

METANARRATIVE AND MEDIA: RETROSPECTIVE ON THE MONTREAL MASSACRE

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RETROSPECTIVE ON THE MONTREAL MASSACRE

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McMaster University
March, 1992

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree
Master of Arts
April, 1992

for the faceless fourteen ...
nameless sybols of all we could have been

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for opportunities provided by the McMaster Anthropology Society and the American Anthropology Association to present various stages of analysis in the growth of this thesis. Reactions from colleagues at these conferences have contributed to my thinking concerning the issues encompassed by the incident at La Polytechnique, and encouraged my efforts to present this data in ways which satisfy both traditional and woman-centred anthropological paradigms. In this regard, my supervisor (Dr. Wm. R. Thurston) and my committee (Drs. Sally C. Cole and Dorothy A. Counts) have also been invaluable: their questions and concerns have enforced a stringent attention to details of analysis that might have been left undiscovered were it not for their critical curiosity.. Acknowledgements are also due to Pamela Roberts and Dr. David Counts, whose proddings launched me onto this arduous trek: they may rest assured that, with completion of the project, a removal of the myriad curses that I have levelled at them over the years is immanent.

The Department of Anthropology at McMaster has provided me with an intellectual home for a number of undergraduate and graduate years, and for this I shall always remain grateful. To fellow graduate students, who have been part of my fictive kin network go special thanks for sharing their liminality, their time, their knowledge, and their questioning curiosity with me. Jacqueline Fisher, Jan Walli, Linda Gibbs and Jeff Avery provided special considerations, conversations, and support in ways too multitudinous to enumerate. I extend a special thanks to my closest anthropological sibling, Douglass St. Christian, whose argumentation and scholastic aggravation have been equalled only by his concerned support and friendship.

I owe a debt to those who questioned and criticized every word I have spoken or written on this topic (Bil and Douglass especially), and to those who unquestioningly assumed that I knew what I was talking about on this, if on no other, topic (Taylor and Glenn Wilson; absent friends Jean Kantambu-Latting and John M. Bregenzer) and those such as Sally, who trod the marginal line between the two positions with grace, humour and friendship.

Without the former, this would not have developed into the deep analysis which it has: without the latter, this project could never have been successfully completed.

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PROLOGUE/NARRATIVE

THE 'WHO', 'WHAT', 'WHERE', 'WHEN', AND 'HOW'

I Event as Text

At a few minutes past five on the afternoon of Wednesday, December 6th, 1989, a 25-year-old man methodically parked his car in a tow-away zone on the campus of l'Université du Montréal in the province of Québec, Canada. He walked unobtrusively through the doors of l'école Polytechnique (Montreal's School of Engineering) carrying a semi-automatic rifle. In a second-floor hallway, he killed a female employee. In the cafeteria, three students died; a wounded survivor from this location recollects that

there was a woman beside me ... I was on my stomach, and she was on her back, and he walked between us ... I never saw his face, I just saw his legs as he walked between us. I heard a shot. He shot her again. Just like that (Gagnon in Rogers & Hubert 1991 [videotape]).

In a spray of bullets in one classroom, four more female students were fatal victims. The gunman guaranteed his 'fifteen minutes of fame', however, in classroom #303. Smiling as he interrupted a dissertation on heat transfer mechanics, he asked the women present to line up on one side

of the room, and the men to leave. His request was greeted with laughter, a laughter which subsided only when he fired two rounds into the ceiling. He shouted: "You're all a bunch of feminists, and I hate feminists!"¹

The only argument the gunman received was from one female student who protested "We're not feminists. We're only women who want an education" (Malette in Malette and Chalouh 1991:57): the four dozen men in attendance left quietly, without protest. Six of the women died in the ensuing barrage of bullets.² Over the course of twenty minutes, the calm killer

methodically stalked the cafeteria, the classrooms and corridors of the school leaving a trail of death and injury in his wake. In four separate locations scattered around three floors of the six storey structure, he gunned down a total of 27 people, leaving 14 of them dead. Finally he turned his weapon against himself, blowing off the top of his skull (Newsweek Nov.18 1989:13).

'The worst single-day massacre in Canadian history'³ was justified by its perpetrator, Marc Lepine, in a three page suicide note found on his body: following is a reproduction, in English, of the text of the Lepine letter sent to Montreal's *La Presse* columnist Francine Pelletier:

Forgive the mistakes. I only had 15 minutes to write it.

See also Annex.

Please note that if I am committing suicide today 89-12-06 it is not for economic reasons (for I would have waited until I exhausted all my financial means, even refusing jobs) but for political reasons. For I have decided to send Ad Patres the feminists who have always ruined my life. It has been seven years that life does not bring me any joy and being totally blasé, I have decided to put an end to those viragos.

I had already tried in my youth to enlist in the Forces as an officer cadet, which would have allowed me to enter the arsenal and precede Lortie in a rampage. They refused me because asocial. So I waited until this day to execute all my projects. In between, I continued my studies in a haphazard way for they never really interested me, knowing in advance my fate. Which did not prevent me from obtaining very good marks despite not handing in my theory works and the lack of studying before exams.

Even if the Mad Killer epithet will be attributed to me by the media, I consider myself a rational érudite [person]⁴ that only the arrival of the Grim Reaper has forced to take extreme acts. For why persevere to exist if it is only to please the government. Being rather backward-looking by nature (except for science), the feminists always have a talent to enrage me. They want to keep the advantages of women (e.g. cheaper insurance, extended maternity leave preceded by a preventive retreat) while trying to grab those of the men.

Thus it is an obvious truth that if the Olympic Games removed the Men/Women distinction, there would be Women only in the graceful events. So the feminists are not fighting to remove that barrier. They are so opportunistic they neglect to profit from the knowledge accumulated by men through the ages. They always try to misrepresent them every time they can. Thus the other day I heard they were honoring the Canadian men and women who fought at the frontline during the world wars. How can you explain then that women were not authorized to go to the frontline??? Will we hear of Caesar's female legions and female galley slaves who of course took up 50 per cent of the ranks of history, though they never existed. A real Cassus Belli.

Sorry for this too brief letter
Marc Lepine

The letter is followed by a list of 19 'feminist' figures Lepine mentions having originally intended as victims: this list is the 'annex' he mentions at the beginning of his note. On the bottom of the 'annex' he continues:

Nearly died today. The lack of time (because I started too late) has allowed those radical feminists to survive.

*Alea Jacta Est.*⁵

A police spokesperson, questioned in the ensuing press conference, may be seen in the National Film Board documentary on the aftermath of this incident as quietly reporting that

his problems were mainly the fault of women ... The words he used can be called anti-feminist ... that's the least we can say (Rogers and Hubert 1991).

II. Contexts: Messenger, Message, Target

(i) Ethnography of a Situated Actor

Marc Lepine was born Gamil Rodrigue Gharbi, the son of a French-Canadian mother (Monique Lepine Gharbi) and an Algerian father (Rachid Liass Gharbi). Marc's parents separated in 1970 when he was six; the later documented divorce proceedings indicate a background in which his father considered women "the servants of men" (Gharbi 1976)⁶; Rachid was quoted as saying that women were not

men's equals. Liass Gharbi was not averse to punishing his wife physically if she came home late, "treating her as if he owned her; throwing her against walls" (ibid).

According to testimony by Monique and her sister at the 1976 Lepine-Gharbi divorce hearing -- testimony that the judge believed despite Liass's denials -- Liass would one moment be telling his wife or child of his love for them and the next moment hitting them ... There was no predicting the violence, no preventing it, no escaping it" (Chatelaine, June 1990:43).

Upon his parents' divorce in 1976, Marc became an official part of a growing statistical group, the children of single parent households.⁷ At the age of eleven, he began to use his mother's maiden name, and a new first name: these he legally adopted when he became eighteen (Newsweek Dec. 18, 1989).

Gamil was 6 when his parents' marriage broke up. The family had moved back to Montreal from the Caribbean in 1969. Liass's mutual fund had collapsed, and Monique had finally had enough. At first, Liass paid his separated wife \$100 a month in support payments, but the money soon dried up -- along with almost all Liass's interest in his family. To make ends meet, Monique had to go back to nursing. She apparently left her children with friends and relatives and visited them mainly on weekends (ibid).

Marc moved to Pierrefonds (a suburb of Montreal) with his mother and his sister, Nadya. According to Monique's divorce testimony the next year, she and the children had "difficulties expressing [their] need to love and be loved" (Chatelaine June, 1990:43), and so they entered a psychiatric programme at Ste. Justine Hospital. Marc,

during these years, made only one close friend, and his teachers remember him as

just an 'average' child ... with grades that were just above average. He would sit quietly at the back of the classroom, a baseball cap pulled down over his acned face, a polite boy who never showed any emotion (ibid).

When Marc was fourteen, his mother arranged for him to be part of the Big Brother programme, and Marc again experienced the benefits of a male role model; the mentor "mysteriously disappeared" from Marc's life when he was seventeen (ibid:74). According to Lepine, he tried to join the armed forces, but was rejected as "unsuitable" (ibid). The family subsequently moved to Montreal, and Marc lost touch with his only friend.

Lepine pursued an engineering degree, enrolling in a junior college science program and "doing quite well at first" (ibid): switching to a vocational programme in electronics technology, he again began well (with the highest marks in his class in 1984). In 1985, however, his grades fell sharply, and he dropped out of college just four months before graduation. At this point he applied for a position in the engineering school at l'école Polytechnique, and was rejected. He became an orderly at St. Jude Hospital, subsequently taking an evening chemistry class, where

one of the few women he is known to have befriended ... his lab partner ... deserted him too. In the summer of

1989, she told him she was off to the *Université du Québec*. She was going, she said, to study engineering (ibid).

Lepine then enrolled in an expensive computer programming course which, again, he did not complete. According to reports, he

hung out around the neighbourhood with men who enjoyed wearing camouflage fatigues, renting action videos, browsing in gun shops. He often spoke out against careerwomen doing men's jobs, and blamed women for his problems in getting into engineering school (ibid:76).

On August 29th, 1989, Marc Lepine applied for a firearms permit and immediately obtained one. In November, 1989, he easily bought a .223-caliber Sturm automatic rifle and 200 bullets. On December 6th of that year, he "roamed the classrooms and corridors of l'école Polytechnique on a mission of death, firing at every woman he met ... hiding behind a letter that said, 'Feminists have always ruined my life' ..." (ibid).

(ii) Media: Grounding the Narrative

In the immediately-ensuing media coverage, Lepine's 'sex killing' was portrayed as the 'Montreal Massacre', a term which became standard in public discourse pertaining to the killings. Newspaper headlines included the following:

- '14 Women Killed in Massacre'
... Toronto Star [TS] Dec.7, 1989
- 'Massacre Started in Cafeteria, Spread to Halls and Classrooms'
... Montreal Gazette [MG] Dec.7, 1989
- 'Massacre Coverage Shockingly Adequate'
... Montreal Gazette [MG] Dec.8, 1989
- 'Massacre in Montreal: Misogyny Gone Crazy'
... Toronto Star [TS] Dec.8, 1989
- 'Speaking About the Unspeakable: The Massacre in Montreal'
... Globe & Mail [G&M] Dec.8, 1989
- '59% Call Massacre Only Random Act; Poll Finds'
... Toronto Star [TS] Dec.29, 1989

Analysis of Lepine's actions focused on the murder as the violent, idiosyncratic act of an insane individual. Headlines and conversations bristled with words such as 'revenge', 'savagery', and 'obsession' in descriptions of Lepine as the 'alienated loner':

- 'The Killer: Lepine was Reclusive, Noisy At Night: Neighbour'
... Montreal Gazette [MG] Dec. 8, 1989
- 'Killer [Marc Lepine] Seen as Quiet, Alienated Loner'
... Calgary Herald [CH] Dec. 8, 1989
- 'Nothing Prepares You for Such Savagery'
... Montreal Gazette [MG] Dec. 8, 1989
- 'Sex Killers Cannot be Cured, Psychologists Say'
... Toronto Star [TS] Dec. 14, 1989
- 'Montreal Police Reveal Diatribe: Killer of 14 Wanted Revenge'
... Vancouver Sun [VS] Dec. 7, 1989

For weeks, even months, afterwards, public and media discourse debated Lepine's motivations in his apparently 'senseless' rampage. Psychiatrists, psychologists and media contributors appraised what one called this 'stereotypical mass killer', apportioning the causes of Lepine's ostensible 'mental breakdown' almost evenly between a battered childhood, a broken home, an unfortunate personal relationship, and a fascination with war games, videos, and movies:

'"Frustrated by Women": Killer War-Film Fanatic'

... Calgary Herald [CH] Dec.8, 1989

'War Videos Obsessed Murderer'

... Toronto Star [TS] Dec. 8, 1989

'Murderer Seemed Happy in Gun Store'

... Calgary Herald [CH] Dec. 8, 1989

'Killer's Father Beat Him as a Child'

... Montreal Gazette [MG] Dec. 9, 1989

'Lepine Faced Beatings, Divorce as a Child'

... Vancouver Sun [VS] Dec. 9, 1989

An interesting side issue, for the media, seemed to be the "guilty" reactions of Canadian males to the fact that '14 Women [were] Slaughtered at the University of Montreal' (CH Dec. 7, 1989):

'Males Suffer Guilt' [Univ. of Montreal Killing]

... Calgary Herald [CH] Dec. 8, 1989

'Some Male Students Already Feel Guilty: Expert'

... Montreal Gazette MG Dec. 8, 1989

'Shocked Police Officers Have Sought Counselling in the Wake of the Slayings' ... Montreal Gazette [MG] Dec. 9, 1989

'Massacre Forces Men to Debate Issues'

... Toronto Star [TS] Dec.13, 1989

The victims were portrayed only as 'targets of a primal and mysterious rage' (Chatelaine June, 1989:42).⁸ It was primarily through statements from spokespersons for various Canadian women's communities that a consciousness began to be voiced concerning the place of the 'massacre' within the contemporary social fabric:

The rising incidence of violence against women, culminated shockingly by the Montreal Massacre last December, indicates serious, deep seated sexist attitudes which must not be tolerated (Kerr 1990).⁹

(iii) Audience: Readings and Interpretations

It is impossible to delineate a statement which would express specific, monolithic, Canadian beliefs and values concerning what one newspaper report termed 'the unspeakable' (G&M Dec. 8, 1989).

Canada, originally a British/French colony, shares the world's longest undefended border with the United States.

Sociological impressions of Canada's national character,¹⁰ therefore, are usually comparative:

not quite as American as the Americans, not quite as British as the British ... not quite as French as the French ... a hybrid product and an intermediary between the United States and Europe (Vallee and White in Blishen et al. 1968:836).

Canada may be conceptualized as a modern national society, a social system that implies a moral order, a sense of legitimacy, a membership which implies division of labour, and "a set of positions from which people, as members or representatives, act" (Naegele in Blishen et al. 1968:1). In the opinion of Vallee and White, however, the Canadian national character may be seen as

a *conservative syndrome*, made up of a tendency to be guided by tradition; to accept the decision-making function of elites ... to put a strong emphasis on the maintenance of order and predictability ... values [which] are regarded ... as incongruent with the requirements of an advanced industrial or a post-industrial society (ibid: "emphasis" in the original).

In the opinion of another analyst, "Canada is often said to be 'divided from itself' by the combined effects of geography and what is vaguely labeled 'culture' (i.e., the French Canadians) (Wilden 1980:20).

Some of the above division is evident from the following synopsis of the audience reaction to the 'Montreal Massacre' ...

The condemnation of Lepine's crime, by national and international 'feminists', as an illustration of the subordinate position of women in contemporary Canadian society, initially led to widespread denial by both the media and the general public. Those negatively affected by Marc Lepine's actions (men, as well as women) refused to acknowledge this event as descriptive of the nature of the culture with which they felt most familiar, and in which they felt most secure (TS Dec. 29, 1989).¹¹

In an attempt to personally distance themselves from a society in which such an 'atrocity' could take place, men and women in English Canada emphasized the supposed significance of aggression within the nationalistic French-Canadian culture in Québec (TS Dec. 12, 1989; CH Dec. 10, 1989).¹² It was difficult to address this question with any plausibility, however, since in one typical recent year (1985), Québec's homicide victims totalled 143, compared with 534 in the province of Ontario (Statistics Canada 1986). Homicide was presented, in daily headlines and the dinnertime evening news, more often in Ontario than Québec.

In the eyes of its citizens, Canada evinced none of the backward, 'patriarchal' attitudes they freely attributed to less developed countries; nor, they argued, was it as violence-prone as its more aggressive southern neighbour.

Many Canadians were heard to say that they could understand something like this happening in 'the States' (G&M Dec. 8, 1989; MG Dec. 10, 1989),¹³ but that it was incomprehensible that such 'senseless' violence could take place in their homeland. In these proclamations, Canadians felt justified by the statistical evidence. In 1984, for instance, the homicide rate in Canada was 2 per hundred thousand (Statistics Canada 1986), compared with a US homicide rate approaching 20 per hundred thousand (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1988). In a comparative presentation of 1988 and 1989 statistics, however, the gap was not quite as large. Not that the Canadian experience of homicide had grown; rather, the US rates had dropped. Canada's rates were 2 and 3 per hundred thousand, respectively, while the source quotes US rates as 8.4 and 8.7 per hundred thousand for those years (World Almanac 1991).

One assumption of both media and audience, however, concerning the gender of the majority of violent actors in Canadian society was borne out by the statistics: in the years between 1961 and 1970, 2,129 of 2,401 suspects in homicide cases were male (88.7 percent)¹⁴ (Canadian World Almanac 1991).

III Subtexts: Actor, Audience, Temporal Change

(i) Socioeconomic Concerns (Lepine)

Lepine's family and social history incorporated an ideology of women as second-class citizens: as objects of male dominion and control, women were "not men's equals", and so were fated to endure violent punishment at the hands of male authority. This ideology was augmented by implicit approval of the "stereotypical images of women marketed via women's magazines, television advertisements, and other media" (Kuhn 1982:5), emphasizing an objectification of women which "constitutes social support for an ideological construction of women as objects .. [and] .. object-victims" (ibid:6). Millions of men are audience to this organization of meaning construction; but most do not mark women as victims.¹⁵ It is within the context of the inter-relationships between individual and cultural realities that clues are provided to the nature of what may be termed Lepine's political agenda.

Marc Lepine grew up a francophone, a member of a social group which in Canada has, historically, suffered from a lower socioeconomic status than the encompassing anglophone culture (Hunter 1980, Blishen 1986). An 'unemployed electronics buff', he had planned to attend the engineering school at which the 'Massacre' took place (Newsweek Dec. 18,

1989). Lepine had academic and career aspirations that could not be met. He claimed to have been turned down by the military for being "asocial". His application to study at *l'École Polytechnique du Montréal* had been rejected. Marc Lepine's socioeconomic class was negatively affected by his role and status as an immigrant, a minority within an encompassing subculture subsumed by the dominant culture.

Without having completed a post secondary education, Lepine was at a distinct socioeconomic disadvantage: he intellectualized this as having "continued [his] studies in a haphazard way for they never really interested [him], knowing in advance [his] fate". He voiced his self-perceived failure and frustrations with the social hierarchy, and his inability to meet or maintain his personal and career goals, as a grievance against feminists, his "supposed persecutors". Marc Lepine's suicide note embodies the sense of failure and frustration he felt with his continued existence, which was "only to please the government".

(ii) Audience as Community

In Canada, as in the United States, the ideal female role has been conventionally restricted to either the

venerated domestic position, or to public assignments which utilize woman's supposedly nurturing domestic nature (nursing, teaching, table waiting, cooking, and so on). A set of beliefs about both the sanctity of the family and the inherent nature of woman is utilized, ultimately, to justify the subordination of women. These culturally-sanctioned views of WOMAN and her role are embodied in legal, economic, and financial discriminations against women. Women are, for instance, culturally (and sometimes legally) defined solely by their relationship to men (McCaughan 1977).¹⁶

Although the participation of women in the labour force rose from 38 percent in 1970 to approximately 53 percent in 1983 (Statistics Canada 1983), these statistics do not acknowledge that this participation is accounted for by the increasing number of de-skilled, low paying clerical and service jobs in a post-industrial society; positions which are both horizontally and vertically segregated (i.e., by occupation and by sex).¹⁷ These views also prevail in social institutions and processes in such domains as education, healthcare, social welfare policies, and the criminal justice system.

In contemporary western societies, women in non-traditional occupations, or with non-traditional career goals, have been categorized as feminists in media and public analysis. The label has taken on, for some who use

it, the connotations of a pejorative negative epithet. This is, perhaps, founded in the public perception of feminists' surrender of respectable, protected, powerless roles in favour of rebellious, strong, masculine, oppositional ones (Lasch 1979). As presumptive actors in environments that previously belonged solely to men, women who accept the challenge of non-stereotypical roles or behaviour have, especially in the fluctuating economic aftermaths of the second World War, tempted categorization as the expropriators of men's economic positions through their participation in fields which are customarily conceived of as the exclusive realms of men.¹²

(iii) *Tempus Fugit*: 'Massacre' in Retrospect

A year after the event, memorial ceremonies for Lepine's fourteen victims were held at *l'École Polytechnique* and on other university campuses across Canada; at commemorative plaques, rocks and gardens, at churches and schools in major cities and in small communities across the country "as Canadians mark[ed] an anniversary they wish[ed] didn't exist" (The Spectator [HS] Dec. 1, 1990).

Some newspaper headlines described the legacy of 'the Massacre' as being 'mixed' (ibid); others reported it as a

"terrifying vision of violence against women" (ibid). In some reports, it was made explicit that the commemorations were "designed to ensure neither the victims nor the reason they died [would] be forgotten" (ibid).

Reports emphasized not only the mourning through "simple and often emotional ceremonies" (ibid)¹⁷ in remembrance of the victims, but also the emphasis each ceremony placed on protest and activism against "a terrifying vision of violence against women that is a daily reality for too many women in this country and around the world" (ibid). It was evident that, for a large number of Canadian women, and men, Marc Lepine's act of violence had become a turning point. As Sylvie Gagnon (a survivor of the incident at *La Polytechnique* pointed out:

You can't go back to the way you were before an experience like that. It marks you *really* deeply (Rogers and Hubert 1991, emphasis on videotape).

Pages of newspaper coverage were dedicated not only to the portrayal of the grief of masses of Canadians, but also to the political realities which Marc Lepine's actions had made clear:

'political leaders denounced violence against women'

"We must do everything we can ... to see that something like this could never happen again and that all examples of prejudice or violence against women are brought to an end" ... ²⁰ (HS Dec. 7, 1990)

'in the House of Commons, opposition parties called for a royal commission on violence against women and more funds for women's shelters' ... (HS Dec. 7, 1990)

'The British Columbia Federation of Labour called on Ottawa to declare Dec. 6th a national day of mourning' ... (ibid)

Political and media rhetoric, reflecting a new public and institutional focus, explicitly focused on deficiencies within contemporary Canadian society that were perceived as contributing to societal violence, especially violence directed against women:

'Sexism still plagues student campuses. At the University of British Columbia this October, 22 male students sent obscene "invitations" containing threats of rape and violence to 300 female students' ... (HS Dec. 1, 1990)

'The federal government is reportedly poised to shelve its proposed gun-control bill. Justice Minister Kim Campbell admits she has received "a great many representations from firearms owners" ... (ibid)

'Men continue killing women in an unbroken chain of domestic murders: more than 30 women in Québec alone this year were killed by their partners. And many women feel threatened just walking home from the bus stop at night' ... (ibid)

Personal expressions of grief, and of commitment to the cause of fighting violence against women were articulated as one:

'There are still other women, women who at this moment live in fear for their lives, who suffer violence daily, whose names we cannot speak, whose lives would be endangered if their names were spoken aloud' ...²¹

'It's never going to be the same again. Ending the violence begins tonight -- here and all across the country at gatherings like this' ... (ibid)

'It's important that we stand up and show people that women aren't prepared to remain silent any longer ... What happened in Montreal was not an isolated incident. It's become a focal point that allows us to show solidarity'.²²

IV Conclusions? Beginnings ...

It is true that Marc Lepine's individual biography includes many incidences of personal disappointments, failures and futilities, from the early breakup of his parents' marriage, and his father's subsequent disinterest in the family, to his rejection by both the military and the engineering school. If we profess the importance of primary group socialization processes, we have to assume Lepine's view of women to incorporate, at the least, their devaluation with respect to men's hierarchical position. He also experienced difficulty in establishing good interpersonal relationships, and in dealing with success (Chatelaine, June, 1990). Such patterns of interactive existence are not unique to Lepine's life history: they do not consistently, however, result in 'murderous rampage'.

The purpose of this work is to show how gender-specific powers related to his rights as a member of the superior (male) category in society could legitimate, for Lepine, his right to eradicate those more negatively valued in society than himself (females). For Marc Lepine, women training to be engineers were infringing upon what he considered exclusive male territory, more specifically territory he wished to claim as his own. They were no longer just women in his estimation; they were feminists, by default. Further, feminists crossed gender boundaries attempting "to keep the advantages of women ... while seizing for themselves those of the men". The resulting, anomalous gender category "feminist" was both devalued (because of its members' inherent place in the sex/gender system) and superior (because, as achievers in a field he coveted, they were more successful). Such gender and status ambiguities could provide, for Lepine, the prerogative upon which he could eventually justify his categorical choice of woman as victim for his alienation and frustration, expressed from within his position of self-disclosed failure (Leyton 1986).

One male mourner expressed his feelings in the aftermath of the 'massacre':

... he was a fool ... was very sick, you know ... is isolated act ... Is not within the men of society. We'd be in a war if it was an element of society, in my opinion ... The man is sick ... sick (Rogers and Hubert 1991).

For Charlotte Bunche²³ and other Canadian women, on the other hand, Lepine's action WAS indicative of

... a civil emergency ... because of how we would think of this if it involved any other group ... a "war on women" (ibid).

NOTES

1. In the body of this work, words or sentences in bold type and in double quotation marks ["], are direct quotes attributed to Marc Lepine. In this first case, the quotation was provided by eyewitness account according to Newsweek Dec. 18, 1989.
2. The protester, Nathalie Provost, suffered a grazing shot to the head, another in the leg. She, however, survived. According to a later newspaper quote, Provost's protest was that "Not all women are feminists", and that the ones in the classroom just wanted to be engineers (Ingrid Perez: Southam News, The Spectator Dec. 1, 1990).
3. Words, phrases, and sentences presented in bold type within single quotation marks ['] are quotes from newspaper and magazine accounts of not only the event, itself, but also Lepine's personal life-history and projected psychological profile as these pertain to the overall public description of Lepine's mental state or motivations. The text of the event, itself, is edited from its presentation by Newsweek Dec. 18, 1989.
4. This may also be translated as "scholar" (Collins French / English Dictionary, 1980).
5. The note was sent to the La Presse (Montreal) columnist, Francine Pelletier, who had been requesting the authorities to release the text of the letter for almost a full year after the event. It was published under copyright of *La Presse* on November 24, 1990. The original note was in French; of three newspaper translations of it that I have seen, the only differences in presentation have been

extremely minute restructurings of grammar. This version (here reproduced from The Sunday Sun Nov. 25, 1990) is presented in this text, since it is the translation made available to the public on its release. For a slightly more anglicized version, see Appendix A, pp **.

6. Rachid Liass Gharbi. The quote is from divorce proceedings record, 1976, as quoted by Chatelaine June, 1990.
7. Divorces in Canada rose from 621.0 per 100,000 in 1970 to 1051.4 per 100,000 in 1979 (Statistics Canada 1983).
8. See Appendix C (p.) for profiles of the fourteen victims, as originally published in The Globe and Mail Dec. 11, 1989.
9. Sandra Kerr, President, Ontario Advisory Council on Women's Issues, 1989-1990, in the Annual Report: Ontario Advisory Council on Women's Issues, March 31, 1990.
10. 'National character' is defined as the values which underlie the expressed tastes, opinions and intentions of the people.
11. As evidenced by the following headline: "59% Call Massacre Only Random Act; Poll Finds".
12. Headlines delineating the comparisons include: "Ontario, Quebec See Massacre Differently" (Toronto Star Dec. 12, 1989); "U.S. 'Coverage' Speaks Volumes" (Calgary Herald Dec. 10, 1989).
13. See: "Speaking About the Unspeakable: The Massacre in Montreal" (The Globe & Mail Dec. 8, 1989); "How Did We Become So Sick? Or Were We Always Like That?" (Montreal Gazette Dec. 10, 1989).
14. In domestic relationships, the breakdown was as follows: immediate family, 77 percent; kinship relationships, 91.5 percent; common-law relationships 77.4 percent. In non-domestic relationships, 96.4 percent of the murders committed during the commission of other criminal acts had male suspects, and 95 percent of other murder suspects were also male (ibid).
15. There are, on the other hand, some societies in Papua New Guinea where most men beat their wives, daughters, and even their mothers, as a matter of course (D.A. Counts, pers. comm. 1991). For an overview of wife battering in cross-cultural perspective, see Counts, Brown & Campbell, 1992.

16. Social definitions are illustrated by media reports of women's accomplishments, for example, where they are customarily described as the daughter, wife, or mother of a male family member. This practice is not common in media references to men's accomplishments.

In the realm of legal definitions:

Statutory reform of the Married Woman's Property Act (Canada) designated married women as separate persons in their own right, but the rule still exists that a wife (acting legally) have no domicile but that of her husband, solely by virtue of the fact of the marriage (McCaughan 1977). Alberta (as of 1977) was the only province in which, after a judgement of legal separation, a woman could acquire a new domicile separate from that of her husband (ibid). In Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, a husband is still expressly liable for his wife's prenuptial debts (ibid:55). Also:

Despite the absence of legal authority, it is tacitly implied in some legislation and administrative practices that a married woman's official name is that of her husband, and the obstacles in the path of any married woman who attempts to assert to the contrary may be considerable (ibid:45).

17. In Canada, the co-efficient of female representation (relationship of the female share of an occupational group to the female share in total employment) showed an over-representation of women of in service-oriented occupations (1.32), and in clerical occupations (1.90), with an under-representation in agriculture, production, and administration averaging 0.55 (Norris 1987:65).
18. In this respect, women's experience parallels that of immigrant 'new Canadians' who are reviled for their expropriation of economic resources viewed as more validly the right and privilege of the entrenched citizen.
19. Judy Rebick, president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, speaking at the University of Montreal, Dec. 6, 1990.
20. Ontario Premier Bob Rae [before a moment of silence in the provincial legislature].
21. Sociologist Nairn Galvin, quoted in The Spectator Dec. 7, 1990.

22. Susan Affleck, quoted in *The Spectator* Dec. 7, 1990.
23. Feminist activist and writer, filmed for the National Film Board video, *After the Montreal Massacre* (Rogers and Hubert 1991) while speaking before MATCH.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION
ESTABLISHING THE PARAMETERS OF 'WHAT'

I Idiosyncratic Behaviour vs. the Intersubjectivity of
 Meanings

Are multiple murderers merely 'insane', as Marc Lepine was initially characterized in national headlines and editorials? Was Lepine's act of 'savagery' a 'mad slaughter', perpetrated by a 'clearly disturbed' individual, and nothing more? Is it enough to arbitrarily categorize such 'bizarre' behaviour as simple psychiatric or, perhaps, genetic freakishness and, in so doing, dismiss these incidents as illustrative only of emotional or 'mental breakdown' on the part of an isolated individual? Opposing this, are mass murderers to be seen only as products of childhood 'beatings,[and] divorce' in 'brutal home[s], living out their 'legacy of brutality'?

In accepting or denying the assessment of perpetrators of mass murder as 'insane', do we then accept the designation of 'indiscriminate massacre' as the class of behaviour by which to describe their violent acts, violence

which they self-disclose as "payback day"¹, or "the quest for freedom"², or as being perpetrated for "political reasons"³? Rather, should we acknowledge that what is missing from the "Mad Killer" epithet is, primarily, a recognition of the interaction between this actor and the historically and culturally-specific ideology (composed of specific cognitive and symbolic systems) within which the individual operates?

Approaching the category of 'insanity' from the analysis of individual alternatives in meaning-attachment has some merit for a culturally and historically-specific definition of 'insanity', or 'madness'. This approach, however, seriously delimits the scope of analysis of the meaning of the behaviour within its contemporary cultural context. Socio-cultural analysis, on the other hand, presents two interconnected paradigmatic approaches to an analysis of this phenomenon which illuminate the place of 'madness' within the social fabric. Both frameworks see insanity, or madness (as residual categories of deviance⁴) as "not a quality of the act the individual commits but ... a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender" (Becker cited in Schur 1983:5).

In this sociological perspective (i.e., labeling theory) mental illness is a form of social behaviour that is defined by society as such, and experientially-learned by

the individual. Cross-cultural anthropological data supports this view of insanity as contextually defined (see, for example, Kluckhohn & Murray 1967; Kleinman & Good 1985; Janes, Stall & Gifford 1986; Kleinman 1986; Stigler, Schweder & Herdt 1990). Such data suggests that, with the exception of a few specific narrowly-defined conditions, the category of mental illness, as diagnosed within the western medical model, cannot successfully be interpreted cross-culturally nor, necessarily, trans-historically within western culture, itself. Western professional psychiatric perspectives on specific syndromes (hysteria, dyslexia, 'nervous conditions', etc.), for instance, have been viewed as radically-different symptom presentations⁵ at different historically-specific times in the 19th and 20th centuries.

In a connected sociocultural paradigm, Durkheim, Goffman (and others) focus, further, on how the disruptions labelled as mental illness or insanity may either confront or support the social order of society, affecting change or maintaining the *status quo*; in general revealing the essence of the social order.⁶ Although a focus on the reflexive articulations between the individual and the cultural milieu within which the individual is situated brings into question the primacy of the individual psychological profile, it constitutes a focus on an intentioned, experienced member of society whose history is essentially a history of inter-

relationships with other people, and with formative social institutions. It also constitutes an analysis of the meaning of such behaviours to the social milieu in which they occur.

Kleinman's dialectical relationship between medical and psychoanalytic symptoms and society, "[a] relationship [that is] strongly influenced by macrosocial forces" (1986:2) has contributed to the sense that, although the symptom presentation of mass murderers would appear to be individually-inflected, the causes of what is so readily publicly defined as '**breakdown**' or '**insanity**', on the other hand, are intertwined with societal constructs, the "economic, political and institutional arrangements" (ibid) of Kleinman's macrosocial analysis.

The sociosomatic connection is mediated by the meanings and legitimacies that symptoms hold for particular people in particular local forms of power (ibid).

II Explorations:

(i) The Social Construction of the Individual

Categorizing Lepine's fatal behaviour as merely the unique performance of an insane individual (and the event as simply a blindly-driven rampage), compartmentalizes the event as isolated idiosyncratic behaviour and, therefore,

meaningless within the cultural context in which it occurs. Contextually associated, however, is the nature of interpersonal and institutional relationships within the encompassing social order. Further, implicit in an analysis of violence is the recognition that such behaviour involves other situated individuals, at other locations within the social fabric of society. Violent acts, therefore, are not merely personal psychological phenomena: they also have meaning within the context of sociocultural inter-relationships between the individual and the overarching social milieu.

The re-examination of Lepine's actions as logical and rational⁷, as by his own definition, holds significance for the understanding of intentioned behaviour as it is located within the indistinct but persisting interactive constructs of individual psychological identity, enculturation, and cognition. The exploration of articulations between personally-determined values and socially-sanctioned norms of behaviour, therefore, implicates more than mere superficial analysis of individual psychological states of being and awareness. Sociopsychologists recognize that individuals ultimately derive legitimation and justification for their actions from the values of the culture in which they live, and not exclusively from internal categories relating to personal psychological states. (See, for

instance, Douglas [1971:171-243] on the social construction of meaning as it relates to social rules, or Horwitz 1982; Rabkin 1976; Scheff 1966, for general commentaries on this point.)

Assessing individual acts as they might relate to (and help explain) cultural themes involves the study of the behaviour of intentioned actors as agents of change, as integral parts of systems, processes, and realities. Personality is the resultant resolution of these cultural processes, the socialized individual (as in Durkheim's classic analysis). The process of socialization modifies human nature to conform to the conventional social norms, each society reproducing its culture through the individual in the form of personality. Analytic difficulty arises because (again, according to Durkheimian theory) social groups have a reality (and, ergo, a personality) of their own:

[t]he collective mind ... reflects the needs of the group as a whole, not the psychic needs of the individual, which in fact have to be subordinated to the demands of collective living. Indeed it is precisely the subjection of individuals to the group that psychoanalytic theory, through a study of its psychic repercussions, promises to clarify (Lasch 1979:75).

This reinforces the idea that cultural analysis must involve an evaluation of both the social and the psychological dimensions that impinge on the development of that which might be seen as constituting the individual.

(ii) The Contextualization of Experience

Contrary to initial media evaluation, Lepine's act of assassination is mislabeled as random 'massacre' (as indiscriminate, arbitrary killing)², since it must be acknowledged that his victims were carefully and, from his perspective, logically targetted for elimination. His initial plan had been to eliminate those on a list of nineteen "radical feminists", a plan he altered because of "lack of time (because [he] started too late)". The fourteen women executed by Lepine, as his suicide note attests, were representative of feminists; token images of those responsible for "spoiling his life".

The realization that Lepine's behaviour was not random, but intentioned, indicates directions for an exploration of this event as it relates to the wider Canadian culture in which it took place; it requires a reading of this event as a cultural text. Implicated are not only the specifics of Lepine's situated socio-economic and ethnic locations within Canadian society, but also the social constructs patterning male behaviour and valorizing violence. The processes by which these are played out in the contemporary western context, through events such as Lepine's murderous 'extravaganza', are of specific significance to an

understanding of the fundamental places of men and women within the contemporaneous sex/gender hierarchy.⁷

Anthropologist Elliott Leyton has concluded, in his study of *The Rise of the Modern Multiple Murderer* (1986), that mass murderers and serial killers have a specific place and meaning in western, post-industrial culture. For Leyton,

multiple murderers are not 'insane', and they are very much products of their time ... far from being a randomly occurring freakish event, the arrival of the multiple murderer is ... dictated by specific stresses and alterations in the human community (Leyton 1986:269).

Leyton also concludes that mass murderers are extremely class-conscious individuals whose alienation and frustration result in massacre, and provides a thorough historical view of the rise of the phenomena concurrent with the rise of post-industrial capitalization and the alienation of man from his labour (sic). He describes their actions as political, in the broadest sense of the word (i.e., "referring to that component of social life in which people seek influence or control over the actions of others" [Riches 1986:3ftn]). Violence, in Leyton's analysis, is a form of social communication, the purpose of which is the transmission of political ideologies and narratives.

Leyton goes on, however, to characterize the phenomenon of mass murder in western society as a "most modern and virulent of social epidemics" (1984:14). While his point

that instances such as the 'Montreal Massacre' are on the rise is valid, the metaphor of mass murder as a rapidly spreading disease is unfortunate. It invokes images of the uncontrollable dissemination of contagious retributive acts of violence, while at the same time reproducing the ideology that delegates the phenomenon illustrated by Lepine's actions to simply discrete instances of 'individualistic behaviour'.

This thesis may be seen to replicate and validate Leyton's hypothesis concerning the general characteristics within a society that propagate conditions conducive to an individual's conclusion that mass murder is a viable resolution to his dilemma. However, it must be understood that Leyton's analysis deals more explicitly with violence as a political reaction to mainly economic and socioeconomic hierarchies: the focus of this thesis (i.e., Lepine's political communication) sees systems of gender socialization and the specific sex/gender hierarchy of western, post-industrial societies as contributing factors that may or may not be specific to this instance of 'murderous rampage'.

That these factors are not idiosyncratic to this specific event is suggested by the subsequent actions of George Hennard in Killeen, Texas, who killed 23 and injured 23 more in the "worst mass murder in U.S. history" (Newsweek

Oct. 28, 1991) on Oct. 16, 1991. Hennard, characterized by neighbours as a "loner ... frightened them with outbursts, phone calls and a letter referring to 'female vipers'" (HS Oct.17,1991):

... please give me the satisfaction of someday laughing in the face of all those vipers from those two towns who tried to destroy me and my family ... (ibid).

(iii) Event is Text

As an interactive model, the focus of assessment which this thesis presents is on the constraints imposed on collective representations (i.e., cultural knowledge) and their interpretation on an individual basis, for both actors and audiences. Such cultural constructions as gender categories, sex-role socialization, and violence as a viable political alternative have essential merit in the analysis of the relationship of the individual to cultural constructions extant in the broader social order. Although performed by individuals, mass murders are socially-inflected reactions to cultural realities. Therefore, the reflexive articulations of idiosyncratic individual behaviour and societal norms must be included as part of a sociological or anthropological assessment of the

meaning of both the behaviour and the audience's initial assessment of that behaviour as 'insane'.

In the sociocultural investigation into the nature of gender differentiation and gender hierarchies, the implication has been that the study of gender is the study of women, only: concentration has essentially revolved around women as gendered objects of violence, for example,¹⁰ especially where the analysis emerges from the study of western, post-industrial societies. This thesis furthers research into the articulation of individual and cultural processes of interaction, through an exploration of the relationships between sex/gender hierarchies and ideologies of masculinity and violence. The conceptual and observed realities of violence directly expressed towards the category of WOMAN in contemporary western societies is explored in an attempt to analyze males as gendered performers within oppressive constructions of the North American sex/gender system, and not inherently victims of their own biology.¹¹

III Reading as Analysis

This decontextualization of the 'Montreal Massacre' is an analysis of the myriad interactive psychological, social

and cultural processes which affect individual male identity. As such, it is an overview of factors that affect individual character and personality formation, and how these constructs articulate with a specific cultural environment under the circumstances of a profound sense of alienation and frustration. Lepine's act of violence may be the result of an individual response to frustrations peculiar to his personal identity, but must be seen as a communication originating in anomalous interactions with the overarching cultural system.

Mass murderers are not alien creatures with deranged minds, but alienated men with a disinterest in continuing the unsatisfying lives in which they feel entrapped, as Leyton's data explores. Products of a culture that legitimates male violence as an appropriate response to frustration, and bombarded with mass media representations of both actual and fictitious bloodshed and brutality, these prospective killers comprehend the norms of manly identity as vengeance and violent retribution.¹²

The nature and character of violence in western society is investigated as a socially-sanctioned political response to frustration, with the view that, under certain conditions, violence is a conscious, intentioned form of social control. In this particular analysis, violence is seen to support, rather than to disrupt, a particular set of

cultural relations.¹³ The official disregard of such violence, therefore, may be assessed as an institutional framework which serves to maintain the *status quo* in Canadian society.

In arguments concerning the legitimacy of certain instances of violence, performers and victims both strive to support their respective arguments with appeals to social norms and values, each contingent claiming the accuracy and legitimacy of their opinion (Riches 1986). For Marc Lepine, for example, the feminist targets of his violence "want[ed] to keep the advantages of women ... while seizing for themselves those of men". This he articulated both by his actions and verbally, in his suicide note. For feminists witnessing Lepine's explosion of violence, on the other hand, his act was one of a variety of methods of coercion, force, and violence that were regularly implemented or addressed against them as control mechanisms.¹⁴ In their estimation, Lepine's act, situated on a continuum of socially-sanctioned brutality against their gender, was but a more tragic example of the normal circumstances under which women were expected to function within contemporary Canadian society.¹⁵

The text of this thesis investigates the specific event at *La Polytechnique*, 'The Montreal Massacre': its subtext addresses the ways in which Lepine's narrative reflects the

realities of the sex/gender hierarchies played out in the Canadian context, and how these endemic processes affect less extreme intergender interactions within this society.

IV Decontextualization as Methodology

Decontextualization is the process of dismantling a cultural narrative, assessing its component themes, and rebuilding it again as a coherent analysis of the events described in the text (Denzin 1989). It is to be noted that what the researcher chooses to analyze as component themes (bracketing) is reflective of his/her preconceived, situated store of knowledge: sometimes, it must be admitted, such choices are intuitive; at other times they are explorations that are directed towards providing a tentative illumination of a specific question. The results are exegetic studies which "can only reveal the interpreted worlds of interacting individuals" (ibid:30).

Denzin writes that "[i]nterpretive research begins and ends with the biography and the self of the researcher". As in all interpretive anthropology, what I am presenting is subject to the biases that I, as researcher and analyst, bring to this text: with regard to this particular narrative

deconstruction, it is especially necessary to outline my emotional and cognitive position.

As a Canadian female, I am more than merely a participant observer in and to the events of December 6, 1989. I am also an informant, personally and professionally situated within the culture under study. As witness to the events under analysis, I attempted to evaluate the initial text from within a state of shock so numbing that I was not able to attend to any media accounts of the 'massacre' for a number of weeks after the event. Each headline that caught my eye during this period produced both intense pain and inarticulate anger against the dismissal of Lepine as merely a misdirected survivor of childhood abuse. In participating in and overhearing public conversations about the behaviour of the 'madman' I felt, intuitively, that it was not enough to dismiss what I perceived as focused vituperation as random and meaningless except at the level of 'insanity'.

This thesis is the result of an invitation to participate in a McMaster University Symposium, *About Gender*,¹⁴ a request I honoured because I was interested in researching that which I, personally, needed to understand -- supposedly undirected, vehemently harmful activity as it was enacted on the stage of my own culture -- with one man symbolically annihilating all feminists, holding them responsible for his fate. My initial opinion concerning the

'massacre' was that it was, somehow, indicative of more than simply one man's misogyny.

These personal reflections are an essential component of this presentation: the reader is entitled to know this researcher's biases before s/he is asked to contemplate this situated bracketing of "existentially experienced interaction" (ibid:19). In this interpretive framework,

knowledge can be assumed neither to be objective nor to be valid in any objective sense. Rather, knowledge reflects interpretive structures, emotionality, and the power relationships that permeate the situations being investigated (ibid:30).

As opposed to the objective/subjective categories usually presented as dichotomous research paradigms, what is presented here should be seen, and evaluated, as either distant objectivity or, perhaps, intimate subjectivity.

My research was not restricted to that which I present here for, over the course of this analysis, I have had to explore epistemologies of various tangential subjects in order to assess their merit as relevant to this topic. Literature reviewed and assigned lesser positions in the hierarchy of densely-structured meanings attached to the subject included (but was not restricted to):

psychological, philosophical and anthropological studies of the individual (Campbell 1975; Cardwell 1971; Frank &

Langness 1981; Gergen 1971; Gergen & Davis 1985; Laing 1960; Shweder 1974; Stigler, Shweder & Herdt 1990; Weigert & Teitge 1986)

and of insanity (Frank 1981; Hermann 1983; Horwitz 1982; Lanzkron 1963; Rabkin & Strueing 1963; Scheff 1966; Wilson 1964);

philosophical explorations into identity as a 'political' construction (Kreml 1991; Laing 1960; Luhmann 1990; Millett 1972; Sanford & Comstock 1971; Shotter & Gergen 1989; Skolnick, 1969; Swingle 1970);

evaluations of the marginalized individual (Bannister 1979; Bensman 1979; Breakwell 1986; Lofland 1969; Maneker 1979; Sanders 1990; Schaff 1980; Schwartz-Salant & Stein 1991; Shields 1991);

the place of symbols in society (Ball-Rokeach & Cantor 1986; Butler & Paisley 1980; Campbell 1975; Curran Gurevitch & Woollacott 1977; Duncan 1968; Ferrante 1989; Fraser & Gaskell 1990; Karp & Yoels 1979; Larsen 1968; Thurlow, 1990)

and, more specifically, their transmission and reproduction through the media (Altheide 1985; Real 1977; Collins, Curran

et al. 1986; Merrill & Lowenstein 1979; Vourmvakis & Erikson 1984);

epistemologies of sexual difference (Hite 1981; Mackie 1983 and 1985; Morrison & Borosage 1977; Rhode 1990; Sargent 1977; Seidler 1991; Weil 1990; Williams & Best 1990; Wilson 1989);

assessments of the image and iconographical presentation of women (Bartos 1982; Butler & Paisley 1880; Eishtain 1981; Kuhn 1982 and 1985; Mattelart 1986; Rix 1990; Weibel 1977);

theories of mass communication (Biagi 1989; Black & Whitney 1989; Clutterbuck 1983; Collins 1986; Ericson & Baranek 1987; Fathi 1990; Sanders 1990; Singer 1983; Rabey 1984; Wells 1979); and mass communication and deviance or violence (Larsen 1968; Winick 1978);

determinist (and other) presentations of violence and aggression (Baenninger 1991; Blumenthal 1972; Carver 1968; Clark 1988; Daniels; Gilula & Ochberg 1970; Dick 1979; Dollard 1967; Goldstein 1975; Havens, Leiden & Schmitt 1970; McLeod 1987; Moyer 1987; Shattuck 1988; Skolnick 1969; Swingle 1970; Toch 1969; Wertham, 1973; Wilber 1975; Ziegenhagen 1977);

anthropological, sociological, and psychological studies of gender (Ashton-Jones & Olson 1991; Brittan 1989; Burns, Pool & McCormick 1990; Clarke & Lawson 1985; Collier & Rosaldo 1981; Carnes & Griffen 1990; Crompton & Mann 1986; Daly 1984; Devor 1989; Errington & Gewertz 1987; French 1985; , Johnson & Kalven 1988; Lips 1988; Lorrain 1990; McCormick & Strathern 1980; McClaren 1988; Nelson 1988; Nemiroff 1987; O'Leary; Unger & Wallston 1985; Ortner & Whitehead 1981; Perelberg & Miller 1990; Reiter 1975; Rosaldo & Lamphere 1974; Sanday 1981; Schegel 1977; Strathern 1987 and 1988; Wilson 1986);

deviance (Ben-Yehuda 1985, 1990; Clinard 1964; Davis & Stasz 1990; Douglas 1970 1971 and 1972; Edgerton 1969 1976 and 1985; Gibbs 1981; Glaser 1971; Haas & Schaffir 1974; Hewitt 1970; Hills 1980; Lemert 1967; Messner 1989; Newman 1975 1985; Rubington 1987; Sacco 1988; Sagarin 1977);

and feminist inquiries into the impact of violence against women (Bradbrook 1987; Brownmiller 1975; Brittan & Maynard 1984; Daly 1984; Edwards 1987; Ferraro 1989; Gornick & Moran 1971; Griffin 1971; Hanmer & Maynard 1987; Hanmer, Radford & Jaggar 1983, Stanko 1989; Kelly 1987; Norris 1987; Rhodes & McNeil 1985; Walby 1990; Young & Harris 1978).

All of these have informed this present analysis, although most are seldom specifically addressed.

As the culmination of a number of presentations and papers on this subject (Wilson 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1992), this present decontextualization of the text of 'The Montreal Massacre' is a bracketing of my perspective of the most important themes that are illuminated by the reading of Marc Lepine's narrative. The expert opinions on which this analysis is based are multi-disciplinary: contributing thought is not restricted by the academic designation of the analyst but, rather, by the way in which the analysis speaks to an anthropological focus on the themes of the narrative. These are embedded in the nature of the inter-relationships between microsocial and macrosocial forces that contributed to the creation of an individual who could see nothing but violent protest with which to communicate his frustrations with (and to) a society that would not allow him to assume his rightful role.

This is an extended investigation into the incidence of mass murder, concerned with behaviours that are located in historically-specific and gender-specific narratives as they interact in contemporary post-industrial western North American society. It is, therefore, implicit pertaining to conditions surrounding male violence towards women as it is

evidenced within the fabric of Canadian society. Because of this and, also, because this cultural phenomenon is evinced almost exclusively by men (i.e., most multiple murderers who engage in seemingly random massacre are men)¹⁷, I will continue to use the masculine pronoun in referring to these individuals throughout this text.

NOTES

1. George Hennard, who killed 23 and left 23 more wounded, the largest mass murder in U.S. history. Kileen Texas, October 16, 1991 (Time, Oct. 28 1991:16)
2. Mark James Robert Essex who killed nine, wounding ten more, in a sniper attack on police, January 7, 1975; New Orleans, Louisiana (Leyton 1986:189).
3. From the suicide note of Marc Lepine (published Nov. 24, 1990).
4. Defined as follows:
 "... there is a general social agreement that certain kinds of behaviour are deviant without falling within the usual categories of deviance. The category 'residual deviance' consists of what is left over. In this view behaviours that are commonly considered wrong or out of place but for which there is no general response are considered as mental illness" (Frank 1981:177).
5. "Symptom presentations" are the symptoms of the disturbance, as opposed to the cause or the 'illness' (i.e., the way in which the 'patient' behaves) and have been seen to have different meanings, both in the context of socio-psychological theory, and within the context of the "illness", itself.

6. For an historical overview, see Foucault's classic analysis, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1965), and Roy Porter's *A Social History of Madness: The World Through the Eyes of the Insane* (1987).
7. Even if we perceive them as extreme and mishapen representations of logic and rationality.
8. Although the Oxford International Dictionary of the English Language (OED) provides a secondary definition of massacre as a "cruel or peculiarly atrocious murder", its primary and customary meaning is as a "general slaughter of human beings". This is the meaning I understand as the media utilization of the term 'massacre' from a perusal of its contexts.
9. The concept of the sex/gender system originates from Gayle Rubin's classic analysis, *The Traffic in Women: Ruminations on the Political Economy of Sex* (in Reiter 1975, and elsewhere).
10. Contrast this with new ethnographic work being done by Victoria Burbank; an exploration of Aboriginal Australian women as subjects/perpetrators of violence (Burbank 1988, 1989; Burbank in Counts, Brown & Campbell 1992). According to Sally Cole, "aggression is culture at work" in Burbank's estimation (pers. comm. 1992).
11. Further support that men are not inherently victims of their own biology may be found in Klama, *Aggression: The Myth of the Beast Within* (1988)
12. Alternative dramaturgical models of 'masculine' constructs may be found in Carnes & Griffen 1990; Gilmore 1990; Hearn & Morgan 1990, as well as in the results of recent explorations into narratives of masculinity, as evidenced by a session at the 90th Annual Proceedings of the AAA, entitled *Sizing up Men's Stories: Acculturation and Resistance* (1991).
13. Both Lepine's violence and suicide, therefore, are analyzed as political statements directed both towards and against structures of institutional and hierarchical stability, as outlined in such diverse studies of Leyton (1986) and of D.A. Counts (1980).
14. For an overview of feminist opinions on this subject, see Hanmer and Maynard's edited volume on women, violence and social control (1987).

15. For example, *The Montreal Massacre*, edited by Malette and Chalouh (translated into English by Marlene Wildeman), a collection of letters to various French Canadian newspapers in the aftermath of the 'massacre', illustrates the reactions of a number of Canadian women to Lepine's cultural communication. These fifty specific responses to the event are explicit in their comparison of Lepine's particular act of violence against women to other such violence embedded in their day-to-day existence. Also to be seen are a number of posters and buttons prepared and distributed by feminist groups. One such has the text: "14 women died in Montreal, Dec. 6, 1989. 97 women died in domestic violence in 1988 in Canada" (National Action Committee on the Status of Women [et al]).
16. Full title: The 14th Annual McMaster University Symposium: About Gender; Anthropological Perspectives (Feb. 9-10, 1990). Presented by the McMaster Anthropology Society.
17. Of forty-two cases of multiple murder between 1976 and 1980 surveyed by Levin and Fox, only one involved a female perpetrator. FBI files indicating simultaneous homicide show only seven percent of the offenders as female (Levin & Fox 1985:52). According to sociologist Hannah Scott it is difficult to attain a valid statistical picture of this phenomenon, however, since women who murder in this fashion tend to use automobiles as their 'weapon of choice' (pers. comm. 1991).

CHAPTER TWO: ACT AS COMMUNICATION

Establishing the Parameters of 'How' and 'Who'

I Introduction: Communicating a Philosophy

Lepine was denounced in both the national and international media as 'insane', not on the basis that his convictions were inherently irrational or unjustifiable; but simply that they, and their resultant behaviours, were extreme. Media and public evaluation of Lepine's ostensible 'mental breakdown' assigned culpability among various of his life experiences (e.g., a battered childhood, a broken home, an unfortunate personal relationship) and various lifestyle preferences, such as his fascination with military games, strategic war videos, and brutality-focused movies.¹

Anti-Lepine rhetoric focused on the extremity of the presumptuous methods he employed in vehemently communicating his hatred and frustration to feminists, women in general, and society, at large. Even editorial commentary which did explore the nature of the underlying chaos and cruelty inherent in contemporary western cultures still dramatized the idiosyncratic psychological state of violent actors over the social sanctions such perpetrators elucidated through their actions.² Lepine, himself, forecast these responses

to his crime: in his three-page suicide note, he envisaged the media attributing the "Mad Killer epithet" to him, although he saw himself as "a rational erudite", "enraged" by "feminists" to potential "suicide"³ for "political reasons".

Within the social sciences, "a sophisticated quantitative debate currently rages ... over whether the ultimate cause of homicide lies in absolute poverty, relative inequality ... in regional subculture", (Leyton 1986:23) or in subcultures of violence. Clearly, all these hypotheses provide aspects of the truth,

for *all* deprivation (be it absolute or relative) provokes frustration, and culture is ever the programmed maze instructing individuals how best to display their emotions (ibid, emphasis in original).

The degree and nature of the alienation and frustration that Marc Lepine and other mass murderers express as philosophy, therefore, is more than merely indicative of isolated, idiosyncratic performance. Implicated, as well, is the nature of the interactions between the individual and the society in which he feels he has been victimized. These interactions are not unidirectional but, rather, reciprocal: each informs the other. Consequently, an analysis of Lepine's behaviour thus requires an exploration into the relationships between societal norms, institutions and intentioned individual behaviour, with special attention to the way in which each construct informs the others.

Ideology makes that which is "cultural and therefore historically variable appear natural and therefore immutable" (Barthes cited in Kuhn 1982:77).

In this way, contemporary ideology functions to justify differences in the opportunities and rewards available to people of differing socio-economic status, making these differences appear to be rational and equitable, rather than arbitrary and unjust. Consequently, the interrelationships between gender, class, ethnicity, and violence are of special interest in the analysis of Lepine's construction of logical motivations for his behaviour, based as these motivations are on the sanctions of contemporary Canadian ideologies.

Under particular circumstances of extreme alienation and frustration, the cultural conditioning of modern society is seen to make mass murder inevitable, and not anomalous to dominant cultural norms (see for instance, Levin and Fox 1985; Leyton 1986). Such analysis recognizes that competitive modern societies are likely to produce a number of mass murderers, individuals for whom the reading of implicit cultural cues may result in conduct that society initially misconstrues as abnormal idiosyncratic behaviour.

Leyton⁴ explores the narrative meanings behind a particular category of contemporary murder, presenting an analysis of a growing number of multiple murderers who attack, with premeditation, a single social category.⁵ In

assessing Marc Lepine's location within this category, however, one difference between his narrative and the ones which Leyton decontextualizes is abundantly clear: in this first case of its kind, the targetted social category is specifically pinpointed and labelled by the perpetrator (both during the execution of his murders, and in his suicide note) and his target of choice is restricted, categorically to women -- "feminist" women, specifically.

As I explore further in this chapter, these killers act from within life positions (or narratives) of social marginality and alienation, either implicitly or explicitly articulating the reasons behind their symbolic annihilation of particular categories of people. In assessing these actions as forms of cultural communication it is necessary, in the translation of the symbolic note, to examine not only the texts of the killers' lives, but also the texts which are their horrendous communications (Leyton 1986:27). Superficial explanations that focus merely on instant, personal, idiosyncratic gratifications, however compelling they may appear to be, avoid coming to terms with the ultimate cause of these atrocities (ibid). What is being proposed is a contextualization of the processes which effect those areas on the borders of identity⁴; areas where the individual's character, personality and singularity

articulate with his cultural environment, in this case through a profound sense of alienation and frustration.

II Alienation, Frustration, and Retributive Action

Leyton presents an analysis of the penultimate behaviour of a number of serial killers and mass murderers⁷ in conjunction with their life histories, psychological assessments, and public statements. His insights, based on individual case studies of these products of western cultural conditioning, provide a framework that contextualizes the assessment of this behaviour outside a strictly psychological analysis of individual, intentioned actors to the socializing aspects of the culture which has produced their kind.

A socio-psychological view of the multiple murderer, gleaned from Leyton's research data, reveals the following profile: the multiple murderer is most often a survivor of a disrupted childhood; usually on the margins of the upper-working or lower-middle classes, and usually a deeply conservative figure who comes to feel excluded from the class he so devoutly wishes to join (Leyton 1986:23). Embedded within the social order within which the killer negotiates his individual narrative are profound

contradictions between his aspirations and the reality of what society will allow him to achieve.

The individual's alienation and frustration derive from his feelings (validated by his interactions with society) that, no matter his ambitions or his actions, it is impossible for him to achieve the place in society to which he aspires, and that he deserves. Without congruence between the individual's sense of personal potential and society's perception of his abilities, status, and position, he comprehends and denounces his inability to maintain his social dreams. "In an anguished awareness of his position at the bottom of the social hierarchy"; feeling "enraged despair"; an inability to "tolerate the lowly achievement that his society and his limited personal talents would make available to him"; too proud to face a life perceived of as "devoid of all future, deprived of all prospects"; unable to thereby endure "the unliveable, day in and day out" -- such are the stated emotions and responses elicited from a number of the people whose motivations Leyton investigated (Leyton 1986).⁹

There is a gap between these killers' expectations and the reality of their position which they are impotent to bridge: in one way or another, these men have become intensely aware of the impossibility of improving their actual life prospects, and their confrontation with this

social reality has rendered their lives unbearable. These contradictions lead to what might be considered emotional preconditions for violent retributive action.

In an extreme reaction to their social marginality, these men perceive their only recourse as being to vent rage upon a despised group which is responsible, in their estimation, for their oppression, intimidation, or exclusion (ibid:27). The killer is suicidal, according to Leyton, in the sense that he is willing to sacrifice himself for the cause; a form of suicide which the killer perceives as altruistic.⁹ The killings may be seen as a form of suicide note (whether the perpetrator dies by his own hand, or by that of others in the commission of his act) in which the killer states clearly which social category has excluded him. "In an extended campaign of vengeance, he murders people unknown to him, but who represent to him (in their behaviour, their appearance, or their location) the class that has rejected him" (ibid:23) or that has caused him to feel rejected.

In Leyton's analysis, these killers "appear to be among the most class conscious people in society, obsessed with every nuance of status, class, and power" (ibid:30). Celebrity status, according to the available testimonies of Lepine's subjects, is one major positive achievement of this behaviour: for the individual who perceives of no other

route through society's status hierarchy to the position he deserves, such notoriety is a desired attainment.¹⁰

Social analyst and historian Christopher Lasch¹¹ acknowledges the position of publicity, and media attention in general, in ratifying success in the estimations of contemporary western societies:

Self approval depends on public recognition and acclaim ... Today men seek the kind of approval that applauds not their actions but their personal attributes. They wish to be not so much esteemed as admired. They crave not fame but the glamour and excitement of celebrity ... Whereas fame depends on the performance of notable deeds acclaimed in biography and works of history, celebrity -- the reward of those who have attracted attention to themselves -- is acclaimed in the news media ... (1979:116-117).

As Lasch also notes, the public recognition and acclaim may be sought, determinedly, "even at the cost of rational self-interest and personal society" (ibid:155). This analysis agrees with Leyton's that the potential gain of celebrity status cannot be eliminated in the analysis of the behaviours of these mass murderers. Success, under these circumstances, is not obviated by death; rather, it is an expected consequence of intentioned action.

Mass murderers, therefore, feel excluded from society as marginal men¹². They engage in this "culturally-programmed dialogue" (Leyton 1986:23) to gain the attention and esteem which they perceive as their due.

III Ideological Commitment and the Rhetoric of Violence

Although all multiple murderers seem to share a characteristic self-absorption and simple-mindedness, there is also a commitment to a protest which is articulated as socially-oriented and not merely personal. They have assimilated a revolutionary rhetoric and style in order to carry out an individualized protest against their exclusion. There is the appearance of ideologically alternative political action on behalf of others besides themselves. This action is most often perceived by the individual as a political or cultural statement, or as a crusade (ibid:23), not simply a personal vendetta against those who have contributed to his isolation. In Leyton's analysis, these killers are not radicals, even if their actions can be understood as personalized social protest: they have "enthusiastically embraced the established order only to discover that it offers them no position they can endure" (ibid:27). Their rebellion is a protest against their perceived exclusion from society, not a revolutionary attempt to alter its structure (ibid:26-27).

In the late twentieth century, North American men are products of cultures which valorize and celebrate vengeance and retribution as the norms of masculinity. Violence is portrayed as an easy, socially-sanctioned option, and

reinforced as an appropriate response to frustration. Mass media and sadistic pornography provide representations of brutality, bloodshed and carnage, whether in images of reality, or in images of the fictionalized ideal.¹³ Such presentations justify, for more men than we care to admit, their use of violent action in the solution of their problems. For not only women, but men as well, are victims of oppressive socialization processes.¹⁴

Violence is viewed, within certain ideologies (such as those which direct the careers of aggressive athletes, or those which empower the military) as noble, heroic, and, therefore, moral: in these contexts, violence can provide meaning for an individual's existence. It is possible to easily achieve 'hero' status in western post-industrial societies, through the utilization of violence, in either positive or negative contextual situations:

violence and heroism have been integrally linked in many cultures ... Such 'masculine fantasies', as one commentator has called this adoration of violence, have run throughout modern Western thought and behaviour. We find them everywhere: in the realities of male chauvinism ... in the codes of chivalry, and in any number of contemporary manifestations (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:102).

Leyton's analysis acknowledges a theatrical atmosphere attending the murderer's final act, an atmosphere that may be seen to be entirely in keeping with the fashionable violent codes of our current culture (ibid:16). Media and public attention to this final drama is a certainty; the

main actor is assured status and, therefore, attended importance in the eyes of the viewing audience. Leyton's scrutiny explains general acts of multiple murder as personalized social process that are neither deranged nor revolutionary: although these types of intense, savage attacks may be defined as statistically rare,

they can only be fully understood as representing the logical extension of many of the central themes in their culture -- of worldly ambition, of success and failure, and of manly avenging violence ... (ibid:16).

IV Nothing to Lose: Violence as Social Protest

Violent interactions cannot sensibly be characterized as occurring in isolation as they are, primarily, other-directed acts. It may be impossible to be certain of the inter-relationships between Lepine's personally-determined values and those espoused as the norms of the dominant culture, but it is in these articulations of differing realities where clues to the nature of what can only be described as Lepine's political agenda may be found.

More than mere superficial analysis of individual psychological states of being and awareness are implicated in the analysis; the nature of inter-personal and institutional relationships within the encompassing social order are also contextually associated. Involved,

specifically, are the social constructs which not only sanction but also valorize violence, and the processes by which these are played out in the contemporary eurocentric context through events such as Lepine's 'murderous extravaganza'.

In western, post-industrial cultures, as in many non-western societies, violence may be manifest in invisible, as well as visible, ways. The most fundamental justifications of violence utilize the claim that twentieth century society is permeated by violence; that violence is inherently unavoidable, "inseparably linked" to the general social climate (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:92-3).

In his role as social analyst, novelist Norman Mailer discusses personal violence as a reaction to the "hollowness and artificiality of twentieth-century life ... directly proportional to the power of the current social environment to deaden individual's moods" (cited in Grundy and Weinstein 1974:93). In Mailer's opinion, social violence is everywhere, and beyond the ability of "normal human beings" to control: "psychopaths are broken by it or made murderous" (ibid). In agreement with Mailer, historian Colin Wilson claims that in a "highly organized and fairly affluent society, a kind of mental strain based on boredom and unfulfillment is bound to result in violent acts" (Wilson cited in Grundy and Weinstein 1974:93) performed by

those who are anti-establishment and also "incapable of seeing beyond an act of protest" (ibid).

These opinions of Wilson and Mailer are expressed, here, as indicative of publicly-held ideologies of political violence, describing symbolic attacks against (what may be considered) "a decadent social order, characterized by hypocrisy, artificiality, and the denial of humanity" (ibid). They are attempting to explain and justify 'individual acts of idiosyncratic violence' within a universal environment of 'pervasive' social violence (ibid).¹⁵ Both analyses, however, look upon violent interactions as pathological behaviour that negates the element of intentioned action which Leyton's data and Lepine's cultural communication emphasize.

Characterizing violence as political action (in the most general sense of 'political'¹⁶) betokens violence as a process within which competition and consensus operate to produce a relationship between actor/performer and victim(s). It is, however, also a process which garners support or criticism from an uninvolved audience whose patronage is elicited, even though the behaviours may be illegitimate and unacceptable to the society in which it is used. Conceptualizing violence as merely an act of transgression against another human being renders it difficult to properly analyze the function that violence

serves within specific cultural contexts. On the other hand, focusing an analysis on the implicit relationship between the act of the violator and the audience for whom s/he is performing (i.e., witnesses, moral entrepreneurs, public media) serves to contextualize the action, and results in a new emphasis, and new insights, into the processes of violence.

Multiple murder is a form of cultural communication that offers an unambiguous method of convincing society of the individual's avenging, insulting intent. It serves a need to protest exclusion, reverse degradation, and reinstate the actor as an individual worthy of notice and acclaim. Revoking what is perceived as social excommunication through an extravagant act of terrorism establishes a social niche and an important, significant identity for the killer. The establishment of this social niche provides the individual with his own borders of identity¹⁷, through which he can feel legitimated in terms of societal structure. This specific identity is, for the killer, a social 'reality' that society (of necessity) will be forced to recognize, and with which it will have to negotiate.

V Intentionality of Communication

It should be emphasized that these declarative killings are not performed simply for the personal satisfaction of the perpetrators. They are a kind of sub-political and conservative protest which nets the killer a substantial social profit, a reward consisting of revenge, celebrity status (even though he may not be alive to enjoy it), and identity. Leyton's collected data on multiple murderers show that they generally think of the killings as a kind of mission, task, or crusade; "sometimes only dimly perceived ... sometimes expressed with great clarity" (Leyton 1986:26). The behaviour is conceived, according to Leyton, as a kind of primitive rebellion against a social order, a statement which has become an increasingly acceptable and fashionable form of "social art" (ibid:26-27). For Leyton, these men feel they have no choice but to stage a mass killing, the climax of which must be the education of the public to the realities they perceive as their unjustified marginal existence.

A reading of Leyton's presentation of the personal histories of the collectivity of individuals who -- like Lepine -- are mass murderers, emphasizes the diversity of their psychiatric and life-history profiles. It is this diversity of particulars that causes such difficulty in

classifying these individuals as anything but 'insane'. It is difficult, indeed, to analyze them as members of a particular culture, or subculture, or to place them all in a small restricted category which is easily encompassed by analysis. The one universal characteristic which these subjects display is their supreme alienation. Each is alone and isolated, waiting only to die, and is willing to die to make public his cause.

VI Violence as Communication: Conclusions

To understand the behaviour of Marc Lepine in his last moments (as multiple murderer), it is necessary to focus on the enduring social realities in his life, and on the social categories he perceived as those of both himself and his victims; only then can we decipher the hidden messages in his terminal act (Leyton 1984:183).

By categorizing Lepine as merely 'mad', both the media and the Canadian public attempted to ignore the text of Lepine's communication, denying (in some cases, explicitly) the ways in which social factors contribute to individual psychology and patterns of behaviour. Refusal to acknowledge a fundamental societal framework in which violence is seen as a practical choice to make in the

righting of social wrongs, for instance, continues to place responsibility for such phenomenon on the emotional state of the individual, denying the institutional share of causal responsibility.

Psychological states are not inherent, static characteristics of the individual. They are developed, and maintained, through positive and negative interactions with other individuals and institutions within the cultural milieu in which the individual functions. Both macrosocial and microsocial forces contribute to the intentioned actor as an agent of change, and are major factors in the resultant socialized individual's perception of his/her identity.

Restricting culpability to the individual only, in an analysis of Lepine's motivations at *La Polytechnique*, is to hear, but not listen to, the meanings voiced in Lepine's communication. Ignoring these meanings is detrimental to an understanding of both Lepine's situated location in the social fabric that is Canadian society, as well as to a thorough sociocultural analysis of the causes of such traumatic dysfunctional social action.

NOTES

1. See, for instance, The Toronto Star Dec.8, 1989: 'War Videos Obsessed Murderer'; Montreal Gazette Dec.9, 1989: 'Lepine

Faced Beatings, Divorce as a Child'; Vancouver Sun Dec.12, 1989: 'Curb Media Violence, MP Says After Killings'.

2. See, for instance, Chatelaine June 1990. Although this staff-written article briefly explores sociological theories of causation for Lepine's act, its closing paragraphs read:
 The helpless forgettable victim transformed into a ruthless avenger when he chose his targets, he went to his roots.
 Liass Gharbi, wherever you are, do you hear the cry of your son? Did you utter the same cry, and did your father before you cry out also --
 'Daddy, daddy, do you love me? Are you proud of me now?' (Chatelaine June 1990:76, emphasis in original).
3. Note that I am acknowledging the tentative "if" in the introductory portion of Lepine's suicide note: "Please note that if I am committing suicide today 89-12-06 it is not for economic reasons (for I would have waited until I exhausted all my financial means, even refusing jobs) but for political reasons." Although aware that his behaviour could or would be construed as suicide, Lepine expresses the thought that his death was not certain.
4. Leyton is a professor of anthropology, and author of *The Compact: Selected Dimensions of Friendship* (1974), *Dying Hard: The Ravages of Industrial Carnage* (1975), *The One Blood: Kinship and Class in an Irish Village* (1975), *Bureaucracy and World View* (1978), *The Myth of Delinquency: An Anatomy of Juvenile Nihilism* (1979), *Hunting Humans: The Rise of the Modern Multiple Murderer* (1986), *Compulsive Killers* (), and *Sole Survivor* ().
 Leyton's volume (along with that of Levin and Fox (1985) scrutinizes these occurrences from more than merely a psychoanalytic description of individual personalities. Leyton, however, provides a more intense look at multiple murderers whose targets are not kinship related than do Levin and Fox, and has a more broadly-based theoretical focus. I am indebted to Douglass St. Christian for the reference to this, as well as to other, equally thought-provoking sources.
5. People such as Ted Bundy, who confessed to having killed over 40 young, beautiful, upper-middle-class women over a period of four years;
 Albert de Salvo (the infamous Boston Strangler) who admitted killing thirteen women in what he characterized as fits of 'sexual frenzy';

David Berkowitz (the Son of Sam) who claimed demonic possession as necessary and sufficient cause for his killings;

Mark Essex, a black American whose sniping activities were intermittently seen as heroic, anti-racist protest; (It is interesting here to note that mass killers may subsequently become 'heros', depending not on the internal motivation or coherence of what they do, but on whether their personal protest is congruent with fashionable themes in the culture -- Mark Essex was a black man rebelling against white oppression in the 1970's when this was perceived of, even by American whites, as morally ethical.) and Charles Starkweather -- for whom "the world" was "lifeless anyhow", like the people he killed (Starkweather, quoted in Leyton 1986:239): to whom it was important that his deeds not be seen as the product of a deranged mentality -- since, as he said, "Nobody remembers a crazy man" (ibid:246).

6. Although this phrasing conjures up mental images of a set of distinctive divisions between both a "bounded" self and a group of separate identity modules to the personality, it is in active usage among social scientists (see, for instance, Berger & Luckman 1966, Berger & Berger 1975; Bensman 1979; and Isajiw 1978). The position and meaning of these 'boundaries' as delineators between intrinsic self and socialized self and between self and society vary with the analysis. In the reading of the Lepine narrative, "interactive boundaries" is used to model an inherent, though arbitrarily-defined idiosyncratic personality delimited against various microsocial and macrosocial forces in interactive articulation.
7. Serial killers' violent actions transpire over a more extensive time period than do those of mass murderers: their penultimate behaviours tend to be less explosive than their counterparts, and the end result is customarily capture rather than a fatal confrontation with authorities. Mass murderers, on the other hand, are more likely to kill themselves, or be killed, in the ultimate confrontation with authorities. Because of this, serial killers are, in general, the only informants psychologists, criminologists and other social scientists are able to utilize for any research into this phenomenon.
8. Believing these sentiments, as expressed by Leyton's research subjects, to be interchangeable, I have not identified each with its speaker: Leyton's sources, however, include serial killers Edmund Emil Kemper III, Theodore Robert Bundy, Albert DeSalvo, and David Richard

Berkowitz, as well as mass murderers Mark James Robert Essex, Charles Starkweather, and James Oliver Huberty.

9. An alternative categorization of this behaviour as Samsonic suicide has been suggested by Dorothy Ayers Counts, based on the analysis of Jeffreys (1952). As opposed to suicide resulting from an attempt to save others, Counts suggests Lepine's behaviour as self destruction in the pursuit of the destruction of his enemies (pers. comm. 1991).
10. According to James Alan Fox, dean of the College of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University and co-author of a book on mass murder (Levin & Fox 1985), on asking his students "to name five mass killers and five U.S. vice-presidents ... Most students know far more murderers" (quoted in HS Oct. 19, 1991).
11. Lasch is a professor of history, author of *The American Liberals and the Russian Revolution* (1962), *The New Radicalism in America* (1965), *The Agony of the American Left* (1969), *The World of Nations* (1973), *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Beseiged* (1977), as well as *The Culture of Narcissism* (1979), and *The Minimal Self* (1984). It is the latter two volumes which have informed portions of this thesis in its analysis of the contemporary North American critique of the inter-relationships of politics, culture, and the response of the individual in interaction with these constructs.
12. I do not use this term, here, in the traditional sociological sense of operating from within the narratives of two statuses but, rather, in the sense of being outside of, or on the fringes of, the encompassing culture.
13. Ironically, some of the most popular movie presentations of the last twenty years have focused on the events surrounding mass murder, with the multiple murderer's life story generally presented as a romanticized psychological legitimization of the climactic event (see, for instance, *The Boston Strangler*, *Helter Skelter*, *In Cold Blood*; all based on factual accounts. Fictionalized accounts include such movies as *Texas Chainsaw Massacre* and *Silence of the Lambs*.
14. See, for instance, the works of Pronger (1990) and Stoltenberg (1989) on the interaction of male sexuality with processes of power and social control: those of Friedman (1988) and Moore (1990) on the psychology of masculinity: analyses by Hearn & Morgan (1990), Messner & Sabo (1990) and Clatterbough (1990) on contemporary theoretical perspectives of the role of masculinity in sex/gender systems.

15. The opinions of Mailer and Wilson both reflect and shape those of the general public, since both are conceived to be authorities on contemporary society within the popular cultural milieu. These analyses, therefore, may be considered to be either more or less significant than those which are strictly emergent from academic or scholastic discourse, depending on the reader's perception of the significance of popular evaluations of cultural phenomena.
16. That is, "referring to that component of social life in which people seek influence or control over the actions of others" [Riches 1986:3ftn]).
17. For a further discussion of this concept, see Bensman & Lilienfeld, *Between Public and Private: The Lost Boundaries of the Self* (1979).

CHAPTER THREE: CONTEXT OF THE COMMUNICATION

THE MACROSOCIAL CANADIAN EXPERIENCE

I The Articulations of Institutional Relationships

In this chapter, I briefly explore structures of class, ethnicity, and gender in the Canadian context. These structures

are not mutually exclusive but interactive, vary[ing] on the key dimension of gender, so that while some men may be less valued because of their race, class or sexuality, all men by virtue of their gender have power as men in relation to all women (Hanmer, Radford and Stanko 1989:6-7).

It is important to address the connections between Lepine's self-perceived degeneration or devaluation in the social hierarchy (that is, his inability to meet or maintain his personal and career goals) and his assault on those whom he characterized as usurping his status. In Lepine's estimation, his position within the social structure was threatened by feminists' expropriation of his domain, a domain he perceived as guaranteed by his privileged male status in an inherent sex/gender hierarchy.

Research findings show correlations exist between low socioeconomic status and psychological "symptom patterns of

disorder" that are analogous to explicit correlations between occupation, education, gender, and status itself (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend 1969, for instance). It is recognized that members of western societies, regardless of class and ethnic background, endeavour to realize upward social mobility through "prestige-securing achievement and social ascent" (ibid:51). Less easily recognized, perhaps, are the vast individual differences in both the assessment of personal mobility potential and the results of such achievement. Although basic human interpretations of reality are derived from common experience and communication, there is a difference in the extent to which the meanings, ideas, and beliefs prevalent in any specific society are shared among individual members of that society. This occurs because individuals occupy different niches in systems of economic, political, and social hierarchy.

Delimiting an inquiry into Lepine's behaviour, then, to his personal, individual interpretations of reality (embedded in his specific location in Canadian society) provides only one level of social analysis. On an equally-important, if separate, level is a recognition of the logical importance of his self-realization of failure as a contributing factor to his legitimization, in hyper-logical assessment, of his life-course alternatives.

II The Affective Alienation of Class and Ethnicity

In the decade between 1961 and 1971, the Canadian population increased by a rate of 1.7 percent to a total of 18,238,000. Of these, 1,429,000 (or 7.2 percent) were immigrants. This brought Canada's ethnic population to 2,944,000, or 15.6 percent of the total population (Driedger 1978). It was during this influx of ethnic minorities that Liass Gharbi returned from the Caribbean with his family (Chatelaine 1990:43), and settled in Montreal. Four years later (1973), in the augmentation of a green paper on immigration policies and the resultant experiences of such policies, the Canadian government acknowledged the difficulties which random demographic settling of immigrant populations presented for the economic situations of large urban centres:

... [T]he economies and social systems of western societies are based upon assumptions of national sovereignty and the desire to maintain existing levels of rights and privilege ... A completely uncontrolled flow of immigrants is out of the question if the economic and social stability of a modern society is to be maintained (Richmond 1978:121).

Other problems also face large numbers of new immigrants who become members of impersonal urban neighbourhoods: economic and cultural differences, language and/or conflicting living styles can be seen as both the sources of various problems, and as inherent problems in themselves. Some of these

problems are addressed by an increasing volume of sociological literature which attempts to analyze the wide range of adjustment problems seen among ethnic children. These problems include a tendency towards inter-generational conflicts, overt antisocial behaviour, personal disorganization, and delinquent behaviour (Cropley 1978:392-393).⁴ Citing the need for an analysis of the dynamics of social adjustment, Cropley also notes the contributing problems caused by a parental emphasis on economic well-being, with its concomitant social mobility, that may result in less available time for the traditional socialization of children by the nuclear family (ibid:393). Of equal sociological concern is the discrepancy often noted between the values of the parents and those of the encompassing culture, discrepancies that force an alienation from the minority group in order to promote assimilation into the dominant society. It is in achieving a balance between two simultaneous cultural traditions that these children experience true marginality and its accompanying alienation. The alienation which these authors see as a direct result of this experience is important to an analysis and understanding of Marc Lepine's behaviour:

... Alienation from the ways of the old society may result in loss of status and self-esteem, in the 'interruption and frustration of natural life expectations', and thus in eventual desocialization, with its associated disruption of self-image, loss of

acquired roles, and similar negative effects (ibid:395, emphasis in the original).

Further, Marc Lepine was a member of a socioeconomic class that is in a relatively inferior position in Canadian society, those ethnically different from others in the dominant culture who are attempting to share "existing levels of rights and privilege" (Richmond 1978:121). According to Kilbourn's analysis, immigrants to Canada find themselves in

a more stratified society than they would have been in the cultural 'melting pot' of the United States, ... [Canada] ... a vertical mosaic: a minuscule Anglo-Celtic elite at the top, supplemented in recent times by even smaller French-Canadian and Jewish elites, with, in descending order on the social totem pole, other English and French Canadians, Northern Europeans who assimilated quickly, Eastern and Southern Europeans, Asians, Latin Americans, Blacks, and at the bottom, the aboriginals (Kilbourn 1989:11).

Although Hunter is of the opinion that the "clear trend ~~has been in the direction of progressively decreasing ethnic~~ inequalities over time" (1980:159), educational levels, employment opportunities, average income, and occupational status still vary with ethnicity. Such variance indicates, for many, that

... upward social mobility, through the educational system, has created new aspirations and expectations which these countries [western societies] are having difficulty in fulfilling for all their citizens (Richmond 1978:121).

In a positive evaluation of factors leading to the persistence of ethnicity, despite economic (and other)

encouragement of assimilation, Isajiw raises more critically the question of upward mobility, arguing that its concomitant occupational mobility leads, "especially on the higher occupational levels ... [to] increased competition" (Isajiw 1978:33). In post-industrial western societies, with their high levels of competitive technological commodities and concerns, such technology

tends to foster anonymity and impersonal social relationships ... introduc[ing] a dichotomy into the individual's consciousness of others, who are seen as both concrete functionaries, and anonymous substitutable functionaries. Berger further states that this consciousness of others carries over into the experience of oneself and a process of self-anonymization occurs, by which it becomes easier for an individual to think of himself in terms of his own external roles -- as a worker, professor, manager -- rather than in terms of the concrete qualities of his personality (ibid:35).

Acceptance of the sociological views concerning the meaning of ethnicity to the individual who operates from within minority ethnic status in a technologically-advanced society furthers the evidence that the emotional preconditions that Leyton suggests for the mass murderer can be fostered by the dichotomous experiences of the socialization processes of immigration into such a culture.

Hunter's text on ethnicity and class analyzes the difference between some of the most prominent ethnic groups in Canada during the 1970s; the British, French, German, Jewish, Ukrainian, Indian and Inuit (1980). This analysis

omits, of necessity, the effects of massive immigration policies later directed toward those of Middle Eastern, Asian, or South-East Asian descent. It concludes, however, that "[i]n terms of wealth, the fact which stands out most prominently is the relatively poor position of Francophone Canadians" (Hunter 1980:159).

III Ethnicity, Class, Status: The Francophone Experience

The nature of a collective French-Canadian consciousness is difficult to ascribe, although it is posited regularly within English Canada. In a minority position, the francophone is also the product of a number of geographic, economic, historical, political, social and psychological factors peculiar to his/her position within the encompassing Canadian culture.

As a distinct and separate culture (geographically, as well as linguistically), francophones are a minority within the nation state. It is a collectivity whose affinities separate and alienate them from the dominant culture. Francophones are both an economic and a cultural minority in their relationships with two distinct but equally dominant cultures: the American and the Anglo-Canadian. After multiple attempts to assimilate, or at least emulate, the

cultural values and norms of the surrounding majority, the French minority in North America has experienced a re-emergence of ethnicity, mirroring (actually, predating) that of other global ethnic groups (such as the Celts in Europe and Great Britain, First Nations of both Canada and the United States, the Basques in Europe, and the First Peoples of Australia). In the opinion of most francophones, as expressed in a 1979 address by Quebec's *ministre d'état au développement culturel* (Minister of Culture), Camille Laurin, the province is, in reality, a nation, and

all nations [have] the right to make their mother tongues official languages and to expect minorities to learn those languages. Those who "immigrated to a fully formed nation should not expect to 'modify the character and structures' of their adopted land" but should rather "accept the nation and share its destiny" (cited in Harney 1989:77).

Within the borders of Quebec, the majority may be of French-Canadian heritage, but economic authority is held by the English minority:

they [the English] are in the majority in the middle and minor executive positions ... and hard to find among the semi-skilled and unskilled help ... it is their concentration in certain ranks that makes them of importance (Hughes 1968:671).

In a dominant society segregated along ethnic lines, the Québécois suffer status devaluation which pervades social institutions, social networks, and chances for mobility within the economic order:

ethnic differences in occupational status can be explained not by differences in value orientation, but by differences in opportunities, defined in terms of the number of positions and in terms of the mechanisms of mobility. Under this hypothesis, mobility and mobility-oriented behaviour are seen as responses to environmental circumstances (Breton and Roseborough 1968:685).

It is perhaps almost anti-climactic to note that, as a member of an ethnic minority within the francophone ethnic minority encompassed by the Canadian nation state, Marc Lepine suffered a number of socioeconomic disadvantages. We can, however, draw no clear conclusion from this, as

... attempts to relate ethnicity to stratification and social mobility are fraught with risky inferences ... it is not a sufficiently sophisticated way to measure immigrants' life choices, levels of satisfaction, or intensity of ethnic identity (Harney 1989:88).

What may be noted, however, is that, "in the face of barriers of discrimination and denial of access to mainstream economies and elites, alternate strategies do develop" (ibid).

IV Gender: The Canadian Experience

Contemporary Canadian society is represented as liberated and egalitarian, and this representation is accepted as reality in national and as international, circles. Women have been recognized as persons, and have

had the vote in various provinces in Canada since between 1916 and 1922 (Burt et al. 1988). It seems indisputable that women's status has been enhanced since the conflicts prevalent in the late 19th century between the Suffragettes and the dominant (male) culture over legal recognition of women as "sentient beings"². As early as 1967, the Canadian government established the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in order to address the issue of women's inequality. The first director of the Canadian-inaugurated Women and Development Programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat was a Canadian. In 1987, having completed two four-year terms on the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, Canada solicited re-election (ibid). With respect to national and international policy decisions, then, Canada's recent history is commendable.

However, traditional social structures of gender opposition still affect Canadian women's daily lives. Gender, functioning as it does as "a structural dimension of society" (Hanmer and Maynard 1987:2), is a significant factor in the evaluation of social status for both men and women in contemporary western cultures. For a large number of social scientists, all evidence of social status demonstrates women's secondary position to men in western society. While admitting a continuing disagreement among theorists as to the root of this inequality (economic

structure, gender structure, sociobiological history, etc.), the consensus is that the reality of the inequality is unquestionably reflected in women's differential treatment in the domains of employment, education, law, the church, and medicine.

In the formulation of educational policies, for instance, younger women are still presumed to be marriage-bound and are thought to be marking time in post-secondary education (see, for instance Batcher 1987; Tavris 1977; Hanmer, Radford & Stanko 1989). Women are still a minority in educational programmes that prepare students for many of the expanding technological jobs, and it is still the case that it has "proven easier for women to succeed educationally in traditional subjects than to achieve a significant transformation of the mainstream curricula" (Rich cited in Norris 1987:79). In the area of health care, the control of women's reproductive rights lies in the hands of the male-dominated political and medical establishments, and social class and economic factors determine available choices (see, for example, Norris 1987; Dreifus 1984; Greer 1984). Social welfare policies stigmatize single-parent families (which commonly consist of a woman and her children) as the most substantial utilizers of the welfare economy (Hanmer Radford & Stanko 1989), and, in Canada, "lone parent mothers make up about 30 percent of

the poor population each year" (Ross & Shillington 1989:19). Systems of protection and criminal control conventionally consider the household a private domain where a man has the right to abuse a woman without constabulatory or judicial interference (Hanmer & Maynard 1987; McCaughan 1977).

Finally (but, perhaps, most importantly), in the domestic domain, women are still the primary suppliers of childcare, and are responsible for the household, legitimating Stanko's assertion that the social worth of women, in many respects, is still defined by their relationships with men (1985). This is a basic tenet of the social climate of everyday experience for women, within which they must attempt to negotiate their own identities.

Such views of women's position within Canadian society, specifically, and post-industrial western societies, generally, define women as an inferior category, in need of paternalistic protection or control in various instances. Gender hierarchy is reproduced in the acceptance and adherence of each generation, in each culture, to the traditional treatment of, and expectations for, their young (both male and female) as being separately defined. This process obviates the personal and individual liberty perceived as the right of each human being.

Maintained through a worldview that is based on a male-centred sex/gender order, these structures define a set

of inter-dependent social relations among men which enable them to dominate women. Although, in this sex/gender order, men do occupy different positions within hierarchies based on racial, ethnic, or class differences, they are united in their shared relationship of dominance over women, and are dependent on each other for the maintenance of that domination.

In the context of the events at *La Polytechnique*, it is necessary to catalogue the factors that contributed to Marc Lepine's consideration of women -- specifically, feminist women -- as the social category responsible for his personal oppression. As presumptive actors in an environment that should have been his alone, feminists were the usurpers of Lepine's position through their participation in a field which was traditionally the exclusive realm of men. As Lasch notes, these women could be automatically considered to be 'feminists' in Lepine's analysis because of their position in contemporary society. It is perceived that

[w]omen who abandon the security of well-defined though restrictive social roles have always exposed themselves to ... exploitation, having surrendered the usual claims of respectability (Lasch 1979:324-325).

Social constructs of gender differentiation and gender opposition provided Lepine with what he perceived as intrinsic sanctions to dismiss women as a devalued category and, therefore, as valid victims of his revenge. Further,

female engineering students were, for Lepine, *de facto* feminists, deviant members of the devalued category, appropriating the advantages and status that should have been his.

V The Politics of Gender: Gender and Social Control

Traditional economically-based institutional frameworks in Canada and in the United States support sexual intimidation and violence as some of the more extreme (yet accepted) mechanisms in the social control of women. These frameworks are supported by similar historically-specific sanctions and encouragements within the two cultures (Radford 1987; Collier & Rosaldo 1981; Rosaldo 1980; Edwards 1987; Ramazanoglu 1987). Recognition of such sanctioning institutional frameworks encompasses acknowledgement that men's violence towards women is a political issue, one which expresses existing power relations that maintain and reproduce both men's domination and women's subordination. Male violence towards women can be best understood through the evaluation of male power as a dynamic structural dimension in which gender differentiation locates men in the primary, superior position.

VI The Reading of Text, Subtexts, and Contexts: Conclusions

"If the personal is political, what are the politics?" (Ramazanoglu 1987:62). This question is appropriate in the context of the politics of gender differentiation and gender opposition relating to Lepine's vengeful retribution against those he characterized as "viragos" -- feminists to whom he wished to "put an end." In Lepine's opinion, feminists "wanted to keep the advantages of women ... while seizing for themselves those of men."

Where gender-specific behaviours, aspirations and achievements are the only socially-sanctioned ones, we should not be surprised to find men such as Marc Lepine assuming that there is something innately natural in their right to attain status and life-satisfactions that should be denied women. Contemporary social change provided further ambiguities which Lepine was forced to try to assimilate. Women who were attempting to escape their 'natural' place within the status hierarchy (i.e., feminists) could no longer be merely categorized as unimportant and devalued. They were no longer members of the categorical class of women.

If we have truly heard Elliott Leyton, we should also not be surprised to find that Marc Lepine resorted to mass

murder in order to communicate his alienation and frustration.

Leyton has described the typical mass murderer as a middle-class white male who is convinced that a particular social group has deprived him of his rightful chance to achieve status and power (Leyton 1986). For Leyton, a "mass killing is always a 'suicide note' in which the killer states his grievance against his supposed persecutors" (quoted in Chatelaine June 1990).

For Mark Lepine, women -- feminist women, specifically -- had created status ambiguities by crossing the borders into what he considered exclusive male territory. As well, gender-specific powers related to his rights as a member of the superior (male) class could legitimate, in Lepine's philosophy, his right to eradicate those more negatively valued in society than himself, providing a logical premise upon which he could eventually justify his categorical choice of woman as victim. To again quote Leyton,

[mass murderers] find a target group on which they can blame their failure, so that in their minds, the reason they're failing is not because they're inadequate, or have no network, or don't understand the system, but because it's the fault [of others] (Leyton 1990).

In this ominous first case of its kind, the fault lies with women.

In articulating cultural, as well as individual, processes in the construction of violent behaviour, we are

better able to gain a perspective on the mutually reinforcing hierarchies of class, race and gender extant within North American societies. In the case of Marc Lepine these cultural articulations provided the context for his profound sense of personal alienation and frustration, and can be seen as definitive influences on his ultimate intention.

NOTES

1. Data used in the formulation of this list are from studies in the U.S, Israel, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia: Cropley cites the works of Zubrzycki 1964, 1966; Derbyshire 1970; Eisenstadt & Ben-David 1956; Glass 1960; Harris 1962; Kidd 1958; Stoller 1966; Child 1943; and von Hentig 1945.
2. This legal term seems to be meant to indicate persons or citizens; but is usually loosely decontextualized as indicating full humanity.

CHAPTER FOUR: GENDER THE MASCULINE MYSTIQUE

I Demystifying Masculinity

A society in which the sexes are truly equal will have to be a society in which the very terms of our descriptions -- power, authority, politics, productivity -- forged in order to account for the realities of male-dominated social systems, become irrelevant or change their sense (Rosaldo & Lamphere 1974:15).

The realities of which Rosaldo and Lamphere speak (above) are, indeed, those which stratify society. What many analyses of sex/gender systems ignore, however, is the impact of such realities on the roles and status of individual men, as well as women; there is an implication that the study of gender is a study of women only.¹ A refusal to see men as gendered subjects and objects, also, denies the fact that individual men may be adversely affected as a result of the entrenchment of gender socialization systems. In exploring the role societal norms play in the construction of contemporary individual masculinities, I am indicating an analysis of the sanctioning of particular behaviours, for men in general,

which may explicate Marc Lepine's decision that the killing of a number of feminists was not only a viable way to communicate his anger and frustration against a system which was failing him, but, indeed, the most logical way to do so.

In academic discourse of the period before the 'Montreal Massacre', the role of gender dichotomies and hierarchies in the socialization of men had been generally ignored, although exceptions to this statement can be noted (see, for instance, David & Brannon 1976; Doyle 1983; Pleck 1981; Tolson 1977). Partially reflective of the imbalance in the literature, subsequent focus has remained on women as gendered objects, as well, especially in North American societies.²

Hierarchical society is based on divisions and inequalities between men and women: power, gender, and definitions of sexuality, therefore, have been seen as the closely articulated foundations of women's oppression.³ They may also, however, be seen as constrictive frameworks within which individual men perceive their experience as a separate but equal oppression. The underlying themes which define western, post-industrial societies' conceptions of masculinity are entangled in socializations which appear positive, impacting not only on those we consider the oppressed (women, minorities, children, etc.), but on those individuals who are expected to exercise the powers of

oppression. Although gender hierarchies provide easily-recognized blueprints for the behaviour of men and women, expectations based on an adherence to certain stereotypical characteristics may be problematic for individuals of either sex, since "gender identity and expectations about sex roles and gender consistency are so deeply central to a person's consistent sense of self" (Chodorow 1974:42).

This chapter analyzes males as gendered performers within oppressive constructions of the sex/gender system in western, post industrial societies, and not as either inherent victims of their own biology or unintentioned objects of processes of socialization. What is proposed is an analysis of the processes which affect interactive areas on the borders of male identity, areas where the individual's character, personality and singularity articulate with his cultural environment:⁴

[The masculine role] ... a cultural feature that ... emphasizes personal achievement and discourages feeling lets us think it is strictly our own fault if we are unhappy with our situation ... our own situation relates to a system of institutions whose function is not to increase general human welfare but to enhance the profit, power, and prestige of the few who control them (Pleck and Sawyer 1974:126-127).

II Gender Frameworks: The Messages of Masculinity

As late as 1976, in considering the importance of sex/gender roles to the structure and articulations of societal institutions, editors David and Brannon stated, unequivocally, that there were "no books on the male sex role, no entries ... in the index of any textbook ... (1976:1)."

... [W]e know a mountain of facts about American males. Yet with all that is known about the comings and goings of men, the deeper reasons for their actions often seem mysterious ... 'We know everything about war -- except why.' The same might be said of competition, conspicuous waste, status striving, homophobia, and rape, to name just a few other issues ... (ibid:2).

In 1990, psychologist Heather Formaini repeated the refrain, lamenting the fact that men "have not been subjected to scrutiny, have not been put under the microscope from the outside ... for it is a task which requires urgent attention" (1990:4).

In an attempt to outline the dimensions of the male role within the North American sex/gender system, David and Brannon analyzed inconsistencies they found in societal views of masculinity, indicating that although role expectations are demanding, they are not specific. Included in underlying expectations concerning masculine identity and self-esteem, however, were four basic themes: the avoidance of feminine characteristics, the importance of success and

respect, the need for confidence and self reliance, and an "aura of aggression, violence, and daring" (David and Bannon 1974:12). These value orientations appear repeatedly in the sparse literature that has been published since.

A volume predating David and Bannon's analysis (Pleck and Sawyer 1974), collected a number of articles written for the popular press by a number of psychologists, sociologists, physicians and journalists for the new 'male liberation' genre of publications. Articles by the male contributors questioned the role gender socialization had played in their own (or others') dysfunctional beliefs and behaviours within the dominant North American society. For most, the articles had filled "a real need to express some ... thoughts on men's liberation (liberation from male chauvinism and oppressive dehumanizing sex roles)" (Keith in Pleck and Sawyer 1974:81). The scope of the volume included inquiries into sex-role pressures, masculine non-communicative norms, sexual dysfunction, the medically lethal impact of male gender roles, the function of sports, military service, and economic expectations in the creation of masculine identity, among others. It provides a potential sample size of 27 men, with three women presenting data and analysis from research done with other male groups. In assigning each of these authors an individual "voice" in the following exploration of the male experience of

stereotypical expectations, I wish to present the words of these men as those of informants, in acknowledgement of both their academic and personal analysis of male consciousness of what one contributor termed the "burdens of power".⁴

III Themes:

(i) Avoiding Feminine Characteristics

The ideal male sex role is seen to be tough, competitive, unfeeling, emotionally inexpressive, and masterful, repressive of that which one author considered the most basic human traits [REG:153-154]. A socialization which emphasizes "rugged independence" and a "disdain for sissies"[REH:9] takes place within the domestic domain, an arena populated by females, whose roles appear "pressureless, with no constant need to prove oneself through competition" [JL:32]. But women's role behaviour also appears "weak, easily damaged, lacking strength in mind and body ... of the least importance" [REH:12]. The

scramble to escape this alternative to the male sex/gender role takes on all the aspects of panic, and the outward semblance of non-femininity is achieved at a tremendous cost of anxiety and self-alienation [REH:12].

Sociologist Ruth Hartley's conclusions, garnered from data generated in studies of human growth and development

(and published in the *Men and Masculinity* collection), indicate that this anxiety

has a direct relationship to the degree of pressure to be 'manly' exerted on the boy, the rigidity of the pattern to which he is pressed to conform, the availability of a good model, and the apparent degree of success which his efforts achieve (Hartley in Pleck and Sawyer 1974:12).

In a parallel with studies of certain less industrialized societies, psychologist Heather Formaini found that western-socialized male individuals⁷ self-analyzed their masculine "indoctrination" in terms that described their socialization, not as the reinforcement of masculine characteristics, but as the result of a conscious negating of feminine traits:

If I am a little boy, I have to cut off everything that means being a little girl. I don't cry any more, I keep a stiff upper lip, and I pretend to like games even if I'm terrible at them and I am a stoic and all that sort of stuff". Discussed in this way, masculinity becomes a kind of 'negative': it is what being a little girl is not (Formaini 1990:9).

(ii) Needing Success and Respect

... already, at nine, very much into accomplishment-and-thing-oriented male trip. He places a high value on acquiring numerous and high priced possessions and big-shot skills and knowledge, which he tries to use to gain status. It's competitive as hell already ... His worth in the eyes of the world, and hence his self-worth, is dependent on his accomplishments and his acquisitions. It's tragic how he's got to compete and prove himself all the time. Not that he (or his friends) have a choice -- their very survival in boy/man culture makes it necessary [RAF:64, emphasis in original].

The informants who addressed the place of work, careers, and "getting ahead" in the hierarchy of male values expressed this emphasis as responsible for creating a "compulsive concentration upon the objective of achievement and the relegating of other activities to secondary concern" [SMM:51]. Work was seen as the institution which most defined the individual, in his own estimation, an institution that "most of us look to ... for our basic sense of worth" [SMM:51]. This relationship is not linear, but circular, for "masculinity is also measured by the prestige and power a position bestows" [SMM:51]. The "voices" spoke of a perceived ambiguity between what they might choose as life-course work, from within their own interests and concerns (their individual anticipations), and that which they felt society expected them to accomplish:

As men, the desire to do good work, hold a respected position, or earn good money follows from learning as boys that it is important to get ahead. The physical,

social, and academic skills on which we assessed ourselves as boys translate into jobs that line us up in the adult hierarchy of worth ... But to what extent does the work of men promote men's own real needs, and how much does it simply fulfill a masculine image? [P&S:94]

Whether men's work provides satisfaction or a sense of personal achievement is not important, according to Formaini's study. What is provided from jobs which display perceived power (and provide an arena for its enactment) is a particular sense of identity. Conversely, a lack of any kind of work-related identity (unemployment, for example) has been shown, in a six year study^e to be a significant factor in "mental illness" among males. In partial explanation, Formaini says that men feel this way because, for them, "everything is dependent upon [their] external world" (Formaini 1990:130); that what is important is the image men have of themselves, and not how they really are.

For many of these men, success was expressed as not simply socioeconomic status, but also as "influence over the lives of other persons" [JS:170]. In the estimation of these informants, sex-role stereotypes of dominance, "achieving and enacting a dominant role in relations with others" [JS:170], were often a major indicator of success, whether in career behaviours or personal relationships. Here, the relationship was consciously acknowledged as reciprocal: "the connection that men learn to make between self-esteem and power works as the psychological

underpinning in the operation of ... capitalist institutions" [MS:115].

Although the perception of this concentration on power was voiced as "limiting their ability to be human", these men still continued to articulate the many meanings the 'power' component of their identity provided in their lives.

(iii) Needing Confidence and Self Reliance

Admitting that the criteria expressed for this particular value of the masculine role are vague and difficult to pin down, David and Brannon illustrate its components with *If*, Rudyard Kipling's 19th century poem valorizing stalwart sensibilities, understanding, tenacity, self-reliance and trust, and human spirit; an indefinable sense of manhood as self-contained perfection. Describing the "formidable creature" (David and Brannon 1976:24) of confidence as "something illogical, impossible, and ... deeply thrilling" (ibid), the authors illustrate it further with images from films of the 1950s and '60s. It is style, apparently, which is "strong and independent", "calm and composed", and "unimpressed by pain or danger"(ibid); characteristics in the image of a deity/idol standing alone, unfailingly garnering the approval of all who come within

his realm. And it is this solitary image that this trait seems to emphasize; there is no need or desire for human interaction, interference, or communication. These ideal models of masculinity do not share their thoughts and feelings with others; such behaviour would be perceived as more emotional and, therefore, more vulnerable than the criteria demand.

Some men will admit that they can't talk to men, and are only really able to talk about their feelings to women. But even these intimacies are often structured into a safe framework. 'Safe' because they think the woman is a subordinate, and, therefore, nonthreatening, nonjudging. Moreover, what men are really asking from women in these situations is the simple reassurance that, despite their problems and setbacks, they are still 'real men', still needed and respected [MF:20-21].

Under this rubric, "[s]ocial approval seems to stand in the way of men's good relations with one another" (Formaini 1990:76). From early childhood on, masculinity is perceived as the garnering of individual achievements and acquisitions, and not resident in the establishment of intersubjective relationships with others:

There is another implication of the fact that men are lower self-disclosures [sic] than women, an implication that relates to self-insight. Men, trained by their upbringing to assume the 'instrumental role', tend more to relate to other people on an I -- It basis than women (Buber, 1937). They are more adept than women at relating impersonally to others, seeing them as the embodiment of their roles rather than as persons enacting roles [SMJ:23, emphasis in original].

(iv) Daring, Aggression, and Violence

... [T]hey have to be able to fight in case a bully comes along; they have to be athletic; they have to be able to run fast; they must be able to play rough games ... [REH:10].

David and Brannon make the distinction between the inherent 'unwholesome' character of aggression, as opposed to other male stereotypical norms (success, respect, confidence or determination), iterating these as only oppressive in their necessity. But aggressive behaviour can be perceived merely as energetic, vigorous activity, "full of enterprise and initiative" (Webster's New World Dictionary; 3rd College Edition), as well, contributing to ambiguous reactions to the idea of its implementation.

Violence, on the other hand, is "officially condemned" (David and Brannon 1976:29). It is, however, portrayed in media entertainment (movies, television, popular fiction) at the rate of at least eight violent television incidents per hour⁹ (ibid), creating an ambiguity of perceptions concerning its acceptance that is not easily resolved. Adults engaged in the socialization of male children may not openly condone violence, but place, rather, an emphasis on the ability to utilize it in self-defence, both individually and within social institutions. Male children in contemporary North American societies are discouraged from avoiding confrontation or conflict but, conversely,

encouraged (in both the domestic and public spheres) to defend their physical beings, and their ideas, from interference by others. As adults,

[t]he masculine role motivates not only physical violence in battle, but also the decisions back home that direct it ... These men often rationalize their actions with masculine imagery from sports, war, and hand-to-hand fighting [P&S:124].

With emphasis having been placed, throughout their lives, on the necessity for men to develop their ability to surmount threats and intimidation through reactive aggression, individual men perceive and practise violent retribution as sanctioned masculine behaviour.

As a conscious, intentioned form of social control, violence may be seen to support, rather than to disrupt, the set of relations between institutional and hierarchical stability. The official disregard of such violence, therefore, has served to maintain the *status quo* which Lepine so heartily defended.

IV Male Power: The Sex/Gender Hierarchy

Our training as males helps us to accept this hierarchy of oppression. From boyhood, we have learned to take orders from those above and give them to those below ... we long ago learned the idea of hierarchy among males (or, more specifically, patriarchy). We learned that the more powerful or skillful are generally favoured over the weaker or less skillful [P&S:126].

The "informants" from Pleck and Sawyer's edited volume make it clear that men are aware (to one degree or another) of how traditional gender role expectations encourage men to perpetuate the *status quo*, supporting a status hierarchy that automatically privileges males over females, as it does certain men over others:

One avenue of dominance is potentially open to any man, however -- dominance over a woman. As society generally teaches men they should dominate, it teaches women they should be submissive, and so men have the opportunity to dominate women [JS:171].

Male violence towards women can be best understood through the evaluation of male power as a dynamic structural dimension in which gender differentiation locates men in a primary position, assuming women as the secondary, powerless gender. Male violence towards women, in other words, articulates with a variety of economic, psychological and social mechanisms of control -- overt and covert, physical and symbolic -- serving to maintain and reproduce gender, race and class hierarchies.

Embedded in the status of men, as it is evidenced in the male sex/gender role, are attractions compelling to individual choice: it is an image readily accepted. Both the emphasis on superiority over other men, and the concomitant implicit emphasis on superiority over all women, conversely, are seen to arise out of compulsion towards success, since success "requires competitive achievement ... an unlimited

drive to acquire money, possessions, power and prestige" [JS:172]. It is this emphasis on success which not only delimits the personality of individual men, but also impacts on society in general [JS:172]:

The masculine role not only oppresses us individually as we strive to fulfill it, but also encourages us to lend support, through our work, to institutional goals that may oppress others. Many of society's institutions actively promote the masculine role and at the same time use it toward their own ends [P&S:124].

V Failed Identity: Disempowering the Individual

For a large number of individual men, the "first tragedy of this role-playing is personal" (Steinem in Pleck and Sawyer 1974:134). To be a success, a man must be able to suppress emotion, impose his will on others "whether by violence or by economic means" (ibid), and perpetuate the idea of his natural superiority over other races and other genders. The stereotypes of masculinity are perceived to identify men who cannot achieve all of the above as either "greater or lesser failures" [JS:170-171].

But success in achieving positions of dominance and influence is necessarily not open to every man, since dominance is relative and hence scarce by definition. Most men in fact fail to achieve the positions of dominance that sex-role stereotypes ideally call for [JS:170-171].

In looking at the more lethal results of stereotypical male drive and ambition, psychologist Sidney Jourard outlines aspects of dissonance between a man's subjective experience of himself and his social or public persona, concluding that the "restrictive and repressive" [SMJ:26] aspects of socialization contribute to strokes and heart attacks at an early age, early death, and dysfunctional mental and emotional states:

[i]t is a fact that suicide, mental illness, and death occur sooner and more often among 'men whom nobody knows' (that is, among unmarried men, among 'lone wolves') than among men who are loved as individual, known persons ... it makes his life take on value, not only to himself, but also to his loved ones, thereby adding to its value for him [SMJ:26].

As data from the Research Councils' study showed (as cited by Formaini 1990) another significant factor in diagnosed "mental illness" in western post-industrial societies is the lack of a work-related identity. Lepine faced such a lack.

VI Gender Oppressions and Lepine: Conclusions

In presenting this chapter as a series of interview notes, my intention is to sketch a portrait of the typical male, living in 20th century North American culture. Masculinity, as it is perceived by those who must live it,

is an oppressive experiential reality, according to these informants. In all respects, the voices repeated the same refrain; "[t]he social reality I had been taught still gave me the terms in which I defined myself" [MS:119].

The messages these men received through their socialization included dictums to be successful, respected, unfeminine, and to value achievement above all else. Definitions of self-worth, in this context, rely on monetary and career-oriented achievements, augmented by personal prestige, power, and status; the ability to influence and dominate others. The public image is also perceived as important. Masculinity demands an amorphous image of strength and independence, calm composure, and invulnerable solitude; the male role is instrumental, and not expressive.

Gendered masculinity in post-industrial western societies also promotes an idealistic perception of aggression as a positive, achievement-oriented characteristic. Concomitantly, violence is sanctioned as an appropriate response to perceived confrontation, as nothing more than reactive aggression.

At the core of these gendered values is hierarchy, and its perpetuation. Men are encouraged to strive to achieve the highest status, position, and power that is available to them, and to utilize aggressive and violent physical, mental, emotional, or economic behaviours against others, if

necessary, to protect or promote their commitment to status mobility. Men who do not fit into this mould are characterized as failures; in fact, they self-identify as failures, seeing little meaning or value in their existence. Jourard's medical data substantiates the case that

unless a man can see meaning and value in his continuing existence, his morale will deteriorate, his immunity will decrease, and he will sicken more readily, or even commit suicide (Jourard in Pleck and Sawyer 1974:27).

Men may occupy various positions in the western post-industrial hierarchies, depending on their abilities and talents as perceived by the dominant society. A major component of this hierarchichal system, however, is that all men have a relative status higher than that of women. Recognition of an hierarchical sex/gender system encompasses recognition that men's violence to women is a political issue; one which expresses existing power relations that maintain and reproduce both men's domination and women's subordination within the status hierarchy.

Lepine's act of violence may express an articulation of his personal response to frustrations peculiar to his personal identity, but is also the result of social interactions with an overarching cultural system that empowers only those who achieve high levels of socioeconomic prestige, or appear to have qualities which transcend such status. In exploring the role societal norms play in the

construction of contemporary individual masculinities, I have indicated some of the ways in which sanctioning of particular behaviours, for men in general, may have led to Marc Lepine's conscious choice of retributive action, a choice it is possible to perceive as logical and reasonable within these frameworks.

The next question, as voiced from within the sociopschoanalytic paradigm, merges individual psychology with phenomena at a wider, cultural level:

Why do men abuse children and use murder as a way of seeking to solve a problem within themselves? Why can't we see that the problems which they live out are a result of structural inequalities which define women as something other, as less significant and valuable than men, in social, political, economic and psychological terms? (Formaini 1990:2).

NOTES

1. For further discussion of this, see Strathern 1988.
2. This is somewhat in contrast to anthropological literature on societies in, for instance, Papua New Guinea. Analytic focus, here, has been on the creation of males. See, for instance, Herdt's *Guardians of the Flutes: Idioms of Masculinity* (1981), or his 1987 *The Sambia: Ritual and Gender in New Guinea*.
3. See, for instance, edited volumes by Snitow, Stansell and Thompson 1983; Harding 1987; and Jagger and Rothenberg or Hanmer and Maynard, 1987.

4. In sociopsychological paradigms, these are the areas in which the image of 'self' brushes up against society's expectations of and for the individual, where identity is fostered and reinforced through a social definition that is either coherent or dissonant with the personal definition of 'self'. (See, for instance, Shotter & Gergen 1989; Kleinman 1980, 1986; Kleinman & Good 1985).
5. This is to be contrasted with the plethora of books on the gender socialization of women, and its resultant oppressions, from within the 'second wave of feminism' of the 1960s and '70s: Friedan 1963; Bird 1968; Dixon 1969; Freeman 1970; and Millet 1970, to list but a few. Anthropologists had also begun publishing articles and edited volumes on the status of women in various societies, as well as analyses on the probable reasons for particular female gender roles: Bernard 1971; Strathern 1972; Ortner 1974; Rosaldo & Lamphere 1974; Rubin 1975; Ardner 1975; Weiner 1976 are only a few.
6. To further augment the informant/interviewer presentation, references to quotes from this source which are utilized in this way will appear with quotes simply identified in the text with informants' initials, and with volume page numbers.

So that the reader may evaluate the merits or validity of these informants' opinions, the professional designation (if relevant or given) and the original publication data for contributors cited in this manner are as follows:

Fasteau, Marc (lawyer, senatorial assistant): Why Aren't We Talking? Ms., July 1972.

Fein, Robert A. (teacher, writer): Men and Young Children. previously unpublished.

Gould, Robert E. (M.D): Measuring Masculinity by the Size of a Paycheck. Ms., June 1973.

Jourard, Sidney M. (professor, clinical psychology): Some Lethal Aspects of the Male Role. In The Transparent Self. 1971. D. Van Nostrand Co.

Keith, Jeff: My Own Men's Liberation. WIN Magazine Sept. 1, 1971.

Lester, Julius (professor, Afro-American Studies): Being a Boy. Ms., June 1973.

Miller, S. M. (professor & chair, Dept. of Sociology): The Making of a Confused, Middle-Aged Husband. Social Policy, 1971(2)2.

Sawyer, Jack (co-editor, Men & Masculinity): On Male Liberation. Liberation, 1970(15).

Silverstein, Michael (professor, sociology): The History of a Short, Unsuccessful Academic Career. Insurgent Sociologist, 1972(3)(1).

Two women's voices who are also heard in this interview format, appear as informants for groups of men through whom they have collected research data on this topic:

Hartley, Ruth E. (professor & chair, growth and development): Sex-role Pressures in the Socialization of the Male Child. Psychological Reports, 1959(5).

Katz, Barbara J. (journalist): A Quiet March for Liberation Begins. The National Observer Dec. 19, 1973.

7. Formaini's data was collected from a study of 120 psychotherapy patients.
8. A study funded by the British Social Science Research Council and the Medical Research Council; cited in Formaini 1990:129.
9. These are published 1972 statistics which also appear in Levin and Fox, as late as 1985.

CHAPTER FIVE: VIOLENCE

I The Intersubjectivity of Violence

The plethora of meaning attributions which appeared and were discussed in the media, following Lepine's murderous 'spree', were primarily embedded in the realms of psychological and behavioural analysis: those which explored other possible meanings for Lepine's action were as equally diverse:

'Systematic Slaughter is Without Precedent'

... Globe & Mail Dec 8, 1989

'[Gun] Controls Can't Stop Killing'

... Calgary Herald Dec 8, 1989

'Risk of Murder Linked to Non-Domestic Roles'

... Globe & Mail Dec 12, 1989

'Dark Heart of Mass Murderer Born in Brutal Home'

... Vancouver Sun Feb 7, 1990

Members of contemporary societies in which violent actions are commonplace question why individuals (or groups) resort to violence in order to achieve their goals at the expense of other individuals (or groups).¹ This is

especially true in the aftermath of highly-publicized violent events:

the speculation about violence reaches feverish proportions ... violence becomes the monomania of the press, the core substance of politics ... historically, it becomes the theme of evolution; psychologically, the corollary of human nature (Toch 1969:1).

Motivations for murder, the most lethal form of violence, appear inexplicable or, at the very least, confusing, if one attempts an analysis of the phenomenon from within the media discourse surrounding events such as the 'Montreal Massacre'. Therefore, it should not be surprising to find that media and public interest in the 'massacre' explored so many apparently contradictory meanings for Lepine's behaviour in attempts to categorize and understand it. But, as an act of an isolated individual, violence is undefinable, since violence entails at least one other as victim.

As an act which transgresses against the basic right of another human being (Riches 1986:2), unprovoked violence against others is viewed, generally, as deviant behaviour. The word "deviant" invokes images of acts that are unauthorized, illegitimate, and unacceptable to the encompassing society, but seldom explains the motivations embedded in the behaviour. On the other hand, (as I discuss elsewhere in this thesis) retributive violence is implicitly condoned and sanctioned as being within the norms of

gendered masculine behaviour and, therefore, not clearly deviant. The inherent ambiguity of these dichotomous societal opinions concerning violence provides for only limited hypothetical analysis of both the phenomenon and its utilization as deviant behaviour.

Those who are most adept at analyzing violent behaviour and murderous intent in western post-industrial societies (i.e., criminologists, legal analysts, penologists, as well as social psychologists), have promoted logical and valid interpretations of violence as politically-motivated, negating the picture of the protagonist as simply insane; as merely one who has been a survivor of a brutal family history; or as only a more hostile personality than others with the same socioeconomic background. Not that these aren't contributing factors to an individual's reliance on violence as intentioned social communication. Rather, they are the precursors of low self-esteem and an intensely negative self-identity. As such, they are embedded in the relationships between individual frustration, alienation, aggression and violence as they have been addressed repeatedly in the psychological and sociopsychological literature. Within these paradigms, it is seen that "[t]he intensity of a person's violence varies with the extent to which his integrity has been compromised" (Toch 1969:3). Further, the individual's lack of positive identity places

him in a marginalized position with respect to the dominant society, a position from which he opposes those segments of society from whom he feels alienated. It is to these alienating segments of society that violent communications are addressed.

In the exploration of the functions served by violence within specific cultural contexts are to be found multiple meanings embedded in violence and its utilization. Debated are not only the relationships among violent performers, their victims, and the surrounding social audience, but also the definition of violence. A close reading of each paradigm or perspective on the subject, however, reveals an explicit interconnection portrayed between violence and its meaning as a device of cultural communication.

II Ideology and the Individual:

Performance and Communication

In a number of contexts and ideologies, violence is viewed as normal, even noble, heroic and moral: situations in which violence is not only condoned but sanctioned include, but are not restricted to, military conflicts, nationalistic uprisings and their suppression, the defence of one's honour, life, integrity or possessions, and certain

behaviours which are categorized as sport or entertainment.²² Contemporary cultures valorize leadership that consistently promulgates attacks on those whose political ideology is not compatible, as well as on those less prominent individuals who become noted (or notorious) through their exercise of violent retribution against either oppressive institutional or antagonistic individual opponents. Violent acts are, of course, enhanced by their visibility, despite their various purposes and levels in various societies (Riches 1986:10) and can, therefore, provide meaning for existence to an individual who is a self-perceived failure. Such meaning, or identity, is possible because individuals have been known to achieve the status of 'hero' as a result of violent activity, in either positive or negative contexts (as I address elsewhere in this thesis).

Further, research data suggests that lethally-aggressive action cannot be perceived as behaviour isolated against a single individual target, although that may appear to be the superficial cause:

The problem a violent person perceives is rarely the situation as we see it, but rather some dilemma he finds himself in. In order to understand a violent person's motives for violence ... we must recreate the world of the Violent Man, with its fears and apprehensions, with its hopes and ambitions, with its strains and stresses (Toch 1969:5).²³

Violence, in other words, does not emerge as a blind, random explosiveness (ibid:4-5); "there is shape and form to violence ... it seems to reflect purpose, and implies the presence of hidden (if perverted) meanings" (ibid).

It is within the stresses and strains contained in Marc Lepine's personal worldview, emergent from interactions with the overarching culture, therefore, that it is possible to perceive the reasons for his act of retributive violence, scapegoating⁴ feminists as the cause of his alienation from, and marginality to, the hierarchichal system in which he aspired to attain normal masculine privileges and powers.

It is interesting to note that, conceptually, violence is utilized more frequently by victims of certain behaviours than it is by the performers, a fact which brings into question the amount of potential agreement as to what qualifies as violence, and can be so defined: this component to the tension in the relationships between performers, victims, and classifiers of violence is an aspect important to an analysis of the quality of violence, itself, in western, post-industrial societies.

III Ideologies of Violence

(i) Definitions

Violence has been defined as including only acts in which physical force is a defining feature; this definition can be restricted even further to include only acts of physical force which "violate",⁵ and which are illegal. Walter, for instance, remarks

that violence is 'generally understood as immeasurable or exaggerated harm to individuals, either not socially prescribed at all or else beyond the limits established for its use' ... (Grundy and Weinstein 1978:12),

bringing into question the various degrees of force which are sanctioned for use against others, as opposed to those that are not socially sanctioned at all. As a definitive meaning for violence, therefore, this analytic focus provides merely for further discussion of the ambiguities inherent in a culture which both proscribes against and prescribes for other-directed harmful behaviour.

Other definitions of violence incline towards that of Pinthus: in this analysis, violence is understood as "any action or structure that diminishes another human being" (cited in Ramazanoglu 1987:64). A fact of life accepted by those analysts following this Quaker definition is that in western, post-industrial societies, many institutions are intimidating, competitive, hierarchichal, non-democratic and

occasionally unjust.⁴ In this broader context, violent behaviour may be seen to range from overt physical assault, through the deprivation of autonomy by the manipulation of symbolic systems, to the systematic denial of access to social options on the part of one segment of society against another; this latter behaviour is termed 'quiet institutional violence' (Grundy and Weinstein 1978), a form of violence whose reality may be read as a contributing factor to Lepine's targetting of feminist women as political victims for his retribution, as well as to his perception that his social mobility options were limited.

Besides forming the basis of analyses which define violence as political action, this definition may be seen to inform the fundamental understanding of those theorists who characterize western post-industrial societies as inherently expressive of violence against women, since violence as political action refers to that segment of social life in which individuals or groups seek influence or control over the behaviour of others (Riches 1986:3ftn; David and Brannon 1976:33).

(ii) Pragmatic and Political Purposes

Whether viewing its performance as either practical and instrumental or symbolic and expressive, analysts of violence maintain perspectives which place emphasis on violent behaviour as political behaviour. From a cross-cultural perspective, anthropologist David Riches analyzes violence as not a static entity, for instance, but as a process within which competition and consensus operate to produce a relationship between performer and victim/s. It is also a process which garners support or criticism from an uninvolved audience whose support both perpetrator and victim/s attempt to elicit (Riches 1986).

Among the possible goals of violence, its "core purpose" is the hidden nature of its authenticity, its necessary (if not sufficient) condition (Riches 1986:7). The identification of this purpose lies within the audience in which the violent act is committed, the means by which its legitimacy is ultimately labelled. According to Riches, "the political relations between performer and (dissenting) witnesses look to offer the most promising context" in which to discover this core purpose (1986:5). It is not, in other words, the relationship between the perpetrator and victim which is of the most significance, but the implicit relationship between the act of the violator and the

audience for whom he is performing (witnesses, moral entrepreneurial groups, media analysts) that serves to contextualize the action. The extent to which violence is effective in situations of conflict is, in large part, dependant on the legitimation which audience reaction can provide for the hidden meanings in the behaviour, itself.

Grundy and Weinstein, in an edited volume, separately characterize organized and spontaneous violence: in this paradigm, the former is viewed as instrumental and impersonal. The latter, on the other hand, is characterized as reactive to frustration, compensatory for frustrations of the past, or a gratuitous way of displacing aggression against a powerful, ambivalently-viewed object "to an object which is too weak to resist and which arouses clear feelings" (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:2). Although this analytic focus provides for more precise conceptual categories within which to analyze violent behaviour, Riches' view is that the effectiveness of violence is rooted in the fact that it functions as a significantly appropriate tool for all of these goals, for both practical/instrumental and symbolic/expressive objectives. It is, therefore, both "a means of transforming the social environment ... and [of] dramatizing the importance of key social ideas" (Riches 1986:11).

Looked at from within these perspectives, Lepine's act may be analyzed as an attempt to control or influence his audience (i.e., the Canadian public, through media coverage of his act). The core purpose of Lepine's act of violence may be seen to be the dramatization and transformation of a social situation which he felt was untenable.

(iii) Violence, Deviance, and the Normative Order

Arguments proliferate in social theory concerning the place of violence in maintaining the normative order. From the structural-functionalist approach of Durkheim (1933) to the differential association theory of Sutherland (1960), however, it is agreed that violence does not simply illustrate individual, idiosyncratic personality. Those who utilize observational perspectives on violence, for instance, argue that violence may be performed by the disadvantaged as an illegitimate attack on specific institutions. As a symbolic demand for a larger share of social values, violence may also be performed in situations where social control functions primarily through psychological attacks on independence, or under circumstances of institutional denials of opportunity (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:11).

In Parson's analysis, as another example, force or violence serve as the ultimate symbolic foundation of security as "a theoretical background for justifications of violence in legitimist ideologies ..." (Grundy and Weinstein 1984:4-5). This description presents violence as a deviation from normal social patterns, a deviation that is likely to occur when expectations are frustrated (ibid:19). Coser, on the other hand, sees violence as serving as a badge of achievement in disadvantaged groups. Among those who are judged to be at a permanent disadvantage in society, violence is a way of demonstrating achievement: "Here, the vaunted equal opportunity, which had been experienced as a sham and a lure everywhere else, turns out to be effective" (Coser, cited in Grundy and Weinstein 1974:19).

In situations of societal consensus, those who oppose and attack the normative order are defined as deviants, meriting official punishment. On the other hand, without public consensus concerning social order and the legitimacy of official administration, such legitimist justifications of violence (justifications which define official hierarchies as legitimate protectors of order) are less likely to be effective. In such cases, "[m]any defenders of tradition will turn to new patterns of thought based on justifying violence as a means to insuring the survival and/or expansion of a reputedly superior normative order"

(Grundy and Weinstein 1974:47). In this 'expansionist' mode, the legitimist moves outside the normative order to protect a threatened interest; in so doing, the behaviour is considered justified in the attempt to reach the desired goal. This justification claims that, since the individual's group is superior to others, there is no necessity to give equal consideration to members of other (inferior) groups.

IV Hierarchies of Superiority

Historically, there has been covert acknowledgement (or recognition) within societies, that a certain 'superior' group is responsible for the civilization of other peoples; responsible, therefore, for the imposition of their values and order onto others. If the 'inferior' group does not see the advantages of their civilization, it may be necessary to use force to implement necessary change (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:50). The major justification for violence in this ideology, therefore, is that "it functions to facilitate the domination of a superior group over an inferior group" (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:51). Violence

focuses on the functions of ideology in integrating human communities (defending established normative orders), furthering the position of conflict groups in the process of goal attainment (expanding or creating

normative orders), and strengthening the resolve of human beings to engage in political acts aimed at the maintenance or change of normative orders (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:4).

To rephrase: competing normative orders lead to justifications of violence that are based on the alleged superiority of one group over another, with violence used, often, to impose one of the orders. Justification of this violence is constructed around the biological determinist argument that violence is a 'natural' fact of human existence; that it has partly genetic determinants. The tradition of Catholic natural law contains such justifications of violence aimed at rectifying social injustices, as do the 'civilizing' attempts of scores of European explorers as they discovered new territories and peoples. Although it is likely that definitions of justice vary widely within and between groups, these justifications have been widely employed in the contemporary world, as well (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:71).

In opposition to a universal determinism, Riches suggests that situations arise in which it appears that "violence breeds violence", not from the inherent psychological or genetic constitution of the human organism, but rather from some possibly-universal quality of human or social interaction (1986:13). In questioning the salience of the determinist argument, Riches outlines the subtlety of judgement that is used by violators in choosing among

alternatives for the most appropriate way in which to demonstrate their opposition. Such subtlety negates the hypothesis that violence is innate, inherent or, necessarily, irrational (1986:14).

The biological-determinist model, that violence is innate as opposed to intentioned behaviour, denies the conscious intellectual decisions for violence in the design of organizational strategies (rebellion, war, insurgence come to mind), as well as in certain premeditated violent interpersonal interactions.

V Ideologies and the Individual Actor: Lepine

There are two ways in which these various ideological analyses provide interpretations of Lepine's motivations: one is in the analysis of his message as embedded within the rhetoric of the superior, dominant cultural group (males), and as a method of social control directed towards feminists. The second is an interpretation of the use of violence by those who operate from within disadvantaged positions in society (see description of Lepine as a disadvantaged minority within a minority culture, elsewhere in this thesis). Under circumstances of institutional denials of opportunity, when status mobility expectations

are frustrated, violence demonstrates an achievement of success (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:11).

The immediate analysis of Lepine's behaviour at L'école Polytechnique as mere idiosyncratic '**rampage**' disregarded any meanings embedded in the act; concealed the '**core purpose**', according to Riches' analysis. In the concealment of core purposes, occurring in cases of vengeance or retribution, any pragmatic advantages of the act are operatively repudiated: "[t]hat the tactical pre-emption in vengeance homicide remains largely hidden in this way is probably because vengeance is typically thought of in relation to conflict among political equals" (Riches 1986:7). In attributing Lepine's act to '**insane**' retribution alone, Canadians repudiated the reality of the asymmetrical power structure which is embedded in the sex/gender system within their society.

Lepine's suicide note stated his perception of feminist participation in the public arena as undesirable, explicitly categorizing his act as not economically-influenced but, rather, for "**political reasons**". Lepine's note also acknowledged his realization that this act would not remain merely a private retribution against feminists but would, rather, result in an assessment of his behaviour by the media and public audiences ("Even if the Mad Killer epithet will be attributed to me by the media ...").

It would appear logical to analyze Lepine's "core purpose" as a communicative process, directed to a public audience, the goal of which was to influence an ideological consensus with the public (Riches 1986). As communication, Lepine's act can be read as "dramatizing the importance of key social issues" (ibid:11). For Lepine, feminist women were "so opportunistic they neglect to profit from the knowledge accumulated by men through the ages", and the participation of feminists in the public economic arena helped them "keep the advantages of women (e.g. cheaper insurance, extended maternity leave preceded by a preventive retreat) while trying to grab those of the men". The ideological rhetoric of Lepine's note does more than negatively evaluate feminist influence in his private and personal interactions. It further engages in strategies that are meant to persuade his audience that the social change accompanying feminist participation in the wider social arena is based on spurious foundations: feminists are "rather backward-looking by nature ", opportunistic, and "[t]hey always try to misrepresent them[selves] every time they can." Implicit in Lepine's analysis is the inherent inferiority of feminists and the concomitant superiority of men in the natural hierarchy of society. Consideration, therefore, of their manifest agenda is unjustifiable whereas his action may be legitimated as "insuring the survival

and/or expansion of a reputedly superior normative order" (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:47).

VI Beyond Ideology: Justifications

Pluralist views on violence declare that "no one normative order is intrinsically superior to any other" (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:69). They deplore the use of violence to impose one order over another, but justify violence that is committed in an effort to achieve liberation from an imposed order:

The problem is particularly acute here, because disadvantaged groups must often commit more visible acts of violence in pressing their claims than established elites commit in defending their privileges (ibid).

In Rich's analysis, tactical pre-emption ("i.e., securing practical advantage over one's opponents in the short term through forestalling their activities" [Riches 1986:5]) serves to achieve advancement and claim legitimacy for various ideologists.

The ultimate defence for all violent acts will accordingly be given as the unimpeachable necessity of immediately halting some aspect of the social activities of the person to whom violence is imparted (Riches 1986:5-6).

In citing the situation of apartheid and its more barbarous structures in South Africa in illustration of this, Grundy

and Weinstein illustrate the ways in which violence and the manner in which it is analyzed can be used to confer legitimacy on the *status quo* (Grundy & Weinstein 1974).

In western, post-industrial cultures, as in many non-western societies, violence may be manifest in invisible ways. The most fundamental justifications of violence utilize the claim that twentieth century society is permeated by violence; that violence is inherently unavoidable. "Thus, the violent life-style is viewed as inseparably linked to the more general social climate of violence" (Mailer cited in Grundy and Weinstein 1974:92-3).

In their roles as social analysts, Norman Mailer and Colin Wilson discuss personal violence as a reaction to the "hollowness and artificiality of twentieth-century life ... (cited in Grundy and Weinstein 1974:93). Social violence is everywhere, and is a product of highly organized, affluent societies, in which boredom and unfulfillment are bound to result in violent acts, performed by those who are, for one reason or another, bent on making a communicative protest against the establishment (Wilson cited in Grundy and Weinstein 1974:93).

These opinions of Wilson and Mailer may be characterized as ideologies of political violence, since what they are describing are symbolic attacks on (what may be considered) "a decadent social order, characterized by

hypocrisy, artificiality, and the denial of humanity" (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:93). They are attempting to explain and justify individual acts of idiosyncratic violence within a universal environment of pervasive social violence (ibid).

VII Beyond Ideology: Hierarchies of Violence

Violence enacted for practical purposes (retribution, etc.) can also be embedded in symbolic purposes:

... performers conceive of violence as something which can be predictably deployed to meet some end (including changes in the social system) (Riches 1986:5) ...

In an hierarchical sex/gender system, it is not difficult to extrapolate that "certain instances of spontaneous violence have significance for the defense, disruption, or restoration of normative order" (Grundy and Weinstein 1974:3). Many analyses argue that power relations in which men are dominant are, ultimately, attained and guaranteed by violence and its threat (Clark & Lewis 1977; Hanmer 1978; Rhodes & McNeill 1985; Hanmer, Radford & Stanko 1989). This statement is reiterated in analyses of the oppressive stereotypical expectations translated as gender socialization for men, where violence is an implicitly sanctioned response to challenge.

However, whilst the communication of political opposition may be their aim, perpetrators of violence do not necessarily seek complete political dissociation from the group they oppose. For example, their intention may merely be to signal a desire for an improvement in the political balance in their favour, within the context of some overarching political system which embraces both sides (ibid:14-15).

Women's personal experiences have led to an analysis of men's violence as a form of social control of women, an analysis which recognizes the asymmetrical power structure of western post-industrial societies, and its maintenance through both institutional and individual acts of violence.

Such theories also acknowledge the functional significance of either psychological or physical, actual or threatened violence towards women (see, for example, Dobash & Dobash 1984), identifying this as central to the maintenance and reproduction of all exploitative social relations, and interpreting this as "an explicit acknowledgement of the benefits accruing to the male from violence" (Hanmer, Radford & Stanko 1989:72).

In cases of abuse towards women not necessarily based on the use of direct physical force or violence, certain basic social institutions and core values regarded, traditionally, as necessary features of society have recently been subjected to further analysis: these were exposed as having important, although covert, functions for the maintenance of the gender hierarchies, as well as for the legitimation of male power through the utilization of

violence. Involving "institutional settings with a number of common structural and ideological features where men are dominant and women dependent and subordinate", these include seemingly diverse, but actually parallel relationships.

It should be seen that ideological and social constructions which separate women's existence into public and private spheres provide an interconnecting link for the premise that structural forms of social control of women (i.e., the public sphere) are echoed, or paralleled, in the interpersonal violence which takes place within the contexts of control and power within personal inter-gender relationships (Hanmer, Radford and Stanko 1989:8).

NOTES

1. For ease of grammatical presentation, and in reflection of the fact that this analysis is in exploration of the violence evinced by one individual, I will henceforth avoid the awkward 'individual/s' 'group/s' delineations. It is to be noted, however, that what is presented as true for the individual is true, also, for the group.
2. Also of note are "the sobering litany of ... the power of the gun lobby, military interventions, nuclear arms buildup, and violent ecological abuse" (Nelson 1988:67).
3. Toch's data were amassed from two studies on violence-prone interactions and violent men, conducted within California State of Corrections penal institutions, through peer interview into the meanings of violence for the people who had engaged in it. Informants were 127 males; police officers who had been victims of violence, prison inmates convicted of assault, and parolees with violent records.

4. Defined by Allport as "a phenomenon wherein some of the aggressive energies of a person or a group are focused upon another individual, group, or object; the amount of aggression and blame being either partly or wholly unwarranted" (1948:9).
5. In this context, 'violate' is defined as a forceful infringement on the physical being of another.
6. In this analysis, violence may range from genocide and warfare to such subtle forms as censorship and racial discrimination.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

I Medias and Madness

In an historical context, terrible tragic acts paralleling Lepine's 'rampage' have been interpreted in terms of possession by evil spirits, or as witchcraft (see Foucault 1965; Ben-Yehuda 1985). A modern interpretation of this theme similarly dismisses each incident of this category of violence as the result of 'possession by insanity', mistakenly oversimplifying the oppositions between social and personal issues, and "dismantl[ing] the political impact" of the event (Cote in Malette and Chalouh 1991:67). In presenting the narrative of the '**Montreal Massacre**' as merely misogynist madness, the media response to Lepine's communication unwittingly contributed to what had been the opening remarks of a cultural dialogue concerning the status of women in Canadian society. Neither Lepine nor the members of the mainstream journalistic system could have foreseen the trend of this dialogue.

Most of what is quoted in this chapter's exploration of the events of Dec. 6, 1989 at *L'école Polytechnique* was said, publicly, in the immediate aftermath of '**The Montreal**

Massacre'. These isolated voices of dissent were heard in a parallel presentation to that of the dominant media discourse, some as published articles, but mostly appearing exclusively on the pages reserved for letters to the editor. In reality, what these voices present is a different subtext (the voice of women within [French] Canada) running counterpoint to the dominant media discourse:

... addressing the question of why denial and censorship of specifically feminist analysis of the massacre was so powerful ... while the mainstream media scrambled to ignore or downplay the significance of the victims being women, the analysis of feminists was ignored or ridiculed or rejected with hostility (Malette and Chalouh 1990, publisher's note:np).

Francine Pelletier, for instance, a reporter for Montreal's *La Presse*,¹ wrote the following assessment of Lepine's act three days after the killings, in response to public and media perception of the 'massacre' as a random act of 'madness' :

If this is madness, never has it been so lucid, so calculated. Never has madness taken such care to first identify and then eliminate the adversary. Never has madness left such a clear message ... It was an act of reprisal, well thought out, calculated, and directed against women in general and feminists in particular (Pelletier in Malette and Chalouh 1991:35).²

Occasionally men, as well, questioned the priority that seemed to be assigned to Marc Lepine's psychological profile:

... the killer's mental illness was both the product of his individual psychological make-up and a social phenomenon ... The killer set his sights on the women

students because, as he said "You have no business being here" (Bibeau in Malette and Chalouh 1991:43).³

Most such reaction was ignored in the media headlines in favour of a verdict of guilty, by reason of insanity. In opinions voiced from within this counterdialogue, the perspective grew that

it was deemed preferable to fall back on M.L.'s madness, where a slight equivocation could let it be understood that feminists .. are truly abominable to want to make something political out of the **demented** gesture of a **desperate** young man (Brossard in Malette and Chalouh 1991:32, emphasis in original).⁴

II Perpetuating the *Status Quo*

There are a number of difficulties inherent in categorizing the motivations for an individual act of violence as the result of social sanctions, perceived as extrinsic from the individual and, therefore, deserving of sociocultural analysis. Not the least of these difficulties is the indisposition of most members of a society to conceive of their environment as contributing to such dysfunctional behaviour. At the end of December 1989, a poll generalized its results to 59 percent of the Canadian population as believing the **massacre** to be "only [a] random act" (Toronto Star Dec. 29, 1989), in spite of the fact that various counter-arguments were voiced:

Must we be reminded that M.L. very carefully, verbally and in writing, informed our society that all the action he took was directed against feminists, whom he

summarily defined as women having access to traditionally masculine professions? Whatever the past history and the state of mind of M.L., this man certainly intended that his act be interpreted as a political one. Yet many people question this. Have we ever questioned that Hitler was a politician because he was mad? (Brossard in Malette and Chalouh 1991:31).⁵

Mass media coverage of what appear to be isolated bizarre acts of violence, such as the '**Montreal Massacre**', tends to enhance what may be seen as the fictionalized stereotype of this occurrence as simply mentally-disturbed behaviour.

Having developed into possibly the most significant social influence within global societies in the last century, the media form a unique system whereby values within the social system are perpetuated, providing continuity and identity to individual cultures. This is especially true for North American societies. Media analysts acknowledge that these positive, intended functions may be accompanied by negative, unintended dysfunctions (e.g., Black and Whitney 1989). It is also acknowledged that, since the mass media are highly organized and institutionalized, they evince "a ponderous inertia resistant to change" (ibid:9), despite the fact that "cultural communication is constantly modified by new experience" (ibid:13).

The media received condemnation from those attempting to foster and disseminate a more woman-centered analysis of the killings at *La Polytechnique*:

[*Le Devoir*] ... devoted its Saturday edition to the murderer's emotional problems -- poor little guy! -- when he's just killed fourteen women, wounded another thirteen, traumatized for life a good hundred, and awakened in all the rest anguish and dread (Malette in Malette and Chalouh 1991:56).⁴

Interjections of dissenting opinion to the 'insanity' designation were present from the beginning even, occasionally, being seen in Canada's national newspaper:

... The *Globe* suggested Lepine "absorbed his attitudes from the society around him" and stated bluntly, "If the arrogance of male domination is to be found, naked and ashamed, at the heart of our democratic system and in centres of higher learning, it is evident that a deep-seated fear and resentment is at work among many men." The *Globe* called on men to talk with other men about their continuing oppression of women. I had never seen an editorial such as this in any major newspaper before; it seemed a portent for positive change. I was wrong (Baril, 1990:14).

These opinions were quickly dismissed in rhetoric that criticized this analysis as illustrative only of divisive feminist polemic:

As the days went on, a spate of articles appeared blaming feminists for 'using' the killings. Jeanni Reed in the *Vancouver Province* (Dec. 10) claimed that, although feminists were 'impeccably correct in their societal critique', we were 'using' the dead young women as symbols and so dehumanizing them. Like many other similar articles and letters, the author condemns violence against women but at the same time doesn't want the killings connected to it (ibid:17).

Rhetoric is at the centre of the controversy over the meaning of *La Polytechnique*. Mainstream media rhetoric

repeated, with conviction, that the 'massacre' was an isolated event, with no meaning external to one man's disadvantaged, dysfunctional existence. Mainstream media rhetoric served to uphold the values of the entrenched sex/gender system through its denial that some of the interactive factors leading to Lepine's behaviour were socially-sanctioned systemic norms. The challenge of feminist, woman-centered rhetoric was undeniable, although muted in its challenge to the *status quo*.

III Text and Context: Violence and Communication

For Canadian citizens, media representations of violence as omnipresent and, occasionally, even necessary responses within culturally-anomalous situations, dissipated at the international border. Comparative statistics on homicide and murder seemed to support this analysis (see prologue to this volume). Within the sociological discourse following Lepine's 'rampage', on the other hand, the reaction of these citizens indicated an errant "smugness" (Leyton 1990) concerning the state of Canadian society; a smugness which ignored the effects of the "nature of modern, competitive society" (ibid). In Leyton's opinion, the cultural conditioning of modern society made mass murder,

"not an anomaly, but inevitable" (ibid), under particular circumstances of extreme alienation and frustration. Leyton, and others, expressed the view that competitive modern societies were likely to produce a number of mass murderers -- individuals for whom the reading of implicit cultural cues would result in conduct that society could misconstrue as anomalous idiosyncratic behaviour (Leyton 1986, Levin & Fox 1985). Pelletier agreed:

... we must stop thinking of these periodic eruptions of violence as strange anomalies, mysterious madness suddenly turned loose. In short, we must stop acting as though the violence has nothing to do with us (Pelletier in Malette and Chalouh 1991:33-34).⁷

For Mark Lepine, women did not belong in the public domain, and these female students were not in their proper place; they had crossed the borders into what he considered exclusive male territory and now were receiving the benefits of status that should have been his (see Lepine's suicide note, Appendix A).

Using Leyton's analysis, it would appear valid to assert the presentation of Marc Lepine's narrative as a significant contribution to the study of his, and similar acts, as cultural communication. When interviewed as an expert on the subject of mass murder (and specifically concerning the meaning of 'Montreal massacre') within Canadian society, Leyton stated that Lepine's behaviour illuminated an attitude that was congruent with

socialization patterns of masculinity emphasizing success and high achievement. In his opinion, men in western, post-industrial cultures are

taught to try to humiliate and subjugate other human beings ... the feminists like to talk about misogyny -- the hatred of women. I've never quite agreed with that -- I feel that males are socialized to misanthropy, which is the hatred of people (Leyton 1990).

This ignores the specific message of Lepine's communication, the message Leyton himself suggested we look for. The texts of both Lepine's behaviour and his suicide note are evidence that the arrival of feminist women in the public arena, in competition for roles and status traditionally reserved for men, left him no political choice but to symbolically eradicate this anomalous category which defied and challenged traditionally-constructed gender categorizations.

The question has been raised as to why these particular people, as opposed to others in the same situations, commit what we would consider such outrageous acts; acts which they consider logical outcomes of their life situations. Originally, Christopher Lasch would have suggested that these people perceive their social position as a reflection of their own abilities and, when the

boundaries between the self and the rest of the world collapse, the pursuit of enlightened self-interest, which once informed every phase of political activity, becomes impossible (Lasch 1979:66),

at which point the 'narcissist' "suspends ego interests in a delirium of desire (ibid). But this analysis of Lasch's sees human behaviour in this "narcissistic culture" as pathological, a position he later recants (see Lasch 1984). Most people avoid such an act, suggests Leyton, not because they are morally superior, as they would have us believe, but because they are imprisoned in a web of responsibilities, commitments, connections, and sentiments; as inalienable parts of family, community and society. Most members of society either already receive satisfactory positive feedback from their lives, or they see possibilities existing for future fulfillment. Murder, for most, is not a considered option; it is absurd self-destruction, either physically or socially. Most people, in other words, have too much to lose.

IV A Recontextualization

Emergent from within symbolic anthropology and developed from folk medicine paradigms are a collection of culturally-specific constellations of symptoms and physical signs which have a range of moral, social or psychological symbolic messages. Contemporarily analyzed from within the focus of medical anthropology, these include *susto*, from

Latin America, *amok* in Malaysia, *windigo* psychosis in northeastern North America, and even categories of 'colds and chills' in much of the English-speaking world. These are designated by Helman, following Rubel, as "culture bound syndrome[s], in the sense that [they] are unique disorder[s], recognized mainly by members of a specific culture" (Helman 1984:73). Can this analytic focus, perhaps, encompass the 'insanity' designations generally given mass murderers, designations which proffer mental imbalance as sufficient cause for such individually and culturally dysfunctional behaviour?

If we agree that historically-specific macrosocial factors are influential in the microsocial symptom presentations of dysfunctional social actors (as in Kleinman's paradigm [1986:2]), and that mass murder is a specific, restricted phenomenon, occurring in western post-industrial societies (Leyton's analysis [1986:269]), societal acceptance of this behaviour, as a form of 'idiosyncratic insanity' provides this phenomenon with Helman's "range of moral, social [and] psychological symbolic" labels that are idiomatic of culture-bound syndromes (1984:73).

V Challenging the Status Quo

In articulating cultural, as well as individual, processes in the construction of violent behaviour, we are better able to gain a perspective on the mutually-reinforcing hierarchies of class, race and gender extant within North American societies. These hierarchies affect those interactive areas on the borders of personal identities; areas where the individual's character, personality, and individuality articulate with the cultural environment. In the case of Marc Lepine these cultural articulations provided the context for his profound sense of personal alienation and frustration, and can be seen as definitive influences on his ultimate intention.

Recognizing the primary role of the media in the transmission of culture and its values, it is impossible to deny the consequence of this function for the maintenance of a context-specific sex/gender system, and the legitimation of violence as a valid, universal tool in the communication of conflict and confrontation. Media may be seen to "embody a series of ideological operations through which woman is constructed as ... 'a sign within a patriarchal order'" (Kaplan, cited in Kuhn 1982:77).

A consequence of what one headline characterized as Lepine's 'misogynist murder spree' has been a new, critical

evaluation of the meaning, in Canadian society, of violence towards women. Analysis of newspaper and magazine approaches to the story, as well as of public opinion, indicates a gradual change in the Canadian public's initial conviction that Lepine's act of violence had been an instance of individual insanity. A conception that violence against women is a socially-sanctioned phenomenon has gradually invaded the media's initial portrayal of the event as an isolated incident.

This new public discourse indicates an elevated national consciousness concerning the magnitude and consequences of an entrenched system of androcentrism for female individuals. This narrative shift has not occurred without significant redefinition of meanings within the public and media discourse. An assessment of the ramifications of such systems, for male individuals, has still to be made. Feminist proposals, and the feminist commitment to personal and political action, led Lepine to append a list of the names of nineteen women who also came close to being victims on the day of his killing spree. These nineteen "radicals" survived by default. For the almost anonymous women who died,

Genevieve Bergeron

Helene Colgan

Nathalie Croteau

Barbara Daigneault

Anne-Marie Edward

Maud Haviernick

Barbara Maria Kleuznick

Maryse Laganiere

Maryse Leclair

Anne-Marie Lemay

Sonia Pelletier

Michele Richard

Annie St-Arneault

Annie Turcotte

their crime was against a man whose position in society was potentially theirs through their participation in the public economic arena, and, in his eyes, their overt expropriation of male rights.

NOTES

1. Pelletier was the reporter who eventually received an anonymous copy of Lepine's suicide note (November 1990).
2. Originally published in La Presse, Dec. 9, 1989.
3. Originally published as a letter to the editor in Le Devoir, Dec. 9, 1989.
4. Originally published in La Presse, Dec. 21, 1989.
5. Originally published in La Presse, Dec. 21, 1989.
6. Originally published as a letter to the editor in Voir Dec. 14, 1989.
7. Originally published in La Presse Dec. 9, 1989.

APPENDIX A:
MARC LEPINE'S SUICIDE NOTE

Forgive the mistakes. I had 15 minutes to write this.

See also Annex.

Would you note that if I am committing suicide today 89-12-06 it is not for economic reasons (for I have waited until I exhausted all my financial means, even refusing jobs) but for political reasons. Because I have decided to send the feminists, who have always ruined my life, to their Maker. For seven years life has brought me no joy and being totally blasé, I have decided to put an end to those viragos.

I tried in my youth to enter in the Forces as a student officer, which would have allowed me possibly to get into the arsenal and precede Lortie in a raid. They refused me because antisocial (sic). I therefore had to wait until this day to execute my plans. In between, I continued my studies in a haphazard way for they never really interested me, knowing in advance my fate. Which did not prevent me from obtaining very good marks despite my theory of not handing in work and the lack of studying before exams.

Even if the Mad Killer epithet will be attributed to me by the media, I consider myself a rational érudite that only the arrival of the Grim Reaper has forced to take extreme

acts. For why persevere to exist if it is only to please the government? Being rather backward-looking by nature (except for science), the feminists always have a talent to enrage me. They want to keep the advantages of women (e.g. cheaper insurance, extended maternity leave preceded by a preventive leave, etc.) while seizing for themselves those of the men.

Thus it is an obvious truth that if the Olympic Games removed the Men/Women distinction, there would be Women only in the graceful events. So the feminists are not fighting to remove that barrier. They are so opportunistic they neglect to profit from the knowledge accumulated by men through the ages. They always try to misrepresent them every time they can. Thus the other day I heard they were honoring the Canadian men and women who fought at the frontline during the world wars. How can you explain then that women were not authorized to go to the frontline??? Will we hear of Caesar's female legions and female galley slaves who of course took up 50 per cent of the ranks of history, though they never existed. A real *Cassus Belli*.

Sorry for this too brief letter

Marc Lepine

The letter is followed by a list of 19 'feminist' figures Lepine apparently originally intended as victims:

Nearly died today. The lack of time (because I started too late) has allowed those radical feminists to survive.

Alea Jacta Est.

APPENDIX B:

Canadian News Index, 1989 & 1990

Subject Index ... 1989 ... Homicide:

14 women killed in massacre *[TS] 12/07/89 A1, A34
 Bloodied students reel with shock *[CH] 12/07/89 A3
 Campus massacre: gunman kills 14 women before shooting himself
 *[MG] 12/07/89 A1, A2
 Couple's evening turns into nightmare [Montreal massacre]
 *[MG] 12/07/89 A3
 Female students lined up and shot *[CH] 12/07/89 A1
 Gunman shoots students, kills self *Clips [HCH] 12/07/89 A4
 Gunman slays 14 women *[WFP] 12/07/89 p1,4
 Hospitals were a 'combat zone' but doctors and nurses coped
 *[TS] 12/07/89 A3
 Killer smiled, then told men to leave*[MG] 12/07/89 A1
 Man kills 14 women in Montreal *Clips [G&M] 12/07/89 A1, A5
 Massacre at University of Montreal*Clips [WFP] 12/07/89 p17
 Massacre started in cafeteria, spread to halls and classrooms
 *[MG] 12/07/89 A4
 Montreal in shock as students share grief *[VS] 12/07/89 A1
 Montreal reveal diatribe: killer of 14 wanted 'revenge'
 *[VS] 12/07/89 A1, A2
 Office was only refuge *[CH] 12/07/89 A3
 Policeman finds his daughter among the victims of [Montreal] bloodbath
 *[MG] 12/07/89 A1, A4
 Student journalists hit floor during gunfire [Montreal massacre]
 *[MG] 12/07/89 A4
 Students' disbelief transforms into terror when 'really calm' killer
 begins shooting *Clips [G&M] 12/07/89 A5
 Three hospitals spring to action to treat victims [Montreal massacre]
 *[MG] 12/07/89 A3
 Women slaughtered [at University of Montreal]
 *[CH] 12/07/89 A1
 2,000 grieving students mourn dead *[TS] 12/07/89 A17
 Analysts profile killer *Clips [WFP] 12/08/89 p19
 Campus gunman a loser at love *Clips [WFP] 12/08/89 p1,4
 Campus massacre: the aftermath *[MG] A3, A6
 City of tears: Montrealers mourn massacre victims
 *[MG] 12/08/89 A1, A2
 Controls can't stop killing *[CH] 12/08/89 C1
 A country in mourning: after the horror, sorrow
 *[VS] 12/08/89 A1, A2

'Frustrated by women': killer war-film fanatic
 *Clips [CH] 12/08/89 A1, A2

A hatred of women thrives in our society -- Anderson
 * [TS] 12/08/89 A31

Hundreds in Toronto mourn killing of 14 women
 * [G&M] 12/08/89 A13

Killer carried possible hit list *Clips [HCH] 12/08/89 A1, A24

The killer: Lepine was reclusive, noisy at night: neighbour
 * [MG] 12/08/89 A1, A2

Killer [Marc Lepine] seen as quiet, alienated loner
 *Clips [CH] 12/08/89 C1

Killer purchased weapon after getting police permit
 *Clips [G&M] 12/08/89 A13

Killer's letter blames feminists * [G&M] 12/08/89 A1, A2

Males 'suffer guilt' [University of Montreal killings]
 * [CH] 12/08/89 C2

Massacre coverage shockingly adequate -- Boone
 * [MG] 12/08/89 C3

Massacre in Montreal: misogyny gone crazy -- Dunphy
 * [TS] 12/08/89 C1

Montreal in mourning * [WFP] 12/08/89 p18-19

Murderer [Marc Lepine] seemed happy in gun store
 *Clips [CH] 12/08/89 C1

'Nothing prepares you for such savagery' [Montreal Massacre]
 * [MG] 12/08/89 A1, A2

Police suspected more than one sniper was loose in school
 * [G&M] 12/08/89 A13

Police, *Urgences Sante* officials defend response time after first 911
 calls for help [Montreal massacre] * [MG] 12/08/89 A4

Quebec mourns slaying of women at university
 * [G&M] 12/08/89 A1, A14

Some male students already feel guilty: expert
 * [MG] 12/08/89 D11

Speaking about the unspeakable: the massacre in Montreal
 * [G&M] 12/08/89 A7

War videos obsessed murderer * [TS] 12/08/89 A1, A16

Why is there so much violence?: daughters mourned by families
 *Clips [CH] 12/08/89 C1

Why were women in the gunsights? * [G&M] 12/08/89 A6

Woman tells of terror [Killings at University of Montreal]
 *Clips [CH] A1

City suffers heartbreak * [CH] 12/08/89 A1

Don't have feelings of guilt, woman hurt in massacre urges her fellow
 students * [G&M] 12/09/89 A2

Guilt, rage, fear among reactions to mass shooting
 *Clips [WFP] 12/09/89 p8

Gunman was a loner, teachers recall * [TS] 12/09/89 A12

Killer's father beat him as a child * [MG] 12/09/89 A1, A7

Lepine beaten by father, mom says * [TS] 12/09/89 A1, A13

Lepine faced beatings, divorce as a child
 * [VS] 12/09/89 A1, A2

Murderer [Marc Lepine] was always rushing
 * [CH] 12/09/89 A5

Shocked police officers have sought counselling in the wake of the
 [Montreal] slayings * [MG] 12/09/89 A6

Survivors angry over police behaviour [Montreal massacre]
 * [MG] 12/09/89 A1, A7

Thousands expected for Sunday memorial: condolences pour in as
 university organizes services, reschedules exams
 * [MG] 12/09/89 A4

Uncle one of few male influences [for Marc Lepine]
 * [CH] 12/09/89 A5

Union leader and minister reported on killer's list
 * [MG] 12/09/89 A3

Victim [Nathalie Provost] tried to reason with killer [Montreal
 massacre] * [MG] 12/09/89 A1, A7

Wounded: [Montreal] struggles to come to grips with a reality that has
 changed it forever * [MG] 12/10/89 B1

A day of tears and hugs and heartache [Montreal massacre]
 * [MG] 12/10/89 A4

How did we become so sick or were we always like that? -- Bantey
 * [MG] 12/10/89 A2

It's natural to have that feeling of shame: Ottawa shooting spree
 survivor urges students to vent their guilt
 * [MG] 12/10/89 A5

Massacre in Montreal * [TS] 12/10/89 A2

[Montreal] families linked in grief * Clips [CH] 12/10/89 A1

Private ceremony held for families * [WFP] 12/10/89 p9

US 'coverage' [of Montreal murders] speaks volumes
 * [CH] 12/10/89 C2

We mourn ... all our daughters * [MG] 12/10/89 A1

10,000 mourn victims of massacre * [MG] 12/10/89 A1, A2

Anguished thousands honour massacre victims
 * Clips [WFP] 12/11/89 p1,4

Bells toll in sorrow for nine women * [VS] 12/11/89 A1, A2

Families, friends remember victims' lives [short personal profiles]
 * Clips [G&M] 12/11/89 A9

Flowers fill 'Chapel of Rest' as 8,000 express grief
 * [TS] 12/11/89 A1, A3

Thousands mourn slain women * [CH] 12/11/89 A1

Thousands of mourners wait in silence to pay final respects to slain
 women * Clips [G&M] 12/11/89 A1, A9

3,500 friends, relatives bid a tearful farewell to murdered students
 * [G&M] 12/11/89 A1, A2

Cop's daughter had never met her killer: aunt
 * [MG] 12/12/89 A7

Curb media violence, MP says after killings
 * Clips [VS] 12/12/89 A8

Gun controls can't stop mass murders: expert
 * [TS] 12/12/89 A11

Massacre in Montreal
 * [TS] 12/12/89 A11

Men cannot know the feelings of fear
 * [G&M] 12/12/89 A7

More massacre details to be released by police but an inquiry ruled out
 * Clips [G&M] 12/12/89 A14

Mourners are told to 'build a world of friendship'
 * [TS] 12/12/89 A1, A12

Ontario, Québec see massacre differently -- McKenzie
 * [TS] 12/12/89 A21

Ordinary folks share grief in vigil by church
 * [MG] 12/12/89 A7

Prime minister, governor general join mourning for slain women
 * [MG] 12/12/89 A7

Quebec engineers observe day of mourning
 * [G&M] 12/12/89 A14

Quiet funeral held for 'a country girl'
 * [MG] 12/12/89 A5

A quiet goodbye for slain women
 * [MG] 12/12/89 A1, A2

Rifle bullet snuffed out dream of a new life: victim's husband
 * [MG] 12/12/89 A4

Risk of murder linked to non-domestic roles -- Valpy
 * [G&M] 12/12/89 A8

Sense of family drew people closer [Montreal massacre] -- MacPherson
 * [MG] 12/12/89 B3

'So many dreams, so much promise' [Funeral of 14 slain women: photo essay]
 * [MG] 12/12/89 A8, A9

Tearful farewell to [Montreal] victims
 * Clips [CH] 12/12/89 A1

Tension grows at Queen's over sexism controversy
 * [G&M] 12/12/89 A14

Thousands crowd basilica for funeral service
 * Clips [WFP] 12/12/89 p16

Thousands mourn murdered women
 * Clips [HCH] 12/12/89 A20

1,000 fill church in Montreal to mourn victim of massacre
 * [G&M] 12/13/89 A18

Last of gunman's victims is buried
 * [MG] 12/13/89 A3

Massacre forces men to debate issues
 * [TS] 12/13/89 A1, A20

Police refusal to answer questions leaves lots of loose ends in [Montreal] killings
 * [G&M] 12/13/89 A18

University killings fuel debate over tighter control of guns
 * [MG] 12/13/89 A5

Mourners pay respects to last [Montreal] student victim
 * Clips [CH] 12/14/89 B12

Sex killers cannot be cured, psychiatrists say
 * [TS] 12/14/89 A1, A18

Slain woman's connection to killer called just coincidence by police
 * [G&M] 12/15/89 A12

Students ignored warning about gunman: witness
 * [MG] 12/15/89 A4

Legacy of a killer
 * [WFP] 12/16/89 p17,24

The self-centered hype of Montreal massacre -- Bissonnette
 * [G&M] 12/16/89 D2

Shattered dreams: 'Why is it we always lose the good ones': Montreal massacre leaves a Gaspé village in mourning
 * [MG] 12/16/89 B1

Slaughter of women casts pall over life in Québec -- Stewart
 * [WFP] 12/16/89 p20

Montreal tragedy has changed little -- Caplan
 * [TS] 12/17/89 B3

Parents relieved probe called in sex killing
 * [TS] 12/109/89 A4

Psychiatrists to study Lepine's suicide letter
 * [G&M] 12/20/89 A12

Most victims of [University of Montreal] shooting sent home for Christmas
 * Clips [G&M] 12/23/89 A3

Killer's mother 'fine'
 * Clips [WFP] 12/24/89 p10

59% call massacre only random act, poll finds
 * [TS] 12/29/89 A1

Most see campus massacre as random act: poll
 * [MG] 12/29/89 A1 A2

Personal Name Index ... 1989 ... Lepine:

Gunman shoots students, kills self *Clips [HCH] 12/07/89 A4

Man kills 14 women in Montreal *Clips [G&M] 12/07/89 A1, A5

Montreal in shock as students share grief
 * [VS] 12/07/89 A1

Montreal police reveal diatribe: killer of 14 wanted 'revenge'
 * Clips [VS] 12/07/89 A1, A2

Students' disbelief transforms into terror when 'really calm' killer begins shooting
 * Clips [G&M] 12/07/89 A5

Analysts profile killer *Clips [WFP] 12/08/89 p19

Armed forces have no record of rejection
 * [CH] 12/08/89 C1

Campus gunman a loser at love *Clips [WFP] 12/08/89 p1,4

A country in mourning: after the horror, sorrow
 * Clips [VS] 12/08/89 A1, A2

Few people recall killer Marc Lepine
 * [VS] 12/08/89 A1

'Frustrated by women': killer war-film fanatic
 * Clips [CH] 12/08/89 A1, A2

Killer carried possible hit list *Clips [HCH] 12/08/89 A13
 Killer described as plotter *[VS] 12/08/89 A13
 The killer: Lepine was reclusive, noisy at night: neighbour
 *[MG] 12/08/89 A1, A2
 Killer [Marc Lepine] seen as quiet, alienated loner
 *Clips [CH] 12/08/89 C1
 Killer purchased weapon after getting police permit
 *Clips [G&M] 12/08/89 A13
 Killer's letter blames feminists *[G&M] 12/08/89 A1, A2
 Systematic slaughter is without precedent -- Valpy
 *[G&M] 12/08/89 A3
 War videos obsessed murderer *[TS] 12/08/89 A1, A16
 Guilt, rage, fear among reactions to mass shooting
 *Clips [WFP] 12/09/89 p8
 Gunman was a loner, teachers recall *[TS] 12/09/89 A12
 Inside the mind of a mass murderer *[TS] 12/09/89 D1
 Killer fraternized with men in army fatigues [profile]
 *[G&M] 12/09/89 A6
 Killer's father beat him as a child *[MG] 12/09/89 A1, A7
 Lepine beaten by father, mom says *[TS] 12/09/89 A1, A13
 Lepine faced beatings, divorce as a child
 *[VS] 12/09/89 A1, A2
 Man with 'strange eyes' loved war movies, gadgets
 *Clips [HCH] 12/09/89 A4
 Murderer [Marc Lepine] was always rushing
 *[CH] 12/09/89 A5
 Uncle one of few male influences *[CH] 12/09/89 A5
 Union leader and minister reported on killer's list
 *[MG] 12/09/89 A3
 Litany of social ills created Marc Lepine -- Valpy
 *[G&M] 12/11/89 AB
 Curb media violence, MP says after killings
 *Clips [VS] 12/12/89 AB
 Mass killer's remains cremated before funeral
 *Clips [WFP] 12/12/89 p16
 Demeaning to Canadians -- Barbara McDougall, Minister Responsible for
 the Status of Women *[G&M] 12/15/89 A6
 [Michael Valpy ascribes blame for Montreal killings to the Mulroney
 government] -- Harvie Andre, Minister Responsible for Statistics Canada
 *[G&M] 12/15/89 A6
 Slain woman's connection to killer called just coincidence by police
 *[G&M] 12/15/89 A12
 Legacy of a killer *[WFP] 12/16/89
 Mom relates tale of brutality -- Zwarun
 *[CH] 12/17/89 C3
 Psychiatrists to study Lepine's suicide letter
 *[G&M] 12/20/89 A12
 Lepine's mother devastated but coping well, friends say
 *[MG] 12/23/89 A6
 Killer's mother 'fine' *Clips [WFP] 12/24/89 p10

Personal Name Index ... 1990 ... Marc Lepine:

Police drafting profile of killer *Clips [MG] 01/11/90 A3
 Lepine was emotionally repressed, pal [Erik Cosette] says
 *[CH] 01/16/90 A1, A2
 Mass killer sexist, repressed, friend says
 *[VS] 01/16/90 A5
 Dark heart of mass murderer born in brutal home [profile]
 *[VS] 02/07/90 A1, A12
 Mass killer was raised on violence *[TS] 02/07/90 A1, A2
 Lepine's own failures fed hatred of women
 *[TS] 02/08/90 A1, A18
 Lonely rage found final focus in [Marc Lepine's] death spree
 *[VS] 02/08/90 A1, A4+
 The making of a massacre: the Marc Lepine story [profile]
 *[MG] 02/10/90 B1, B4
 The making of a mass-killer [profile]
 *[MG] 02/11/90 A4-A5
 Montreal massacre: the legacy of brutality
 *[CH] 02/11/90 C2-C3
 Police can't find cause for Lepine's rampage on Montreal campus
 *[G&M] 03/01/90 A17
 Psychiatrist: keep Lepine's suicide note secret: Polytechnique killer's
 letter is like a stick of dynamite, access hearing told
 *Clips [MG] 05/04/90 A3
 MD opposes release of Lepine note *Clips [WFP] 05/05/90 p11
 Public probe demanded in Montreal massacre
 *[TS] 05/14/90 A2
 Coroner's report on massacre [of 14 women at the école Polytechnique]
 criticizes police and response *[VS] 05/15/90 A1
 Lepine could have shot many others, coroner says
 *[G&M] 05/15/90 A1, A2
 'Thanks to God' mad slaughter [by Marc Lepine] stopped at 14
 *Clips [CH] 05/15/90 A7
 Marc Lepine's suicide note to stay sealed: commission says it can't
 order police to reveal mass murderer's letter
 *Clips [MG] 08/22/90 A3
 Lepine planned to kill 19 more note suggests
 *Clips [MG] 11/24/90 A1, A2
 Note thought to be last words of Montreal mass killer Lepine
 *[VS] 11/24/90 A1, A2
 Mass killer's [Marc Lepine] letter terrifies columnist [Francine
 Pelletier]
 *Clips [WFP] 11/25/90 p1,4
 Paper gets 'photocopy' of Lepine's suicide note
 *Clips [TS] 11/25/90 A16
 Lepine letter frightens columnist [Francine Pelletier]
 *Clips [VS] 11/26/90 A7
 Letter stresses killer's hatred *[G&M] 11/26/90 A4

Police to issue statement over Lepine's letter
 *Clips [TS] 11/26/90 A2

Window on a killer's mind: [text of Marc Lepine's letter]
 *Clips [HCH] 11/26/90 C16

Last words from a woman hater: [text of suicide letter by Marc Lepine]
 *[G&M] 11/27/90 A21

Legacy of the Montreal massacre * [TS] 12/01/90 A1, A8

Day set to honour Montreal women -- Kome
 *[CH] 12/02/90 D3

Haunted by Lepine: spectre of killer still looms over students and
 relatives, and over his best friend * [MG] 12/02/90 D1

Lepine considered himself to be 'a rational, erudite (person)' [text of
 a photocopy of Marc Lepine's suicide letter]
 *[CH] 12/02/90 A7

Remembering the 14 [Montral massacre]
 *Clips [CH] 12/02/90 A7

A year after the trauma, the answers and insights still go begging
 *[G&M] 12/04/90 C1

A year later, the lessons of Montreal still unheeded -- Meek
 *[HCH] 12/05/90 A6

Montreal massacre: Canada will never forget the madness
 *[CH] 12/06/90 A5

Portrait of a misogynist * [VS] 12/08/90 C1

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The making of a mass killer *MACLEANS 102(51)22 12/18/89

The man who hated women: a sick obsession ignites the country's worst
 mass killing [University of Montreal's engineering school]
 *TIME 134(25)34 12/18/89

Massacre in Montreal [École Polytechnique]
 *NEWSWEEK 114(25)39 12/18/89

Montreal massacre *MACLEANS (Clips) 102(51)14-17

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Quebecers confront tragedy *CATHOLIC NEW TIMES 14(1)1 01/07/90

Busy psychiatrists helping Montrealers mend in aftermath of Lepine
massacre *MEDICAL POST 26(1)2.51 01/09/90

At the centre of the backlash: not only were 14 women murdered in
Montreal, the way the story was covered reveals even more about women's
oppression in Canada *CANADIAN FORUM 68(786)14-17 02/90

Je me souviens: a response to the Montreal killings
*FUSE MAGAZINE 13(4)6-10 Spring/90

APPENDIX C

.....died, December 6, 1989

Genevieve Bergeron (21)

... second-year scholarship student in civil engineering ... played the clarinet and sang in a professional choir ... "a real ball of fire and a total woman"

Helene Colgan (23)

... final year, mechanical engineering ... planned to study for her master's degree ... was deciding between three job offers ... "she had so much ambition and hope" ...

Nathalie Croteau (23)

.... a graduating mechanical engineer ... planning on leaving for a two-week vacation in Cancun on December 29th ... "it was starting to look as if all that effort would be paying off" ...

Barbara Daigneault (22)

... final year, mechanical engineering ... teaching assistant at *l'Université de Québec à Montreal* ... "a marvelous girl, very nice, very smart" ...

.....died, December 6, 1989

Anne-Marie Edward (21)

... loved outdoor sports such as skiing, diving and riding
... always surrounded by friends ... "a really sweet kid"

Maud Haviernick (29)

... second-year student in engineering materials, and a graduate in environmental design from l'Université de Québec à Montreal ... giving a class presentation when the gunman entered the classroom ... "it's so absurd" ...

Barbara Marie Klueznick (31)

... second-year engineering ... specializing in engineering materials ...

Maryse Laganriere (25)

... staff, budget department of *l'École Polytechnique* ... the only non-student killed ... recently married ...

Maryse Leclair (23)

... fourth year, metallurgy ... one of top students at *l'École Polytechnique* ... a promising future ... "very intelligent and a woman of character" ...

.....died, December 6, 1989

Anne-Marie Lemay (27)

... fourth year, mechanical engineering ...

Sonia Pelletier (28)

... head of her class ... was due to graduate December 7th, 1989 ... the degree was to be rewarded posthumously ... "she was a brain" ...

Michele Richard (21)

... second-year, engineering materials ... was presenting a paper at the time of the killings ...

Annie St-Arneault (23)

... mechanical engineering student ... was due to graduate the next day ... "she had no faults ... she was very kind and she loved life" ...

Annie Turcotte (21)

... first year student ... a swimmer and diver ... went into engineering so she could one day help improve the environment ... "she had such presence" ...

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