives: A Case Against The Patriarchy, have provided an excellent history of how men have legislated their power and control over women. Dobash and Dobash note that

history is littered with references to, and formulas for, beating, clubbing, and kicking [women] into submission. Women's place in history often has been at the receiving end of a blow. This history is a long and sad one--sad because of the countless women who have been browbeaten, bruised, bloodied, and broken and sad because the ideologies and institutional practices that made such treatment both possible and justifiable have survived, albeit somewhat altered, from century to century and been woven into the fabric of our culture and are thriving today.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. R. Emerson Dobash, and Russell Dobash, Violence Against Wives: A Case Against The Patriarchy (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 31-32.

The following brief list illustrates the range of legislative sanctions throughout history.<sup>2</sup>

\* One of the first marriage laws was proclaimed by Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome (753 BC). While outlining that the woman would share in the man's possessions and rites, it also "obliged the married woman, as having no other refuge, to conform themselves entirely to the temper of their husbands and the husbands to rule their wives as necessary and inseparable possessions."<sup>3</sup>

\* "Roman husbands had the legal right to chastise, divorce, or kill their wives for engaging in behavior that they themselves engaged in daily. But it did not take something as extreme as marital infidelity to rouse the man of the house to raise club and boot--or sandal--to the erring wife. If she were caught tippling in the family wine cellar, attending public games without his permission, or walking outdoors with her face uncovered, she could be beaten."<sup>4</sup>

\* When the Punic Wars ended in 202 BC significant social changes had occurred. Women had assumed many of the responsibilities previously held by men. While the laws restricting women were altered, the improvement was minimal. While there were fewer crimes for which women could be punished, men still were encouraged to beat their wives with whips or rods.<sup>5</sup>

\* The rise of Christianity did little to improve the status of women or deal with male violence. Dobash and Dobash note that with regard to "the relationship between husband and wife, it was not the revolutionary principles of equality but the retrogressive principles of patriarchy that were taken up most enthusiastically and vehemently by later Christians and that have largely prevailed."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>. For more detailed analysis of the history of the subjugation and exploitation of women, Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, Chapter 3, "The Legacy Of The 'Appropriate' Victim", 31-47. The book is well written and skillfully integrates much of the available material.

<sup>3</sup>. Julia O'Faolin and Lauro Martines (eds), Not In God's Image: Women in History (Glasgow: Fontana/Colins, 1974), 70-88, quoted in Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 35.

<sup>4</sup>. Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 31-32. Dobash and Dobash cite O'Faolin and Martines (eds), Not In God's Image, 53-56, 67-69.

<sup>5</sup>. O'Faolin and Martines (eds), Not In God's Image, 72, quoted in Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 39.

<sup>6</sup>. Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 40.

\* Throughout the Medieval period, women became important commodities in the pursuit of building alliances or buying peace with other large households. With this, the concern over a woman's chastity significantly increased. For women, adultery was viewed as a grave property offense committed against her property owner and was seriously punished. "For example, in 1240, a Spanish woman who committed adultery could be killed with impunity by a husband or fiancé."<sup>7</sup> "The Italian adulteress was 'severely flogged through the city streets...and exiled for three years.'<sup>8</sup> "It was legal for a Frenchman to beat his wife when she wronged him by committing adultery, or by preparing to do so, or by refusing to obey him."<sup>9</sup> "The English husband was enjoined not to inflict bodily damage other than that which 'pertains to the office of a husband for lawful and reasonable correction'.<sup>10</sup>

\* In the city of Siena, Italy, men were cautioned to have a good reason for beating their wives. "You should beat her...only when she commits a serious wrong; for example, if she blasphemes against God or a saint, if she mutters the devil's name, if she likes being at the window and lends ready ear to dishonest young men, or if she has taken to bad habits or bad company, or commits some other wrong that is a mortal sin. Then readily beat her, not in rage but out of charity and concern for her soul, so that the beatings will redound to your merit and good."<sup>11</sup>

\* During the Protestant reformation, Martin Luther's views on male violence were considered fairly progressive compared to those of his contemporaries--Luther did not support public ridicule of women. Yet, even for Martin Luther, women's roles were very proscribed. "Men have broad shoulders and narrow hips, and accordingly they possess intelligence. Women have narrow shoulders and broad hips. Women ought to stay at home; the way they were created indicates this, for they have

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<sup>7</sup>. Ibid., 46 quoting Fuero Jusgo, cited in Julia O'Faolin and Lauro Martines (eds), Not In God's Image: Women in History (Glasgow: Fontana/Colins, 1974), 191.

<sup>8</sup>. Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 46, quoting Statuti di Perugia, quoted in O'Faolin and Martines (eds), Not In God's Image: Women in History (Glasgow: Fontana/Colins, 1974), 191.

<sup>9</sup>. Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 46 citing Coutumes de Beauvaisis, cited in O'Faolin and Martines (eds), Not In God's Image, 188.

<sup>10</sup>. Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 46, quoting Coutumes de Beauvaisis, quoted in O'Faolin and Martines (eds), Not In God's Image, 189.

<sup>11</sup>. L. Finkelstein, quoted in de Beauvaisis, cited in O'Faolin and Martines (eds), Not In God's Image, 189, cited in Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 47.



broad hips and a fundament to sit upon, keep house and bear and raise children."<sup>12</sup>

\* A popular 16th century, Gloucestershire, England adage was as follows: "a woman, a spaniel and a walnut tree, the more they are beaten, the better they will be."<sup>13</sup>

\* One of the most famous laws allowing violence against women was Britain's "rule of thumb" which allowed men to beat their wives with a stick no thicker than their thumb.<sup>14</sup>

\* In 1736, Matthew Hale, England's Chief Justice, proclaimed that "the husband cannot be guilty of a rape committed by himself upon his lawful wife, for by their mutual consent and contract the wife hath given up herself into this kind unto the husband which she cannot retract."<sup>15</sup>

In each of the above examples, the woman was presumed to violate a moral or political code. Male violence was viewed as a necessary sanction to maintain control over women's behaviour. This pattern, while central to many European societies, was perpetuated in North America. The Hale doctrine, for example, had significant influence. It was instrumental in the creation of many American and Canadian laws sanctifying marital rape and impeding other laws from preventing the crime.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>. Martin Luther, quoted in O'Faolin and Martines (eds), Not In God's Image, 209, cited in Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 53.

<sup>13</sup>. John Smyth recorded this saying in The History Of The Hundred Of Berkeley, ed. J. Maclean (Gloucester, 1885); 32, quoted in Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 55.

<sup>14</sup>. Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 60.

<sup>15</sup>. Matthew Hale, History Of The Pleas Of The Crown, 1736, quoted in Diana Russell, Rape In Marriage (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), 17.

<sup>16</sup>. David Finkelhor, and Kersti Yllo, License To Rape: Sexual Abuse Of Wives (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 2-3; and 139-140; Susan Estrich, Real Rape: How The Legal System Victimizes Women Who Say No (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 5, 28.

Similarly, the British "rule of thumb" law shaped North American laws on battering.<sup>17</sup>

The long-standing tradition of blaming women and sanctifying male violence was not significantly altered by the late 19th and 20th century tradition of seeking physiological explanations for male violence.<sup>18</sup>

## 2. PHYSIOLOGICAL TREATMENTS

Most physiological therapists work from a biosocial theoretical perspective (Chapter Three). They argue that one needs to examine the role of physiological and social factors in facilitating male violence. In practice, however, the major focus has been on the potential physiological contributions to male violence; social factors received little

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<sup>17</sup>. Del Martin, Battered Wives (San Francisco: Volcano Press, 1981), 31.

<sup>18</sup>. The expansion of capitalist markets in the 16th and 17th century spurred significant development in the sciences which, in turn, initiated a shift from the more divinely inspired presumptions about the world and human relations toward more secular, and presumably 'scientific', explanations [Mortimer Chambers, et. al. The Western Experience (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1974), 505-545]. From the evidence provided by Dobash and Dobash it would appear that in relation to male violence against women, this transition was not nearly as swift as changes in areas such as astronomy or physics, for example [Dobash, and Dobash, Violence Against Wives, 50-64]. The current frequency with which individuals continue to cite religious explanations for gender divisions attests to the enduring appeal of this tradition.

In 16th and 17th century Europe, important changes occurred in the understanding of science and human physiology. The application of this information to justify male violence was encouraged after Charles Darwin released On The Origin Of Species in 1859 [Janet Shibley Hyde, Half The Human Experience: The Psychology of Women (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co., 1985)], but reached new heights following numerous 20th century technological advances.

attention.<sup>19</sup> The efforts of these practitioners require further examination. To date, physiological advocates have emphasized stereotaxic surgery and testosterone reduction.

#### A. Stereotaxic Surgery

This involves identifying and surgically altering the brain structures that are involved in a person's escalation toward violence. Frank Elliot, for example, has emphasized the role of the phylogenetically ancient limbic system which includes the hippocampus, the amygdale, the hypothalamus, and is associated with olfaction, autonomic functions, and certain aspects of emotion and behaviour.<sup>20</sup>

Surgical proponents often miss many clinical cues which indicate that medication or surgery are excessive and unnecessary. Averill highlights this point in a case study about Thomas, a young man, who often was violent toward his wife and, sometimes, his children.<sup>21</sup> While Averill states that each "assault on his wife was typically

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<sup>19</sup>. S. Hucker; R. Langevin; R. Dickey; L. Handy; J. Chambers; and S. Wright, "Cerebral Damage And Dysfunction In Sexually Aggressive Men," Annals Of Sex Research, 1(1), 1988, 33-78.

<sup>20</sup>. Frank Elliot, "The Neurology Of Explosive Rage: The Dyscontrol Syndrome," in Maria Roy (ed.), Battered Women: A Psychological Study of Domestic Violence (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1976); and Frank Elliot, "Biological Contributions To Family Violence," in Lawrence Barnhill, Clinical Approaches To Family Violence, The Family Therapy Collection, James Hansen, Series Editor (Rockville, Maryland: Aspen Publications, 1982).

See also John Lion, "Clinical Aspects Of Wifebattering," in Roy (ed.), Battered Women.

<sup>21</sup>. James Averill, Anger And Aggression: An Essay on Emotion (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1982).

preceeded by an experience of severe abdominal or facial pain", he missed the significance of these physical cues as an opportunity for intervention. He could have helped Thomas learn that humans make choices about when, how, and with whom they will be violent. Thomas might have used his facial pain as a cue to alert him that he was escalating toward a violent incident. He could have learned to establish a space between the physical cue of abdominal or facial pain and the violent incident. During this break, Thomas could leave the potentially violent situation. Averill might have helped Thomas identify other physical, emotional, or situational cues to serve as warnings of imminent violence. Averill also might have explored whether these physiological cues were linked to earlier emotional or physical trauma that was inadequately resolved and contributed to Thomas's violent actions as an adult.

Averill eventually performed stereotaxic surgery after seven years of unsuccessful psychiatric involvement and the use of anti-seizure and other drugs. Bilateral lesions were made in the medial amygdala part of the brain. Averill notes that while the violence stopped, Thomas began suffering from the occasional epileptic seizure (previously unmentioned) and periods of confusion and disordered thinking.<sup>22</sup>

This example is indicative of the problems with stereotaxic surgery: the reduced violence may be at the price of significant damaging side effects. This raises numerous ethical issues. Who makes the decision regarding brain surgery? Are these to be medical or legal decisions? If surgery is to be used, who decides which patients qualify

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<sup>22</sup>. Ibid., 44.

for the treatment? Are those who authorize the surgery responsible for any potential side effects? And if authorities are not legally responsible for the side effects, what will prevent inferior or poorly implemented surgical interventions? These, and other, questions have yet to be answered.

To date, our limited knowledge of surgical interventions has severely limited the use of stereotaxic surgery. Nevertheless, it still receives important support. A late 1970s, US government task force, while recommending "that its use be confined to designated research centers to try and assure proper safeguards," argued that stereotaxic surgery does hold some therapeutic promise.<sup>23</sup>

Despite such high level endorsements, the limited use of stereotaxic surgery rules it out as a viable treatment option for most sexual or physical offenders. Consenting patients are extremely rare and their families may in fact attempt to block such interventions.<sup>24</sup>

#### B. Testosterone Reduction

As noted in Chapter Three, many contemporary biosocial advocates believe that elevated testosterone levels, when coupled with the

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<sup>23</sup>. G.J. Cullington, "Psychosurgery: National Commission Issues Surprisingly Favorable Report," Science, 194, 1976, 299-301; and P.K. Bridges, and J.R. Bartlett, "Psychosurgery: Yesterday and Today," British Journal Of Psychiatry, 131, 1977, 249-260. Cited in Fred Berlin, "Sex Offenders: A Biomedical Perspective and a Status Report on Biomedical Treatment," in Joanne Greer, and Irving Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor: Current Perspectives on Treatment (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1983, 83-123. The quote is Berlin's.

<sup>24</sup>. Carol Bohmer, "Legal And Ethical Issues In Mandatory Treatment: The Patient's Rights Versus Society's Rights," in Greer, and Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor, 3-21.

appropriate external social factors, can facilitate a man's progression toward violence. To date, there have been two ways to eliminate or reduce testosterone production: castration; and hormone administration.

Castration has long been viewed as a vehicle for preventing men from being sexually active. Various emperors used eunuchs to care for their many wives and female sexual partners. While this ancient tradition has some contemporary supporters, other biosocial researchers favour the chemical reduction of hormonal production. Sex offenders, in particular, have been targeted as candidates for testosterone reduction in the hope it would prevent recidivism.<sup>25</sup>

Underlying much of the research on testosterone reduction are two assumptions: i.) decreased testosterone will lead to reduced sexual activity; and ii.) diminished sexual activity will decrease violence against women. Each of these assumptions requires examination.

#### i.) Testosterone And Sexual Activity

The research on castration and hormonal administration reveals a continuing, and as yet unresolved, debate as to the extent to which decreased testosterone reduces sexual activity.

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<sup>25</sup>. Nikolaus Heim, "Sexual Behavior Of Castrated Sex Offenders," Archives Of Sexual Behavior, 10(1), 1981, 11-19. Heim notes that castration has been used most extensively in Europe. He cites H. Plenge's figure of over 10,000 castrates in the region of Zurich, Switzerland alone since 1910. See H. Plenge, "Die Behandlung erhelllich ruckfalliger Sexualdelinquenten, vornehmlich der Homosexuellen, unter Berucksichtigung der Kastration," Monatsscher. Kriminol. Strafrechtsreform, 44, 15-41.

Even some feminists support castration. One writer has several proposals for an end to male sexual violence against women. These include: castration; curfews for adult males; and areas designated as off limits to men. See, Isabelle Lyle, "Rape Is A Male Problem And Men Won't Like The Solution," Broomstick, 9(2), undated, 10-11. Reprinted from The Daily Californian, 1000 Pioneer Way, El Cajon, CA 92020, Dec 12, 1985.

Castration: Castration does not, as is commonly believed, guarantee a termination of a man's sexual activity.<sup>26</sup> Studies cited by Barbaree and Marshall indicate that young animals, not yet sexually active before castration, were likely to have a reduced level of sexual activity. But animals that had been sexually active prior to castration, maintained high levels of copulation for several years after the operation.<sup>27</sup> Thus, even non-human animals appear to be significantly influenced by previous learning.

One of the most important studies of castrates to date was conducted by Nicholas Heim. He examined 39 released sex offenders who had agreed voluntarily to surgical castration while imprisoned in West Germany. He revealed that male sexual capacity was not extinguished soon after castration. Thirty-one percent of the castrates stated they were still able to engage in sexual intercourse. Heim noted this supports other evidence which indicates that between 30 and 40 percent of castrates fail to show a reduction in sexual potency after surgery.<sup>28</sup> Heim also found that heterosexual rapists proved most likely to

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<sup>26</sup>. Heim, "Sexual Behavior Of Castrated Sex Offenders," 11-19.

<sup>27</sup>. Howard Barbaree, and William Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," chapter prepared for R.M. Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender (New York: Guilford Press, submitted Sep 1987), 16.

<sup>28</sup>. Heim cited F. Cornu, Catamnestic Studies On Castrated Sex Delinquents From A Forensic-Psychiatry Viewpoint (Basel: Karger, 1973), referenced in N. Heim, and C.J. Hursch, "Castration For Sex Offenders: Treatment or Punishment? A Review and Critique of Recent European Literature," Archives Of Sexual Behavior, 8, 281-304; and A. Langeluddeke, Entmannung Die Entmannung von Sittlichkeitsuebrechern (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963). See: Heim, "Sexual Behavior Of Castrated Sex Offenders," 11-19, and Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 16-17.

continue sexual activity after surgery. Of the rapists Heim studied, 73 percent continued to engage in some form of sexual behaviour. Significantly lower rates of sexual activity were found among pedophiles (32 percent) and homosexuals (17 percent). And of the castrates that considered their sexual activity to have been reduced, 89 percent still engaged in at least occasional activity.<sup>29</sup> Heim, however, did find a reduced rate after castration among men between the age of 46 and 59 years. He contends that "there seems to be a tendency for castration effects to be stronger the higher the castration age, but only from around the age of 45 on."<sup>30</sup> Yet, even with an older age group, the offender's self perceived emotional state remained an important component affecting the frequency of sexual activity. Heim concluded that, in general, the findings do not justify recommending surgical castration as a reliable treatment for incarcerated sex offenders.<sup>31</sup>

Barbaree and Marshall state that Heim's results confirm evidence by Ford and Beach that "the effects of castration are dependent on the subject's attitudes rather than his changed hormonal state."<sup>32</sup>

Hormonal Interventions: D.D. Thiessen has emphasized that "glandular secretions, especially gonadal steroids, act to organize neural

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<sup>29</sup>. Heim, "Sexual Behavior Of Castrated Sex Offenders," 11-19, and Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offenders, chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 16-17.

<sup>30</sup>. Heim, "Sexual Behavior Of Castrated Sex Offenders," 19.

<sup>31</sup>. Ibid., 11-19.

<sup>32</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender, chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 17. They are referring to C. Ford, and F.A. Beach, Patterns Of Sexual Behavior (New York: Harper, 1951).



patterns, trigger aggressive acts, stipulate sexual dimorphism, and influence social status".<sup>33</sup> Thiessen reviewed the influence of various hormones on a variety of creatures including Red Sea Fish (*Anthias squamipinnis*), cleaner fish (*Labroides dimidiatus*), Medaka Japanese rice fish (*Oryzia latipes*), rhesus monkeys, mice, and ring-necked pheasants. When Thiessen finally addressed the issue of hormones and human aggression, he cited John Money's work, which was based on a sample of only eight male sex offenders. Money found that within approximately one month, the intra-muscular administration, every ten days, of between 300 to 400 mg. of an anti-androgenic drug Medroxyprogesterone Acetate, or Depo-Provera, radically lowered plasma testosterone levels to those

typical of the female, or lower. Concurrently, potency and ejaculation are radically reduced, and may become zero. Both of these effects are reversed when the treatment is gradually tapered off and terminated.<sup>34</sup>

Money notes that some men could be weaned off of the drug in a matter of months, while others required "booster" injections if their behaviour deteriorated.

Fred Berlin, psychiatrist and Co-director of the Biosexual Psychohormonal Clinic at John Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, has administered approximately 500 mg of the drug to about 80 sex offenders weekly. The drug is intended to curb sex drives and sexual fantasies by suppressing

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<sup>33</sup>. D.D. Thiessen, The Evolution And Chemistry Of Aggression (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Pub., 1976), 55.

<sup>34</sup>. J. Money, "Use Of An Androgen-Depleting Hormone In The Treatment Of Male Sex Offenders," Journal Of Sex Research, 6(3), 1970, 167. Cited in Thiessen, The Evolution And Chemistry Of Aggression, 82.

the production of testosterone.<sup>35</sup> John Bradford contends that Medroxy-progesterone Acetate (MPA) and Cyproterone Acetate (CPA) can effectively suppress the sexual drive. While Bradford admits that the "exact site of action and mode of action of these drugs is not fully understood," he argues that few serious side effects have been documented, and all the studies note the side effects are essentially reversible.<sup>36</sup>

Despite the possible utility of hormonal interventions, contradictory evidence from researchers critical of their use indicates that "as one moves along the phylogenetic scale from rats, to primates, to humans, the influence on sexual activity of the sex steroids seems to be less and less dramatic."<sup>37</sup>

#### ii.) Sexual Activity And Violence Against Women

Even if an unequivocal link were established between reduced testosterone and diminished sexual activity, this would not guarantee a similar reduction in male violence against women. While some

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<sup>35</sup>. Fay Honey Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders: Methods and Models (Syracuse, NY: Safer Society Press, 1984), 41-48.

For examples of other clinicians using depo-provera see John Bradford, "Research On Sex Offenders," Psychiatric Clinics Of North America, 6(4), Dec 1983, 715-731; and Fred Berlin, and Carl Meinecke, "Treatment Of Sex Offenders With Antiandrogenic Medication: Conceptualization, Review of Treatment Modalities, and Preliminary Findings," American Journal Of Psychiatry, 138(5), May 1981, 601-607.

<sup>36</sup>. Bradford, "The Hormonal Treatment Of Sexual Offenders," 159-169.

While males may not react the same as females to various drugs, it is worth noting that significant health concerns have been expressed over the use of Depo-Provera as a contraceptive drug for women. See: Marge Berer, Who Needs Depo Provera (London, Ont.: Community Rights Project, 1984); and Amy Goodman, "The Case Against Depo-Provera," Multinational Monitor, Feb-Mar 1985, 4-21.

<sup>37</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offenders," chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 16.

researchers have shown significantly reduced recidivism rates among castrates, for example, many of these studies were based upon patients that voluntarily chose castration to avoid a long prison sentence. The possibility that "the voluntary castrated group contained more patients genuinely motivated to stop offending behavior cannot be entirely excluded."<sup>38</sup> Thus client motivation, rather than surgical or hormonal interventions, may be more responsible for the reduced recidivism rates.

We need to recognize that while levels of testosterone, sexual activity, and violence against women may at times overlap, they are relatively separate entities. Testosterone levels, for example, can be expected to fluctuate throughout the day, dropping 25 percent from morning to early evening. As states Neena Schwartz, professor of neurobiology at Northwestern University, we "certainly haven't seen any data suggesting that men are more aggressive in the morning than at night." She rejects the argument that testosterone facilitates violence; "men who don't mainline steroids can't blame their hormones for a sudden urge to kick the cat or throttle an overbearing boss." She argues that men and women do not "think or act entirely with their glands, and the true place of testosterone in the rich mix of male personality defies simplistic explanations."<sup>39</sup>

While a man's testosterone level may have been reduced through castration or drug therapy, if nothing has been done to alter his

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<sup>38</sup>. Fred Berlin, "Sex Offenders," in Greer, and Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor, 83-123.

<sup>39</sup>. Carl Sherman, "The Stuff That Men Are Made Of," Men's Health, 4(3), Fall 1989, 71-73.

acceptance or tolerance of violence against women, he still could be violent. John Bradford comes close but still misses the point. He notes that Medroxyprogesterone Acetate (MPA) and Cyproterone Acetate (CPA) are "not...suitable for the treatment of aggressive behavior per se but possibly reduce aggression that is sex drive related."<sup>40</sup> This is important in light of the growing evidence that the violence is not sex drive related and that sexual offenders typically do not have elevated sex drive levels.<sup>41</sup> While an assault may involve sexual contact, it is primarily one of violence.<sup>42</sup> A man does not need an erect penis or an ejaculatory capacity to be violent toward women.<sup>43</sup> This presupposes that sexual assault is only penile-vaginal intercourse. Yet forced cunnilingus, fondling, and the insertion of various objects (ie. broomsticks, or broken beer bottles) into a victim's orifices are commonplace.<sup>44</sup>

The failure of testosterone reduction to live up to the expectations of its advocates is only one part of the problem. Even if it

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<sup>40</sup>. Bradford, "The Hormonal Treatment Of Sexual Offenders," 159-169.

<sup>41</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 14-15.

<sup>42</sup>. A. Nicholas Groth, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender In A Correctional Institution," in Greer and Stewart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor, 160-176.

<sup>43</sup>. Lorraine Parrington, Counsellor, Sexual Assault Crisis Programme, Klinik Community Health Centre. Interview with the author, April 12, 1990.

<sup>44</sup>. Ibid.

were effective, relatively few men would willingly consent to castration or hormone treatments. State coercion and force would be necessary. This, in turn, would raise many of the same ethical issues associated with stereotaxic surgery. Among others: who would decide which men would be castrated, and which crimes would be eligible for castration, or hormonal interventions? Who is responsible for the potential short and long term effects of drug therapy? What would prevent these treatments from being used under conditions that are non-voluntary, unmonitored, and indiscriminately punitive rather than remedial. Recognizing the potential political problems with testosterone reduction, most state officials have shied away. Even where convicted offenders have agreed to castration, for example, in lieu of a prison sentence, few state officials appear interested in such a proposal.<sup>45</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS ON PHYSIOLOGICAL TREATMENTS

The vast majority of people working with violent men do not use physiological treatments. One 1986 US survey, found that only 14 percent of the 297 identified services for male juvenile and adult sex offenders used Depo-Provera, and 52 percent of those using this method were concentrated in 5 states (CA, MD, OR, TX, WA).<sup>46</sup> The limited use

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<sup>45</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 43-48; Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 15-16; and Bohmer, "Legal And Ethical Issues In Mandatory Treatment," in Greer, and Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor, 3-21.

<sup>46</sup>. See Fay Honey Knopp, Jean Rosenberg, and William Stevenson, Report On National Survey Of Adult Juvenile And Adult Sex-Offender Treatment Programs And Providers, 1986, prepared for the Prison Re-

of physiological treatments is due to three main factors. First, their effectiveness in reducing violence against women is questionable. Second, there are numerous ethical concerns. A third factor is the growing client's rights movement. Fewer individuals are willing to undergo procedures that have a dubious performance record. Suppressing information critical of physiological approaches is one option, but not one likely to be politically popular.

We need to question why, despite theoretical weaknesses and debatable clinical effectiveness, there remains an enduring professional and popular interest in physiological contributions to male violence. Part of the problem, no doubt, is simply that until relatively recently the majority of professionals adopted a physiological approach. To a certain degree, an antiquated popular opinion could be dismissed as one that has not yet caught up with the literature. This answer, however, seems incomplete.

Physiological approaches remain popular because they focus on individual pathology and disregard the social constructionist factors which create violent men. Physiological treatments focus on changing individual men while leaving intact the society that encouraged their violence. While research into the physiological contributions to male violence may be required--some even argue it should be accelerated<sup>47</sup>--it is incumbent upon physiological investigators to recognize the existing social context into which they release their findings.

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search Education Project (Syracuse, NY: Safer Society Press, 1986), 14.

<sup>47</sup>. Bradford, "The Hormonal Treatment Of Sexual Offenders," 159-169.

Researchers need to take some responsibility for ensuring the material is not taken out of context, and challenging their peers who afford too much weight to the role of physiological influences. Focussing upon the role of physiology, while paying only lip service to social factors, feeds into the historic tradition of ignoring the social constructionist forces which encourage male violence against women. Without adequately placing physiological research within the proper context of an examination of the numerous social factors encouraging male violence, physiological researchers can skew the balance away from social constructionism and help perpetuate the many physiologically based fallacies about male violence (for example: male hormones make men sexually uncontrollable; men sometime get so angry they loose control of themselves; or men have always been violent and thus are more likely to act first and talk later).

While human physiology plays a role in male violence, we must avoid exaggerating its responsibility. By ignoring the contributions of the media, the military, pornography, one's peer group, and other social constructionist forces in encouraging or legitimizing male violence, physiological treatments do not threaten the existing social order. They may even aid in its replication.

### 3. INTRAPSYCHIC TREATMENTS

Intrapsychic proponents have argued that psychological abnormalities in individual men cause them to be violent toward women (Chapter Three). Attention has focussed on the role of personality disorders, poor impulse control, immature personalities, low frustration

tolerance, dependency, developmental trauma, depression, addiction to alcohol, and various psychiatric illnesses.<sup>48</sup> Intrapsychic treatments have involved individual psychotherapy, and group psychotherapy usually led by one, male therapist.<sup>49</sup> Many psychiatrists have been the most visible proponents of intrapsychic explanations and treatment of male violence. Yet some psychologists, sociologists, and therapists also have adopted this perspective.<sup>50</sup>

Intrapsychic interventions have "proven unsatisfactory"<sup>51</sup> for two main reasons. First, intrapsychic clinicians have not been particularly adept at identifying violent offenders. Bradford, emphasizing the failure of many intrapsychic psychiatrists, notes

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<sup>48</sup>. Richard Stordeur, and Richard Stille, Ending Men's Violence Toward Their Partners: One Road to Peace (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Pub., 1989), 23-24. Stordeur and Stille cite: J. Deschner, The Hitting Habit: Anger Control for Battering Couples (New York: Free Press, 1984); M. Faulk, "Men Who Assault Their Wives," Medicine, Science, And The Law, 14(3), 1974, 180-183, and "Men Who Assault Their Wives," in Roy (ed), Battered Women; J. Lion, "Clinical Aspects Of Wifebattering," in Roy (ed), Battered Women; L. Schultz, "The Wife Assaulter," Corrective Psychiatry And Journal Of Social Therapy, 6, 1960, 103-111; N. Shainess, "Psychological Aspects Of Wifebattering," in Roy (ed), Battered Women; J. Snell, R. Rosenwald, & A. Robey, "The Wifebeater's Wife: A Study of Family Interaction," Archives Of General Psychiatry, 11, 1964); and A. Symonds, "Violence Against Women: The Myth of Masochism," American Journal Of Psychotherapy, 33(2), 1979.

<sup>49</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 26.

<sup>50</sup>. James Browning, Stopping The Violence: Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men (Ottawa: National Clearinghouse On Family Violence, Health And Welfare Canada, 1984), 1-2.

While psychiatrists are not the only practitioners using intrapsychic treatments for male violence and other issues, their near omnipotence within the social service/medical communities has resulted in several important criticisms. See: Thomas Maeder, "Wounded Healers," The Atlantic Monthly, 263(1), Jan 1989, 37-47; and Bonnie Burstow and Don Weitz (eds.) Shrink Resistant: The Struggle Against Psychiatry in Canada (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1988).

<sup>51</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 26.



[r]ecent studies have shown that violent behavior does not have a higher incidence in psychiatric patients compared with the general population. Violence also has a low base rate in the mentally ill. These factors result in a high rate of false positives in the prediction of dangerousness given the present state of psychiatric knowledge.<sup>52</sup>

Even with identified violent offenders, intrapsychic treatments have failed to produce a significant positive change among treated offenders. Marshall and Williams compared psychotherapy with behaviour therapy. Group psychotherapy was provided by a trained psychiatrist with several years working with rapists and pedophiles. Marshall and Williams note that the psychotherapy component was eclectic and provided psychodynamic interpretations of the offender's attitudes and behaviours. After a series of two replications, not only was the behavioural treatment more effective, "group psychotherapy actually made the patients worse on many measures including the measures of sexual preference."<sup>53</sup>

Other studies support the findings of Marshall and Williams. Peters and Roether examined an analytically oriented hospital programme with 167 sexual offenders. The programme emphasized the intrapsychic causes of antisocial personality as the basis for sex offending. Peters and Roether found 3.2 percent and 7.7 percent recidivism rates in

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<sup>52</sup>. John Bradford, "Research On Sex Offenders," Psychiatric Clinics Of North America, 6(4), Dec 1983, 715-731. Bradford's position was noted in the 1983 article.

<sup>53</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender", chapter prepared for: Wettstein (ed), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 27-29 commenting on W.L. Marshall, and S. Williams, "A Behavioral Approach To The Modification Of Rape," Quarterly Bulletin Of The British Association For Behavioral Psychotherapy, 4, 1975, 78. Marshall and Williams acknowledge that the measures they used may have fit better with the behavioral approach and slightly biased the results.

the untreated and treated offenders respectively. Peters, in a 10 year follow-up study of the same groups, found a failure rate of 13.65 percent for treated offenders. Among offenders that had not received the treatment, the rate was only 1.2 percent.<sup>54</sup> Once again, the intrapsychic interventions not only failed to solve, but may have intensified, the problem.<sup>55</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS ON INTRAPSYCHIC TREATMENTS

Intrapsychic therapists have provided inadequate treatment. In focussing on individual physiological or psychological pathology, intrapsychic clinicians have avoided a thorough examination of society's role in creating violent men. Increased recidivism statistics are just one of the prices we pay for choosing to ignore the numerous factors external to the individual that may increase his propensity for violence.

While intrapsychic interventions may have some utility for treating an offender's ancillary issues, the perspective is of limited

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<sup>54</sup>. The programme was described in J. Peters, J. Pedigo, V. Steg, and J. McKenna, "Group Psychotherapy Of The Sex Offender," Federal Probation, 32, 1968, 41-46. It was critiqued by J. Peters, and H. Roether, "Psychotherapy For Probationed Sex Offenders," in H. Resnick and M. Wolfgang (eds), Sexual Behaviors: Social, Clinical, and Legal Aspects (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972). The 10-year follow-up study was J. Peters, A Ten-Year Follow-Up Of Sex Offender Recidivism, unpublished manuscript, 1980. This evidence was cited in Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender", chapter prepared for: Wettstein (ed), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 22-29.

<sup>55</sup>. For more intrapsychic treatment examples, see: Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender", chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 22-29.

utility in reducing male violence.<sup>54</sup> What is not well enough known, however, is the extent to which it is used in individual clinical practice.

#### SUMMARY OF THE TRADITIONAL TREATMENT PERSPECTIVES

The treatments traditionally adopted to deal with male violence have not solved the problem. While significant changes have occurred, they have been insufficient. We have yet to fully emerge, for example, from our lengthy legacy of legislating--albeit with some trivial restrictions--the permissibility of male violence against women. While the physiological and intrapsychic treatment advocates had moved from such overt endorsements of male violence, their restricted theoretical perspectives failed to integrate the role played by our existing social structures and gender relations in enabling male violence. Their treatment methods have been of limited utility. For these reasons, traditional treatments were under critical review with the 1970s advent of the women's movement.

### PART III: THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

#### INTRODUCTION

For years, women have been trying to focus attention on the issue of male violence. Frances Power Cobbe, for example, was a prominent activist in her efforts to end wife beating in late 19th century

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<sup>54</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 26. Knopp was referring to sex offender programmes.

Victorian England.<sup>57</sup> Many other first wave feminists "were aware that behaviour that men considered 'typical' was in fact exploiting many women, particularly poor and working women."<sup>58</sup>

Yet, despite earlier efforts, it was the women's movement of the early 1970s that released male violence against women from its enforced obscurity. Feminists played a pivotal role. They helped shift our understanding of, and treatment for, male violence away from the various physiological and intrapsychic perspectives--which reinforce the gender status quo--and moved us toward social constructionism.<sup>59</sup> While this process has yet to be completed, it was precipitated through

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<sup>57</sup>. See: Carol Bauer, and Lawrence Ritt, "'A Husband Is A Beating Animal': Frances Power Cobbe Confronts The Wife-Abuse Problem In Victorian England," International Journal Of Women's Studies, 6(2), Mar-Apr 198, 99-118; and "Wife-Abuse, Late Victorian English Feminists, And The Legacy Of Frances Power Cobbe," International Journal of Women's Studies, 6(3), May-Jun 1983, 195-207.

<sup>58</sup>. Elizabeth Stanko, Intimate Intrusions: Women's Experience Of Male Violence (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 3. For additional information on 19th century feminist work against physical and sexual violence against women by men, Stanko cites: Kathleen Barry, Female Sexual Slavery (New York: Avon Books, 1979), 14-38; Judith Walkowitz, Prostitution And Victorian Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Jeffrey Weeks, Sex, Politics, And Society (London: Longman, 1981).

While many 1st wave feminists were struggling for better working conditions, some for legislation to prevent wife battering, and others for improved work and education conditions for children, the efforts most popularly remembered are those of the suffragettes in their struggle for the vote. Since the mid-1970s there has been a veritable explosion of women's history in a desperate attempt to compensate for the years of silence. Among others, see: Antonia Raeburn, Militant Suffragettes (London: New English Library, 1974); Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History. Vols. 1 & 2. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977 [Vol.1], 1985 [Vol.2]); and Janice Acton, Penny Goldsmith, and Bonnie Shepard, Women At Work: 1850-1930 (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974).

<sup>59</sup>. Ralph Garofalo, of the Massachusetts Treatment Center, cited in Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 27.

concomitant work in three main areas. These involved breaking the silence on the frequency and causes of male violence; critiquing traditional survivor-victim therapy; and establishing pro-feminist services for victims.

# 1. BREAKING THE SILENCE

Female activists in the civil rights and counterculture movements of the 1950s and 1960s had recognized that these movements were as thoroughly misogynist as the cultures they were attempting to replace. By the early 1970s, as more women became politically conscious of the exploitation they were suffering as second class citizens, they loudly questioned many basic premises of our social structures, challenged their male partners to change, and focussed public attention on the numerous ways our male dominated society abuses women.<sup>60</sup>

With the revival of feminism, male violence against women started to become identified as a significant social problem.<sup>61</sup> As women came together and shared their experiences, they developed a new awareness --a raised consciousness--of the plight of most women. Individual

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<sup>60</sup>. Sara Evans, Born For Liberty: A History Of Women In America (New York: Free Press, 1989), 282; and Robin Morgan, "The Emergence Of Women's Liberation," in Robin Morgan, Going Too Far: The Personal Chronicle Of A Feminist (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 57-112. Morgan notes that the "Women's Liberation Movement surfaced with its first major militant demonstration on September 7, 1968, in Atlantic City, at the Miss America Pageant." (p.64).

<sup>61</sup>. Del Martin, Battered Wives (San Francisco: Volcano Press, 1981), 1-8; Susan Schechter, Women And Male Violence: The Visions And Struggles Of The Battered Women's Movement (Boston: South End Press, 1982), 11-183; and Connie Guberman, and Margie Wolfe (eds.), No Safe Place: Violence Against Women And Children (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1985), 61-86.

female victims of male perpetrated emotional, physical, and sexual violence began to realize that they were not alone, and the stories of their 'sisters' were strikingly similar. Gradually, as pieces of the puzzle were amassed and publicized, the frequency with which men abuse women became more apparent; the personal became political.<sup>62</sup>

Connecting with other women was essential. It enabled women to see how, as individuals and collectively, they had been coerced into accepting their presumed powerlessness and victimization.<sup>63</sup> To rectify this situation, large numbers of women struggled to return the responsibility for the violence back to the offender, and identified the numerous, and long ignored, social factors that encourage men to be violent and women silent. Through demonstrations, leafletting, marches, protests, and a plethora of publications and writings, attention was focussed on how the family, pornography, male and female socialization, the media, and other social constructionist factors contribute to male violence against women.<sup>64</sup>

This largely grass root movement of women coalesced into a diverse social, political, and economic force for change. Within a few years, there emerged a momentum strong enough to begin shifting our well entrenched understanding and preferred treatment of male violence against

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<sup>62</sup>. For more on the frequency and varieties of male violence against women see above Chapter One.

<sup>63</sup>. Robin Morgan (ed.), Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology Of Writing From The Women's Liberation Movement (New York: Vintage Books, 1970); Ellen Frankfort, Vaginal Politics (New York: Bantam Books, 1983); and Linda Gordon, Woman's Body, Women's Right: Birth Control In America (New York: Penguin Books, 1977).

<sup>64</sup>. For a more detailed examination of how various social constructionist factors encourage male violence, see above Chapter Three.

women from the physiological and intrapsychic toward social constructionist. Women had succeeded at socially defining an existing condition (male violence against women), its origins (social constructionism), and made it more difficult for both to remain ignored.<sup>45</sup>

## 2. SURVIVING VICTIM THERAPY

Traditional therapies were demeaning and exploitive to women. Theorists believed that male violence was rooted in individual pathology and perpetuated the prevailing myths about men not being able to control themselves. Typically, female victims were held responsible for provoking men's violence, for example, by arguing with men or taunting them by wearing specific types of clothing. This resulted in many women being labelled as masochists and men not being held accountable for their actions.<sup>46</sup> Traditional therapists offered little support for female surviving victims. Often, the effects of male violence on women--such as anxiety, drug/alcohol abuse, depression, and others--ironically were viewed as causes.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>. H. Blumer, "Social Problems As Collective Behavior," Social Problems, 18, 1971, 298-306; and M. Spector and J.I. Kitsuse, "Social Problems: A Reformulation," Social Problems, 21, 1973, 145-158 cited in Marlena Studer, "Wife-Beating As A Social Problem: The Process of Definition," International Journal of Women's Studies, 7(5), Nov-Dec 1984, 412-422.

<sup>46</sup>. Browning, Stopping The Violence, 1-2; and Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 27.

B. Pressman, Family Violence: Origins and Treatment (Guelph, Ontario: Office for Educational Practice, University of Guelph, 1984), provides a thorough review of why women remain in assaultive relationships. Cited in Browning, Stopping The Violence, 1-2.

<sup>47</sup>. E. Stark, A. Flitcraft, and W. Frazier, "Medicine And Patriarchal Violence: The Social Construction of a 'Private' Event," International Journal Of Health Services, 9(3), 1979, 461-493, cited in

Feminists identified several directions for change.<sup>60</sup>

i. Social Context: Within traditional clinical frameworks, the social context was not prioritized. In fact, women who struggled to alter their family structures by demanding, for example, changes by their male partners, were viewed as having a significant psychological problem.

The women's movement emphasized that many personal problems are inextricably linked to social factors which create significant power differences between men and women. To fully understand an individual, they need to be viewed within the context of their social system.

Feminist therapists argued that the roots of individual dissatisfaction are less likely to be found solely within individuals than within the various economic, political, familial, and social structures that systematically exploit women. Rather than limiting an individual's options to adjusting or adapting to an existing system, feminists have advocated questioning, critiquing, and changing the social norms, customs, and political institutions that perpetuate women's second class status.

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Browning, Stopping The Violence, 1-2.

<sup>60</sup>. The material for this section on the differences between feminist and traditional therapies was synthesized from the following: Phyllis Chesler, Women And Madness (New York: Avon Books, 1972); Miriam Greenspan, "An Introduction To Traditional Theory," A New Approach To Women And Theory (New York: McGraw-Hill Books, 1983), 33-38; Julie Brickman, "Feminist, Nonsexist, and Traditional Models Of Therapy," Women And Therapy, (3)1, Spr 1984; Stanko, Intimate Intrusions, 1985; Chris Hutchinson, and Susan McDaniel, "The Social Reconstruction Of Sexual Assault By Women Victims: A Comparison Of Therapeutic Experiences," Special Issue: Women and Mental Health, Canadian Journal Of Community Mental Health, 5(2), Fal 1986, 17-36; Helen Collier, Counselling Women: A Guide For Therapists (New York: The Free Press, 1986); and Ellen Bass, and Laura Davis, The Courage To Heal (New York: Harper & Row, Pub., 1988).



ii. Sex Roles: Traditional therapists often worked to reinforce women's proscribed roles as mother and unpaid domestic worker. A woman who tried to break away from these roles frequently had her mental health under review.

The women's movement struggled to shatter the constraining, artificial, and socially created traditional hegemonic femininity. Proponents recognized that by valuing demure, polite, respectful, and deferential women, society helped perpetuate women's silence, servitude, and exploitation.

Feminists radically broadened the concept of femininity and encouraged independence, self-reliance, assertiveness, and a healthy self image. Thus equipped, women would be less likely to endure abusive social contexts and better able to effect life change.

iii. 'Women's Work' Must Be Valued: Women traditionally were evaluated and graded according to male standards. This perpetuated their second class status. Feminists emphasized that by cooking, cleaning, and nurturing, women have played the important role of keeping families together. The women's movement emphasized that these qualities should not be devalued simply because they have been of little interest to men. By affording value to many traditional qualities and tasks of women, feminist therapists have strengthened the ability of women to also undertake tasks traditionally reserved for men.

iv. Client As The Expert: Traditional therapy emphasized the--typically male--therapist as the expert. The counselling relationship perpetuated and often intensified the gender divisions of the larger society. This served to encourage client dependency.

Feminists struggled to affirm women's experience from a female perspective. They argued that women were the authorities of, and should value, their own experience. While counsellors can facilitate a client's self-discovery and problem solving, ultimately the client needs to decide for herself the changes, if any, that are required in her life.

v. Affirm The Positive: Traditional therapies typically emphasized pathology. Feminist counsellors did not ignore the pathology (though were likely to define it differently), but emphasized the client's strength and attributes. Feminists argued that if a client were to alter her life situation, first she would need to believe in her own abilities to effect positive change. Affirming the positive can help a client value qualities about herself she previously had not recognized or valued.

vi. Collective Strength: Traditional treatments emphasized individual strength to counteract social hardship. Women were encouraged to take responsibility for problems that primarily were a function of the existing social structures. In this sense, traditional treatments have helped maintain the existing social order.

The feminist movement encouraged women to unite en masse, in small groups, support networks, or en masse. Feminists recognized that women's individual and collective power to effect personal and political change would be increased when individuals felt supported and not alone. Unity could increase confidence and action.

### 3. PRO-FEMINIST VICTIM SERVICES

Feminists recognized that while critiques of traditional therapies were crucial, the system would not change overnight. Thus, during the 1970s and 1980s, feminists were largely responsible for developing essential services for victims of sexual assault<sup>69</sup> and battering.<sup>70</sup> This was a response of unprecedented proportions; thousands of politically conscious women became involved. While many women lobbied for funds from existing state agencies, large numbers of women volunteered their time, energy, support, and skills to assist other women. Workers struggled against lack of money, physical space, and often the hostility of the existing mental health system to ensure that women-centred services were available to help women feel safe, heal, and shift the responsibility for the violence onto the perpetrator.<sup>71</sup> Counselling and advocacy services were made available for women who, in an earlier period, would have been hardpressed to find a counsellor willing to

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<sup>69</sup>. For information on the establishment of sexual assault crisis centres in North America, see: H. Elizabeth King, and Carol Webb, "Rape Crisis Centres: Progress and Problems," Journal Of Social Issues, 37(4), 1981, 93-103; K. Edward Renner, and Ann Keith, "The Establishment Of A Crisis Intervention Service For Victims Of Sexual Assault," Canadian Journal Of Community Mental Health, 4(1), Spr 1985, 113-123; and Janet Gornick, Martha Burt, and Karen Pittman, "Structure And Activities Of Rape Crisis Centres In The Early 1980s," Crime And Delinquency, 31(2), Apr 1985, 247-268.

For examples of feminist research on working with sexual assault victims, see above Chapter Two.

<sup>70</sup>. For an examination of the North American battered women's shelter movement, see: Schechter, Women And Male Violence.

For examples of feminist research on working with victims of physical violence by men, see above Chapter Two.

<sup>71</sup>. For more information on the often open hostility of the existing mental health system to the battered women's shelter movement, see: Schechter, Women And Male Violence.

listen, support, and motivate rather than label, blame, and victimize. Across North America, women became able to utilize the in-person counselling and crisis line services provided for battered and sexually assaulted women. While feminist based social service waiting lists remained lengthy, this identified two obvious points. The services were valued by their client populations and the demand continued to exceed the supply.<sup>72</sup>

Feminists recognized that providing services to victims involved addressing the social constructionist forces which impaired a victim's recovery. Finding a balance between direct service and larger systems interventions remained a constant struggle. Yet, despite the difficulty, the movement did not back down from trying to effect social change to improve the status of women. Feminists recognized that numerous existing social forces increase the amount of time and energy expended by victims wanting to heal, and encourage additional violence against future victims. Thus, among others, the women's movement has focussed on changing numerous social traditions. These include: media portrayals of women, and of male violence<sup>73</sup>; male control of public places; common myths about sexual assault and battering<sup>74</sup>; and women's

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<sup>72</sup>. Securing adequate private and state money has been a constant struggle of the women's movement. Inadequate funding have restricted the ability of programmes to meet the service demands. Among others, see: Martin, Battered Wives, 119-147; and Linda MacLeod, Battered But Not Beaten: Preventing Wife Battering In Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council On The Status Of Women, 1987), 49-68; 123-131.

<sup>73</sup>. Chapter Three above reviews the issues in the feminist critique of the media's perpetuation of misogynist and hegemonic masculinities and femininities.

<sup>74</sup>. For more on the myths encouraging sexual assault and battering, see above, Chapter Three.

difficulties with the courts.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup>. For more information on the revision of sexual assault legislation in Canada, see: Ontario. Provincial Secretariat for Justice, Information for the Victims of Sexual Assault (Toronto: Province of Ontario, 1979); Ontario. Provincial Secretariat for Justice, Helping The Victims of Sexual Assault (Toronto: Province of Ontario, 1979); Cyril Greenland, "Dangerous Sexual Offender Legislation in Canada, 1948-1977: An Experiment that Failed," Canadian Journal of Criminology, 26(1), Jan 1984, 1-12; Duncan Chappell, "The Impact of Rape Legislation Reform: Some Comparative Trends," International Journal of Women's Studies, 7 (1), Jan-Feb 1984, 70-80; Laureen Snider, "Legal Reform And Social Control: the Dangers of Abolishing Rape," International Journal of the Sociology of Law, 13, 1985, 337-356; Rita Gunn and Candice Minch, Sexual Assault: The Dilemma of Disclosure, The Question of Conviction (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988).

For a comparison of Canada with other countries see Cyril Greenland, "Sex Law Reform in an International Perspective: England and Wales and Canada," Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law, 11(4), 1983, 309-330.

For material on the United States see: Eugene Borgida, "Legal Reform of Rape Laws," Applied Social Psychology Annual, 2, 1981, 211-241; Wallace Loh, "Q: What Has Reform of Rape Legislation Wrought? A: Truth in Criminal Labelling," Journal of Social Issues, 37(4), Fall 1981, 28-51; Martha Myers and Gary Lafree, "Sexual Assault and Its Prosecution: A Comparison With Other Crimes," The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 73(3), Fall 1982, 1282-1305; Jim Galvin and Kenneth Polk, "Attrition in Case Processing, Is Rape Unique?", Journal Of Research In Crime And Delinquency, 20(1), Jan 1983, 126-154; Leigh Bienen, "Rape Reform Legislation in the United States: A Look at Some Practical Effects," Victimology: An International Journal, 8(1-2), 1983; Jane Dowdeswell, Women On Rape (New York: Thorsons Pub. Group, 1986); and Susan Estrich, Real Rape: How The Legal System Victimizes Women Who Say No (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

For material on changes to sexual harassment legislation see above Chapter One.

While many problems remain, significant changes have occurred in the police and court processing of battering cases. Among others see: Frances Wasoff, "Legal Protection From Wifebeating: The Process of Domestic Assaults by Scottish Prosecutors and Criminal Courts," International Journal Of The Sociology Of Law, 10(2), May 1982, 187-204; Carole Anne Burris, and Peter Jaffe, "Wife Abuse As A Crime: The Impact of Police Laying Charges," Canadian Journal Of Criminology, 25(3), Jul 1983, 309-318; Annette Jolin, "Domestic Violence Legislation: An Impact Assessment," Journal Of Police Science And Administration, 11(4), Dec 1983, 451-456; Response Staff, "Responses To Wife Abuse In Four Western Countries," Response To The Victimization Of Women And Children, 8(2), Spr 1985, 15-18; Susan Wilder Crane, et. al., "The Washington State Domestic Violence Act: An Evaluation Project," Response To The Victimization Of Women And Children, 8(3), Sum 1985, 13-16; Jalna Hanmer, and Elizabeth Stanko, "Stripping Away The Rhetoric Of Protection: Violence

The struggle for services and social change has continued as women recognized they were fighting for their dignity, safety, and lives.

#### PART IV: EFFECTS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ON MALE VIOLENCE

The women's movement inaugurated a new era in our society's treatment of male violence. While the focus was primarily on services for victims, the feminist critique precipitated a largescale reexamination and revision of the assumed 'naturalness' of male violence. The movement raised the popular consciousness about violence against women and shifted the outlook of millions of people from blaming women to holding perpetrators responsible for their crimes. Feminists clarified that if male violence against women is to be stopped, the social factors which encourage male violence must be changed.

The women's movement also created a demand for an equally radical revision of the treatment of male offenders.<sup>76</sup> Women realized that treating the effects of the problem would not, in the long term, bring about its abolition. Many feminist therapists became involved in the

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To Women, Law and the State in Britain and the USA," International Journal Of The Sociology Of Law, 13(4), Nov 1985, 357-374; Vivienne Ullrich, "Equal But Not Equal--A Feminist Perspective On Family Law," Women's Studies International Forum, 9(1), 1986, 41-48; Jocelynn Scott, "Going Backwards: Law 'Reform' and Women Bashing," Women's Studies International Forum, 9(1), 1986, 49-55; E. Jane Ursel, and Dawn Farough, "The Legal And Public Response To The New Wife Abuse Directive In Manitoba," Canadian Journal Of Criminology, 28(2), Apr 1986, 171-183; David Fergusson, et. al., "Factors Associated With Reports Of Wife Assault In New Zealand," Journal Of Marriage And The Family, 48(2), May 1986, 407-412; and Donald Dutton, "The Criminal Justice Response To Wife Assault," Law And Human Behavior, 11(3), Sep 1987, 189-206.

<sup>76</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 27.

treatment of violent men. The major effort, however, was to demand state support and involvement in ending the crimes against women.

Turning to the state for assistance was a logical, but problematic, progression; funding was needed for programmes to help surviving victim and offenders treatment programmes. But significant sectors within the women's movement recognized that the state was not simply a neutral funder and arbiter of disputes between different sectors of the body politic. Through the perpetuation of misogynist laws, sexist education standards, military recruitment, and other means at its disposal, the state had, and continued to play, an important role in the perpetuation of male violence. Thus women were turning for assistance to the very entity which had been a very major part of the problem.

Due to the strength, magnitude, and determination of the women's movement, the state systems of most Western countries were forced and coerced into responding, but did so slowly, haltingly, often out of political expediency, and generally on their own terms. The precise nature and extent of the Canadian and American state response to the feminist demands for an end to male violence against women is the focus of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE OUTLINE: THE STATE RESPONSE

### INTRODUCTION

#### PART I: THE FAMILY SYSTEMS APPROACH

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- 8. Victim Empathy
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#### Summary Of The Social Constructionist Offender Group Intervention

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  - a. Short Duration Of Groups
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  - b. Sexual Offender's Groups

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  - b. Increasing Police Awareness And Training Programmes
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  - d. Positive Image Advertising
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    - i. Statistics
    - ii. Myths
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    - iv. Personalizing Rape
    - v. Alternate Behaviours
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### CONCLUSIONS ON THE STATE RESPONSE TO MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE STATE RESPONSE

### INTRODUCTION

Ralph Miliband, in The State In Capitalist Society, argues

'the state' is not a thing, that it does not, as such, exist. What 'the state' stands for is a number of particular institutions which, together, constitute its reality, and which interact as parts of what may be called the state system.<sup>1</sup>

Miliband has identified five major state institutions whose interrelationship constitutes the state system; the government, the administration, the military and the police, the judicial branch, and sub-central government and parliamentary assemblies.

This chapter will demonstrate how the components of the state system have been involved in the feminist initiated response to stop male violence against women. This response is evident in the support of two main perspectives for the treatment of male violence. The first is the family systems approach. Its internal theoretical contradictions will be highlighted to reveal that the family systems intervention can increase rather than decrease the risk of violence for women. Social constructionism, as the second major perspective to receive state support, also will be examined. Despite its theoretical and clinical strength, social constructionism has been inadequately implemented by the existing state system.

The support of a theory dangerous to women and the ineffective implementation of a useful intervention to significantly decrease violence against women opens the state to criticism. The final section in

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<sup>1</sup>. Ralph Miliband, The State In Capitalist Society (London: Quartet Books Limited, 1980), 46.

this chapter will argue that rather than being intent on using its full legislative and administrative powers to end male violence, the current state response appears more intent on simply containing feminist demands for change.

#### PART I: THE FAMILY SYSTEMS APPROACH

The family systems approach to male violence evolved in the mid-1970s. It was a response to the feminist movement's critique of the physiological and intrapsychic treatment approaches that blamed the victim, emphasized personality flaws of the victim as potential causes, excluded external social factors, and implicitly sanctioned violence against women.<sup>2</sup> While a systems approach is not commonly used with men who sexually assault anonymous women (stranger rape), many men who have sexually assaulted their relationship partners frequently are treated with this perspective--often because the therapist has not discovered that the sexual offenses have occurred.<sup>3</sup> Family systems techniques have been most widely used in treating men who batter.<sup>4</sup> Popularity,

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<sup>2</sup>. For more information on the physiological and intrapsychic treatment approaches, see above Chapter Four.

<sup>3</sup>. Diana Russell's research indicates "that at least one woman out of every seven who has ever been married has been raped by a husband at least once" (p.2). She notes that it was not until the late 1970s that articles focussing on marital rape began to appear in academic journals. See Diana Russell, Rape In Marriage (New York: Macmillan Publishing, Co., Inc., 1982), 1-13.

<sup>4</sup>. Among other examples of family systems theory or practice see: John Taylor, "Structured Conjoint Therapy For Spouse Abuse Cases", Social Casework, Vol. 65(1), Jan 1984, 11-18; David Cook, Anne Frantz-Cook, "A Systematic Treatment Approach To Wife Battering", Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, Vol. 10(1), Jan 1984, 83-93; Peter Neidig, Dale Friedman, and Barbara Collins, "Domestic Conflict Containment: A Spouse Abuse Treatment Program", Social Casework, Vol. 66(4), Apr 1985,

however, does not guarantee effectiveness. Family systems approaches may facilitate, rather than abolish, male violence against women.

Stordeur and Stille state that

from the family systems perspective, violence is a relationship issue, with violence being one symptom of a disturbed or pathological relationship.... all members of the family participate in the system and carry the responsibility for family dysfunction. In this context, battering is no longer simply the responsibility of the batterer, but a behaviour that is maintained by the actions of all family or system members.<sup>5</sup>

Michele Bograd's critique of the family systems approach supports Stordeur's and Stille's.<sup>6</sup> She highlights four major flaws of the family systems approach.

#### 1) Systemic Approaches To Violence

Bograd notes that problems can occur if violence is rated as one of many problems within a relationship and not given the priority it deserves. All too often a couple's difficulties are inaccurately prioritized by clinicians as poor communication, substance abuse, finances, and--almost as an afterthought--violence. By not focussing

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195-204; Jeanne Deschner, John McNeil, and Marcia Moore, "A Treatment Model For Batterers", Social Casework, Vol. 67(1), Jan 1986, 55-60, Arthur Weidman, "Family Therapy With Violent Couples", Social Casework, Vol. 67(4), Apr 1986, 211-218; Jeanne Deschner, John McNeil, "Results Of Anger Control Training For Battering Couples", Journal of Family Violence, Vol. 1(2), Jun 1986, 111-120; and Jane Harris, "Counselling Violent Couples Using Walker's Model", Psychotherapy, Vol. 23(4), Win 1986, 613-621.

<sup>5</sup>. Richard Stordeur, and Richard Stille, Ending Men's Violence Toward Their Partners: One Road To Peace (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1989), 25.

<sup>6</sup>. Michele Bograd, "Family Systems Approach To Wife Battering: A Feminist Critique," American Journal Of Orthopsychiatry, 54(4), 1984, 558-568.

on the man's violence as the major issue needing work, it may be moved from centre stage by a somewhat superfluous, secondary excuse.

## 2) Allocation Of Blame

Inherently, the clinician's obfuscation of the primary role of violence in creating other problems provides a message to the couple that the violence is not something about which they should be too worried. Presumably it will end, once the man deals with his alcohol abuse, or the couple sorts out their financial or communication difficulties. This excuses the man from accepting responsibility for his violence and increases the women's sense of self blame.

When violence is identified as a relevant concern, typically its allocation, within the family systems approach, is unclear and, at best, shared between men and women. The implication is that the woman should: know how to control her husband's feelings and actions; reduce the man's responsibility for his violence; ignore differences in physical size and how men and women are socialized to feel about using physical force to defend themselves; and deny that the man may have learned his violent coping skills before coming into the relationship--even if he had not put them to use prior to the events with his partner. Bograd notes that many family therapists are still unwilling to acknowledge that the woman actually may have not done anything to precipitate the violence but truly may have been an innocent victim.<sup>7</sup> Once again, the woman is blamed.<sup>8</sup> This can result in the woman searching for ways

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<sup>7</sup>. Bograd, "Family Systems Critique," 558-568.

<sup>8</sup>. Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 25-26; and Rob Hall, and Leo Ryan, "Therapy With Men Who Are Violent To Their Spouses," Australian Journal Of Family Therapy, 5(4), Oct 1984, 281-282.

to change her behaviour to make it easier for her male partner not to drink, for example. Over time, the woman can become very stressed as she tries, in vain, to change her actions. Until she recognizes that the man must take responsibility for his violence, she will be on an unending search.<sup>9</sup>

### 3) Systems Language And Male Reality

Feminists have struggled hard to highlight how language can restrict women and men into certain proscribed roles that reduce our creative and economic capacity to try new things as they may appear acceptable only to one sex or the other. Women, in particular, have been excluded from many areas that would allow them to increase their financial independence from men because the existing language--which is a function of the larger society, favours men.<sup>10</sup>

Bograd acknowledges that the effects of the language used by family systems therapists are as destructive as traditional counselling vocabularies. The use of "neutral technical language of cybernetic and

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<sup>9</sup>. Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 25-26; Hall, and Ryan, "Therapy With Men Who Are Violent," 281-282; and Bograd, "Family Systems Critique," 558-568.

Bograd does note that changes are occurring. Some systemic researchers have begun placing the responsibility for the violence solely with the man. As examples, she cites M. Bograd, "Battered Women, Cultural Myths, and Clinical Interventions: A Feminist Analysis", New England Association for Women in Psychotherapy (eds.), Current Feminist Issues in Psychotherapy (New York: Haworth Press, 1982); D. Cook, A. Frantz-Cook, "A Systemic Treatment Approach To Wife Battering", Journal of Marriage and Family Therapy, Vol. 10, 1984, 83-93; and J. Geller, "Conjoint Therapy: Staff Training and Treatment of the Abuser and the Abused", in Maria Roy (ed.) The Abusive Partner: An Analysis of Domestic Battering (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1982).

<sup>10</sup>. For a review of the issue involved in our gender based language see Barbara Westbrook Eakins, and R. Gene Eakins, Sex Differences In Human Communication (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co, 1978).

information theories", makes invisible many of the causes and effects of wife battering. Terms such as "violent couples" or "domestic violence" hide the fact that in the vast majority of the cases men are the offenders and women the victims. Similarly, to argue that "a women remains in a relationship because abusive transactions satisfy needs at the systems level" neglect, that the woman may stay not because of the needs of the system, but because the husband may control the physical and financial resources that would allow her to leave.<sup>11</sup>

There is also the issue of defining the problem in terms of the man's view of the world. Too often, wife battering is portrayed as the woman making demands of the man which seem to threaten his ability to cope. Examples might include a woman obtaining a university degree, receiving a higher paying job than her husband, having an affair with another man, or not willing to be sexual whenever the man is interested. Too often these are depicted as legitimate reasons for physical or sexual abuse. Bograd warns that if we do not take seriously an assaulted woman's experience into the formulation, we can provide support for the dictum that "objectivity is man's subjectivity rendered unquestionable."<sup>12</sup>

#### 4) The Family And Society

Too often family systems therapists ignore the role of society in encouraging male violence. The tendency is to view the "battering

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<sup>11</sup>. Bograd, "Family Systems Critique," 558-568, was paraphrasing D. Everstine and L. Everstine, People In Crisis: Strategic Therapeutic Interventions (New York: Brunner and Mazel, 1983).

<sup>12</sup>. A. Rich, On Lies, Secrets, and Silence (New York: Norton, 1979), quoted in Bograd, "Family Systems Critique", 563.

couple" as a closed unit largely unaffected by the social constructionist forces which contribute to male violence. Thus the family is viewed as "dysfunctional", or "deviant." This in turn can encourage therapists to underestimate the incidence of male violence against women. If it only occurs among deviants, surely the nice, young, middle class couple in one's office do not fit the type. Yet since one in four partnered women are battered, either we have a plethora of deviants or an erroneous and useless concept.

Neglecting non-familial social factors reduces the causes of wife battering to interfamilial explanations. Doing so limits the effectiveness of the intervention strategy. As Bograd states, while "the individual family may be the stage of violent behaviour, it may not be its source."<sup>13</sup>

The problems associated with family systems theory--and its manifested therapeutic conjoint therapy sessions where the man and woman attend simultaneously--potentially pose some very significant problems in working with male offenders and female victims. If they are not addressed, the intervention could be very dysfunctional. Bograd notes that the counsellor must be wary of four key issues.

#### 1) The Therapeutic Alliance

Unless the woman feels safe in the counselling session she is unlikely to get as much out of the sessions as might otherwise be possible. Very often men attend sessions simply to placate their partner's concerns until she is firmly recommitted to the relationship or to

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<sup>13</sup>. Bograd cites D. Saunders, "Treatment And Value Issues In Helping Battered Women", in A. Gurman (ed.), Questions and Answers in the Practice of Family Therapy (New York: Brunner and Mazel, 1981).



monitor what is told to her by the therapist. Similarly, the woman may not feel like disclosing anything for fear of retaliation by her male partner. Thus unless a non-violence contract is adhered to, the conjoint sessions would unlikely fail to empower the woman and may prevent the man from focusing on the central issue--ending his violence.

## 2) Violence As The Primary Treatment Concern

As stated earlier, if the therapist does not recognize the role of violence within a relationship or relegates it to a secondary status, the effect can be to reinforce the woman's sense that she has done something wrong, that she is the problem. Increasing the victimization of the woman is not likely to end the violence and may even increase the man's battering or relationship rape because it has gone unchecked. While family systems therapists would likely prioritize homicide or suicide if those were clinical issues, they are not as likely to set male violence as a priority treatment concern--despite the fact that the woman's emotional and physical life may well be in jeopardy.

## 3) Perpetuation of Traditional Sex Roles

While the goal of conjoint therapy is to end the man's violence, the means for reaching that goal may result in therapy focussing on what or how the woman can change her behaviour. Predicated on the belief that both the man and the woman operate within a relatively closed system, whereby a change in one area results in a reaction (presumably positive) in the other parts of the system, and viewing the woman as the most malleable of the two systemic components, she often is requested to change her behaviour. If only they could be better women or wives, their men might not beat or rape them. While it is advisable to

ask a woman to modify her behaviour so as to protect herself, that is very different than implying that her actions caused the violence. As long as the woman can be blamed for the violence, the man can easily avoid taking responsibility for his actions and effecting any changes in his life.

#### 4) Preservation of the Marriage as a Treatment Goal

Quite typically men or women will request help to save their relationship. Counsellors must not get hooked into seeing this as the only positive outcome. If other options, such as a temporary or permanent separation, are not considered the man may not recognize the seriousness of his actions and thus initiate changes in his behaviour. Similarly, if the woman is not given the opportunity to review what it would be like for her to leave her abusive partner, she may not realize that this is something she would prefer. While structured separations are increasingly a part of family systems theory, therapists must be cautious of their own biases and recognize that ending the relationship may need to be viewed as a clinical success if that is what is required to end the violence.

#### CONCLUSIONS ON FAMILY SYSTEMS THEORY AND PRACTICE

There is a real danger that the many internal structural and ideological weaknesses of family systems models can impair their effectiveness in ending male violence. The debate over its use has long been

polarized, with many critics advocating that it is completely unproductive.<sup>14</sup> If used, it should be done with the greatest of sensitivity and only after both the man and the woman involved have had extensive individual, and preferably group, work to deal with the violence and its numerous short and long term effects. Therapists should be alert to the pitfalls outlined above and quickly end the process if it begins to derail.

Too frequently, the family systems approach is not used with the required degree of sensitivity. For this reason, there is considerable anger among many sectors of the women's movement against family systems therapists who generally are well paid, enjoy comfortable working conditions, and are known for their past and present practice of often missing cases of wife battering or firmly holding the man responsible for his violence.<sup>15</sup>

By shifting much of the man's responsibility for his violence to the female partner, family systems interventions replicate the problems found with the physiological and intrapsychic theories family systems models were intended to replace.<sup>16</sup> Each method does not significantly reduce the risk of violence for women. Instead, the methods can be

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<sup>14</sup>. United States, Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The Report From The Conference On Intervention Programmes For Men Who Batter, Prepared by Mott-McDonald Associates, Inc., grant number 79-TA-AX-0024, 1979.

<sup>15</sup>. For more on the anger toward those adopting a family systems approach see, Deborah McIntyre, "Domestic Violence: A Case of the Disappearing Victim," Australian Journal of Family Therapy, 5(4), Oct 1984, 249-258, and Barbara Mathias, "Lifting The Shade On Family Violence," Family Therapy Networker, 10(3), May-Jun 1986, 20-29.

<sup>16</sup>. US, Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance, Report On Men Who Batter, 1979.

used "as agents of social control by constructing explanatory frameworks biased against women, supporting social structures oppressive to women, and defining stereotypically feminine traits (such as passivity and nurturance) as ideals of female mental health."<sup>17</sup>

Family systems models are an important transition point on the path to social constructionism. They do not view human physiology or intrapsychic factors as prime motivators for male violence. Where they fail, however, is in ignoring the multiple factors involved in the creation of violent men. Typically, extrafamilial causes of male violence are not adequately incorporated into the treatment of female victims and male offenders.

If one is intent on ending male violence against women, it is clinically and politically dangerous to examine only the factors within a closed system, like the family, that are contributing to male violence. Pornography, the military, academia, or other agents of male socialization encourage and perpetuate violence against women and need to be held responsible, and changed. Then again, if one were attempting to maintain the existing social structure and institutions, one might be more inclined to look only within the family for the causes for male violence. As long as the causes for the violence can be found within the family--and blamed upon the woman--we do not need to concern ourselves with the larger socio-political issues which contribute to, and perpetuate, male violence against women.

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<sup>17</sup>. Quoting Bograd, "Family Systems Critique", 558-568, who cited the APA Task Force, "Report of the Task Force on Sex Bias and Sex Role Stereotyping in Psychotherapeutic Practice", American Psychologist, 30, 1975, 1169-1175.

The internal flaws and the manner in which the family systems approach typically have been implemented, fueled feminist demands for further change. Feminists recognized the larger role of the multitude of social forces and institutions which coalesce in the creation of violent men and demanded programmes based on a more complete social constructionist treatment approach. It is to those programmes that attention must now be directed.

## PART II: THE EARLY 1980s EMERGENCE OF NEW STATE FUNDED SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST TREATMENT PROGRAMMES FOR MALE PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL OFFENDERS

### INTRODUCTION

Many concerned, politically active individuals worked to develop state supported social constructionist treatment programmes for male physical and sexual offenders. They wanted a treatment perspective that did not suffer from the problems inherent in, and would address many of the factors ignored by, the physiological, intrapsychic, and family systems approaches. This section will review the various components of the social constructionist interventions for male offenders. These include: a.) background issues; b.) offender assessment and treatment; c.) programme content; d.) programme process; and e.) post-group intervention. The final section of the chapter will critique the state system's implementation of social constructionism.

Admittedly, there are differences in the material conveyed to groups of batterers and rapists. Such differences, however, are far outweighed by the similarities between the two groups in the nature of

their goals, content, and political ramifications. Those differences that do exist will be highlighted below.

## SECTION A: BACKGROUND ISSUES

### 1. THE PHILOSOPHY OF A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST INTERVENTION

The general philosophy of most social constructionist groups is grounded upon six key principles. First, violence is a culturally and experientially learned behaviour. It is recognized that numerous agents of male socialization, including many of our society's major institutions, contribute to, and reward, the all too common belief that it is acceptable for individual men to choose to be violent toward women.<sup>10</sup>

Second, men must accept responsibility for their violence. A crucial clinical task is to help the man first accept responsibility for what he has done and then to maintain the desire for change. Facilitators struggle to not let the man blame his anger on 'poor impulse control.' He does not need to learn better control. Offenders already use violence to control those who our society has deemed worthy of such abuse. Men do not just loose control and proceed to rape and batter. They choose to do so because it has utility. Don Long, from St. Louis's RAVEN (Rape And Violence End Now), one of the first grass roots groups to work toward an eradication of male violence, argues that male violence against women,

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<sup>10</sup>. Fay Honey Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders: Methods and Models (Syracuse, NY: Safer Society Press, 1984), 27; and Frances Purdy, and Norm Nickle, "Practice Principles For Working With Groups Of Men Who Batter," Social Work With Groups, 4(3-4), Fal-Win 1981, 111-122.

accomplishes something, whether it gets exactly what the batterer wanted or not is hardly the point. Violence shows those upon whom it is perpetrated that it can happen again, that the perpetrator is more physically powerful when 'necessary,' and that rebelling can lead to such violence at any time. Using violence to control a woman is not a question of 'impulse.' The act is consciously derived, it is purposeful, and it is--even if only temporarily--useful.<sup>19</sup>

Accepting responsibility for one's action involves not just making a simple statement promising non-violence, but making significant changes in many aspects of one's life. Barbara Hart has put together a thorough list itemizing numerous ways in which a man can become accountable for his actions. While written specifically for men who batter, the points are applicable to sexual offenders (see table V-1).

TABLE V-1: OFFENDER ACCOUNTABILITY

A Man Who Has Battered A Woman Becomes Accountable When:

1. he has acknowledged to the battered woman and to her community of friends and family that he has assaulted and controlled a woman, and that he has committed acts of violence against her;
2. he has admitted the pattern of abusive control which tyrannized her;
3. he has admitted that his behaviour was unprovoked and inexcusable;
4. he knows his behaviour was criminal;
5. he understands his behaviour was not caused by stress, chemical dependency, or any other outside factor;
6. he knows he was not out of control;
7. he admits that he intended to control or punish her;
8. he deeply regrets his actions, and is horrified;
9. he recognizes the pain and suffering he visited upon her;
10. he accepts full responsibility for his acts;
11. he acknowledges this without expectations of approval from her;
12. he understands he is not entitled to her forgiveness;

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<sup>19</sup>. Don Long, "Working With Men Who Batter," from Murray Scher, Mark Stevens, Glen Good, and Greg Eichenfield (eds.), Handbook Of Counseling And Psychotherapy With Men (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1987), 308. Long cites Edward Gondolf, and Diana Russell, The Case Against Anger Control For Batterers, Unpublished manuscript, 1987.

13. he recognizes that the woman may never trust him again, and may remain afraid of him forever;
14. he can enumerate the losses suffered by her and her family;
15. he does not expect protection for his name;
16. he realizes he needs the help of his family, his friends and his community to prevent further use of violence;
17. he knows that he needs to find others to support him in non-violence;
18. he knows clearly that there is nothing in the relationship or the woman that caused the battery;
19. that he knows he is at risk for battering any woman in the future;
20. and, he realizes that the battered woman should not have to hear any of the above points from him, unless she desires to hear it.

In addition, if the battered woman has left him,

21. he agrees to limit contact with her, her friends and her family;
22. he agrees to stop chasing and tracking her;
23. he agrees to avoid the places she frequents, and to provide her with plenty of space away from him;
24. he agrees to stop collecting information about her;
25. he understands he needs to pay restitution, which could mean child support and alimony, if she desires, and he agrees to support her in this restitution as long as she needs it, to replace the losses she has sustained;
26. and, finally, he refuses to manipulate their children to discredit her.<sup>20</sup>

A third philosophical principle guiding social constructionist work is the knowledge that if a man has used violence to achieve a certain goal, it indicates that he may be lacking the necessary skills to be able to live a non-violent life. Thus, without outside intervention and assistance, he is unlikely to stop being violent. In all probability, the frequency and intensity of his cycle of violence will escalate.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>. Barbara Hunt, "Accountability," adapted from the Keynote Presentation, Baltimore Conference on Batterers. Adapted by and quoted in RAVEN (Rape And Violence End Now), The Ending Men's Violence National Referral Directory, First Edition, Supplement (St. Louis: The St. Louis Organization for Changing Men, 1987), inside front cover.

<sup>21</sup>. Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 111-122.  
The term cycle of violence stems from Lenore Walker's research with battered women. Walker argued that violent men repeatedly pro-



Fourth, ending the violence is the main counselling focus. Maintaining the man's relationship is not a primary goal. It is in this sense that social constructionist approaches most obviously differ from family systems interventions.<sup>22</sup>

Fifth, when appropriate, group work is more effective than individual counselling. Groups lessen the guilt, shame, and isolation experienced by the offender. The intention is not to protect the offender from experiencing these emotions; they may motivate him to change. Rather, there is a recognition that if these emotions are not compensated by support and encouragement, the individual may feel it is too hopeless to try new skills. Groups can facilitate the provision of emotional catharsis, insight, universality, installation of hope, and peer identification. The group also provides a safe and immediate opportunity to model new behaviors.<sup>23</sup> The use of groups is widespread and endorsed by the vast majority of social constructionists.<sup>24</sup> A 1986

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ceed through three stages in the violence cycle. These are: the escalation, the violent incident, and the honeymoon. Each man has his own unique cycle cued by specific environmental, psychological, and physical factors. The length of time to complete the cycle also is specific to each offender. Some men may not be violent for several months, slowly escalating toward violence. Over time, the frequency and severity of the violence are likely to increase unless the cycle is broken by the offender seeking help. See Lenore Walker, "The Cycle Theory Of Violence," in Walker, The Battered Woman (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1979), 55-70.

<sup>22</sup>. Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 111-122.

<sup>23</sup>. Deborah Watts, and Christine Courtois, "Trends In The Treatment Of Men Who Commit Violence Against Women," Personnel And Guidance Journal, Dec 1981, 252.

<sup>24</sup>. For example, see: Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 111-122; and Jeffrey Edleson, "Working With Men Who Batter," Social Work, 29, May-Jun 1984, 237-242.

survey of American sex-offender treatments found that 96 percent of the 297 identified services preferred group treatment over individual work.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, social constructionism is an eclectic treatment philosophy with a profeminist foundation. Various professions, disciplines, and counselling schools of thought and approaches are integrated into social constructionist groups. Nicholas Groth, a therapist working with sexual offenders emphasizes that

we are obviously talking about an issue that is much broader than simply a clinical or psychological issue. It is a cultural, legal, a political, an economic, an educational, a medical, and a spiritual issue. And if we are going to be effective in combatting this problem, it really means approaching it from all of these perspectives.<sup>26</sup>

The multiplicity of approaches and roles incorporated into social constructionism is reiterated by others. Don Long notes that the counselor "strives most obviously to become teacher for and brother to the men who come for help, and occasionally slips into the role of cop, parent, and therapist."<sup>27</sup> The work with sexual offenders, in particular, while starting from a pro-feminist social constructionist perspective, incorporates behavioral, psychodynamic, cognitive, and

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<sup>25</sup>. Fay Honey Knopp, Jean Rosenberg, and William Stevenson, Report On The National Survey Of Adult Juvenile And Adult Sex-Offender Treatment Programs And Providers, 1986, prepared for the Prison Research Education Project (Syracuse, NY: Safer Society Press, 1986), 14.

<sup>26</sup>. Nicholas Groth, "Juvenile And Adult Sex Offenders: Creating a Community Response." A training lecture sponsored by the Tompkins County Sexual Abuse Task Force, Ithaca, New York, June 16-17, 1983. Cited in Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 26.

<sup>27</sup>. Long, "Working With Men Who Batter," from Scher, Stevens, Good, and Eichenfield (eds.), Handbook Of Counselling And Psychotherapy With Men, 305-320.

bio-medical elements and integrates a wide variety of educational and training components.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. THE GOALS OF A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST INTERVENTION

The goals of social constructionist offender groups build upon the philosophical foundation and can be summarized as follows:

- i. Helping the client recognize, acknowledge, and comprehend that he has a problem. This entails having him accept his need for treatment and understand the non-physiological origins of his behaviour.<sup>29</sup>
- ii. Ensuring that the client is willing to accept responsibility for his sexual or physical violence against women.<sup>30</sup>
- iii. Helping the man appreciate the effects of his violence on his victim(s) and others.<sup>31</sup>
- iv. Helping the man "reevaluate his attitudes and values toward sexuality and aggression."<sup>32</sup>
- v. Working with the man to help him recognize and alter his emotional, cognitive, circumstantial, arousal stimuli, and behavioural progression toward battering and sexual violence.<sup>33</sup>
- vi. Ensuring the man has created and is using an effective control plan for non-violence (for more on control plans see below Section B-1-C).
- vii. Providing a context for a major revision of the man's sex role

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<sup>28</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 27.

<sup>29</sup>. Lawrence Ellerby, Winnipeg Sexual Offender Clinic: Outpatient Assessment and Treatment Manual (Winnipeg: Native Clan Organization, 1987), 20-23.

<sup>30</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 28.

<sup>31</sup>. Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 20-23.

<sup>32</sup>. A. Nicholas Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender In A Correctional Institution," in Joanne Greer, and Irving Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor: Current Perspectives on Treatment (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, Co., 1983), 160-176.

<sup>33</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 28.

- stereotyping.<sup>34</sup>
- viii. Having the client understand the need for, and providing, information about how to communicate more effectively and non-violently.<sup>35</sup>
  - ix. Assisting the man learn when and how to implement relaxation strategies.<sup>36</sup>
  - x. Improving the man's self-esteem.<sup>37</sup>
  - xi. Assisting in the man's creation of a social support network to help him not reoffend.<sup>38</sup>
  - xii. Making appropriate referrals for any other supplementary work (ie. chemical dependency counselling, financial planning, parenting courses, etc.).<sup>39</sup>

### 3. GROUP COMPOSITION

Most groups for violent men continue to separate batterers from sexual offenders. Increasingly, this is appearing to be a rather arbitrary division as counsellors recognize that the populations are not as separate as previously presumed; both crimes are committed for many of the same reasons. Counsellors are struggling with the clinical issue of whether or not to keep the groups separate as each option has some very distinct advantages. Combining the two offender groups can increase the men's recognition of the similarities between the various ways men choose to be violent toward women. Joint offender groups,

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<sup>34</sup>. Edward Gondolf, Men Who Batter: An Integrated Approach For Stopping Wife Abuse (Holmes Beach, Florida: Learning Publications, 1985), 123-158.

<sup>35</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>. Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 20-23.

<sup>38</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>. Ibid., and Edward Gondolf, Men Who Batter: An Integrated Approach For Stopping Wife Abuse (Holmes Beach, Florida: Learning Publications, 1985), 123-158.

however, run the risk of creating significant, internal group polarization. The predominant myth that sexual offending is the most serious offence, can allow batterers to feel vindicated that "at least I didn't rape her." The potential polarization, and the practicality that some of the content material for the two populations will differ, compels facilitators to continue running separate groups.

What complicates this issue is that many existing groups have dual offenders; some sex offenders may have battered their female partners and, conversely, many batterer groups have men that have raped their wives. The result is an increased overlap between the groups for sexual and physical offenders. While this has not been an enormous problem to date, the numbers of dual offenders is likely to increase as assessment tools improve and public intolerance for male violence increases. In the absence of any combined sexual and physical offender groups, counsellors would likely refer dual offenders to the group related to the offense with which he is most likely to reoffend. A preferable solution would be to have the individual attend two groups.

#### 4. HOW DO OFFENDERS GET INTO A GROUP?

Unfortunately, very few male offenders self-refer. Nicholas Groth lists the major reasons for this situation as follows:

- (1) They do not appreciate the seriousness of their behavior and do not recognize that they have a problem.
- (2) They do not know where to turn to receive dependable help.
- (3) They fear the adverse social and legal consequences of disclosure.
- (4) At times of stress they act out, rather than work out, their problems.
- (5) They perceive other persons, especially those in some position of authority, as obstacles, opponents, or objects in their lives rather

than as sources of help and assistance.<sup>40</sup>

Offenders present for treatment for at least five different reasons: 1.) the man's partner is threatening to leave; 2.) she has left; 3.) the man recently offended and is feeling particularly remorseful and hopeful that he can change his behaviour; 4.) something was different about his last offence (ie. he offended against a stranger, reached relatively greater levels of violence, or started hitting the children); 5.) various state or familial authorities became involved and ordered him to do so.<sup>41</sup>

Offenders are referred, with varying levels of coercion, by various agencies and individuals. These include: federal or provincial/state correctional institutions; local or federal courts; local or national (RCMP, or FBI) police forces; lawyers; police departments; child welfare agencies; hospitals and mental health centres; social service agencies; mental health professionals; physicians; social workers; and the relatives, friends, or partner of the offender.<sup>42</sup> State sanctioned referrals generally carry substantially more influence in providing the initial motivation to attend and in compelling men to stay in the

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<sup>40</sup>. Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," in Greer, and Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor, 160-176.

While Groth was writing this list in reference to sexual offenders, the same issue exist for batterers. Admittedly, our society's stigma against sexual perpetrators generally is stronger than against batterers. But at the level of an individual offender, there is no guarantee that this generalization would still hold.

<sup>41</sup>. This is a revision of the list provided by Stordeur and Stille which was directed specifically at batterers. See Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 74.

<sup>42</sup>. This list is based upon Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 2.

groups; the negative repercussions of not following through with various legal requirements increase the incentive to remain involved.<sup>43</sup>

##### 5. CROSS SYSTEM INVOLVEMENT REQUIRES CLOSE WORK WITH THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

There is some variation in the degree to which offender programmes are connected to the criminal justice system. But even the more independent groups have some connections with such systems; many offenders are referred through the courts. Other offender groups have been established and operated by the criminal justice system. A 1986 US national survey of sex offender programs, for example, indicated that 28 percent of all services were residential (of this 87 percent were public and 13 percent were private), while 72 percent of all services were community-based (outpatient) services (40 percent were public and 60 percent were private).<sup>44</sup> In Canada and the US, the statistics on the exact relationship between each social constructionist offender programme and the criminal justice system are not easily compiled. Neither country has thoroughly monitored or coordinated its response. As it currently exists, groups exist somewhere along a continuum ranging from minimal connection to total involvement with the criminal justice system. For most groups that are very involved with the system, it appears there is little difficulty in having that connection. If

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<sup>43</sup>. Jerry Finn, "Men's Domestic Violence Treatment Groups: A Statewide Survey," Social Work With Groups, 8(3), Fall 1985, 89.

<sup>44</sup>. Fay Honey Knopp, Jean Rosenberg, and William Stevenson, Report On National Survey Of Adult Juvenile And Adult Sex-Offender Treatment Programs And Providers, 1986, prepared for the Prison Research Education Project (Syracuse, NY: Safer Society Press, 1986), 12.

anything, the problem is one of inadequate state funding which reduces the amount of support from the system (see below, the critique of the state response).<sup>45</sup>

Nicholas Groth notes that there are some disadvantages in actually providing a sexual offender's group within a correctional institution. First, sex offenders often are emotionally, physically, and sexually abused within a prison by other inmates, thus they are less likely to want to continue with the group. Second, the very culture within a prison is more likely to reinforce the violent values and behaviours the group is intending to end. Groth notes that "traits such as trust, warmth, sharing, and affection are lost to deception, manipulation, threat, intimidation, force, and assault. And third, while the nature of the controlled environment can protect an offender, it does not provide for him an opportunity to try out his new skills. Too often, the programmes--and their incumbent support system--end when the offender leaves the institution."<sup>46</sup>

Offender programmes should coordinate their efforts with the local or federal judicial system. It facilitates the smooth transfer of clients into treatment programmes which offer the possibility of reforming the offender's behaviour, in contrast to simply locking them in a jail

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<sup>45</sup>. For a discussion on some of the issues involved with court-mandated clients, among others, see: James Browning, Stopping The Violence: Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, prepared for the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, Health and Welfare Canada (Ottawa: Minister of National Health and Welfare, 1984), 23; and Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender In A Correctional Institution," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 160-176.

<sup>46</sup>. Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," in Greer, and Irving Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 160-176.



cell where they are unlikely to learn non-violent interpersonal skills. While some programmes are offered in correctional institutions as a part of an offender's sentencing, there is a growing consensus that offender programmes are best delivered in a community setting. Thus the offender may serve his time in jail but the second portion of his sentencing may be conducted in a community based treatment programme. This allows for better implementation of the skills learned in the group. Clearly if the individual is assessed as being an immediate danger to himself or others, other treatment modalities would be necessary.

#### 6. THE ISSUE OF ACCEPTABILITY

Largely because of the limited resources available for offender treatment programmes, the issue of who should be accepted into a programme is fairly contentious.<sup>47</sup> When there are a specific number of openings within any individual programme during a given period of time, does one admit all offenders who present requesting treatment? Nicholas Groth argues that all should receive an opportunity, even if they do not present as highly motivated.<sup>48</sup> I. Dreiblatt, however, argues that selectivity is important--particularly for community based programmes.<sup>49</sup> Recognizing that many offender programmes are fairly new, there is a built in incentive to admit the most motivated men--either

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<sup>47</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 65.

<sup>48</sup>. Groth, Personal communication to F.H. Knopp, August 31, 1984, cited in Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 17.

<sup>49</sup>. I. Dreiblatt, Taped site-interview by F.H. Knopp, October 1, 1981, cited in Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 17.

because the group facilitators feel uncertain about their skills, or because clinicians want their statistics to be favourable in order to please skeptical administrators and funders.

A wide range of treatment services should be available. The psychotic sex offender would be treated in a mental hospital. The client that has numerous offences beyond his crimes of violence would be treated in a correctional institution. The man whose violence against women is his only transgression would receive treatment in a security treatment centre specifically designed for such offenders or in a community based programme. Finally, the individual being released back into the community would be treated in an outpatient community based programme. Lacking these services increases waiting lists, decreases referrals, and maintains our current high levels of male violence against women.<sup>50</sup>

#### 7. GENDER OF THE COFACILITATORS

Most commentators have recognized the need for two facilitators in order to attend to all that occurs within a counselling group. This has not been questioned. What was contentious, when offender groups were first emerging in the late 1970s and early 1980s, was the debate over whether the facilitators should be both male, or a male and female pair. Some facilitators argued that offenders need to have two positive male role models. The opposing side countered that the men could

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<sup>50</sup>. Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," in Greer, and Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor, 161-162.

also benefit from a positive female role model.<sup>51</sup> Some programmes struck somewhat of a compromise. Men and women facilitate the offender and victim groups, respectively, and at some point during the treatment, the facilitators would switch for an evening.<sup>52</sup> By the late 1980s, the issue tended to be less ideological, and more practical, in nature. Rather than worry about the gender of the facilitators, the concern was ensuring their skill level.

#### SECTION B: OFFENDER ASSESSMENT

All clinical work requires that counsellors have a thorough understanding of the nature and extent of the client's presenting concern. This is particularly important when working with violent offenders--poor judgments by a therapist can contribute to the lives of other women being at risk.<sup>53</sup> This section will review the four major components involved in assessing a sexual or physical offender: the clinical

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<sup>51</sup>. Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 111-122.

<sup>52</sup>. Patrick Reilly, and Roger Gruszki, "A Structured Didactic Model For Men For Controlling Family Violence," International Journal Of Offender Therapy And Comparative Criminology, 28(3), Dec 1984, 223-234.

For more on the issues related to cofacilitator gender, see Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 166-168.

<sup>53</sup>. Gondolf, Men Who Batter, 96-102; Daniel Saunders, "Helping Husbands Who Batter," Social Casework, 65(6), Jun 1984, 347-353; and Joseph Romero, and Linda Meyer Williams, "Recidivism Among Convicted Sex Offenders: A 10-Year Followup Study," Federal Probation, 49(1), Mar 1985, 58-84.

interview, a psychometric evaluation, a physiological assessment, and the decision regarding acceptability for treatment.<sup>54</sup>

### 1. CLINICAL INTERVIEW

The in-person interview is the primary assessment tool. While the psychometric evaluation and physiological assessment can contribute crucial pieces of information, they are more supplementary in nature. During the clinical interview, which generally lasts several hours and may be spread over a couple of counselling sessions, the counsellor usually has three main goals. They want to learn about the offender's characteristics and cognitions, his victim's characteristics, and the mechanics of how he offends.

#### a. Offender's Characteristics

Counsellors need to determine the offender's age, religious beliefs, substance abuse<sup>55</sup>, race, mental and physical health, family history, educational history, personal relationships and support networks, employment history, criminal history, and their beliefs regarding their

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<sup>54</sup>. Most of the framework for this section is from Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 1987, 7-9. The process outlined by Ellerby parallels, with minor variations, the work of others who work with batterers or sexual offenders. For example, see: Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 126-127; Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 30; and Long, "Working With Men Who Batter," from Scher, Stevens, Good, and Eichenfield (eds.), Handbook Of Counselling And Psychotherapy With Men, 308. Long cites Gondolf, and Russell, The Case Against Anger Control For Batterers, Unpublished manuscript, 1987; and J. Stephen Wormith, and Mark Borzecki, A Survey Of Treatment Programs For Sexual Offenders In Canada, A Programs Branch User Report Working Paper for the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada (Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, 1985), 13.

<sup>55</sup>. Daniel Sonkin, and Michael Murphy, Learning To Live Without Violence: A Handbook for Men (San Francisco: Volcano Press, 1982, 1985), 71-86.

rehabilitation and recidivism.<sup>54</sup> The pieces that often are more subjective in nature, and harder to obtain, are the man's motivation to change, his suicide and homicide lethality, and an assessment of safety of the man's partner/community.

i. Motivation To Change: Violent men who present for counselling vary in their commitment to doing the necessary work. Stordeur and Stille have identified five categories in which prospective clients might fit. First, the compliant mandated client. This individual makes the counsellor's work somewhat easier. They are more likely to be motivated to work at changing and, when their enthusiasm may wane, they have varying degrees of state support compelling them to continue.

A second client type is the belligerent mandated client. While he is physically present, he often attempts to try and get the counsellor to do much of the work rather than taking responsibility for his own actions.

A third category are men who are charged but their court appearance is pending. Too often, these men present with the intention, or that of their lawyers, to make a good impression in court. It can be impressive to be able to state that the offender has accepted responsibility for his actions and is seeking help. The hope, and reality, is that this action will reduce the court sentence. Too often, these men disappear from counselling after the court proceedings. Many offender

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<sup>54</sup>. Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 7-9; and Long, "Working With Men Who Batter," from Scher, Stevens, Good, and Eichenfield (eds.), Handbook Of Counselling And Psychotherapy With Men, 308.

programmes refuse to see such men until their criminal charges have been dispensed.

A fourth group of offenders seeking counselling are men with a partner in a crisis shelter. While more common among physical batterers, these individuals--like the men who have been charged but not convicted--typically are motivated to change not because they feel they need to but in order to achieve some desirable goal--in this instance, the return of their partner to the family home. Too often, these men will drop out once the woman returns home. Yet, with his violence unchanged, the cycle is likely to be repeated.

A fifth group are the "aware" or "feminist" men. They are likely to present as very intellectual and appear comfortable talking about sex role stereotyping and other social constructionist issues, yet their actions indicate that they have not incorporated these concepts into their daily existence.<sup>57</sup>

The counsellor's task is to try and motivate individuals to do some very difficult work. Breaking through their denial mechanisms is one of the most important methods for increasing motivation. As long as they do not believe there is a problem, they are unlikely to bother working at its resolution. Denial can be witnessed in various actions and in varying degrees of frequency. Violent men are likely to blame the victim ("if she didn't want it, why was she dressed like that?"); justify their violence ("she provoked me"); distort and minimize the

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<sup>57</sup>. Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 77-78. For more on the intentions and motivations of men seeking counselling for their violence see: Toby Myers, and Sandra Gilbert, "Wife-beaters' Group Through A Women's Center: Why and How," Victimology, 8(1-2), 1983, 238-248.

extent of the problem or its effects on their victims ("oh, I just slapped her a couple of times"); externalize responsibility ("I was drunk", or "I was out of control"); or omit and lie about his violence in general ("well, we do argue, but I don't have a problem with my anger--I'm not a batterer" or "she didn't say she didn't want it").<sup>58</sup>

The counsellor needs to assess the offender's levels of violence very thoroughly. Most men will deny much or all of their violence at the beginning, as well as throughout, treatment. From the first contact with the offender, counsellors must establish the unacceptability of denying and minimizing violence. To do otherwise, could be perceived as support for a dangerous tactic.<sup>59</sup> The reality, however, is that counsellors, try as they may, will not pick up every item of denial and minimization. Offenders generally are extremely skilled at hiding their violence. Doing so can protect themselves from recognizing what they have really done, possibly minimize sentencing decisions, or improve child custody and access negotiations. Denial has important repercussions for the clinician trying to identify the areas for treatment purposes. Unfortunately, it is not uncommon for new issues to be acknowledged or discovered during treatment.<sup>60</sup> High denial levels

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<sup>58</sup>. Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 114; and Marcia Kaye, "The Battle Against Men Who Batter," Canadian Living, 15(8), 45-46, 48, 50, 52-53.

<sup>59</sup>. J.L. Bernard, and M.L. Bernard, "The Abusive Male Seeking Treatment: Jekyll and Hyde," Family Relations, 33(4), Oct 1984, 543-547.

<sup>60</sup>. Howard Barbaree, and William Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender." Chapter prepared for: R.M. Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender (New York: Guilford Press), submitted Sep 1987, 30-36; and R. Langevin and R.A. Lang, "Psychological Treatment Of Pedophiles," Behavioral Sciences And The Law, 3, 1985,

attest to the need to establish contact with, and obtain information from, other components of the offender's system, such as his partner or the police. Yet even they may not always be the best resource as they may have certain benefits to minimizing or maximizing the man's true levels of violence.

While counsellors, with varying degrees of success, can work with a man's denial, the fundamental prerequisite of being accepted into an offender's programmes is that the man take responsibility for his violence.<sup>61</sup> While his whole violent history may not yet be known, he needs at least to take responsibility for that which is known and acknowledge that it is he, and not his victim, who has the problem.

ii. Assessment Of Partner/Community Safety: A second crucial part of determining the offender's characteristics is the effort to calculate the threat the client may pose to his partner or community.<sup>62</sup> Counsellors need to consider several issues. First, what access does the offender have to future victims? Does he indiscriminately offend or only against his partner? If it is the later and she is in a shelter, the risk is temporarily diminished, but what threat exists upon her return? Second, what is the level of state involvement with this client? For many offenders, knowing that significant prison offenses could follow a reoffence reduces their probability to resume violent responses. And third, what family and community ties have been established? If

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403-419.

<sup>61</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 76.

<sup>62</sup>. Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 113-114.



both are informed, more people are involved in helping the individual remain nonviolent.<sup>43</sup>

If the offence perpetrated by the man was directly against his female partner, the question arises as to whether the man should continue to live with his partner. While there is not one answer to this question, there are some guidelines that may be helpful. First, if there are any legal restrictions on their living together this clearly predominates. If not, the second thing is to ensure that the woman has the freedom to do as she wishes and is provided with the various options that may be open to her and the resources necessary to make those a reality. If she is comfortable staying with the man, one should attempt to determine the probability of the man reoffending. If there are any concerns, it is important to outline the advantages of separation (which may or may not be permanent). Separation can allow the man to work at integrating his new skills into his life at a more manageable pace and allows the couple some time to take care of themselves before coming back together again--if both want this to occur. If the decision is to separate, the counsellor can help them negotiate the length of time away, the nature of contact (if any) during the separation, and how to lengthen or shorten the break if both parties are willing.

Offenders need to realize that the goal of treatment is not to repair their relationship--it is to end the violence. If, in the process, the relationship is rejuvenated, so be it. But the woman may decide she has had enough of the man's violence and may choose not to

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<sup>43</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 76-79.

wait to see if he really changes this time---she has probably heard those promises many times before. The fear of losing their partner often makes many men reluctant to separate. The counsellor needs to remind the man that continually holding onto their partner and not allowing her the time she may need to decide for herself, is only perpetuating the abuse and may well ensure the long term failure of the relationship. Thus, the short term break may pay off in the long term--if there is a significant change in the man's behaviour. But, there are no guarantees. This is a useful opportunity to try and determine why the man is entering treatment. Is he doing this just to save his relationship? If so, his motivation to continue may disappear if his partner reenters or permanently leaves the relationship. The goal is to help the man want to change his behaviour for his own reasons. These may vary from guilt, shame, or embarrassment over the pain he has inflicted on others, to wanting to live a happier life without hurting other humans. Whatever the reasons, they need to originate from the offender. If counsellors try to impose motives on a client, they are not likely to keep him in the programme for very long. Trying to connect with those reasons can take some time and often requires reinforcement throughout treatment.

While the same issues need to be considered when working with sexual offenders, the assessment of the safety of others is more complex, particularly if they have offended against anonymous victims. As with batterers, there is a pressure to underestimate. Counsellors can be under tremendous pressure for a favorable assessment from prosecutors,

defense lawyers, other social service workers, the offender and his family. Add to this the client's tendency to minimize his violence, and one recognizes the problems involved in accurately assessing offenders.<sup>64</sup>

It is a difficult balance trying to protect the rights of society and the offender. The result, particularly for many sexual offenders, is mandatory treatment in a security institution.<sup>65</sup> One important way to circumvent the problem is to actively involve the social service and criminal justice systems. Rather than just having the counsellor as the sole arbiter, input is required from the police, lawyers, partners, the courts, the prison system, and the mental health system. This is not to diminish responsibility for any errors, but to ensure that information from various areas is included in making treatment decisions. The information flow can be reciprocal. The man's support system needs to be contacted when he has dropped out, been asked to leave the group, or appears to be escalating toward another offence.<sup>66</sup>

iii. Suicide Lethality: The counsellor should determine whether the offender is considering harming himself in some manner. Most offenders seek counselling because of some important change in their lives. As a result of their violence, they may be contending with a separation or divorce, arrest or detention, complicated legal processes, their fears

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<sup>64</sup>. Ibid., 68-69.

<sup>65</sup>. Carol Bohmer, "Legal And Ethical Issues In Mandatory Treatment: The Patient's Rights Versus Society's Rights," in Greer, and Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor, 3-21.

<sup>66</sup>. Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 271-272; and Chantal Goyette, and Jocelyne Leblanc, "A Sample Of Community Based Programs," Vis-A-Vis, 6(2), Sum 1988, 7.

about incarceration, financial difficulties, child welfare officials, living alone, a disrupted social support system, demands for change in their behaviour from friends and family, or the fear of not learning non-violent coping mechanisms.<sup>67</sup> Being inundated with these changes can result in many offenders being in a state of crisis upon presentation, or at various points throughout treatment.

Counsellors need to acknowledge that it is normal to feel overwhelmed or afraid of our ability to cope with difficult situations and ask the man if he has had past or current thoughts about suicide. If he has not, but is feeling generally unprepared for how he will get through the next segment of his life, the counsellor needs to help the man review his supports or identify what he may need to do to establish such supports if they are absent. If, however, the man acknowledges suicidal thoughts, the clinician needs to determine if the man has a plan, and, if so, does he have the means to kill himself. Dependent upon the man's responses, the clinician can assess if there is any immediate danger. If it is high, there may be a need for a temporary hospital admission. If that is unnecessary, the counsellor should review what options, other than suicide, may be possible alternatives. Time should be spent identifying the advantages and disadvantages of several options before some are chosen. Counsellors need to establish contracts with their clients. Will they contact someone before trying to harm themselves? If so, who are those people?<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>. Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 100.

<sup>68</sup>. For more on that which is involved in working with batterers in crisis, see: Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 100-110.

b. Victim's Characteristics

The clinician should determine the types of victims sought by the offender and help him recognize these patterns to prevent future violent incidents. Victim characteristics include: age range; race; nature of the client-victim relationship (acquaintances, partners, strangers, etc.); the process of selecting the victim; manner in which the offender blames the victim for the offence; physical appearance; extent of substance abuse; offender's perception of the victim's view of the offence; and the perpetrator's perception of the trauma inflicted upon the victim.<sup>69</sup>

c. Mechanics Of Offending and Establishing A Control Plan

Offenders who drop out of treatment can jeopardize another woman's safety. Unfortunately, there is a fairly high drop out rate after the first clinical contacts. One study with batterers found that about 20 percent of the men who attend the intake sessions never make it to the group<sup>70</sup>; another study, found that 25 percent dropped out during the first two group sessions.<sup>71</sup> The size of this lost population contributes to the necessity of counsellors skillfully treading the fine line

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<sup>69</sup>. Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 7-9.

<sup>70</sup>. Long, "Working With Men Who Batter," from Scher, Stevens, Good, and Eichenfield (eds.), Handbook Of Counselling And Psychotherapy With Men, 305-320.

<sup>71</sup>. See Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 122. Purdy and Nickle's group were comprised of 5 men under court order to attend, and 165 who came "voluntarily".

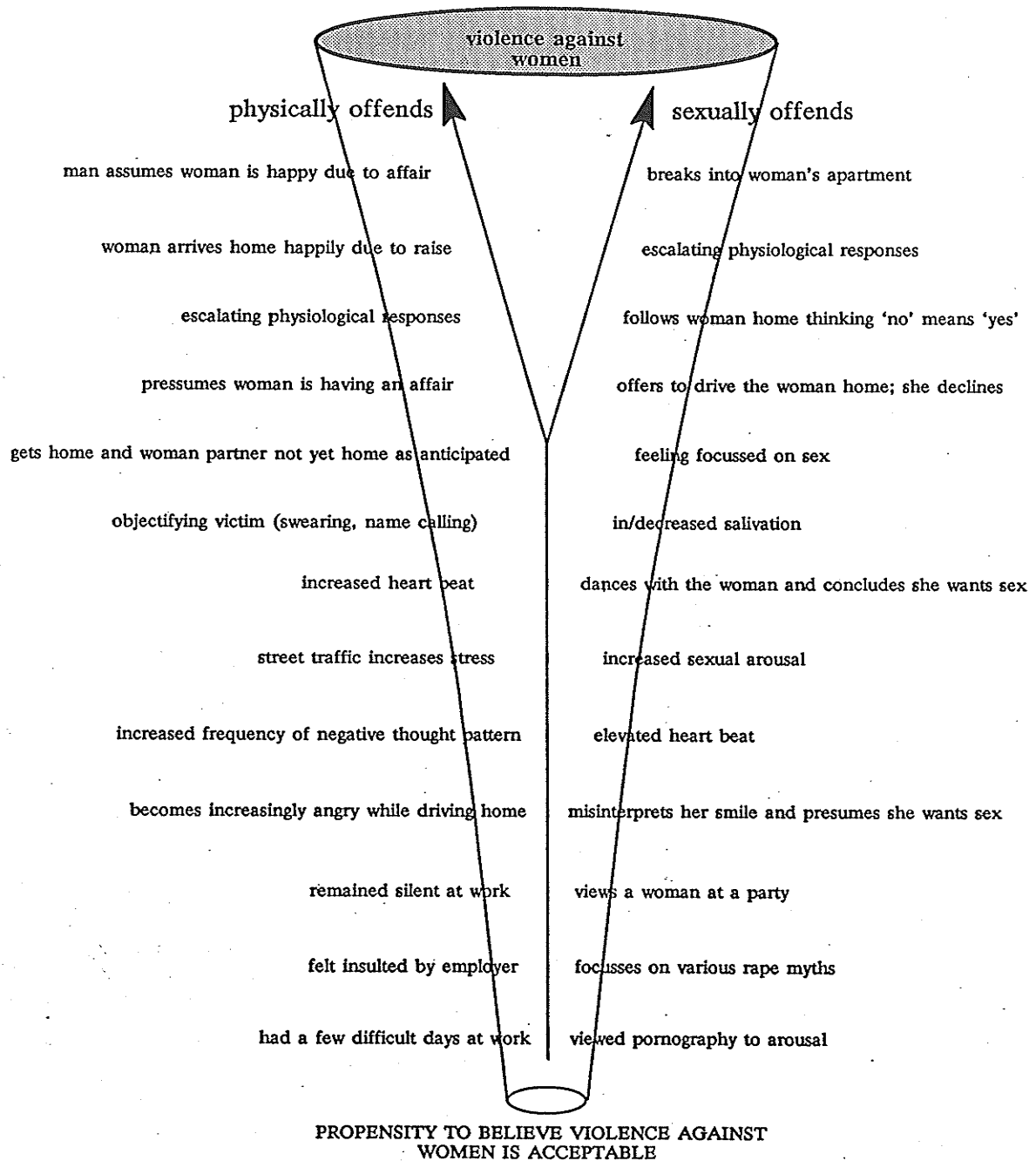
It is acknowledged that these figures will not hold for all group situations, but they do provide some indication of the magnitude of the problem with dropouts.

between rewarding the offender for wanting help--even if he was encouraged by the judicial system--while also confronting him on the unacceptability of his abusive behaviour. This task needs to be accomplished without minimizing the amount of work involved in changing one's behaviour. At the same time, therapists need to securely hook clients so that they believe the programme has something essential to offer them. The goal is to buy some time in which to get the man to establish one of the most crucial components of the social constructionist intervention--a control plan for nonviolence. This is a list of alternate activities which should be followed when the individual recognizes he is moving toward a violent offence. This technique has two main phases.

i. Identifying Thoughts, Images, and Feelings

The man should learn to identify his individual progression toward violence. What are the physical, emotional, and situational cues that occur prior to, during, and following a violent incident. Does a pattern exist as to when, where, or how a man offends? With what level of force does he commit his crime, does he use a weapon, what does he communicate during the attack, what are his own thoughts and feelings before, during, and after the offence? What is his process for rationalizing his violence, and in what way does he blame his victim? What is the nature of his cycle of violence and can he identify when he is at a specific phase?

Despite initial difficulty, many men learn to identify the order of the events in their escalation toward violence (see Figure V-1). A batterer may recognize the following examples: he clenches his fists;



**Figure V-1: Sample Violent Offender Escalations Depicting Situational, Physiological, and emotional Cues.**

( NOTE: Each offenders escalation process may vary in length of time, include different cues, and proceed in a different order.)

his heart beat escalates; he grinds his teeth while swearing at his partner; and may visualize how he is going to strike out at her. A sexual offender may recognize: fuzziness in his visual perception; drying up of his salivary glands; a pounding in his head; and a high level of anger toward women while conjuring up myths of women's enjoyment of rape.

The next step is to have him identify the point of no return, from which he feels it would be too difficult to reroute his behaviour. Generally it is easier for an offender to choose non-violent behaviour when he is anxiously pacing the floor, for example, than waiting until he is punching holes in the wall. To help ensure non-violence, clients should not wait for their point of no-return. They need to identify several preceding items in their escalation. When those items appear it is time to leave the situation.<sup>72</sup>

#### ii. Plan for Non-Violence

After identifying his pattern toward violence each offender must establish for himself a plan of prevention. He should leave the situation in which he was escalating toward violence and follow a plan to deescalate and halt his progression toward violence.

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<sup>72</sup>. For more on the use and effectiveness of control planning with violent men see Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 7-9; David Currie, Treatment Groups For Violent Men: A Practice Model, A Report on the Process and Outcome of Treatment with Violent Men in Groups (Toronto: Family Services Association of Metro Toronto, Feb 1982), 4-6; Sonkin, and Durphy, Learning To Live Without Violence, 33-37; Long, "Working With Men Who Batter," from Scher, Stevens, Good, and Eichenfield (eds.), Handbook Of Counselling And Psychotherapy With Men 308; Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, 38; Long, "Working With Men Who Batter," from Scher, Stevens, Good, and Eichenfield (eds.), Handbook Of Counselling And Psychotherapy With Men, 305-320; and Reilly, and Gruszki, "A Structured Didactic Model," 223-234.



Preferred activities shall not encourage violence. Batterers should not chop wood. Sexual offenders should not view pornography. Activities should promote non-violence and relaxation. They include: jogging, walking, talking to a friend, reminding himself he could face incarceration or lose his job if discovered, calling a crisis line, meditating, or whatever the individual feels is going to help him move away from violence.

Creating and implementing the control plan and time-out can be one of the most difficult--yet crucial--tasks. To succeed, offenders should not view these two tools for non-violence as static entities. They are forever evolving and need to be constantly revised and amended. Each offender should determine what fits for him and what needs to be changed. He must recognize that he is responsible for his violence and non-violence. Excuses that the woman was yelling at him or that he was too sexually aroused and lost control are not acceptable. To help avoid such responses, thoroughness in establishing the control plan and time-out is essential. Many potential scenarios for violence need to be considered to decrease the probability of a reoffense. Offenders should have several alternate plans for nonviolence for use if they cannot put their first plan into action.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>. For more information on the use and effectiveness of non-violence plans for sexual or physical offenders, see: Sonkin, and Durphy, Learning To Live Without Violence, 33-37; RAVEN, Safety Planning: RAVEN Phase One Membership Guidebook (St. Louis: RAVEN, 1986); US, Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Report On Men Who Batter, 1979; Edelson, "Working With Men Who Batter," 237-242; Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 119; Reilly, and Gruszki, "A Structured Didactic Model," 223-234; Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 191-192; and Frank Tracy, Henry Donnelly, Leonard Morgenbesser, and Donald Macdonald, "Program Evaluation: Recidivism," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor: Current Perspectives on

## 2. PSYCHOMETRIC EVALUATION

The clinical interview often is the most important part of assessment. Yet, a growing number of programmes are using standardized psychological tests to provide new information or confirm information obtained from other sources. Testing covers: drug and alcohol use and abuse; intelligence; physical and mental health; psychopathology; sexual history; sexual satisfaction; relationship status; passivity/assertiveness/hostility/aggression; social interaction skills; self-perceptions of abilities; and sexual attitudes--knowledge, beliefs, attitudes toward women and children.<sup>74</sup> Clinicians use measures such as: the Buss Durkee Hostility Inventory; the Conflict Tactics Scale; the Novaco Anger Inventory; the Brief Anger Aggression Questionnaire; the Hostility Toward Women Scale; the Attitudes Toward Women Scale; the Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale; the Attitudes Toward Wife Abuse; the Clarke Sexual History Questionnaire; Sexual Behaviour During Assault Self Report Questionnaire; Early Sexual Experience Self-Report Questionnaire; the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Interview; the Tennessee Self Concept Scale; the Ravens Progression Matrixes; and the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale.<sup>75</sup>

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Treatment (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, Co., 1983), 198-213.

<sup>74</sup>. Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 7-9.

<sup>75</sup>. For more information of these clinical measures see Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 137-138; and Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 1987, 8-10.

### 3. PHYSIOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT

This portion of the assessment typically is limited to work with sexual offenders. It is based on Zuckerman's work which indicates that the most accurate indicator of physiological arousal in the adult male is penile tumescence.<sup>74</sup> Erectile response are measured by a penile plethysmograph which is a mercury-in-rubber strain gauge. The instrument is positioned so that it encircles the mid-shaft of the penis. As the penis becomes increasingly erect the additional pressure reduces the capacity of the mercury column inside the plethysmograph to conduct its low level electrical current. The resultant changes are mechanically charted and are extremely accurate.

The purpose is to determine what arouses a specific offender. Very often, an offender's self reports, either intentionally or otherwise, minimize the range of arousing stimuli. The penile plethysmograph, when paired with a series of visual or auditory cues, enables the clinician and the offender to obtain a more accurate assessment. The presented slides typically include images of male and female children, adolescents, and adults. The slides and audio tapes also can depict a range of sexual activities from consenting contact to violent assaults.

The utility of this tool cannot be overemphasized. One study by Marshall et. al. revealed that with the penile plethysmograph they were able to detect twelve men in their programmes that had denied any

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<sup>74</sup>. M. Zuckerman, "Physiological Measures Of Sexual Arousal In Humans," in N.S. Greenfield and R.A. Steinbach (eds.), Handbook Of Psychophysiology (New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston, Inc., 1972), 709-740, cited in Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 10.

involvement in the sexual assault of children. The outcome of the testing resulted in seven of them acknowledging their violent behaviour with children. Unfortunately, whether for reasons of limited funds, untrained staff, or an aversion to technological measures, not all programmes utilize this important resource. A 1986 survey of US sex offender programmes found that only 27 percent of the 297 identified services used the penile plethysmograph.<sup>77</sup>

#### 4. DECISION

The next step involves deciding whether the offender is eligible for treatment. Contrary to popular myth, few offenders suffer from serious mental disorders.<sup>78</sup> The majority of men not allowed into a group are rejected because of their low motivation to change.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>. W.L. Marshall; H.E. Barbaree; and D. Christophe, "Sexual Offenders Against Female Children: Sexual Preferences For Age Of Victims And Types Of Behaviour," Canadian Journal Of Behavioural Science, 18, 424-439, cited in Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 34; Knopp, Rosenberg, and Stevenson, Report On The National Survey, 1986), 14; and C.M. Earls, and W.L. Marshall, "The Current State Of Technology In The Laboratory Assessment Of Sexual Arousal Patterns," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 198-213.

<sup>78</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 5. Barbaree and Marshall cite G. Abel, M. Mittleman, and J. Becker, Clinical Criminology: The Assessment and Treatment of Criminal Behaviour (Toronto: M & M Graphics, 1985); and R. Laws (1981), Personal communication cited in F. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders: Methods and Models (Syracuse, NY: Safer Society Press, 1984). Abel, Mittleman, and Becker estimate it to be less than 25 percent of offenders seen in an outpatient setting while Laws reports that no more than 10 percent of incarcerated offenders exhibit serious mental disorders.

<sup>79</sup>. Wormith and Borzecki note that in Canada, client motivation rather than risk, which seems to be the greater criteria in the US, is the more significant determinant of getting into a sexual offender

The existence of significant chemical abuse is the second major reason why a client would be refused treatment. A survey of Canadian groups for batterers found that almost all groups decline such individuals.<sup>80</sup> A US survey found that 30 percent of their denials were due to alcohol and drug abuse.<sup>81</sup> Clients under the influence of drugs or alcohol are less likely to recognize their emotional, physical, and situational cues to prevent violence. Such clients typically are referred to an outside agency to work on their chemical dependency. If appropriate, some clients will work with one agency on their violence and another regarding their drug/alcohol abuse.<sup>82</sup>

Referrals are also made if there is a need to address supplementary issues. These include: relationship counselling; negotiating a separation; financial planning; birth control information; or employment counselling. The clinician operating the offender's group should monitor the client's work in the supplementary programmes.

In-house individual work may be required if the client is not quite ready for group work. Specific men may not yet fully recognize the need to change, believe it is possible, or accept responsibility for their violence. Individual work also is important if the offender

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group. See: Wormith, and Borzecki, A Survey Of Treatment Programs For Sexual Offenders In Canada, 11.

<sup>80</sup>. Goyette, and Leblanc, "Sample Of Community Based Programs," 7.

<sup>81</sup>. Maureen Pirog-Good, and Jan Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs: A National Survey," Response: to the Victimization of Women and Children, 8(3), Sum 1985, 10.

<sup>82</sup>. Long, "Working With Men Who Batter," from Scher, Stevens, Good, and Eichenfield (eds.), Handbook Of Counselling And Psychotherapy With Men, 308.

is in crisis, or presenting any significant suicidal lethality.<sup>83</sup>

Upon assessing an offender to be acceptable for group work, clients need the following information. First, clinicians should explain the issues to be covered in the group. Clients need to understand how the material can help them reach and maintain non-violence. Second, group rules should be reviewed. Typical rules include: no drugs or alcohol just prior to, or during, group sessions; no physical contact with another group member without first verifying with the intended recipient that it is acceptable; mandatory attendance (seldom can men miss more one or two sessions without having to terminate the specific group); and if the men are violent they should process this with the group. Third, clients need to know the specific limits on confidentiality. It should not be maintained when there are, for example: child welfare issues; concerns over the safety of a potential victim; requests from corrections officials for information on attendance and participation; fears that the partner does not know the offender is not attending or has been terminated from the group; or subpoenaed requests for testimony.<sup>84</sup> Informed consent is likely to increase the effectiveness of the treatment programme.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>. For an excellent review of the issues involved in working with a batterer in crisis, see: Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 99-124.

<sup>84</sup>. Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, 53.

<sup>85</sup>. For more on the issue of informed consent, see: Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 5; and Bohmer, "Legal And Ethical Issues In Mandatory Treatment," in Greer, and Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor, 3-21.

## SECTION C: PROGRAMME CONTENT

This section examines the content of the social constructionist group treatment programmes. The following categories often are the focus of specific treatment sessions but also are issues that could arise at any time throughout treatment.

### 1. FAMILY OF ORIGIN

The goal is to help the offender recognize the positive and negative effects that his family of origin had on his personal development. Many men are unaware that they often repeat the lessons they learned as children about how to communicate their feelings, deal with anger, and relate to women. While violent behaviour need not have been witnessed, sessions on family of origin can help offenders recognize that interpersonal patterns learned at home may have contributed to their violent behaviour.<sup>84</sup>

Key questions are used to facilitate discussion. Stordeur and Stille provide the following two sets of sample questions:

- (1) How were emotions expressed in your family?
  - (2) How did individuals in your family handle anger?
  - (3) How did people solve conflicts?
  - (4) What methods of discipline were used?
  - (5) How did you react to this discipline?
  - (6) How did individuals in your family express love and affection?
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- (1) As a child, what was the one phrase you remember hearing most often from your parents?
  - (2) How were you praised? Criticized?
  - (3) How is your present behaviour affected by your family of origin?
  - (4) In what ways are you similar to your dad? Your mom?

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<sup>84</sup>. Reilly, and Gruszki, "Structured Didactic Model," 223-234.

- (5) What parallels are there between the way children were treated in your family of origin and the way you now treat children?<sup>87</sup>

Similar questions are asked of sexual offenders, though they can be supplemented with inquiries into the familial values around sexuality, rape mythology, use of pornography, and general views on women.

## 2. SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

The intent is to help the offender recognize how he learned the acceptability of various forms of violence against women. The general purpose of the section is to reeducate and resocialize the group members to be nonviolent. This can include:

1. revising their perceptions about male and female sex roles;
2. recognizing and changing their myths about male and female sexuality;
3. delineating appropriate and inappropriate sexual fantasies, expectations, and behaviour;
4. rewarding the expression of non-deviant sexual arousal;
5. working with the emotional, physical, and sexual abuse the client may have endured as a child;
6. rewarding empathic expression toward others and the development of sincere non-violent relationships;
7. increasing self-esteem;
8. learning, and practicing, essential assertive communication skills rather than negative violent responses to difficult positive or negative feelings;
9. learning family and caretaking skills;
10. developing general occupational, interpersonal, and self-care skills;
11. recognizing how to control drug and alcohol use or abuse.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>. Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 240-241.

<sup>88</sup>. For more on each of these ten points see Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 48-58; and Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 35-37.

For more on the importance of the socialization material in groups work with offenders, see: Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 160-176; Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 245-253; Saunders, "Helping Husbands Who Batter," 347-353; Currie, Treatment Groups For Violent Men, 6-9; Reilly,



### 3. COMMUNICATION STYLES

The objective is to identify functional and dysfunctional communication patterns.<sup>89</sup> Some of the major pitfalls of dysfunctional communication skills are as follows:

#### a. Ignoring Feelings

Too often men will not be able to identify their feelings or jump to pre-judged and unverified conclusions about how other people are feeling about a specific event. Men are more likely to operate in a thinking rather than a feeling mode. Our society rewards such behaviour and traditionally devalues as feminine the capacity to trust one's emotional response to issues and events.

The list of potential emotions often is limited to happy, sad, and angry. These words are not specific enough to clearly communicate a person's true sentiment. For example, if person A gives person B a gift and person B says "thank you this makes me happy", person B's intention may have been to convey that "the gift makes them feel ecstatic." But to person A, listening to this response, it may be perceived as "gee, this gift makes me feel all right". Both "happy" and "all right" fit under the category of happy but convey very different messages. For person A, who may have put a lot of time or money into buying the gift, the perception that person B simply "feels all right" may lead them to consider person B as rather ungrateful and inconsiderate.

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and Gruszski, "A Structured Didactic Model," 223-234; Long, "Working With Men Who Batter," from Scher, Stevens, Good, and Eichenfield (eds.), Handbook Of Counselling And Psychotherapy With Men, 305-320; and Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 120.

<sup>89</sup>. Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, 38; and Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 119-120.

After having come to that conclusion, person A may begin treating person B in a different manner and may start thinking negatively about person B. Unless the two individuals clarify the difference, their conversation--and even their relationship--could be jeopardized.

Another outcome can develop from the same scenario. Person A gives person B a gift and has the expectation that person B will be ecstatic. Without accepting that person B has the right to their own feelings about the gift, person A could be quite disappointed by a less than enthusiastic response by person B. If person A lacks the skills to recognize that their expectation was unjustified or the ability to communicate their feelings of disappointment, they may begin unjustly treating person B. Person A may become violent simply because person B did not respond as expected by person A. The escalation of many men toward violence often originates with something as trivial as this, and the previous, A-B scenario.<sup>90</sup>

b. Taking Control In A Conversation

Men, more likely than women, will take control of conversations. Many men interrupt women that are speaking, ignore their attempts to enter a conversation, devalue their real and potential contributions, physically or visually invade women's personal space, change the topic to one they prefer, remain intellectual and not disclose emotions, and even raise their voices to drown out a woman's efforts to assert herself. Some men have been doing this for so long they are rarely

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<sup>90</sup>. Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 160-176; Edleson, "Working With Men Who Batter," 237-242; and Sonkin, and Durphy, Learning To Live Without Violence, 87-99.

conscious of their actions. Others use their tactics intentionally. Both groups must recognize the abusive nature of their actions. They should learn to value listening to others and to release their drive to dominate and control.<sup>91</sup>

c. Goal Fixation

Goal oriented men may forget that the means to achieving a goal are important. This is common with offenders and particularly disconcerting since they often use violence to attain their goals. A client may claim, for example, that his objective was simply to finish a conversation with his female partner. Yet, upon questioning, he may reveal that what he really wanted was for his partner to concede the argument and admit he was right. If, for whatever reasons, the woman was not willing to do this, the man may escalate toward violence and insist on continuing the conversation rather than accepting that the conversation is over. Offenders frequently disregard the woman's right to choose her own agenda. While her choice may displease her male partner, he does have several options. Violence is only one of them. Offenders need to recognize that it is preferable to forsake a goal than resort to abusive methods in order to achieve it. Learning the acceptability of two people--particularly a man and woman--disagreeing is difficult but essential work for offenders.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>. Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 43-50; and Edleson, "Working With Men Who Batter," 237-242.

<sup>92</sup>. Edleson, "Working With Men Who Batter," 237-242.

d. Engaging In Rampant Negative Self Talk

Offenders typically spend inordinate amounts of time devaluing their woman partner and themselves. They may perceive that they have been hard done by, violated, ignored, or put down. If convinced of this perception they are likely to behave differently than if they had positive self perceptions.

Many offenders have not been hard done by. Yet even when mistreated, they must recognize that feeling offended or hurt are normal healthy reactions. Problems arise with offenders, however, when such feelings are funnelled into anger and expressed through violent behaviour, particularly with women as their victims. Facilitators can help men recognize that they have a right to be angry, but do not have the right to be violent toward other people. Thus if a man has not had a relationship for several months, or did not have sex with his last date, this may make him feel hurt, dejected, or even angry. But he does have choices as to how he responds to those feelings. Facilitators and other group members can help individual offenders develop the skills to identify and implement the necessary non-violent means.<sup>93</sup>

e. Poor Assertiveness Skills

Assertiveness involves identifying one's feelings and thoughts on an issue and verbalizing them in a manner that is respectful of others. Offenders frequently lack this skill and instead swing between nonaggressiveness and aggression. Rather than effectively dealing with situations as they arise, they ignore the feelings evoked by the event and

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<sup>93</sup>. Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 119-120.

prevent the healthy expression of emotions. Over time, as more events are ignored, the pressure builds. When it gets too high, the self-depreciating offender convinces himself that he has endured too much. This tendency, when combined with the belief that violence against women is acceptable, often results in another women being abused.

To non-violently resolve discrepancies and finish the issue, offenders should learn how to do the following: identify feelings; recognize how, and when, to best explain those feelings; effectively handle criticisms; make constructive requests; calmly say no if so desired; and work to a compromise.<sup>94</sup>

f. Inadequate Paraphrasing, Summarizing, And Listening

People make conclusions about comments made by other individuals. We internalize what has been said to us, process it, and choose a response. Too often, however, this is done without having first verified with the other person what we thought we heard. They actually may have meant something different from what we concluded. This can lead us to inappropriately respond to the original comment simply because of a breakdown in communication that was easily avoidable.

Offenders, in their attempts at controlling or devaluing women, often fail, or choose not, to listen. They should work at understanding what has been said, remain alert for self-depreciating thoughts, and not personalize things not intended to hurt them. When another person's comments are inappropriate, the offender need not violently

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<sup>94</sup>. Sonkin, and Durphy, Learning To Live Without Violence, 100-115; and Reilly, and Gruszki, "Structured Didactic Model," 223-234; Edleson, "Working With Men Who Batter," 237-242; and Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 224-225.

respond. They should relinquish any desire for power over others and direct their energy toward recognizing the power within them to make non-violent responses.<sup>95</sup>

#### 4. DRUG/ALCOHOL USE AND ABUSE

Offenders with significant chemical use habits are typically referred elsewhere to deal with that issue. Where abuse is not chronic, the programmes attempt to increase awareness of the drug/alcohol role in violence. The social support network of many offenders may revolve around drug and alcohol use. Group members are confronted to examine their consumption patterns in relation to their violence against women. Offenders should learn how else they might socialize and build support networks if drugs and alcohol are making nonviolence more difficult.

When discussing this issue in the group, facilitators may recognize that some members, not earlier detected, may require a referral to another agency to deal specifically with their drugs/alcohol use or abuse.<sup>96</sup>

#### 5. PARENTING

This is an important section for at least three reasons. First, men in the group may have been emotionally, physically, or sexually abused as children. Second, since our society traditionally has not

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<sup>95</sup>. Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 43-50. For more on the importance of communication skill training, see: US, Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Report On Men Who Batter, 1979.

<sup>96</sup>. Saunders, "Helping Husbands Who Batter," 347-353.

encouraged active participation of men as parents, knowledge about effective parenting may be minimal. And third, group members may already have been abusive toward their children.

This session compliments the earlier one on family of origin. Offenders will have examined the influence their family had on their development. Now the focus would be on the offender's influence on his children. After having acknowledged what it felt like to grow up in an abusive home, it is harder for offenders to try and excuse the inappropriateness of their own parenting skills. When offenders do trivialize the difficulty their children may be experiencing, the facilitators can confront them on the discrepancy between their earlier comments during the family of origin session. The two sessions can significantly increase the offender's empathy for his children.

For individuals with significant parenting difficulties, child welfare authorities may need to be contacted. If the child is not at risk, a referral to a parenting group may be appropriate.

All group members--even those without kids--can benefit from examining parenting issues. At the very least, the material can help the men further develop an understanding of the parenting styles common to their family of origin.

The men review various parenting styles, have an opportunity to talk about the difficulties of parenting, and can recognize how their skills for nonviolence against women can be used when parenting. Being aware of one's self-deprecating thoughts and taking time-outs can be crucial pieces in preventing child abuse and making parenting less frustrating.

## SECTION D: PROGRAMME PROCESS

### Introduction

The following is a brief review of the major process techniques utilized within offender treatment programmes.

#### 1. COGNITIVE RESTRUCTURING (SELF-TALK)

Cognitive restructuring is based on Meichenbaum's work. It is

a therapeutic approach whose major mode of action is modifying the patient's thinking and the premises, assumptions, and attitudes underlying his cognitions. The focus of therapy is on the ideational content involved in the symptom, namely, the irrational inferences and premises.<sup>97</sup>

Offenders are particularly prone to negatively interpreting the actions of women in their lives. By cognitively restructuring their external reality in a negative light, they legitimize their violence against women. For example, a man who has a high level of rape myth acceptance (ie. no means yes, or a certain style of dress means the woman wants sex) may view a woman walking down the street. In interpreting this event, he may ascribe specific qualities to her (ie. she wants to get raped), and choose his actions accordingly.

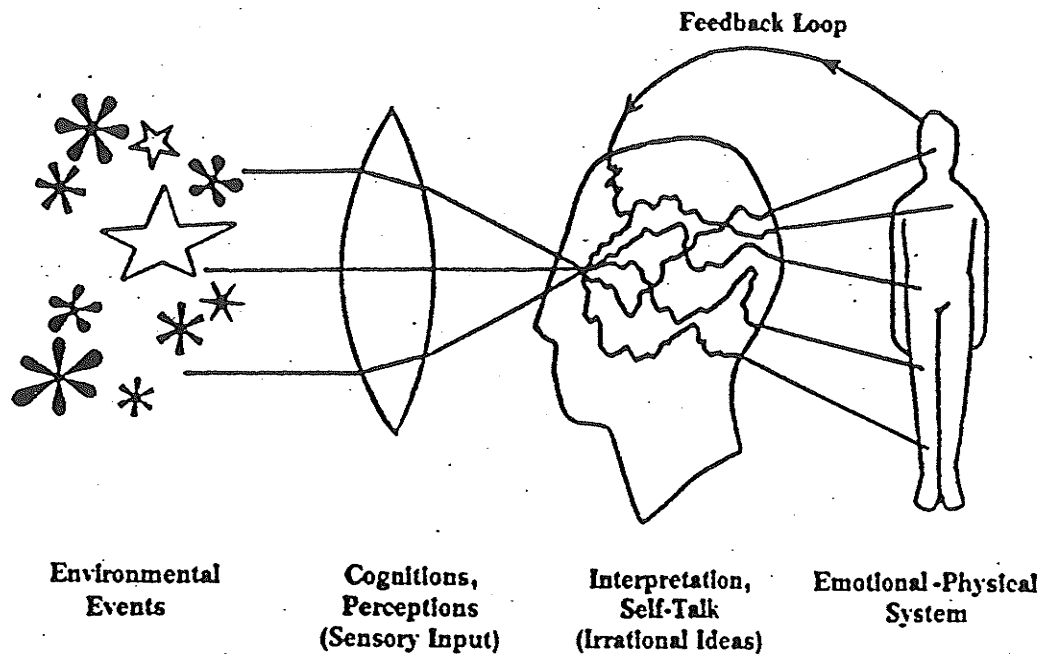
Most people are unaware that they are positively or negatively filtering their external reality (see Figure V-2). Their perception is that what they think and feel is the true external reality. With offenders, however, the situation is compounded by their relatively

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<sup>97</sup>. Quoted in Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 227.

For Meichenbaum's original work see: Donald Meichenbaum, Cognitive-Behaviour Modification: An Integrative Approach (New York: Plenum Press, 1977), and Donald Meichenbaum, Stress Inoculation Training (Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press, 1985).





#### Example

##### A. Facts and events

A mechanic replaces a fuel pump he honestly believed was malfunctioning, but the car's performance doesn't improve. The customer is very upset and demands that he put the old fuel pump back.

##### B. Mechanic's self-talk

"He's just a grouch—nothing would please him."  
 "Why the hell do I get all the tough jobs?"  
 "I ought to have figured this out by now."  
 "I'm not much of a mechanic."

##### C. Emotions

Anger and resentment  
 Depression

The mechanic may later say to himself, "That guy really made me mad." But it is not the customer or anything that the customer has done which produces the anger — It is the mechanic's own self-talk, his interpretation of reality. This irrational self-talk can be changed, and the stressful emotions changed with it.

Figure V-2: Cognitive Filtering And Restructuring Of Social Reality.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup>. Martha Davis, Elizabeth Eshelman, and Mathew McKay, The Relaxation And Stress Reduction Workbook (Oakland, CA: New Harbinger Pub., 1982), 100.

greater acceptance of rape and battering myths, and willingness to use violence. Offenders also tend to be particularly quick at negatively processing their external reality. Ellerby notes that offenders are likely to cognitively distort their self-perceptions (contributing to the low levels of self-esteem among offenders), the nature and reasons for the offence, their responsibility, and the victim's role (lots of blaming).<sup>99</sup>

The objective is for the men to recognize their intermediate processing step and learn how it can be utilized to prevent violence. Offenders need: constant feedback; challenging; and supportive non-argumentative confrontation from themselves, other group members, and the group facilitators. Individual men can come to recognize and reroute their negative self-talk in order to avoid being violent. A balance between confrontation and support must be maintained in order that the men can remain motivated to complete this often difficult work and not choose instead to leave the group due to their frustration with failure.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>. Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 32-34.

<sup>100</sup>. For more on the importance of cognitive restructuring to social constructionist groups, see: Edleson, "Working With Men Who Batter," 237-242; Sonkin, and Durphy, Learning To Live Without Violence, 39-46; US, Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Report On Men Who Batter, 1979; Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 33; Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 227-231; Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, 38; Saunders, "Helping Husbands Who Batter," 347-353; Raymond Novaco, "Stress Inoculation: A Cognitive Therapy for Anger and Its Application to a Case of Depression," Journal Of Consulting And Clinical Psychology, 45(4), 1977, 600-608; and Raymond Novaco, "Anger And Coping: Cognitive Behavioral Interventions," in Y. Foreyt, and D. Rathjen (eds.), Cognitive Behaviour Therapy: Research and Application

## 2. CONTROL PLAN MODIFICATIONS/IMPROVEMENTS

Control plans have two components. These are: a list of the physical, emotional, and situational cues preceding a violent incident; and a list of non-violent activities for use during a time-out from violence. In most programmes, control plans are written during the initial clinical assessment (see above Mechanics of Offending And Establishing A Control Plan, Section II-B-C).

Control plans are constantly evolving. Over time, the men will recognize additional emotional, physiological, and situation cues that are part of their escalation toward violence. These additional cues should be integrated into the offender's control plan to make it more thorough and accurate. Ideally, offenders will establish numerous, viable contingency plans for a multitude of potentially violent situations. Group time needs to be allocated throughout the duration of the offender group, for feedback and modification of each man's control plan.

## 3. AVERSIVE THERAPIES

Aversive therapies are used to help offenders in choosing non-violent behaviour. The intervention entails pairing aversive, or unpleasant, stimuli with stimuli which have lead to violent behaviour, in an attempt at modifying the offender's behaviour. The most commonly used aversive therapies use electrical and olfactory techniques. Since some men will respond to one technique and not the other in certain situations, many therapists utilize both techniques. Aversive

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(New York: Plenum Press, 1978), 135-162.

therapies are used primarily with sexual offenders to alter their responses to their preferred sexual stimuli.<sup>101</sup>

Puffs of ammonia fumes (smelling salts), for example, are paired with brief audio and/or visual presentations of the subjects deviant-arousal subject. Repeated pairings are intended to make the offender not associate the stimulus with a pleasant response. The advantage of the olfactory approach is that an offender can carry with him several net-meshed ammonia capsules and use them as needed to prevent arousal and erection responses.<sup>102</sup>

High drop out rates and a desire to break the offender's pattern as quickly as possible are two reasons why therapists generally introduce aversive therapies during the initial assessment period. Once in the group, some offenders may need additional time to strengthen the connection between the two stimuli. If only a few men require additional work, focussing too much on the needs of one, or two, individuals may be disruptive to the group process. One-on-one sessions with individual group members, while time consuming, are likely to be more effective.

The use of aversive techniques is not without controversy. Clinicians easily can cross the boundary from pairing aversive stimuli with the client's criminal sexual stimuli toward using this intervention to

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<sup>101</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 40-44.

<sup>102</sup>. For more information on the use of aversive therapies, see: Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 40-44; and Quinsey, and Marshall, "Procedures For Reducing Inappropriate Sexual Arousal: An Evaluation Review," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 267-289.

punish offenders. Doing so would constitute an abuse of the intervention. While most counselling techniques depend upon the ethical conduct of the therapist, it is the use of the chemical or electrical stimuli that make the technique more vulnerable to criticism. One Canadian survey of programmes for sex offenders found that Canadian programmes were more likely to use aversive therapies (75 percent of Canadian programmes) than their American counterparts. The difference was attributed to Canada being "a relatively less litigious society." The report noted that despite this national tendency, jurisdictional differences exist. Hospital by-laws in the Alberta Hospital in Edmonton, for example, forbid the use of aversive procedures.<sup>103</sup>

#### 4. COVERT SENSITIZATION

Covert sensitization involves the use of unpleasant, imagined events that are paired with the offender's deviant stimuli. By not using physical entities such as ammonia or physical shock, covert therapies overcome the legal and ethical difficulties associated with aversive interventions. Since the goals of the two are identical, covert therapies frequently are used instead. Covert sensitization is fairly easy to implement. This lends it to use with populations other than sex offenders; it also is used with battering groups.

Clients must first identify their physical, emotional, and situational cues involved in their progression toward violence and identify the points they must not pass if they are to interrupt the process and

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<sup>103</sup>. Wormith, and Borzecki, Survey Of Treatment Programs, 20; and Bohmer, "Legal And Ethical Issues In Mandatory Treatment," in Greer, and Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor, 3-21.

take a time-out. These points in the escalation process are paired with one or more unpleasant imagined events. The imagery can be either physiologically aversive images such as thoughts about vomiting, or psychologically aversive images such as what it would be like to have his partner leave him if he were violent or spend time in jail for a sexual assault, if he were to continue his progression toward violence.<sup>104</sup>

##### 5. ROLE MODELLING

In a group setting, therapists are important role models. Clients see them identify and express thoughts and emotions, effectively communicate, and implement non-violent problem solving techniques. Offenders witness the implementation of the theory and skills discussed in the group. Role modelling helps the men incorporate new non-violent components into their lives.

Since role modelling is an important learning tool, many therapists prefer using mixed gender cofacilitators. It allows group members to view interactions between a man and a woman that are based on trust, respect, and equality. Examples include: witnessing an informed intelligent, assertive female co-leader; hearing two facilitators handling conflict or differences of opinion; experiencing the respect the

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<sup>104</sup>. Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 220-224; S.M. Levin; S.M. Barry; S. Gambaro; L. Wolfensohn; and A. Smith, "Variations Of Covert Sensitization In The Treatment Of Pedaphilic Behaviour: A Case Study," Journal Of Consulting And Clinical Psychology, 5, 1977, 896-907, cited in Ellerby, Winnipeg Sexual offender Clinic: Outpatient Assessment and Treatment Manual, 27; and Marshall, "Procedures For Reducing Inappropriate Sexual Arousal: An Evaluation Review," in Joanne Greer, and Irving Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor: Current Perspectives on Treatment (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, Co., 1983), 267-289.

male facilitator has for his equal female partner; or seeing the male facilitator taking risks, identifying his feelings, and not feeling his masculinity was compromised. Witnessing these components of healthy masculinity, femininity, and the relationship between the two can contribute to the value reformation desired of offenders. By changing the values associated with that same action (ie. it is good, or admirable to be able to walk away to avoid being violent), the facilitators can help individual offenders accept previously devalued actions.

Role modelling also can be used in another, more active, manner. Working as a large group or in smaller clusters, offenders can role play difficult situations from their lives. For example, they may have had problems effectively communicating, avoiding self-deprecating thoughts, or implementing their control plan for non-violence. Role playing helps the men appreciate the difficulty of putting theory into practice and develop their skills.<sup>105</sup>

#### 6. CONFRONTATION AND ENCOURAGEMENT

Facilitators must not let offenders minimize, trivialize, or ignore their violence. With confrontive, probing, clarifying, but non-argumentative questions, facilitators can help offenders learn more about, and take responsibility for, their violence. Confrontation can expose many half-truths. An offender may acknowledge his violence by saying "Yes, I slapped her a few times." With confrontive questioning

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<sup>105</sup>. US, Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Report On Men Who Batter.

the facilitators may discover that he also trashed the house, repeatedly punched the woman, and tried to strangle her.

Despite the importance of confrontation, it needs to be balanced with encouragement. Otherwise, the men may not believe they can change their behaviour and leave the group. While court mandated clients may remain, their involvement could plummet and affect the motivation of the remaining members. Offenders, like anyone attempting to effect change in their lives, require support and encouragement for the hard work they are trying to accomplish.

Ellerby's term for encouragement is relapse prevention. He notes three factors which must not be ignored. First, offenders need to be reminded that old escalation cues will occur. They do not mean the offender has failed. The cues indicate that work still remains and that maintaining nonviolence is a life-long task. Second, when a man reoffends he needs to be encouraged to learn from his mistakes and revise his control plans as needed. As Ellerby states, "one lapse does not need to become a complete fall off the wagon." And third, the men need to remember that urges will occur, but that they do pass over time and to help them maintain their nonviolence they may need to implement a form of covert sensitization (ie. reviewing the negative ramifications of following through with their violence).<sup>106</sup>

For offender intervention to succeed a proper balance between confrontation and encouragement must be maintained. The two need not compromise each other. Avoiding confrontation--by not clarifying that all

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<sup>106</sup>. Ellerby, Sexual Offender Assessment and Treatment Manual, 51-54.



violence is unacceptable--or providing minimal encouragement--by not helping offenders overcome their frustrations with the new demands placed upon them and keeping them in the group long enough to meet their nonviolent goals--can endanger the safety of additional women.<sup>107</sup>

## 7. MONITORING

Since offenders often will minimize or deny their violence, therapists need to supplement that which is reported to the group by the individual offender with information from other sources. The contacts established during the assessment phase to ensure partner safety can be used to determine if the client is secretly reoffending. These individuals may include: lawyers, neighbors, partners, work colleagues, parole officers, and others. One programme trains people from the offender's support system to raise their awareness, maintain surveillance on the offender, and inform the clinician should the client appear to be heading toward reoffending. These supports even can be maintained and utilized after the group therapy has ended.<sup>108</sup>

The information flow, however, should not just be to the therapist. Clinicians have an ethical responsibility to contact the offender's support system whenever they have reason to believe the client is likely to soon reoffend. Daniel Sonkin has identified eight important

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<sup>107</sup>. Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," in Greer, and IRV Irving Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 160-176.

<sup>108</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, Treatment Of The Sexual Offender, chapter prepared for: Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 47-49.

guidelines for determining whether to warn or protect potential victims:

1. if violence is escalating in frequency or severity during the course of treatment;
2. if explicit or implicit threats are made;
3. if the client is in crisis and is unable to assure the therapist of his ability to control himself (even with assurance, the therapist may need to issue a warning);
4. if the victim expresses fear for her own or another's safety;
5. if there is a escalation in the client's use of drugs or alcohol;
6. if the client refuses to cooperate with the treatment plan;
7. if the therapist discovers that the client has not talked about acts of violence committed while in treatment;
8. if the client has committed life-threatening acts of violence or made specific threats to kill prior to entering treatment (not discovered until in treatment) or during treatment.<sup>109</sup>

#### 8. VICTIM EMPATHY

Removing many of the myths about female sexuality, sexual assault, and battering can sensitize clients to the painful effects of their violence. This awareness can decrease the ease with which an offender reoffends.

Many clinicians use the following techniques: films such as A Scream From Silence which conveys the horrors of sexual assault<sup>110</sup>; guest speakers such as women facilitators from groups for the female

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<sup>109</sup>. Sonkin, "Therapists' Duty To Warn and Protect," Victims And Violence, 1(1), 1986, 7-22; and Daniel Sonkin, "The Assessment Of Court Mandated Batterers," in Daniel Sonkin (ed.), Domestic Violence On Trial: Psychological and Legal Dimensions Of Family Violence, cited in Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 152-153.

<sup>110</sup>. Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 1989.

victims of male violence, or sexual assault counsellors; role plays; and guided imagery. If one or more of the group members was victimized as a child, for example, it may be helpful for him to share his experiences with the group.<sup>111</sup>

## 9. RELAXATION TECHNIQUES

The ability to relax is a crucial component of maintaining non-violence. Whether in preventing the start of an escalation toward violence, or calming down during a time out, it is essential for offenders to know how to physiologically and emotionally relax. The social constructionist literature stresses the integral role of relaxation techniques. Daniel Saunders, for example, advocates the combination of relaxation therapies with cognitive restructuring to increase the effectiveness of each.<sup>112</sup>

Relaxation techniques include: audio tapes of guided imagery or nature; exercise; meditation; biofeedback; and Jacobson's progressive relaxation. Early in their treatment, offenders need to be informed of the importance of, as well as the techniques for, relaxation. Offenders should develop an awareness of the physical and mental components of a relaxed state. They should recognize that deviations toward anxiety, frustration, or violence may indicate the need to implement their

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<sup>111</sup>. Groth, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 160-172.

One study with incarcerated sex offenders has shown the importance of teaching Women's Studies to change offenders' traditional gender beliefs. See Holly Devor, "Teaching Women's Studies To Convicted Sex Offenders," (Burnaby, British Columbia: Women Studies Department, Simon Fraser University, unpublished report, 1987).

<sup>112</sup>. Saunders, "Helping Husbands Who Batter," 347-353.

control plan. Relaxation therapies should be integrated into the offender's daily routine.<sup>113</sup>

#### 10. SHARING

A large portion of the time within an offender group is allocated to dydactic information transfer in order to convey the often new information associated with the content issues. The second major portion of group time is allocated for members to share their experiences in an open-group discussion. Sharing topics include: an offender's most violent incident<sup>114</sup>; a recent violent incident; the effort involved in integrating the new group material into their lives; how they modified the material for greater success; or how components of the programme have not worked for them. Since most offenders are socially isolated or lack strong contact with existing supports, the peer experience is crucial to the success of these programmes. The benefits include: allowing the men an opportunity to hear the experiences of other men; receiving feedback; normalizing their own difficulties, successes, and failures; and encouraging them to continue struggling with significant behaviour change when they see their peers doing the same. The men

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<sup>113</sup>. For more on the use of relaxation therapies with sexual and physical offenders, see: Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 203-204; 231-233; US, Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Report On Men Who Batter, 1979; Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, 38; Sonkin, and Durphy, Learning To Live Without Violence, 59-70; and Rosen, and Fracher, "Tension-Reduction Training In The Treatment Of Compulsive Sex Offenders," in Greer, and Stuart (eds.), The Sexual Aggressor: Current Perspectives on Treatment (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1983), 144-159.

<sup>114</sup>. Stordeur and Stille have an excellent section on the use of the man's most violent incident. See: Stordeur, and Stilles, Ending Men's Violence, 211-217.

learn more about themselves, each other, and men in general. These discussions generate information that later is useful either in acknowledging and supporting a man through a learning process that often is difficult, or in confronting the man on his action (or lack thereof) by knowing earlier that he had identified something he wanted to change.

The importance of the peer feedback cannot be ignored. The same words coming from the facilitators very often do not carry a similar weight as when stated by another offender. The peer has a credibility of having been there and struggling with the same issues. This component is absent in individual counselling.

To get the best use of sharing time, facilitators maintain several important limits. Stordeur and Stille have itemized five points for consideration:

1. retain a focus on the issue at hand;
2. avoid long, introspective journeys;
3. recognize when a man needs more than sharing time;
4. be willing to be directive when necessary;
5. when possible, partition sharing time according to demand.<sup>115</sup>

## SECTION E: POST-GROUP INTERVENTION

### FOLLOW-UP GROUPS

Follow-up groups have evolved for two main reasons. First, offenders need to continue developing their non-violent skills. Joining a follow-up group can help reduce recidivism. Second, many offenders that have persisted with a programme often do not want it to end. They

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<sup>115</sup>. Ibid.

have taken significant risks with the other members, met some friends, and come to appreciate the supportive learning environment.

Roughly modelled on a self-help principle, facilitators either always are in attendance or drop in periodically to ensure the follow-up group has not become dysfunctional, for example, by not confronting individuals on their abuse. The group format is similar to the sharing time previously experienced in the treatment group. If the group deems it necessary, they may choose to have a speaker come in and present on a specific issue. Despite the periodic presence of a facilitator, these groups--relative to the initial treatment--can afford members a greater sense of autonomy, concern for other members, and ownership over the group.

#### SUMMARY OF THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST OFFENDER GROUP INTERVENTION

When one examines the components of the social constructionist approach to working with offenders, the intervention--at least in theory--appears promising. Social constructionism integrates a variety of clinical approaches. While the emphasis is on how our society creates violent men, physiological components are included, for example, in the use of physical cues to help the offender determine his emotional state.

Yet like any intervention, one needs to question how well it works in practice. Such a task involves critiquing the state response to male violence against women.

## CRITIQUE OF THE CURRENT STATE RESPONSE

### INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1980 offender programmes were almost nonexistent. In Canada, programmes for batterers grew from four in 1981 to over 30 in 1984 and 114 in 1989.<sup>116</sup> Programmes for sexual offenders increased from 12 in 1984 to 25 in 1990.<sup>117</sup>

American statistics are somewhat more difficult to obtain.<sup>118</sup> Greater control by individual states--as compared to national coordination--has increased the fragmentation of services and decreased the general awareness of what is being done across the country. Despite this, the available US statistics reveal a significant increase in the number of treatment programmes for offenders. In 1977, in Boston, one of the first US programmes for batterers was started. By 1987, one US directory listed 185 programmes for men who batter.<sup>119</sup> And by 1990, an additional 307 groups had been formed, bringing the total number to 492 groups.<sup>120</sup> Numbers of US programmes for sexual offenders also increased. In 1984, Knopp identified 197 service programmes for sex

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<sup>116</sup>. Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, vii; and Kaye, "Battle Against Men Who Batter," 45-46, 48, 50, 52-53.

<sup>117</sup>. Wormith, and Borzecki, Survey Of Treatment Programs For Sexual Offenders In Canada, 5; and Canada, Working Group, Sex Offender Treatment Review, The Management And Treatment Of Sex Offenders: Report (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1990), 38-39.

<sup>118</sup>. Tom Kaczmarz, RAVEN, St. Louis, MO, telephone interview with the author, Aug 14, 1990.

<sup>119</sup>. See RAVEN. The Ending Men's Violence National Referral Directory, 1987.

<sup>120</sup>. Tom Kaczmarz interview, Aug 14, 1990. Tom obtained the 307 figure from the National Domestic Violence Hotline.

offenders.<sup>121</sup> By 1986, Knopp, Rosenberg and Stevens listed 297 programmes.<sup>122</sup>

The increase in numbers of groups, while encouraging, does not tell us very much. The crucial question is whether the existing state response will succeed at systematically ending male violence against women. This section, therefore, will examine two components of the current state response: internal problems of offender programmes; and the role these services play in the larger social structure.

#### SECTION A: INTERNAL PROBLEMS

##### 1. MOST GROUPS FOCUS ON MEN WHO BATTER

The figures listed above indicate that there are significantly more batterer than sex offender groups. This difference is compounded by the generally longer duration of most sexual offender groups. Thus, even if the number of groups were comparable, the number of clients served is lower. While the numbers of sex offender groups are increasing, the few that do exist are located in the larger urban areas. Short of moving an offender to the programme which would be prohibitively expensive, the other option is to imprison the individual. While this may bring the individual to the programme, many clinicians argue that incarceration for treatment is not always the best intervention strategy; the very nature of the prison environment may do more to

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<sup>121</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 1984, cited in Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 12.

<sup>122</sup>. Fay Honey Knopp, Jean Rosenberg, and William Stevens, Report On The Nationwide Survey Of Juvenile And Adult Sex-Offender Treatment Programs And Providers (Syracuse: Safer Society Press, 1986), 12.



reinforce what the treatment is trying to change. Consequently, the vast majority of offenders do not receive treatment. At best, they may have a probation officer, with whom they periodically must meet.<sup>123</sup>

Similarly, few, if any, groups exist for emotionally violent men. This exists despite evidence indicating that ending the emotional abuse of women may be the most difficult behaviour to change.<sup>124</sup> Presumably, an emotionally abusive male, in the absence of treatment groups, could pursue individual counselling. But this solution has several drawbacks. First, individual clients lose the advantage of the group dynamic (ie. peer confrontation and support). Second, waiting lists are long at publicly funded agencies, and costs are high among private therapists. And third, many counsellors, when faced with numerous demands for services, may institute a form of clinical triage. If a sex offender, a batterer, or an incest victim present at the same time as a man that has been emotionally abusive, the latter may well be deferred.

## 2. URBAN BIAS

In North America, urban areas are better served by the existing social service system. This continues despite the evidence that male violence against women is not only an urban problem. In Canada, by 1986, only 6 of the 10 provinces had established sex offender programmes. And some of these programmes were only "in the latter stages of

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<sup>123</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs: A National Survey," 9.

<sup>124</sup>. Daniel Sonkin, Del Martin, and Lenore Walker, The Male Batterer: A Treatment Approach (New York: Springer Pub., 1985), cited in Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 234. Sonkin and Martin were referring to the population of men who batter.

planning." Most of the programmes were in large urban centres or in smaller adjacent communities.<sup>125</sup> The situation is not considerably better for batterers groups. In Prince Edward Island, for example, by 1989, there was only one such group. Some men were driving more than 140 kilometres each way to attend. Many men will not have the time, physical means, or motivation to do so.<sup>126</sup>

Similar problems exist in the United States. A 1984 national survey of US batterers' programmes indicated that at least 60 percent were located in major urban areas and that there exist significant regional variations. The north central US had 35 percent of the groups, the northeast 31 percent; northwest 15 percent; southwest 13 percent; southcentral 3 percent; and southeast 3 percent.<sup>127</sup>

Services rarely exist in rural areas. Specialized skills often are not available within the community. When a skilled individual does live in the area, numerous problems confront them. These include: pre-occupation with a generic counselling load; isolation from other offender therapists; and divided community support.

Compounding the problem of getting rural offenders into treatment is the low profile of existing offender groups outside of their own urban community. Since they are not well known by rural workers, few men outside of an offender group's immediate catchment area are

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<sup>125</sup>. Wormith, and Borzecki, A Survey Of Treatment Programs For Sexual Offenders In Canada, 5.

<sup>126</sup>. Kaye, "The Battle Against Men Who Batter," 45-46, 48, 50, 52-53.

<sup>127</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 8-12.

referred.<sup>128</sup>

### 3. THE INTERVENTION IS TOO BRIEF

#### A. Short Duration Of Groups

In 1988, the Canadian Council on Social Development surveyed approximately 100 groups for men who batter. From the 45 respondents, they determined that the majority of programmes consisted of 12 to 16 weekly meetings and acknowledged that some were shorter.<sup>129</sup> A US survey found that 36 percent of the programmes lasted 4 to 12 weeks, 31 percent 13 to 24 weeks, and 20 percent 25 to 36 weeks.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup>. This was concluded from Knopp's 1984 survey of 197 service programmes for sexual offenders. See Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 1984, cited in Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 12.

<sup>129</sup>. The Canadian Council On Social Development published a synopsis of their study in their newsletter, see: Jurgen Dankwort, "Programmes For Men Who Batter: A Snapshot," Vis-a-vis: A National Newsletter On Family Violence, 6(2), Sum 1988. Vis-a-vis noted that time and money did not permit them to conduct a detailed analysis, or publish, their results.

<sup>130</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Keeley, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 8-12. Pirog-Good and Stets-Kealey contacted 293 programmes. They received a response from 59. They found that 98 of the 293 either no longer existed or had not provided services for batterers. Of the remaining 136 programmes that had not responded, 20 per-cent were randomly selected and contacted by phone to determine their failure to respond. It was found that 78 percent of the non-respondents do not currently provide services. The remaining 22 percent did have programmes but reported they did not respond because they had misplaced the survey, did not receive it, or had insufficient resources to respond. Pirog-Good and Stets-Kealey extrapolated from the 78 percent of the nonrespondents that do not provide services for batterers and concluded that the total population of battering programs to be approximately 89. Thus they had a 66 percent response rate. They state that the 59 responses represents the largest number of respondents to such a survey to date.

Jerry Finn's 1985 review of 13 North Carolina batterer's programmes found the duration ranged from 6 to 16 sessions.<sup>131</sup> A programme operating in Windsor, Ontario, in 1983, was comprised of 8 sessions and also included men that already had gone through treatment.<sup>132</sup> Another Canadian programme started whenever there were 10 referrals and ran for only 6 sessions. While the researchers noted that one goal was to try and connect these men with other--presumably longer term--services, they ignored the potential for a high drop out rate when clients transfer from one service to another.<sup>133</sup>

Inconsistency in the duration of groups also occurs in the work with sex offenders. Howard Barbaree and William Marshall<sup>\*</sup> in an overview of Canadian programmes found a significant variation in the length of treatment programmes with some lasting more than two years.<sup>134</sup> The implication is that the two year programme appears more to be the exception rather than the rule.

There is growing evidence that approximately nine months of intense work is required to change a man's violent behaviour.<sup>135</sup> The numerous 6 to 8, even the 12 to 16, week programmes are not providing

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<sup>131</sup>. Finn, "Men's Domestic Violence Treatment Groups," 89.

<sup>132</sup>. Lola Beth Buckley, Donna Miller, and Thomas Rolfe, "A Windsor Model," Social Work With Groups, 6(3-4), Fall-Win 1983, 189-195.

<sup>133</sup>. Elliot Bern, Linda Bern, "A Group Program For Men Who Commit Violence Towards Their Wives," Social Work With Groups, 7(1), Spr 1984, 63-77.

<sup>134</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 11-12.

<sup>135</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 8-12.

adequate time to cover the necessary content and process issues, or for the men to practice their new skills. With such a brief therapeutic intervention, many of the offenders will not have gone through their cycle of violence while in group. A participant's learning process could be completely based in theory rather than coupled with practice. While some men's cycles are particularly short, other men could have violently offended, been put in a group, graduated, and be back on their own, all the while still being in their honeymoon phase of intense remorse after a violent incident. When the honeymoon phase begins to pass into the escalation phase, the man needs to be in the group for feedback and support for his nonviolence.<sup>136</sup>

#### B. Minimal Individual Tracking Or Follow-Up Group Work

Most offenders programmes have little or no established follow-up mechanisms.

##### i. Follow-Up Evaluation

The purpose of follow-up is two-fold: it allows clinicians an opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of the intervention, and maintains contact in case of likely recidivism.<sup>137</sup> Follow-up does not regularly occur. The majority of US programmes do not do follow-up. Among those that do, the median amount of time between termination and follow-up is four months; only half perform more than two.<sup>138</sup> A 1985

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<sup>136</sup>. For more information on the cycle theory of violence see Walker, "The Cycle Theory Of Violence," in Walker, The Battered Woman, 55-70. For a summary of Walker's cycle see above, this chapter, ft. 21.

<sup>137</sup>. Dankwort, "Programs For Men Who Batter," 1-3.

<sup>138</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 10.

For more on the paucity of follow-up evaluations, see: Finn,

Canadian review of sex offender programmes, note that "like their American counterparts, the Canadian programs were weakest in the area of evaluation and follow-up."<sup>139</sup> This is a common concern.<sup>140</sup> Browning emphasizes that there is a necessity to conduct

tightly-designed demonstrations of treatment effectiveness, rather than for descriptive or "process" evaluations. Only the former can provide assurance to women's groups, corrections officials and other referral sources that treatment is a desirable option for assaultive men.<sup>141</sup>

#### ii. Few Follow-Up Groups

On-going follow-up support groups are a crucial factor contributing to the maintenance of non-violence.<sup>142</sup> Yet, as late as 1988, follow-up groups were more the exception than the rule.<sup>143</sup>

Among the programmes that provide follow-up services for offenders, counsellors note the difficulty of maintaining contact, or finding the time to do so. Others, citing staff shortages, have not even availed themselves of external sources that would be amenable to doing the work. University campuses are a resource that could be utilized

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"Men's Domestic Violence Treatment Groups," 81-94.

<sup>139</sup>. Wormith, and Borzecki, A Survey Of Treatment Programs For Sexual Offenders In Canada, 24.

<sup>140</sup>. For example, see: Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, 45; and Maureen McEvoy, "Men Against Battering," Goodwin's, Fal 1984, 20, 22-24.

<sup>141</sup>. Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, 53.

<sup>142</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 58-59.

<sup>143</sup>. Dankwort, "Programmes For Men Who Batter," 1-3; Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 10.

but the demand for their services has not been high.<sup>144</sup>

There also is the problem that follow-up work often is poorly implemented. Some facilitators, lacking other options, are compelled to gather and quickly train volunteer counsellors to ensure that the offenders receive support. While this may be a potential solution, the volunteer counsellor's supervision needs, if properly done, may consume any time saved by the volunteer programme. Other counsellors may view operating an offender's follow-up group as a lower priority than working with men that have just presented for counselling.<sup>145</sup>

Despite the efforts of many programmes to initiate and maintain contact with female partners, for example, the reality is that it frequently is not done or maintained.<sup>146</sup> This occurs despite the awareness of its importance.<sup>147</sup>

#### 4. DROP OUT

Few offenders remain in treatment very long. In the US, 60 percent of the programmes for batterers claimed attrition to be a significant problem, with rates ranging from 50 to 75 percent.<sup>148</sup> One study

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<sup>144</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 9; and Finn, "Men's Domestic Violence Treatment Groups," 90.

<sup>145</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>146</sup>. Goyette, and Leblanc, "A Sample Of Community Based Programs," 7.

<sup>147</sup>. Stordeur, and Stille, Ending Men's Violence, 271-272.

<sup>148</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 9.

found a 25 percent drop out rate after the first two sessions.<sup>149</sup> It appears the lengthier the duration of the programme, the higher the attrition rate.<sup>150</sup> This correlation is disturbing considering the evidence that approximately nine months of intense work is required to change a violent offender's behaviour.<sup>151</sup>

## 5. EFFECTIVENESS

Successful programmes should curtail male violence. Robert Longo has developed criteria for assessing an offender's progress. They are:

- |                         |                                  |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Responsibility       | 8. Social Maturity               |
| 2. Behavioral Control   | 9. Empathy                       |
| 3. Accepts Feedback     | 10. Self-Esteem/Concept          |
| 4. Self-Disclosure      | 11. Impulse Control              |
| 5. Stress Management    | 12. Self-Expression              |
| 6. Use of Leisure Time  | 13. Self-Awareness               |
| 7. Insight into Offense | 14. Participation <sup>152</sup> |

Appraising an offender's performance on each of these items may be complicated and time-consuming. Doing so, however, can provide the clinician a fairly accurate indication of how successfully the client had changed his behaviour and which areas required additional work before ending treatment.

Programme success often is more narrowly defined. Objectives

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<sup>149</sup>. Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 122.

<sup>150</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 8-12.

<sup>151</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>152</sup>. Robert Longo, "Administering A Comprehensive Sexual Aggressive Treatment Program In A Maximum Security Setting," in Greer, and Irving Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 177-197.



commonly aim to reduce the threat to the public.<sup>153</sup> Yet "threat" is often vaguely defined. Does the offender only beat his wife once, rather than three times a month? Admittedly an improvement, but the original problem still remains even if the frequency has diminished. From the victim's viewpoint, she is likely to still live in fear knowing that another attack is likely to occur. Clinicians struggle with this issue, not wanting to minimize or overestimate an offender's progress.

Most researchers measure effectiveness by using recidivism rates of group members. Yet, even here, the figures are anecdotal, wide ranging, and not too impressive. The following provides illustrations of studies of effectiveness.

#### A. Batterer's Groups

\* Jeffrey Edleson, David Miller, Gene Stone, and Dennis Chapman, evaluated a twelve week programme over a period of 46 weeks and found that seven of the nine men's physical abuse ended and "substantially curtailed another man's abuse." They acknowledge that the programme did not have much of an effect on one man.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup>. The statement was made by Orville Pung, Minnesota's Commissioner of Corrections, quoted in M. Voss, "Promising Results Seen In Minnesota Sex Offender Program," The Des Moines Register, Sep 19, 1983, and quoted in Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 22.

<sup>154</sup>. Edleson; Miller; Stone; and Chapman, "Group Treatment For Men Who Batter," 18-21. Edleson et. al. operationally defined physical abuse as "the use by a man of his hands, feet, or other parts of his body to inflict physical damage or pain on his partner, including sexual abuse." (p.20) Offender self-reports were the basis for the programme evaluation. Reliability checks with the female partner were not carried out to protect "confidentiality and fears that the women might be in danger of additional abuse if they supplied information that contradicted their partner's reports." (p.20)

\* In a programme with five court ordered, and 165 voluntary offenders where the men averaged 7.8 sessions, the men and their female partners were contacted six months after treatment. Seventy-five percent of the couples were still living together. Of those, 59 percent reported an end to sexual or physical violence. Only 14 percent reported no emotional abuse.<sup>155</sup>

\* In a national survey of US batterer programmes 67 percent reported that up to 25 percent of the offenders returned to battering; 15 percent of the groups said that no client reoffended. The average reported recidivism rate was 16 percent.<sup>156</sup>

\* David Currie, of Toronto's Family Service Centre and the facilitator of the first batterer group in Canada, reports that his programmes do not work for 33 percent of his clients.<sup>157</sup>

#### B. Sexual Offender's Groups

\* Nicholas Groth evaluated his offender programme at the Connecticut Correctional Institution and found a 19 percent as compared to 36 percent recidivism rate among those attending and not attending treatment, respectively.<sup>158</sup>

\* W. Prendergast evaluated 324 clients in one programme and found a 9.3 percent recidivism rate over a one to ten year follow-up

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<sup>155</sup>. Purdy, and Nickle, "Practice Principles," 120-122.

<sup>156</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 10-11.

<sup>157</sup>. McEvoy, "Men Against Battering," 20, 22-24.

<sup>158</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 26.

period.<sup>159</sup>

\* M. Saylor studied one group of 402 offenders that had a 22.1 percent reoffending rate after being released for up to twelve years.<sup>160</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS ON THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS

The need for more research is a resounding theme that connects the various internal problems of social constructionist interventions. Unfortunately, most research to date has been narrow in focus and lacking valid and reliable experimental design.<sup>161</sup> The result is that many questions remain inadequately answered. These include:

1. What is the optimum programme length?
2. What are the clinical factors affecting programme length?
3. Can the variability in statistical effectiveness be attributed to the differing lengths of the follow-up period?<sup>162</sup>
4. Will longer follow-up periods always reveal higher recidivism

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<sup>159</sup>. W.E. Prendergast, Jr., ROARE: Re-education Of Attitudes (and) Repressed Emotions (Avenel, N.J.: Adult Diagnostic and Treatment Center Intensive Group Therapy Program, 1978), cited in Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 25.

<sup>160</sup>. M. Saylor, A Guided Self-Help Approach To Treatment Of The Habitual Sexual Offender, a paper presented at the 12th Cropwood Conference, Cambridge, England, 1979, cited in Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender," chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 26.

<sup>161</sup>. For information on some the issues involved in establishing a reputable evaluation programme, see Frank Tracy, Henry Donnelly, Leonard Morgenbesser, and Donald Macdonald, "Program Evaluation: Recidivism Research Involving Sex Offenders," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 198-213.

<sup>162</sup>. G.K. Sturup, "Castration: The Total Treatment," in H.L.P. Resnik and M.E. Wolfgang (eds.), Sexual Behaviour: Social, Clinical and Legal Aspects (Boston: Little Brown, 1972), 361-382, cited in Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 9.

rates?<sup>143</sup>

5. Do clinicians need to become more selective during the intake process? Would it be advantageous, when forming a group, to select individuals according to demographic or offense history variables?<sup>144</sup>
6. What inaccuracies ensue when studies are based only upon the following: graduates of offender programmes<sup>145</sup>; offender reports of recidivism when this population is notoriously unreliable for acknowledging the frequency and intensity of their violence<sup>146</sup>; or court reports--when it is known that most offenders do not come in contact with the police or courts?<sup>147</sup>
7. How can the offender's social supports be better utilized to

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<sup>143</sup>. T.C.N. Gibbens, K.L. Soothill, and C.K. Way, "Sex Offenses Against Young Girls: A Long-Term Record Study," Psychological Medicine, 11, 1981, 351-357, cited in Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 9.

<sup>144</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 9.

<sup>145</sup>. Ibid., 10.

<sup>146</sup>. Ibid., 10. The following is one example of a poor research design. Alan Rosenbaum reviewed a batterers programme that provides 6 sessions (1.5 hours per session). Six-months after treatment, and every three months thereafter for two years, the men were contacted over the phone by a research assistant. It does not seem too cynical to conclude that, in such a context, group members would be very able to lie or minimize the extent of their violence. See: Alan Rosenbaum, "Group Treatment For Abusive Men: Process and Outcome," Psychotherapy, 23(4), Win 1986, 607-612.

<sup>147</sup>. An example of this is Jerry Finn's review of North Carolina battering programmes. He monitored the number of cases that returned to court on domestic abuse charges and used this to determine his success rate. Not surprisingly, this method resulted in an 85 percent success rate. See Finn, "Men's Domestic Violence Treatment Groups," 81-94.

For more on the difficulty of relying upon conviction reports, and their statistical loss of many offenders, see: Menachem Amir, Patterns In Forcible Rape (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1971), and A.N. Groth, R.E. Longo, and J.B. McFadin, "Undetected Recidivism Among Rapists And Child Molesters," Crime And Delinquency, 3, 1982, 450-458, cited in Joseph Romero, and Linda Meyer Williams, "Recidivism Among Convicted Sex Offenders: A 10-Year Followup Study," Federal Probation, 49(1), Mar 1985, 58-84.

- help him from reoffending?<sup>168</sup>
8. Which offenders should be treated in an institution or within the community?<sup>169</sup>
  9. Is there utility in mixing court-mandated and voluntary clients in the same group?<sup>170</sup>
  10. Since many programmes implicitly expect strong verbal and reading skills, is the treatment approach best suited to the general offending population?<sup>171</sup> If not, in which way should it be modified?
  11. For how long do offenders realistically need to be monitored, both for the safety of their victims and the assessment of the clinical intervention?<sup>172</sup>
  12. How do we best treat men who diminish or end their physical or sexual violence against women, but become significantly more emotionally abusive?<sup>173</sup>

With so many unanswered questions, some might question the utility of social constructionism in facilitating an end to male violence against women. They might even question if social constructionism was a bankrupt philosophy.

#### SECTION B: THE BANKRUPTCY OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM?

Fundamental problems do exist in the delivery of services to end male violence against women. Yet, it appears that the obstacles

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<sup>168</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), 8.

<sup>169</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 65.

<sup>170</sup>. McEvoy, "Men Against Battering," 20, 22-24.

<sup>171</sup>. Barbaree, and Marshall, "Treatment Of The Sex Offender," a chapter prepared for Wettstein (ed.), Treatment Of The Mentally Disordered Offender, 9.

<sup>172</sup>. Joseph Romero, and Linda Meyer Williams, "Recidivism Among Convicted Sex Offenders: A 10-Year Followup Study," Federal Probation, 49(1), Mar 1985, 58-84. Romero and Williams, for example, contend that five years is a minimum length of time for assessing recidivism among sexual offenders.

<sup>173</sup>. Rick Goodwin, "Tales From The Front Lines," Vis-A-Vis, 6(2), Sum 1988, 5;13.

impeding the eradication of those problems are not a function of a theoretical flaw inherent to the concept of social constructionism--our society does create violent men and encourage male violence against women. The problem lay with the truncated version of social constructionism the state has attempted to implement. The existing state response is more of an attempt at containing the demands of feminists for change, than a serious effort at ending male violence. This is most evident when one examines two issues: current state funding of social constructionist programmes; and the legislative powers the state could better utilize to end male violence.

#### 1. FUNDING

Programmes to end male violence against women are woefully underfunded. A survey of US programmes for batterers, found that 57 percent claimed funding to be a problem. They noted that while federally funded US programmes are more secure, significant financial difficulties are experienced by 31 percent of state funded, 40 percent of United Way funded programmes, 50 percent of local government programmes, 61 percent of those supported by client fees, and 73 percent of unfunded programmes. "The common theme repeated by respondents in response to many of the survey items is that there is a critical need for additional funding."<sup>174</sup> A 1984 review of Canadian batterer programmes found that 80 percent of programme leaders reported that their programmes were

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<sup>174</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 10.

inadequately funded."<sup>175</sup>

Inadequate funding contributes to: diminished treatment quality; fewer offenders receiving treatment; expanded waiting lists; urban service bias; programmes shorter in duration; inadequate follow-up evaluations; fewer on-going support groups; worker burn-out; reduced contact with an offender's support system; programmes folding; and --most importantly--women at risk.<sup>176</sup>

The current funding process has reflected two patterns: splitting the opposition, and poor planning.

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<sup>175</sup>. Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, 50.

<sup>176</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 12; and Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, 50.

While not a random sample of offender treatment programmes, the author contacted seven North American groups and found that, on average, it would take two weeks before an offender would be seen for an intake assessment and up to 16 weeks (four months) before he was admitted for group work. [Theresa Kennedy, Domestic Abuse Project, Minneapolis (2 to 12 weeks), May 4, 1990 telephone interview with the author; Rob Gallup, Director Of Amend, Denver (0 to 4 weeks), May 4, 1990 telephone interview with the author; Carol Saxby, Changing Ways, London (2 to 6 weeks), May 4, 1990 telephone interview with the author; Arlene Thompson, Hiatus House, Windsor (2 to 10 weeks), May 4, 1990 telephone interview with the author; Ron Schwartz, Evolve, Winnipeg (2 to 20 weeks), May 7, 1990 telephone interview with the author; David Lampert, Community And Youth Corrections, Department of Justice, Province of Manitoba (0 to 36 weeks), April 23, 1990 telephone interview with the author; and Romeo Beatch, NWT Family Counselling Service, Yellowknife (8 to 24 weeks), May 15, 1990 telephone interview with the author.

The long waiting lists have significant repercussions. A voluntary client with low motivation is unlikely to return for treatment. While many clinicians argue there is merit in exposing all offenders--even those with low motivation--to the programme material, the reality, as indicated by a Canadian survey of sex offender programmes, is that programmes are compelled to "admit only those offenders showing motivation to change." [Wormith, and Borzecki, A Survey Of Treatment Programs For Sexual Offenders In Canada, 9.]

a. Splitting The Opposition

While support in Canada for men's programmes has increased through the federal justice department, the solicitor-general and provincial justice departments, too often the money is provided at the expense of women's counselling services and shelter programmes. Bev Lever, assistant to Ontario's provincial co-ordinator of family violence initiatives, notes that

right now there are more support groups for men who batter in Metro Toronto than there are groups for women who are battered. A lot of women's groups are getting angry at the diversion of funds.

One worker at an Ottawa shelter stated, "these days you can't apply for a grant unless you have an activity for men."<sup>177</sup>

It is a deplorable situation. One may accept that unless services are provided for men to learn to be non-violent, their cycles of violence will remain unbroken. But the money should not be provided at the expense of the already underfunded women's services. This is a useful state strategy. Pit activists working with men against those working with women to impede the two from joining to pit themselves against the state. As long as the forces are split, the demand for services is weakened.<sup>178</sup>

b. Inadequate Planning And Coordination

The allocation of funds for male violence also has been poorly planned and coordinated. In Canada, the Director of Health and

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<sup>177</sup>. McEvoy, "Men Against Battering," 20, 22-24.

<sup>178</sup>. For more on the ideological dilemmas the women's movement faces in working with men see Susan Schechter, Women And Male Violence: The Visions and Struggles of the Battered Women's Movement (Boston: South End Press, 1982), 258-267.



Welfare's Family Violence Prevention Division, for example, has acknowledged that while funding for work with male offenders has substantially increased in the last decade, the government does not know how much has been allocated.<sup>179</sup> While money has been provided and many programmes funded, there has not been a thorough review of how to best invest the money. Rather than allocate adequate resources to numerous well designed programmes, the government has appeared more willing to provide a greater number of lower cost programmes. This has encouraged the development of inadequately staffed and short duration programmes. And yet, one cannot hold the programme planners completely responsible. Many facilitators recognize the problems with their programmes but do the very best with the limited funds provided. Donald Dutton, a Canadian researcher and therapist, admits that the existing groups for men are a band-aid solution but until you get something better you use what you have.<sup>180</sup> It appears the increasing public demands for an end to male violence have resulted in the government tossing money into programmes without first developing an overall strategy for ending male violence or thoroughly assessing the clinical strength of the programmes that have been funded.

Providing money for programmes helps eradicate the claim the government is ignoring the problem. In Canada, for example, on June 7, 1989, Health and Welfare Canada and the Status of Women Canada announced--with considerable media fanfare--a series of initiatives to

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<sup>179</sup>. Telephone interview with Elaine Scott, Director of the Family Violence Prevention Division, Health and Welfare Canada, November 1989.

<sup>180</sup>. McEvoy, "Men Against Battering," 20, 22-24.

deal with "family violence" (their use of the more generic label masks the major role of men as offenders). Six federal department--Health and Welfare, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Justice, Solicitor General, Indian and Northern Affairs, and Secretary of State--were to receive \$40 million over the following four years, to improve services related to family violence--primarily for short-term accommodation for battered women.<sup>181</sup> This initiative, while much needed, was not that impressive. In today's economy, and for a national programme, \$40 million does not buy very much. The \$40 million, however, could provide the perception the government was resolving the problem. Responding to the initiative's announcement, Joan Gullan, of the Ottawa-Carleton Family Services Centre, stated she was "very, very skeptical about their commitment [to end male violence]...the Prime Minister and some of the men in cabinet."<sup>182</sup>

Governments also have been reluctant to provide leadership in programme development and service delivery. While money has been provided, most programmes have been started by grass root workers. James Browning notes that

while some programmes have received direct federal or provincial funding, the majority have been initiated at the community level by concerned individuals in women's shelters, mental health settings, family counselling settings, probation and parole

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<sup>181</sup>. Chantel Goyette, and Jocelyne Leblac, "Government Announces Family Violence Initiative," Vis-A-Vis, 6(2), Sum 1988, 6; Kaye, "The Battle Against Men Who Batter," 45-46, 48, 50, 52-53; and "Federal Government Announces New Family Violence Initiatives," Government Of Canada News Release, June 7, 1988.

<sup>182</sup>. Canadian Press, "Government's Commitment On Fighting Violence Questioned," Winnipeg Free Press, June 22, 1989, 20.

services or on a private basis.<sup>183</sup>

Due to inadequate federal support, most of the initial grass root programmes have been absorbed by larger agencies whose funding was already limited. Larger agencies have had to siphon money from areas or programmes for which they receive financing to provide funding for offenders programmes.<sup>184</sup>

The government appears more content to create the perception it is resolving the problem of male violence without really investing all that is required. Admittedly, some changes may have occurred. In 1989, the Canadian Justice Department, announced it was sponsoring an evaluation of men's battering programmes. John Fleischman was to create an inventory of that which has been provincially evaluated and identify what information was missing. He was to examine numerous questions: what constitutes success; does stopping physical assault equal success; how does one end psychological abuse; what stops men from returning to violence; and how to reconcile feminist demands to "completely stop domineering attitudes toward women" with the state's--and Fleischman's more limited notion that "success may mean stopping repeated violence."<sup>185</sup> The individuals responsible for initiating this review deserve credit. Yet, state agency report writing has not always led to action. Conducting research does not automatically result in

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<sup>183</sup>. Browning, Canadian Programmes For Assaultive Men, vii.

<sup>184</sup>. Ibid., 50.

<sup>185</sup>. Chantal Goyette, Jocelyne LeBlanc, and Nahid Faghfoury, "Exploring Alternative To Sentencing In Wife Assault Cases," Vis-A-Vis, 7(3), Aut 1989, 10.

the wide sweeping changes necessary to deal with male violence against women. It will not occur without the necessary political will.

The situation is not much different in the United States. Gerry Finn argues that many programmes were created by numerous social service agencies and not so much as by central government decree. He advocates establishing co-ordinating mechanisms to collect and disseminate information on treatment issues, connect agencies that provide complimentary services in order to prevent isolation and duplication of services, increase programme evaluation, and use existing programmes to assist in the efficient creation of additional services in other communities.<sup>186</sup>

Increased state coordination of services does not need to result in the creation of rigid, centrally dictated edicts to which all facilitators must adhere. Increased coordination involves streamlining the system to increase its effectiveness, establishing--in consultation with numerous clinicians and researchers--a series of guidelines for offender intervention.<sup>187</sup> The absence of standards can allow significant numbers of well motivated, but not necessarily well skilled people to do this work. Many operate a group approach but their philosophical perspective may include, for example, family systems theory. The discussion above noted how ineffective--even dangerous to women--this

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<sup>186</sup>. Finn, "Men's Domestic Violence Treatment Groups," 81-94.

<sup>187</sup>. After significant lobbying by numerous grass roots organizations, the state of Colorado passed a series of standards, which went into effect April 1, 1990, for the treatment of male physical offenders. See: Colorado, State Committee On Domestic Violence, "Colorado Standards For The Treatment Of Domestic Violence Perpetrators: April 1, 1990," A copy of the report was provided to the author by Rob Gallup, Director of Amend, Denver, Colorado.

approach can be with male offenders.

The tenuousness of the funding for numerous programmes, the pitting of men's against women's programmes, and the failure to develop a plan to end male violence that is appropriate to the magnitude of the problem, cannot just be attributed to the slowness with which the state machinery can mobilize its resources. It appears to be more a function of an unwillingness to acknowledge: the magnitude of the problem; the role the state has played in encouraging, legitimizing, and minimizing male violence against women; and what is needed to end the crimes. Containing feminist demands for change rather than seriously stopping male violence appears to be the priority. This belief is reinforced when one examines other areas where state action could be mobilized to end male violence against women.

## 2. INADEQUATELY UTILIZED OPPORTUNITIES FOR STATE INTERVENTION

The state system has, at its disposal, tremendous legislative and investment capacity to influence and direct national economic, political, and social policies. The following are some examples where state involvement could be increased to help eliminate the factors which contribute to and allow male violence against women.

### a. Educate The Judiciary

Members of the judiciary need to be better educated about male violence. Individuals within the system carry many of the popular myths and misconceptions about the causes and treatment of male violence. There are numerous

prosecutors who refer to the raped woman [for example] as a 'silly bitch' and brazenly ask the victim of a brutal gang rape whether she enjoyed forced anal intercourse, and judges conducting rape trials who remark that 'boys will be boys.' Incredibly, one judge stated for the record that he himself could not conceptualize how a truly innocent woman could allow herself to be raped; unless there is evidence of extensive physical trauma, 'a hostile vagina will not admit a penis.'<sup>188</sup>

A Montreal woman who charged her assailant after a sexual assault, was asked the following by the defence attorney: "'Was it violent'.'<sup>189</sup>

A Northwest Territories man was acquitted on a charge of assault causing bodily harm. Judge Mark de Weerd stated that the wife's decision to wear a T-shirt depicting three cartoon polar bears engaged in sexual activities was "calculated to arouse alarm, fear and anger in that other spouse, with clearly foreseeable consequences."<sup>190</sup>

Judgments often reflect the legacy of physiological and intrapsychic theories and influence of family systems perspectives.<sup>191</sup> The minimization of the man's responsibility by an uninformed judiciary can reduce the sentences passed down and decrease the likelihood the judge will recognize the utility or availability of treatment programmes. This results in many offenders not having a treatment component as part

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<sup>188</sup>. G.D. Robin, "Forcible Rape: Institutionalized Sexism In The Criminal Justice System," Crime And Delinquency, 23(2), 1977, 136-153, quoted in Jim Galvin, and Kenneth Polk, "Attrition In Case Processing: Is Rape Unique?" Journal Of Research In Crime And Delinquency, 20(1), Jan 1983, 126-154.

<sup>189</sup>. Janet Bagnall, "Rape Victims Find Judicial System Less Than Humane," Winnipeg Free Press, April 11, 1990, 32.

<sup>190</sup>. Canadian Press, "Shirt Provoked Wife Beater, Judge Says," Winnipeg Free Press, Jul 15, 1990, 6.

<sup>191</sup>. Currie, The Abusive Husband: An Approach to Intervention, 7.

of their sentence. Too often, among judicial members and the general public, the focus, particularly with sex offenders, is on incarceration.

The evidence indicates that prison sentences may in fact increase the offender's violence so that they leave the institution with a greater likelihood of reoffending. As Robert Freeman-Longo argues

They come out with more violence, they are more angry, and often times their crimes escalate so that more harm is done to their victims. Prison is not a cure for this problem, and if we are going to use it as a cure, we had better make laws that say 'You are locked up for the rest of your life until you die,' because, outside of a specialized treatment program for sex offenders, that is the only way to prevent these men from reoffending.<sup>192</sup>

Nicholas Groth, Director of the Sex Offender Program at the Connecticut Correctional Institute in Somers, Connecticut echoes Freeman-Longo's call for services. From his experience in Connecticut, approximately 30 percent of prison inmates are incarcerated due to a sex offence (this figure also has been verified in Florida, Kansas, North Dakota, and Vermont). Groth argues that if one in three inmates were incarcerated for an alcohol related crime the state promptly would institute an alcohol treatment programme. Unfortunately, the need more offender programmes is not so readily evident to state funders. Nor is the limited utility of incarceration evident to some members of the judiciary.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>192</sup>. Robert Freeman-Longo, Taped Site-Interview by F.K. Knopp, October 17, 1983, quoted in Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, 15-16.

<sup>193</sup>. A. Nicholas Groth, taped site-interview by F.K. Knopp, and Knopp, "Treatment Of The Sexual Offender In A Correctional Institution," in Greer, and Stuart, The Sexual Aggressor, 160-176.

Some court officials go beyond minimizing male violence or preferring incarceration over treatment. As with any largely male population, there are a number of offenders among the ranks of the judiciary. When they are brought to light, important questions arise. The following example is illustrative. Nova Scotia provincial Judge, Ronald A. MacDonald, pleaded guilty to assaulting his wife. He was taken off the bench until he was sentenced. Yet his job was fairly secure. For the provincial judicial council to examine whether he was fit to stay on the bench, the judicial council--comprised entirely of other judges--would have to be ordered to meet by the Chief provincial Judge. It did not occur. In other occupations it is debatable whether individuals should lose their jobs for their crimes of violence. Arguably, a judicial position is a different category. To what degree will he, intentionally or otherwise, minimize the violence--and the resultant sentences--of offenders entering his courtroom? While the answer is not known, it seems inappropriate that he be allowed to so easily continue his duties.<sup>194</sup>

Obviously, not all judges are offenders or minimize male violence. Whether for reasons of financial expediency--prison sentences are expensive--or a sincere belief in the value of treatment, many judges are requiring offenders to attend treatment. Yet, even here additional education is required. Problems have occurred when judges were not precise in their sentencing decisions. Many offenders are charged and informed that they must seek counselling. Yet, without specifying which

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<sup>194</sup>. Canadian Press, "Wife-Beating N.S. Judge Suspended As MLAs Demand Review Of Fitness For Bench," Winnipeg Free Press, Jun 22, 1989, 16.



agency, when they need to start, and for what duration, an offender can attend one counselling session at an agency that does not focus on male violence and, technically, have fulfilled his court obligations--he did attend counselling.<sup>175</sup>

Educating the judiciary about male violence myths and the importance of treatment is crucial to helping end male violence. A study of US offender programmes found that the origin of a referral to treatment appears to affect completion. Results were broken down into two categories--programmes with low and high attrition rates. Of the referrals for low attrition rates, the percentage of offenders that completed treatment were referred from the following sources: judges, 72 percent; self-referrals, 63 percent; wives, 57 percent; social workers, 50 percent. In programmes with high attrition rates, those who were likely to leave were referred from the following: clergy, 76 percent; shelter, 65 percent; friends, 64 percent; alcohol counsellors, 60 percent; police, 60 percent; and relatives, 55 percent.<sup>176</sup> With judges rating as the referral source with the greatest number of offenders completing treatment, it is crucial that they be appropriately informed of the issues and resources.

An informed judiciary can also facilitate the necessary revisions in our current legal system that often compel individuals to spend

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<sup>175</sup>. Canada, Health and Welfare Canada, Family Violence Prevention Division, Wife Battering And The Web Of Hope: Progress, Dilemmas, and Visions of Prevention, a Discussion Paper prepared by Linda MacLeod, May, 1989, 49; and David Lampert, Probation Officer, Community And Youth Corrections, Department of Justice, Province of Manitoba, Canada.

<sup>176</sup>. Pirog-Good, and Stets-Kealey, "Male Batterers And Battering Prevention Programs," 10-11.

large amounts of money and time extricating themselves from the aftermath of male violence. Linda MacLeod and Cheryl Picard have identified three components that would assist battered women: a multi-door courthouse that would house mediators and counsellors to provide dispute resolution services; pre-trials, if appropriate, could help reduce the length involved in a full court process; and mediation services to help people in conflict resolution.<sup>197</sup>

b. Increasing Police Awareness And Training Programmes

A major impediment to increasing the number of male violence victims who report the crime is the low expectation that the police will be of assistance. One survey found that 27 percent of their sample had been raped or sexually assaulted. Only 10 percent of the victims reported to the police.<sup>198</sup>

A 1979 study of 13,706 battering cases in Ohio revealed that of the cases reported: 67 percent did not result in any official police action; criminal complaints were initiated in 24 percent; and 16 percent of the offenders were arrested. Daniel Bell, the researcher who compiled the data concluded that victims who do not initiate criminal complaints do not receive adequate protection or services from the

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<sup>197</sup>. Goyette, LeBlanc, and Faghfoury, "Exploring Alternatives To Sentencing In Wife Assault Cases," 10.

<sup>198</sup>. Julie Brickman, and John Briere, "Incidence Of Rape And Sexual Assault In An Urban Canadian Population," International Journal Of Women's Studies, 7(3), 1984, 195-206.

criminal justice system.<sup>199</sup> The same author, in a later study, emphasized that officers are largely untrained and unwilling to deal with woman abuse and are reluctant to arrest offenders or make referrals to social agencies for followup without any court backing. Bell concludes that

the police have perpetuated domestic violence by their inappropriate action, as well as their inaction, in domestic dispute intervention. Consequently, the family members' right to protection has been abridged by the police system's unwillingness to cope with domestic violence.<sup>200</sup>

In many jurisdictions, improvements have occurred. For example, some areas have passed legislation enabling the state to charge an offender rather than waiting for the victim, who may be too afraid of the repercussions from her assailant were she to charge him.<sup>201</sup> As important as such legislation may be, it does not directly address how attending officers respond to "domestics" and sexual assault victims. Police officials, as products of our current society, perpetuate many of the myths about male violence against women. Workers in battered women's shelters and sexual assault centres across North America have numerous horror stories where officers could not comprehend why a

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<sup>199</sup>. Daniel Bell, "The Victim-Offender Relationship: A Determinant Factor in Police Domestic Dispute Dispositions," Marriage and Family Review, 12(1-2), 1987, 87-102.

<sup>200</sup>. Daniel Bell, "The Police Response To Domestic Violence: A Replication Study," Police Studies, 7(3), Fall 1984, 136-144.

<sup>201</sup>. In Canada, assault now is an offense under sections 244 and 245 of the Criminal Code, and either the victim or the police can lay charges. See Kaye, "The Battle Against Men Who Batter," 45-46, 48, 50, 52-53; and E. Jane Ursel, and Dawn Farough, "The Legal And Public Response To The New Wife Abuse Directive In Manitoba," Canadian Journal Of Criminology, 28(2), Apr 1986, 171-183.

woman might want to return to live with a violent partner; excused a man's violence; trivialized it as "just a domestic dispute" rather than a crime of violence; or blamed sexual assault victims for what they were wearing or where they were walking. This is unacceptable.

Police officers can play a crucial role in helping end male violence against women. One study is illustrative; it indicated that police action may significantly affect batterer recidivism. Sherman and Berk found that an arrest resulted in the lowest recidivism rate, while advice resulted in significantly greater rate. The least effective tactic was an order for the man to leave for eight hours.<sup>202</sup>

c. Funding Social Service Worker Awareness And Training Programmes

Social service workers often play a crucial role in identifying and assisting victims of violence and working with offenders. Workers, in fields not directly related to male violence, are rarely trained to recognize symptoms of violence. Too often, women are denigrated for returning to an abusive relationship rather than receiving assistance to establish contingency safety plans or determine what other options are open to her.

Self-help group leaders at Alcoholics Anonymous, for example, have many victims and offenders in their programmes. Unfortunately, the myth that male violence frequently is caused by alcohol compels many to believe that if the alcohol problem were treated, the violence would disappear. Typically, they are two separate problems. Even if it

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<sup>202</sup>. Lawrence Sherman, and Richard Berk, "The Specific Effects Of Arrest For Domestic Assault," American Sociological Review, 49(2), Apr 1984, 261-272.

occurs in conjunction with their alcohol cessation programme, victims and offenders should be referred elsewhere to deal with the violence.<sup>203</sup>

d. Positive Image Advertising

The majority of offenders do not self-refer, get caught, or receive treatment. Only 2 percent of rapists, for example, are charged and just 1 percent are convicted.<sup>204</sup> The stigma against seeking help and the ease with which the silence is maintained keeps hidden, and away from treatment, the vast majority of offenders.<sup>205</sup> This majority is not reached by the existing approach to ending male violence. One way to reach them, their support system, and the violence supporting value system they possess is through a barrage of positive, healthy images of men and women.

A multitude of themes or messages could be covered. Among other examples, the media campaign could portray men: disagreeing with women and dealing with it non-violently by taking a time-out; counteracting the multitude of sexual assault supportive myths, emphasizing that men are responsible for their actions and that violence against women is a crime; struggling with and communicating their feelings in a manner that did not jeopardize their sex identity; interacting with other men

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<sup>203</sup>. Chantal Goyette, and Nahid Faghfoury, "A Window On Family Violence In Canada: Results of Vis-A-Vis National Survey," Vis-A-Vis, 7(3), Aut 1989, 8-9.

<sup>204</sup>. Russell, Sexual Exploitation, 101.

<sup>205</sup>. For more on the "hidden rapist", see: Watts, and Courtois, "Trends In The Treatment Of Men Who Commit Violence Against Women," , 245-252.

and expressing their feelings without threatening their status within the peer group; or talking about the availability and utility of services for victims and offenders.

As long as many men continue to believe it is acceptable to be violent, or view it as an integral component of hegemonic masculinity, the violence will continue. Joan Gullen argues that "the main instrument in curbing domestic violence is to raise the taboo. 'Public exposure,' she says, 'That's going to deter them.'"<sup>206</sup> Extensive positive image advertising through television, radio, and print media would serve to introduce alternate images of how men and women can interact. Such images would empower children, women, and men to recognize that the violence is unacceptable and alternatives exist.

A positive image campaign would have present and future effects. Existing research clearly indicates that most offenders acquire their violent supportive values, and start offending, early in life. Among sex offenders, for example, it is not uncommon for them to start offending during adolescence.<sup>207</sup> Waiting until numerous offenses have occurred and the statistical improbability that the man will end up in counselling is a reactionary approach of limited utility. Clinically, it is much easier to work with a young individual that has recently adopted their value system. Waiting until they are in their late-20s or early 30s, only increases the number of victims and the amount of work the offender must do to change his behaviour.

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<sup>206</sup>. McEvoy quoting Joan Gullen. See, McEvoy, "Men Against Battering," 20, 22-24.

<sup>207</sup>. Knopp, Retraining Adult Sex Offenders, xiii.

The state easily could be taking a lead in this area. It has the crucial funds at its disposal and has experience in conducting such public relations campaigns. While some state funded media programmes have been provided, the scale of investment does not parallel the magnitude of the problem. Conceivably, the response among other state planners might be that the cost is prohibitive. Yet we need to recognize the price women will pay if significant value changes do not occur. And even if money were the only important criteria, current investment could reduce future expenditures. While we do not know the full monetary cost of male violence to society, some statistics are available. The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, for example, indicates that 18 percent of emergency cases in hospitals are battered women.<sup>208</sup> That is a heavy price for an already overburdened health care system. Increasing public awareness of these social costs could decrease the ease with which state officials could block funding for programmes to end male violence.

e. The Education System

Public education can initiate social value change. In relation to male violence against women, improved education is an important tool and one that is preferable to many other methods. Banning pornography, for example, reduces the supply but does little to decrease demand. In fact, it may even encourage the underground market. Appropriate education campaigns, however, could reduce the demand for pornography and

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<sup>208</sup>. Kaye, "The Battle Against Men Who Batter," 45-46, 48, 50, 52-53.

its incumbent misogyny and perpetuation of rape mythology. Education efforts also are less likely to aggravate the civil liberty issues involved in censorship.

In recent years, schools systems have been under considerable community pressure to supplement the provision of basic education with increased awareness and prevention of numerous social issues. Areas of focus have included: streetproofing; AIDS; suicide and depression; human sexuality; and childhood sexual abuse. Education systems could provide similar programmes to help end male violence against women. Issues could include: assertiveness training; effective communication skills; non-violent conflict resolution skills; rape myths; human rights; sex-role acquisition; and male violence myth reduction.

Ending male violence programmes could build upon existing school services in other areas. Improved communication skills and assertiveness training, for example, are skills common to many social issues. While ending male violence programmes have been run in some communities, the main initiative has been from motivated, but often isolated, individuals. The response has not been as extensive or systematic as necessary. Programmes could be introduced into the curriculum at kindergarten and continued through university.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>209</sup>. Ruth Hitchcock, Dixie Young, "Prevention Of Sexual Assault: A Curriculum for Elementary School Counselors", Elementary School Guidance and Counselling, Vol. 20 (3), Feb 1986, 201-207; Karen Calabria Briskin, Juneau Mahan Gary, "Sexual Assault Programming For College Students", Journal of Counselling and Development, Vol. 65(4), Dec 1986, 207-208; and Mary Roark, "Preventing Violence On College Campuses", Journal Of Counseling And Development, Vol. 65(7), Mar 1987, 367-371.



Existing programmes for ending male violence provide some indication of the utility of a comprehensive expansion of current education efforts.<sup>210</sup> One area of activity has been the creation of programmes aimed at reducing the incidence of men sexually assaulting women by increasing the social stigma against male violence.<sup>211</sup> Most programmes have been instituted at the university level, but--with age appropriate modification--are transferable to the primary and secondary school setting. The existing programmes focus on several key areas.

#### i. Statistics

By reviewing the level, types, and contexts for sexual assault the facilitators can increase awareness that sexual violence is a significant and frequent crime generally perpetrated by men on female victims. This can make it more difficult, for example, for men to chuckle, often out of ignorance, about how rarely women are assaulted.<sup>212</sup>

#### ii. Myths

The discussion on the frequency of sexual assault can lead directly to the myths that obfuscate the frequency and horror of sexual

<sup>210</sup>. Jeanette Rowsey, Orman Hall, and Eileen Coan, "Rural Knowledge and Attitudes About Sexual Assault: The Impact of a Rape Awareness Campaign", Journal Of Rural Community Psychology, Vol. 5(2), Fall 1984, 33-44.

Three programme examples include: Py Bateman, Acquaintance Rape: Awareness and Prevention (Seattle: Alternatives To Fear, 1982) [Bateman's program is for teenagers], Mark Stevens, Randy Bebbhardt, Rape Education for Men: Curriculum Guide, The Ohio State University Rape Education and Prevention Program (Ohio State University: Rape Education and Prevention Program, 1984), and Mark Willmarth, Not For Women Only!: A Rape Awareness Program for Men (Great Falls, Montana: College of Great Falls, 1985).

<sup>211</sup>. Mary Roark, "Preventing Violence On College Campuses," Journal Of Counselling And Development, 65(7), Mar 1987, 376-371.

<sup>212</sup>. For more on the statistics see above Chapter One.

assault. Many men still need to be informed, or reminded, that women do not ask to be assaulted or that a man's testicles will not turn blue and be damaged if he is sexually aroused and does not immediately achieve orgasm.<sup>213</sup>

### iii. Male Socialization And Rape

Time is spent identifying how male socialization encourages men to sexually assault women. For many participants, this information may be very new or threatening. Facilitators work at turning around a disbelieving or hostile crowd.<sup>214</sup>

### iv. Personalizing Rape

One of the most effective ways to get many men to recognize the horror of sexual assault is to have them think about what it would be like for them to be sexually assaulted--as happens to many men in prison. This approach can be successful. Some participants, however, become defensive and adamantly proclaim that it just would not happen to them. This provides an opportunity to review the myth that people want to be sexually assaulted.

Another approach for personalizing sexual assault uses the men's stereotypical socialization to the advantage of ending rape. The men are asked to consider how they would feel if any of the women in their personal lives (wives, mothers, female partners, etc.) were sexually assaulted. The resultant anger can be significant. The next step is to remind them that the woman they may attempt to fondle at a crowded

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<sup>213</sup>. For more on the myths of sexual assault see above Chapter Three.

<sup>214</sup>. For more on how men are socialized to be violent see above, Chapter Three.

party is likely to be someone else's friend, lover, or daughter. By personalizing the crime, and potential victims, it can be more difficult for many men to verbally or sexually offend; the victim may no longer be viewed as some nameless, isolated commodity but instead as someone with a name and a life.

#### v. Alternate Behaviours

Groups for male offenders outline alternate behaviours to help the men not reoffend. This necessity also exists for those who have yet to commit, or be charged for, a crime. They need a plan of non-violent action ready to put in place should it be needed.<sup>219</sup>

The men also could be encouraged to brainstorm how they can help change the oppression of women; what else could they do other than the traditional route of encouraging sexism and violence against women? The aim is to have the men engage in a practical problem solving session, not a theoretical, philosophical discussion. Each man should work to identify at least one significant way in which he wants to change his behaviour and outline the steps he considers necessary in reaching that goal.

#### vi. Working With Other Men

Ending male violence workshops can be an opportunity for individual men to meet other men that are questioning significant portions of the traditional hegemonic masculinity most rewarded by our society. In beginning to break down this isolation, these men may learn that they can work cooperatively with other like minded men for larger projects

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<sup>219</sup>. For more on control planning, see this chapter, Section II-B-C.

and gain support in an often lonely task.

The systematic introduction of such programmes into educational curricula is a necessity if we are to live up to our rhetoric of being opposed to male violence against women. Such programmes could significantly increase the social stigma against male violence.<sup>216</sup>

f. Pressure The Private Sector

There are numerous opportunities for the state to compel the business sector to end its contributions to male violence against women. While many unions have pushed for, and companies administered, sexual harassment guidelines to supplement the existing state prohibitions, these efforts need to be increased and made more uniform. Too many women continue to suffer sexual exploitation on the job in their efforts at making a living. Corporations could be required to review and strengthen existing policies, provide the necessary mechanisms to process complaints, and conduct awareness workshops to raise the taboo against this, as yet, too common--and often trivialized--crime.<sup>217</sup>

Pay equity is another example. As long as women continue to earn less than their male counterparts for the same work, women are more likely to remain financially dependent upon men. This dependency is a central reason why many women return to a violent partner.

Companies could be required to have and train human service workers so they are familiar with the issues involved in male violence

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<sup>216</sup>. Roark, "Preventing Violence On College Campuses," 376-371.

<sup>217</sup>. Carla Drysdale, "Claiming Their Rights," Office Equipment And Methods, 34(5), Jun 1988, 46, 48-49.

against women. Such individuals could play an important role in helping female victims, and assisting offenders, connect with the necessary services.

The state also could insist that corporations not use images which demean women or encourage male violence to sell their products. The production and sale of war toys is another area requiring examination. As long as we continue to encourage young boys to play with violent toys, we should not be surprised to find that when they reach adulthood, they continue to violently deal with their external reality.

#### CONCLUSIONS ON THE STATE RESPONSE TO MALE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Despite its numerous efforts and activities, the state remains an untrustable ally in the struggle to end male violence against women. The family systems approach, while an improvement over the earlier physiological and intrapsychic perspectives, often obfuscated the high incidence of, and men's responsibility for, violence against women. Similarly, while the existing social constructionist offender groups are improving the lives of many victims and perpetrators, they are but a portion of what is really required. At best, the current state response is a truncated version of social constructionism. Despite important changes in programme funding and legal statutes, the state has, by and large, avoided the larger issues. Providing some money for research, shelters, and treatment programmes is much easier than: substantially increasing treatment availability; utilizing the school

system to improve communication and non-violent conflict resolution skills; pressuring the private sector to end its abuse of women; or examining how best to end the creation of violent men. To date, the state has failed to sufficiently change the existing social milieu that encourages, legitimizes, minimizes, and ignores male violence against women.

One reason why the state has restricted its potential response is that the larger issues, the ones that are at the root of the social creation and perpetuation of violent men, continue to be valued in other areas of our society. Many fear that if competition, for example, is diminished, our economic and military security could be threatened. Thus women's safety continues to be viewed as a disposable commodity, something that can be ignored in order to perpetuate the existing social, political, and economic order.

Contrasting what has been, with that which could be, done exposes the state system's limited enthusiasm in ending male violence against women. Rather than approach the problem with all the resources at its disposal, the major emphasis has been to sort out the motivated clients from the already minority population of offenders that are discovered and funnel them into poorly funded treatment programmes. This will not end male violence against women. As one critic has noted, "it is naive to assume that we will end patriarchy by working with a dozen men every Wednesday night."<sup>210</sup> It has been a band-aid approach to a major social problem.

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<sup>210</sup>. Goodwin, "Tales From The Front Lines," 5, 13.

Not only has the state system's movement toward social constructionism fallen short of that which is required, the existing gains are not secure. Current funding levels are not guaranteed. In an era of conservative fiscal policies, budgets are being slashed when, in fact, more money is needed to end male violence against women. Similarly, existing legislative changes can be rescinded if the movement toward social constructionism is weakened.

The reality is that it is not just additional funding that is required. We can only expect so much from poorly funded programmes that are operating in a society that largely ignores the larger, more expensive and politically difficult social, economic, and ideological changes. Until we address these larger issues, we will continue to produce more violent men. As David Currie notes

The solution to stopping the violence is not simple. A single approach is not going to work. We need more transition houses, more comprehensive community resources, more public education, more groups for men and more social action. None of them by themselves will be effective in stopping domestic violence. But all together, we might have a chance.<sup>219</sup>

As the majority of people remain silent about the war that many men are waging against all women--as long as male violence remains marginalized as a "women's issue"--the political pressure for a more complete social constructionist state response is lessened, and the state system can avoid implementing the necessary solutions to end male violence.

To date, the state has displayed an appalling lack of political will to seriously deal with the existing problem on a scale

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<sup>219</sup>. McEvoy, "Men Against Battering," 20, 22-24.

commensurate with its magnitude. The question remains as to what is needed to successfully shift the state response closer toward a more complete form of social constructionism. As indicated in the previous chapter, the women's movement was the initial, major catalyst that initiated the move from physiological and intrapsychic explanations of male violence. In turning to the state for support and assistance, feminists have been met with several successes and many failures. This chapter has examined the state system's untrustworthy commitment to ending male violence. The next chapter will examine the responses among men--as the third force in the movement toward, and away from, social constructionism--to discern how they have reacted to the demands of women for change. As the largest portion of the infamous silent majority, men--if they so choose--can play a crucial role in demarginalizing male violence against women and providing the needed additional pressure for a complete social constructionist state response.