School Success by Gender:
A Catalyst for the Masculinist Discourse

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates the advocacy discourse focussing on boys and men during the decade between 1990 and 2000, as reported in the Canadian and international press. Our objective is to explain the dynamics of this discourse, using the school drop-out theme, which is our field of research, in order to identify other themes that authors link together: suicide, child custody, violence perpetrated by women, etc. The research is based on articles published in Canadian, French, American and Australian daily newspapers and mass-circulation Canadian magazines. The analysis reveals an ideology that questions women's rights and discredits feminism.

In this context, the report makes recommendations on the issue of gendered school success. It is important to dispel the social perception that boys are the only ones having trouble in school. To this end, we recommend that new initiatives be introduced and existing measures reinforced to encourage girls to keep working hard in school. Resource allocation needs to take into account the barriers girls continue to face, and measures must be maintained to encourage them to take an interest in up-and-coming professions and demarginalize such choices for those who dare to make them. As a result of the new issues raised by masculinists, we make a number of general recommendations for protecting the gains that women have made. In particular, we stress the urgency for women to "take ownership" of the Internet. There is also a need to ensure closer monitoring of hate-mongering sites to determine whether legal action should be taken. It is important as well to disseminate egalitarian messages and to support studies that provide a context for problems, such as alleged violence by women.

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ACRONYMS

AAUW	American Association of University Woman
CRCVC	Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime
GEPSE	Groupe d'entraide aux pères et de soutien à l'enfant
IGH	Institute of Gender and Health
MÉQ	Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec
NAPO	National Anti-Poverty Organization
NCW	National Council on Welfare
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SWC	Status of Women Canada
SSHRC	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

PREFACE

Good public policy depends on good policy research. In recognition of this, Status of Women Canada instituted the Policy Research Fund in 1996. It supports independent policy research on issues linked to the public policy agenda and in need of gender-based analysis. Our objective is to enhance public debate on gender equality issues to enable individuals, organizations, policy makers and policy analysts to participate more effectively in the development of policy.

The focus of the research may be on long-term, emerging policy issues or short-term, urgent issues that require an analysis of their gender implications. Funding is awarded through an open, competitive call for proposals. A non-governmental, external committee plays a key role in identifying policy research priorities, selecting research proposals for funding and evaluating the final reports.

This policy research paper was proposed and developed under a call for proposals in September 1999, on W*here have all the women gone? Changing shifts in policy discourses*. Researchers were asked to examine shifts in public policy discourse to anticipate effects on gender issues and develop strategies to ensure the discourses recognize and serve women's interests.

The research projects funded by Status of Women Canada on this theme examine issues such as discourses around mothering under duress, child poverty, gender and academic success, as well as gender equality promotion strategies for regional planning.

A complete list of the research projects funded under this call for proposals is included at the end of this report.

We thank all the researchers for their contribution to the public policy debate.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In less than a decade, unprecedented resistance has sprung up to girls' success at school and to the women's movement. Responding to the fact that more girls than boys do well in school, the movement grew out of an awareness of high-school drop-out rates in the 1990s and the realization that there was a performance gap between boys and girls. It began with a discourse on girls' "triumphant breakthrough" and boys' "malaise," and moved on to point fingers at female elementary teachers, single mothers and feminists before reaching its present position, in which it challenges the school system and co-educational schools. Since the end of the decade, links have been systematically established with such issues as the male suicide rate, boys on Ritalin, fathers gaining custody of their children, the suffering of men, the loss of male identity, false allegations of violence against men, etc. This rhetoric is heard more and more in political environments where the masculinist lobby is active. It is especially evident in education circles in Quebec, where a variety of measures have been introduced for boys, along with major investments of material and financial resources.

Some may be tempted to believe, as implied by this discourse, that giving consideration to the claims about the "victimization" of boys is a fair way to deal with the two sexes. The arguments invoked specifically target women in their quest for equality and justice, holding them responsible, as mothers and teachers, for the problems identified. Many feminists are incredulous to see their own claims used by the proponents of this position. There is even talk about affirmative action for boys, equality, respecting differences, etc.

These arguments are fallacious. First, this discourse disregards the power aspect of relationships between men and women (Foster, 1996) by placing the status and position of men and women at the same level, as though their positions were identical and interchangeable. It then discusses differences where there is a process of differentiation, and tries to make phenomena that are fundamentally social constructs seem natural. Lastly, under the guise of combatting discrimination, this discourse masks a strong resistance to the change demanded by feminists.

It is easy to see that such a discourse raises the question of allocation of resources. Some masculinist sites currently contain a list of all the shelters for abused women, with the amount of subsidies they receive, trying to show that men are not receiving their fair share of public funding. What are the priorities for available funding? Should it be used to encourage girls to consider non-traditional occupations, or to develop programs for boys? To support programs for girls who are having problems in school and teen mothers, or activities for boys that incorporate more sports, extra-curricular activities and computers? Should we turn the clock back, at least to some extent, to a time when boys and girls attended separate schools, given that in identical education programs girls do better than boys and are more persevering? All options for boys are now raised in discussions of gendered school success. Should we go back to the time when programs were based on gender and sexist stereotypes, and reflected an essentialist view of differentiation? These questions have been the subject of rather virulent debate in the media in Quebec and the rest of Canada, Great Britain, Australia, France and the United States.

Over the past decade, there has been a considerable body of research into the performance gap between boys and girls in industrialized countries (Baudelot and Establet, 1992; Bouchard and St-Amant, 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000; Duru-Bellat, 1990, 1993, 1994, 1995; Epstein, 1998; Felouzis, 1990, 1993; Gagnon, 1999; Gilborn, 1997; Hey et al., 1998; Jackson, 1998; Kimmel, 2000; Lingard and Douglas, 1999; Mac an Ghail, 2000; Martino, 2000; Mosconi, 1998; Murphy and Elwood, 1998; Raphael Reed, 1998; Renold, 2001; Sewell, 1998; Skelton, 2001; Swann, 1998; Teese et al., 1995; Terrail, 1992; Wang, 2000). With the exception of more targeted research around the turn of the millennium, scientists have paid scant attention to examining ideologies and analyzing discourses. By focussing on this aspect, our research reveals the need to link socio-political and feminist analysis to educational theory in order to generate the knowledge needed to formulate, orient or defend public and political policy directed mainly at women. The originality of our research lies in its focus on successive stages in developing a discourse of resistance to change, the structure of that discourse, its social context and purposes. This type of research is all too often conducted "after the fact," after women have experienced major setbacks.

The results of our analysis of the masculinist discourse reveal an ideology that aims to challenge the gains made by women and discredit feminism. It is mainly spread through the print media and Internet sites of men's associations that hope to regain privileges lost over the years. Some statements also incite hatred and violence.

In this context, we have made a number of recommendations regarding monitoring of Internet sites. We also recommend that consideration be given to whether legal action can be taken under section 319 of the *Criminal Code*. We feel it timely to recommend a strategy for women's groups to develop and disseminate on the Internet positive, egalitarian messages to counter this discourse. It would also be appropriate to form a network of experts in fields on which the masculinists are focussing. In another vein, we suggest that whenever possible, the release of gendered data be accompanied by analyses that provide a context for these data. Similarly, gendered data collection must reflect the social context from which the data are gathered, and must be integrated with other relevant variables, such as level of education, type of work, ethnic origin, etc. Lastly, we recommend further research, especially in the areas of alleged violence by women and child custody, to determine the empirical bases for the arguments, concepts and statistics used by masculinists.

GLOSSARY

Discourse: Specific ways of organizing information by those who have some authority in order to spread their view of the world.

Educational success: Refers to the communication of attitudes, behaviours and values.

Essentialism: Refers to the innate and natural character of differences between the sexes. According to it, some behavioural characteristics are said to be found among all members of a given gender. Essentialism rejects the point of view that gender is a socially constructed category. This approach rejects the idea of social transformation and the possibility of educational intervention, since the attributes specific to each gender are held to be of an intrinsic nature closely associated with physical or physiological differences.

Globalization: Refers to the expansion of the capitalist system worldwide, in its most liberal form. This unprecedented historical event is being driven by an explosion of information and communications technology.

Ideology: Attempts to impose representations of reality that align with the fundamental principles of the groups that advocate the ideology in question. These systems of representation are not simply superimposed stereotypes, although sometimes they are not far from it. Ideologies assume that there is always a theoretical and doctrinal explanation.

School success/achievement: Refers to education, that is, a student's progress through the school system. This includes the subjects taught, including programs developed by the provincial department of education. Certain sequences of steps lead to a diploma.

Social success: The concept of social success includes the correlation between school-based education and a person's position in society, with the power to effect change.

Socio-biological theories: Theories that explain the social in terms of the biological. The social code that distinguishes and places individuals in a two-tiered hierarchy based on gender reflects a naïve theory of gender differences that espouses the existence of behavioural differences predetermined by biology. However, the psycho-biological explanation of behavioural differences does not reveal the situations that create such differences. If the majority of women or men have one characteristic or another, such as self-esteem, is that characteristic not the result of social interactions? Furthermore, any examination of differences reveals similarities. There are far more similarities between girls and boys than there are among boys or among girls. However, the similarities between the sexes are not as spectacular and so are less likely to be discussed in the media.

INTRODUCTION

Our research comes under the heading of programs that examine "policy shortcomings, trends and new issues." In the fall of 1999, Status of Women Canada issued a call for proposals on the theme "Where Have All the Women Gone? Shifts in Policy Discourses" (SWC, 1999). The research requirement described the following situations:

> Across Western democracies, significant shifts in policy discourses can be observed, often fostering a propensity to neglect a line of argument or analysis based on issues of equality between men and women in favour of other foci whether they be child-centred, family-centred, human- or cultural-rights-centred, or even centred on differences and diversity. Although all these issues are vitally important, this shift restricts more and more the advocacy of women's rights and increasingly portrays it as special interest pleading. . . . The emergence of child-centred policy discourses is apparent in a number of recent developments. . . . This policy discourse masks the problem of women's poverty as well as the primary responsibility women assume for children and the central role most women play in their children's lives. The emergence of "rights-oriented" lobbying seems designed to give a voice to those who have been portrayed as newly disadvantaged groups in the wake of feminism (for instance, men's rights, fathers' rights, parents' rights, children's rights and the rights of the fetus).

We submitted a proposal for research on "Analysis of Policy Discourses on School Success by Gender: Socio-Political Issues for Women." The objective was to describe the context in which a new discourse focussed on boys and men has developed since the early 1990s. However, circumstances led us to examine various masculinist discourses, of which school success or achievement is only one.

From a neo-liberal perspective, we assess the effectiveness of education systems. Many industrialized societies, including Quebec and the rest of Canada, are finding that more boys than girls are having problems in school. Gender-based analysis that identifies gender gaps is a recent development. In the early 1990s, education systems realized that more boys than girls were being held back in the elementary grades. In Quebec, for example, where elementary school normally takes six years, 60% more boys than girls had experienced some delay since 1980 (Brais, 1991, p. 13). In high school, which should take five years to complete, the potential drop-out rate in the youth sector was 50% higher for boys than for girls in 1993 (MEQ, 1993). Conversely, girls get higher marks in language arts in both their mother tongue and second language, and are more likely to graduate and at a younger age — despite teenaged pregnancies, which boost drop-out rates. Some 71% of girls, compared with 55% of boys, go on to the college (CEGEP) level, which normally takes two to three years, depending on course choices. That gap has continued to widen since the early 1980s. Performance gaps are based on several factors: age upon admission, marks on report cards, success rate in passing courses the first time around, average length of studies, and graduation rate. Girls maintain a consistent lead. In Quebec universities over the same

period, the number of women in post-secondary programs rose from 20% of the student population in 1960 to 57% in 1992. There are approximately 12% more female students at the undergraduate level, with numbers about equal at the master's level and women accounting for 30% of the student population at the doctoral level. Since girls get higher marks, a larger proportion of them are able to register in certain programs with enrolment quotas (MEQ, 1993).

Articles in the media discuss girls' "triumphant breakthrough" and are beginning to place increasing emphasis on boys' "malaise." The male identity crisis is mentioned frequently (Bouchard, 1994). Toward the middle of the decade, we begin to see in the media discourses that cast suspicion on female elementary teachers, single mothers and feminists, blaming them for the problems experienced by boys. A key element seen in this period is the emergence of a victimization theme, in which boys are portrayed as being discriminated against by an education system that has become a feminist environment. More space is given to experts who support this thesis, including some from other countries. Co-educational schools are challenged and, toward the end of the decade, we see systematic links established to the male suicide rate, boys on Ritalin, fathers gaining custody of their children, the suffering of male abusers, the loss of male identity, false allegations of violence against men, etc. Lingard and Douglas (1999, p. 96) note a similar trend in the discourse in Australia and Great Britain:

> Additional data are usually used in the media and educational debates asking "What about the boys?" These are to do with differential male/female figures on suspensions and expulsions from schools, behavioural problems, placement in remedial classes, non-completion of schooling, dropping out, suicide rates, juvenile delinquency and so on.

We start to see more and more direct criticism of feminism and of policies that have given rights to women, as well as more and more articles along these lines. In recent years, the growing number of publications about men — such as *Homme et fier de l'être* (Dallaire, 2002) or *Coupable d'être un homme* (Dupuy, 2000) — is also providing material for journalists, frequently the same ones,[1] who are promoting this discourse.

Behind the journalists loom the masculinist groups,[2] steadily building national and international networks and feeding journalists information on recurring events, such as students' performance on national tests (here and in other countries), International Women's Day and Suicide Prevention Week, or current events, such as situations involving spousal abuse or murder linked to child custody and fathers' rights. Criticism of policies, legislation, the administration of justice, education and the allocation of government funding has more and more explicitly come to form the basis of the masculinist discourse.

This discourse also borrows arguments from the feminist rhetoric for women's equality: "There is a . . . rejection of feminism with regard to its relevance to boys' situation, yet also an appropriation of its methodology in the formulation of responses to the problems that boys face in education" (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 55). Those who espouse this discourse are also developing their own terminology, with words like "vaginocrats" or "misandry" creeping into the vocabulary, along with concepts such as "false memory" or

"malicious mother" syndrome, the empirical basis for these concepts being quite nebulous. The discourse draws upon arguments to the effect that men have lost rights and face discrimination, or it denounces the fact that there is no such institution as an international men's day.[3] A process of levelling the power relationships of men over women is taking hold, not only to mask continued inequalities but also to attack some of the gains made by the women's movement.

Our analysis found one clear underlying principle: the desire to return to the traditional patriarchal family, whether by pressure exerted within the family unit itself or through preferential labour market treatment stemming from such a position. We also found that an offensive has been launched to weaken or eliminate some of the gains made by women, which are entrenched in government policy and receive funding. Such policies include equal opportunity programs, policies against sexual harassment, shelters for abused women, the *Child Support Act,* legislation governing child custody orders, co-educational schooling, etc.

A more detailed look at the groups behind the media discourse reveals an extensive network using the Internet to become established and entrenched and express its ideas. We have found a discourse of hate, often violent and unchecked, directed at women and feminists. Far from being an isolated case, this second level of discourse, which could be called "underground" discourse, focusses on the same issues as the public discourse, specifically fathers' rights, but without any of the restraint shown in the public discourse. None of the groups whose sites we visited stated on any of their pages that they did not want to be associated or confused with any other similar group. The resources and referents provided consist mainly of cross-references back and forth across the network. This is one of the peculiar features of the Internet: it enables extremists, racists, supremacists, heterosexists, misogynists, and other individuals and groups from the right and extreme right to openly espouse their opinions without any restrictions. We observed the same phenomenon in a forum held by the newspaper *Le Devoir* in 1999 on the performance gap between boys and girls in Quebec schools.

Our study highlights the fragility of the gains made by women, especially young women. They are the ones who will have to live with the setbacks if the masculinist lobby manages to overturn policies that protect women's rights. It is quite clear that this discourse is raising the entire issue of priorities and the allocation of resources in a context of economic restructuring and declining commitment by governments.

Our analysis of the discourses on school success by gender covers a corpus of more than 500 newspaper and magazine articles, based on an initial inventory published in 1994. There were two reasons for expanding the research to include the whole of the masculinist discourse. The first was the small number of articles in our listings written from the girls' point of view, and the second was the fact that the authors[4] of these articles tended to lump several male issues together. The Canadian corpus includes 374 articles, of which 80.2% are written from the perspective of boys or men (80.21% on the French side and 87.7% on the English side).

In the various sections of the report, we will examine the structure and content of the masculinist discourse, on what and whom it relies, how it is communicated and what it proposes as solutions to the problems it denounces. However, before we get into the content per se, we will examine the economic context that fuelled the emergence of this discourse and its development in industrialized countries. We will then describe our research and the corpus of data gathered for the study. We go on to present a number of tables that compare Canadian English- and French-language media with the media of Australia, the United States and France in the categories of content and interpretation. The next section discusses the textual content and trigger events, followed by a look at social and educational solutions proposed by proponents of this discourse, in order to show and analyze the impact of the discourse. We will also profile the spokespersons for this discourse, i.e., the authors of articles, experts cited, masculinist groups that supply the authors with information, and their Internet networks. The final section of the report contrasts this discourse with some existing factual data on the same issues to demonstrate its biases and limitations. In conclusion, we examine the issues raised by the masculinist discourse and its impact on women and women's groups, and make recommendations for public policy.

1. THE GLOBALIZATION CONTEXT

The implication of the discourse at this time is that women's issues are passé, equality has been achieved; and not only has it been achieved, but now the tables have apparently been turned. In Canada, a line of argument has been advanced over the past decade to support the idea that men and boys are being discriminated against by the school system, the health care system, the legal system and the government. In only 10 years (a very short time from a historical perspective), the women's movement has lost much of its legitimacy in pursuing its goals of equality. Over that period, what we call the "usurpation discourse" (Bouchard, 1994) has emerged. It implies that women are not entitled to the positions they have earned because they have received historical and political preferential treatment in the form of programs, legislation, measures and financial resources as a result of the feminist movement. This discourse is being spread by the media, relying on the arguments of masculinist groups formed and organized during the same period.

This discourse is not unique to Quebec or the rest of Canada, as we will show in our analysis of various key authors below. The discourse emerged in Denmark, Australia and Great Britain toward the end of the 1980s, and then in the United States (Dufresne, 1998), France and South Africa (Epstein et al., 1998; Foster, 1996; Kruse, 1996; Lingard and Douglas, 1999; Messner, 1997). While the phenomenon is seen in industrialized countries in a relatively small part of the world, it receives considerable attention because these are the most powerful countries. Globally it is difficult to argue, for example, that males are discriminated against in education when two thirds of the 130 million children who do not go to school are girls (SWC, 2001). This clarification is important, not only to provide a context for the phenomenon we are studying but also to illustrate the limitations of the essentialist and socio-biological theories espoused in Western countries.

Arguments that rely on hormonal or intellectual differences to explain how school systems fail to adapt to boys' learning styles and behaviour do not have much resonance in the rest of the world. The biological and physiological characteristics of boys are the same in every country. It is important to mention that these approaches assume that biological characteristics produce or explain behaviours that are similar across an entire gender. However, this is not the case.

The education of girls remains one of the key priorities of international development agencies. In developing countries as a whole (UNDP, 2000), the combined gross education rate from elementary school through higher education was 55% for women and 63% for men in 1993, compared to 86% for both men **and** women in the member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

This means that the issue of better school performance by girls exists solely and simultaneously in the industrialized countries. Against a backdrop of economic and cultural globalization, the coincident nature of the phenomenon in these countries makes the related media discourses a global issue. Consequently, a number of Australian and British articles have "made the rounds" of the Western world. A case in point is "Tomorrow's Second Sex,"

an article that appeared in *The Economist* on September 28, 1996 (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 10), and was reprinted in *The Globe and Mail* on October 5, 1996. The article maintains that males are failing in the school system, the working world and the family sphere.

Not only are articles being reprinted, they are also borrowing ideas on how to approach the phenomenon. For example, the article "Pitié pour les garçons, une génération castrée," from *L'Actualité* (February 1, 1992), drew upon the same symbolism used in an article in a British daily headlined "Pity the Man of Today" (Weldon, 1997), in which the author asked whether feminism has gone too far, since boys and men are in a sad state while girls are rejoicing.

Economic globalization, the restructuring of the labour market (the knowledge economy, self-employment, job insecurity, etc.) and the gradual withdrawal of government from a number of the more fragile social sectors have led to a chronic feeling of insecurity in the population, in tandem with a new individualism. Globalization has led to the gradual disappearance of many jobs traditionally held by blue-collar men, either because production costs are cheaper in developing countries or because some primary sectors have changed or are disappearing.

According to data from *Sustaining Growth, Human Development and Social Cohesion in a Global World*, the proportion of men over age 55 in the workforce has been falling since the late 1980s (SSHRC, 1999). For the most part, this decline reflects mandatory and early retirements. More recently, however, a similar trend has been observed in men under the age of 44, as a result of a reduced work supply.[5] Between 1989 and 1995, there was a significant decline in supply in the office work sector and in professions in the primary and processing sectors. Male manual labourers and female office workers were most affected by this phenomenon. On the other hand, as the report points out, the most significant job gains have been in management and the liberal professions (nearly 500,000).

In general, job creation appears to be shifting toward professions that require higher education. Workers with little education are at an increasing disadvantage. Given the shift in demand toward more qualified workers, their situation will continue to deteriorate.

During and after the 1981–82 recession, gaps emerged in the annual earnings of male and female workers in various age groups. There was an overall drop in the earnings of young male workers in most sectors and professions, a phenomenon observed in most Western industrialized countries. The situation resulted in a decline in the real earnings of male workers under the age of 35. Young men's real annual income fell by 20% between 1980 and 1993. Young women did not experience quite so drastic a decline in earnings because they were already earning less than men and still had ground to make up. For men, age is a determining factor, along with level of education.

Given the changes in the labour market since the early 1990s, there is no longer support for the conviction held by men of earlier generations, and by many young men who are not inclined to pursue their education, that all they need to find a good job is to be resourceful.

Middle-class men have also experienced a rocky career path with the arrival of women managers in government and para-public institutions and the administration of large corporations. As Kimmel and Kaufman (1995, p. 18, cited in Douglas and Lingard, 1999, p. 15) write, white middle-class males between the ages of 20 and 40 have been among those most affected by this phenomenon. One American researcher (McCarthy, 1998, cited in Lingard and Douglas, 1999) suggests that this economic insecurity may produce "a resentment politic" in the male population and promote a resurgence of the right wing, racism and various anti-feminist groups.

Another element is missing from this macro-economic and sociological portrait: the new policies adopted by governments to introduce performance and accountability measures in the context of the new knowledge economy. Educational institutions reporting high failure and drop-out rates (especially in some disadvantaged areas where many boys are dropping out) are under considerable pressure.

In the context we have just described, measures to promote equality from a feminist perspective are sharply criticized. The discourse that sees men as victims of a system (school, social, justice or economic) enjoys vast support and justifies lobbying (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 14). Measures, legislation or policies affecting the allocation and sharing of resources between men and women are targeted (Hey et al., 1998, p. 128) by spokespersons for these groups (alimony, equal opportunity programs, community grants). Dufresne (1998, p. 129) suggests:

> Money is the thread binding most masculinist action, especially in the case of divorced men (Comité masculin contre le sexisme, 1993). Fifteen years ago, the Association des hommes séparés et divorcés du Québec (AHSD) encouraged men to refuse to pay child support if they were dissatisfied with a divorce order. The AHSD, now known as the GEPSE [Groupe d'entraide aux pères et de soutien à l'enfant], continues . . . to fight the collection of child support" [Translation].

Masculinists are also attacking traditionally female employment sectors, including health care and education, claiming that there are not enough men in these sectors to serve as role models or understand male issues. Their solution is to obtain jobs for men by hiring them in these sectors. Feminism has become the scapegoat for changes in the labour market and the economy.

This environment has spawned discourses portraying boys as victims of the school system (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 99). Kruse (1996, p. 438) reports that this same dynamic occurred in Denmark a few years ago: "During the 1980s, feminists focussed on supporting and making the restrained and 'quiet' girls visible. The reaction was: 'What about "the poor boys"'? And now the focus is on 'wild boys,' that is 'real boys' and the 'Wild boy' resident within males." She describes the ideas that became popular:

- First of all, school was portrayed as a feminine environment that emasculated boys: "Women are the power-holders. . . . School is a terrible place for boys. . . . They are

trapped by the Matriarchy." Female teachers allegedly do not accept boys for who they are, which explains why they are disciplined more often than girls. In such an environment, even male teachers are obliged to subscribe to women's values.

- In this context, boys were described as victims. They allegedly start school too young and are unable to cope with the feminine pressures. In reality, they are the "weaker sex."

- This led to the following observation: There is apparently a dearth of "real men." Consequently, there is a need to increase the number of male teachers to act as role models. Boys also need to be allowed to express macho values so that they can display their "anxiety-based aggression" (Connell, 2000) through war games and playing with guns.

Kruse (1996) reports that in Denmark this ideology led to a phenomenal increase in projects for and benefiting boys that promoted violence, war and extreme competitive sports.

According to Flood (1997), masculinist discourses in Australia have been developed by a minority of men, but they are making their voices heard in response to changes initiated by the feminist movement over the past three decades. These discourses are centred around three axes: a pro-feminist, pro–gay and lesbian axis; an axis primarily interested in personal growth and healing — the "heart" of the movement according to the author — and an anti-feminist axis, primarily structured around defending the rights of men (see typology of masculinist groups). This last axis, in his opinion, is the most extreme. It is highly visible and enjoys significant popularity with the media, thereby enabling it to solidify its credibility with the population.

Groups defending men's rights are in contact with groups defending the rights of fathers and non-custodial parents. Flood (1997) states that some of these groups are affiliated with conservative Christian groups[6] and view the traditional, patriarchal family as the only "natural" family structure. Other groups hold less nuanced positions but, according to the author, they have a common "enemy" — feminism — while also frequently opposing the gay and lesbian movement and other progressive movements: "Men's rights men blame women or feminism for the harm done to men and argue that men are now the real victims" (Flood, 1997, p. 38).

Various men's rights groups express different positions on feminism, but their viewpoints are generally situated politically between the centre and extreme right. Here are the main themes (Flood, 1997):

- Thanks to feminism, women allegedly now have more choices than men, while men are confined to their traditional role.

- In the past, the feminist movement espoused an inclusive approach based on "human freedom," but the movement allegedly shifted to defending only women's interests.

- Feminism allegedly never tried to liberate men but rather sought to keep them in their traditional roles, primarily as providers.

- Feminism allegedly allowed a conspiracy to form — "Feminazis" — to discriminate against men and cover up violence against them.

- Men's rights defence groups portray men in the following ways:
  - Men are allegedly as much victims of oppression as women, as a result of limiting, destructive gender roles.
  - Men allegedly do not have power or privileges. Quite the contrary: they are oppressed by women.
  - Men are portrayed as "success objects" (by allusion to "sex objects"), bowing under their role of provider and victims of endemic and socially tolerated violence in the form of war and male labour, not to mention violence perpetrated by women. They are also allegedly victims of discrimination in divorce when it comes to child custody, and are unfairly treated by the media.

The preferred issues of these groups are interpersonal violence and legislation on the family and child custody. Flood further states that they support legal action against women and carry out lobbying and harassment. They go so far as to finance investigations to track down abused spouses in women's shelters and obtain information on the private lives of those who work in these facilities (Flood, 1997).

The Australian author expresses concern about the growth of this anti-feminist movement in an increasingly conservative political climate:

> I am very troubled by the organized anti-feminist men's groups in this country, especially as they are making themselves heard in an increasingly conservative political climate. It will be a continual challenge to assert a feminist-sympathetic (and male-affirming) perspective in the presence of such groups and of the ignorance of many men. (Flood, 1997, p. 39)

While acknowledging that anti-feminist debates are dominating the public education agenda at the expense of other issues, Kenway (1996) describes a broader range of positions in the Australian "Boys' Movement." Journalists, policy makers and teachers are concerned that (1) in general, boys appear to be more demotivated than girls, have more behavioural problems and do not perform as well. Others are worried about (2) the low success rate and alienation of some groups, such as those from the working classes or rural areas. Still others wonder about (3) certain psychological aspects, such as the difficulty boys have controlling their emotions and dealing with intimacy, and the impact of these problems on their health and interpersonal relationships. For others, (4) the feminist movement allegedly discriminates against boys.

Despite the diverse positions in the movement, McKay argues that the last point is the one that dominates the media: "The popular press pick up many of these themes and in some

instances elevate them to an extreme level of hysteria and paranoia" (McKay, 1991, in Kenway, 1996, p. 450).

The school and social reforms demanded by feminism are perceived as an attack on men. Kenway (1996) identified a number of strategies introduced to enable boys and men to re-affirm their "superiority": (1) shut down the feminist discourse; (2) pervert it; (3) channel it to respond to the needs of boys; (4) channel it to respond to the needs of others (e.g. re-asserting the value of trade schools); and (5) channel it to respond to the emergence of new male identities.

According to the author, these discussions generate a great deal of antagonism. Groups become polarized: feminists against anti-feminists; women against men; teachers and parents against other teachers and parents. Feminist knowledge and expertise on the social construct of gender developed in recent years is discredited, to return to outdated theories: "The equal opportunity discourse has not developed an overt critique of masculinity per se" (Kenway, 1996, p. 453).

This is the same conclusion reached by Kimmel (2000, p. 14) regarding the United States: "Though we hear an awful lot about males we hear very little about masculinity . . . masculinity — not feminism, not testosterone, not fatherlessness, and not teaching of evolution — is the key to understanding boyhood and its current crisis [underlining in the original]. He goes on to say, "It is not the school experience that 'feminizes' boys, but rather the ideology of traditional masculinity that keeps boys from wanting to succeed" (2000, p.19). This is also mentioned by Adler, Kless and Adler (1992) and Epstein (1998) in their research.

According to Lingard and Douglas (1999, p. 57), who studied the phenomenon in Australia and Great Britain, groups claiming that it is now the boys' turn, because girls have been receiving preferential treatment as a result of feminism, are the same ones who are opposed to equal opportunity programs and equity measures. There appears to be a synergy between the two types of discourses, as we will see in Chapters 5 and 6 when we analyze the content of articles and look at some proposed solutions.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Our research was based on a corpus of 612 newspaper and magazine articles. We use the term "article" to mean any text published in a newspaper or magazine, whether written by a reporter, columnist or reader, including reprints from news agencies. A search using the key words "education-boy-girl-gender-difference-academic success/men-violence-male-fatherhood-suicide" and the French equivalents found 800 articles, 612 of which turned out to be relevant. Keyword searches sometimes find articles that have only a single line relating to the theme, while the content is quite different. The articles came from Canada (187 in French and 187 in English), the United States (61),[7] France (71), Belgium (7), Australia (46) and England (60).[8] The data collection covered the period from 1990 to 2000 (when the research was initiated), using the archives available for each newspaper and magazine. The qualitative analysis in this report deals only with Canadian data. Information drawn from other corpuses will be used for comparative purposes and presented in table form where applicable.

For the French-language press in Canada and Europe, we used the "Eureka" search engine to cover the period from 1990 to 1996 and searched "Actualité Québec" for the period from 1996 to April 2000. The following newspapers were inventoried: *Le Soleil, La Presse, Le Devoir, Le Droit* and *Voir,* as well as the magazine *L'Actualité.* A microfilm search was used to scan the *Journal de Québec* over a two-year period. We used tools such as "Repère" to look at the following magazines: *Châtelaine, La Gazette des femmes, Femme plus* and *Le Nouvel Observateur* in France. "Eureka" was also used to search the following newspapers in France: *Le Monde, L'Express, Le Monde diplomatique, La Croix, L'humanité, L'Hebdo* and *Le Point,* as well as *Le Soir* in Belgium. The "AltaVista" and "Google" search engines enabled us to add a number of other French-language articles from Europe.

For Canadian, American, British and Australian English-language newspapers and magazines, our CD-ROM search started with *Canada NewsDisc* (1997 to March 2000) and *The Globe and Mail* (1991–99). The newspapers on *Canada NewsDisc* are: *The Vancouver Sun,* the *Vancouver Province,* the *Toronto Star,* the *Ottawa Citizen, The Montreal Gazette,* the *Halifax Daily News, The Hamilton Spectator, The Toronto Sun,* the *National Post,* the *Financial Post,* the *Charlottetown Guardian,* the *St. John's Telegram,* the *Victoria Times Colonist,* the *Calgary Herald,* and the *Edmonton Journal.* We continued our search, using "Eureka" on the Internet to cover the period from 1991 to 1996. The newspapers examined were: *The London Free Press* (1998–2000), *The Ottawa Sun* (1999–2000) and *The Edmonton Sun* (2000).

Using the "INFOTRAC" search engine (Université Laval library), we examined the following Canadian magazines: *Chatelaine, Maclean's, Emergency Librarian, Today's Parent, Saturday Night, Canadian Speeches, Ontario History, Alberta Report, Business Week, Report Newsmagazine, Canadian Historical Review, Reader's Digest* and *BC Report.* The following American magazines were also searched: *U.S. News and World Report, Psychology Today, New Republic, World Press Review, Atlantic Monthly,* and *Empathic Parenting* (1990–2000). The "AltaVista" search tool provided access to "First Search,"

a database of abstracts of articles that appeared between 1990 and 2000 in the following magazines and newspapers: *Popular Science, U.S. Chronicle,* the *Humanist, Maclean's, Working Women, Current, World Health, Teen, Parents, Ladies' Home Journal, Time,* the *Education Digest, Science, Natural History, McCall's, Health, Parents Magazine, American Health,* the *New York Times Magazine, Society, Men's Health, Discover, American Health for Women, Reader's Digest (U.S.), Children Today, Fortune,* the *Washington Post,* the *San Francisco Gate* (1995–2000) and *U.S. News and World Report* (1999). Consulting various Internet sites using "AltaVista," we were able to add the Raleigh, North Carolina *News and Observer* (1994–2000); for Great Britain, the *Guardian* (1999–2000) and the *Herald* (1999-2000); and for Australia, the *Sydney Morning Herald* (1998–2000) and the *Canberra Times* (1999–2000). Given the limitations of the search engines used, it is quite likely that there are many more articles dealing with related topics than were included in this research.

The NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing) software was used to conduct a qualitative analysis of article content, which made it possible to classify and code textual and unstructured data. The software also facilitated efficient management of the text, simplified the material classification stage and helped us to formulate explanatory theories.

All of the material was first digitized and then captured for classification purposes, i.e., divided into sequences, with the sentence as the smallest unit. In our research, we preferred to use larger meaning clusters in order to preserve the context in which ideas are expressed. "Meaning cluster" in this case refers to an idea as developed by an author. Each cluster is then coded according to the categories being examined. A single meaning cluster could be coded into several categories. Some of these categories were predetermined and some emerged from the analytical process. They were determined by consensus among the members of the research team. Using a randomly selected sampling of newspaper and magazine articles (the same for each member of the team), we conducted a categorization exercise. Comparing the results, the team clarified definitions and added new categories. This process was repeated until the classification produced the same understanding of the categories used. As work progressed, this internal validation process made it possible to define an analytical structure, which is referred to as a concept diagram in software jargon.

The diagram in Appendix I provides an overview. In this study, the analytical structure covers (1) descriptive and informative categories, such as the name of the newspaper, the year of publication, the name of the author and the title of the article; (2) content categories relating, for example, to trigger events, experts cited or arguments developed; (3) interpretation categories that situate the meaning within the framework of our disciplinary approaches; and (4) a "proposed solutions" category to identify not only the key elements of the discourse but also proposed solutions.

Before we describe each of the categories used for the analysis, it would be helpful at this point to give the reader an overview of the categories.

Descriptive and Informative Categories

Descriptive Data
Descriptive data relate to authors (name, sex), newspapers and articles (headlines, names, year of publication, etc.).

Trigger Events
Articles are often written after specific events, which serve as a support or referent, such as:

- the release of government or para-public agency reports and statistics, such as notices from the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du Québec (1999) or the results of national tests;

- highly publicized events, such as the suicide of a famous journalist or a spousal conflict;

- consciousness-raising activities, seminars or presentations related to the themes of the discourse, such as the first seminar on the status of men, the establishment of a masculinist group, a presentation by an expert, the formation of a coalition, etc.;

- the release of books or research findings by universities or private institutions, such as William Pollack's book *Boys Will Be Boys,* Pierrette Bouchard's research on the school performance gap between boys and girls, or a report from the Fraser Institute (1999);

- events with symbolic status that are celebrated or commemorated annually, such as Fathers' Day, Suicide Prevention Week or the tragedy at the École Polytechnique.

The Type and Nature of Referents Used
The authors' line of argument often relies on referents with varying degrees of scientific knowledge:[9]

- for example, the author uses an event in daily life to illustrate his point and cites the testimony of people involved in the event (e.g. a parent describing his son's situation at school);

- statistics for which sources are cited, sometimes with all the related information (e.g. boys' suicide rate compared to suicide attempts by girls), and sometimes without;

- scientific research findings;

- books based on personal opinion.

People Cited in Support or Criticized
The authors cite various individuals as experts in the field, relying on the opinions or writings of particular individuals or criticizing certain others:

- for example, researchers (e.g. university academics, students, research agencies or centres);

- individuals in the field: practitioners, front-line workers (e.g. school principals, school psychologists, teachers, social workers);

- parents discussing their own children's experiences;

- managers and administrators of public and private institutions (e.g. government employees, representatives of universities, colleges or school boards);

- witnesses to the event (e.g. divorced fathers, abused women, students at risk);

- other journalists or letter-writers (e.g. columnists, editorial writers, "ordinary citizens");

- political figures (e.g. MPs, ministers, prime minister);

- leaders of interest groups or social movements (e.g. unions, masculinist groups, feminist groups, women's movement);

- on behalf of the general public (e.g. voice of the people, society, the common good);

- other famous people (e.g. celebrities).

Content Categories

The content categories divide the arguments used into 12 segments or sub-categories.

Nature Arguments
These arguments put forth the theory of natural differentiation between men and women, considered to be two distinct species. Biological differences, including sex hormones, neuronal functioning (differences in the brain), cognitive functioning (e.g. men's abstract skills and women's language skills) or the expression of emotions (e.g. passivity in women and aggressiveness in men) allegedly explain differences in skills, abilities and behaviour.

Historical Arguments
These arguments use history to affirm differences between men and women (e.g. the real impact of advocacy by the feminist movement on legislation, measures or programs; the impact of co-ed schools; a reminder of the roles that men and women have held at different times in history; use of mythical images).

Arguments Related to Families
These arguments consider the family to be the primary agent of early socialization: the child's first social network; family members (mother and/or father) are responsible for communicating values (e.g. the impact of the presence or absence of a parent, types of families or ways of communicating values to boys).

School-Related Arguments
The school environment influences the child's development. Schools assume responsibility for the secondary socialization of youth. From this perspective, the school or school staff can be held responsible for boys' situation at school or their identity. This category of arguments includes the positive or negative influence of teaching staff of the same sex as students, the issue of the number of female teachers, a discussion of their attitudes and behaviours to foster school success or their interactions with the student population, and questions about the organization, use and appropriation of school space by either sex.

Arguments Related to Social Actors
These arguments maintain that the situations in which individuals find themselves are due in part to their own actions. Personal involvement, efforts, investment made, personal motivations, interest in or enjoyment of education and learning, or an explanation of their situations based on their belonging to a specific gender group can be used to explain the phenomena examined.

Ideological Arguments
These arguments refer to an effort to raise the awareness or consciousness of the social actors. Feminism, masculinism, Marxism or other ideologies are used to make social actors aware of social inequalities.

Socio-Political Arguments
Arguments in this category are defined as socio-political because they illustrate various power relationships between men and women. They borrow from the theory of domination and oppression to describe either men or women as dominant or dominated. In this category, the articles may discuss fathers who claim to be oppressed because their custody rights are taken away, or the school success of girls, which does not necessarily translate into social success.

Socio-Psychological Arguments
This category covers arguments relating to building the socio-sexual identity. For example, to explain boys' malaise or men's problems, authors rely on such themes as the loss of the male identity or the quest for a new identity, the consequences of redefining traditional social roles or pressures to redefine them (e.g. women asking men to express their emotions, or the role of provider no longer being valued now that women have access to education and are taking their place in the workforce).

Cultural Arguments
Here, the media are seen as agents of socialization for the proposed social models or stereotypes. The arguments presented are based on the cultures specific to each of the sexes (e.g. guns are related to the male culture).

Arguments Related to the Political Apparatus
The arguments presented in this category relate to state institutions, such as governments, the courts or legislation and responsibility for the status of either sex (e.g. the courts allegedly being more likely to give women custody of the children in divorce cases).

Economic Arguments
The financial status of men and women is central to this type of argument. For example, it covers men who see themselves as nothing more than breadwinners, or discussions of excessive alimony payments.

Arguments Related to Violence
This category includes arguments related to violence, based on gender (e.g. violence by men is the result of an accumulation of various wrongdoings, or violence perpetrated by women and their false accusations of violence).

The "Main Argument" Category
In order to facilitate analysis of content, we created a generic category called "main argument" to identify the dominant thrust of an article. While the purpose of the other categories is to systematically identify the presence of various types of arguments, in this case the purpose is to determine the central argument behind the article.

Interpretation Categories

As explained earlier, these categories propose interpretive avenues based on our previous work (Bouchard, 1994) and the scientific theories developed in the field of women's studies, educational research and other relevant disciplines. These categories are expressed and flow one from the other, while content categories were intended to be exclusive. By their very nature, interpretation categories reflect more detailed thought, although they are derived from the content categories. The interpretation process assumes a give-and-take between the theoretical knowledge available and the empirical data in order to determine the significance of the phenomena studied.

The Victimization of Men and Boys
This first interpretation category brings together arguments that present boys and men as victims or foster that perception. They attribute the problems they are experiencing to external factors (Hey et al., 1998, p. 129).

The Fault of Women, the Fault of Feminists
This category is linked to some extent to the previous one. It covers arguments showing that the women's movement, feminism, women, mothers, single mothers, female professionals, feminists or female teachers are responsible for men's problems (e.g. because of feminism, women are apparently more socially advantaged than men and have access to more assistance programs; or it is single mothers' fault that boys have no male role models in the home to shape their male identity).

The Theory of Communicating Vessels
This category leads to an analysis of arguments claiming that when something is given to one gender, it is taken from the other. This means that measures taken to help one sex have a negative impact on the other (e.g. steps to counter sexist stereotypes in school are reduced to a process of feminization that fosters girls' success and leads to boys' failure at school).

Transgression
Transgression relates to arguments based on the idea that girls or women are infringing on domains previously reserved for boys and men. These arguments imply that girls and women are not necessarily fully entitled to their gains (e.g. access to education or the job market, or parents' entitlement to custody of their children). These arguments claim that

girls or women owe their success to circumstances rather than their personal efforts or abilities (e.g. higher marks at school, equal opportunity programs, so-called "female" learning styles).

Levelling or Denial of Any Inequality Between the Sexes
These arguments are based on a denial of relationships of power and inequalities between men and women, relationships for which women continue to suffer the consequences in their personal and social lives (the themes ignored in this discourse are covered below). They essentially place men and women on an equal footing, a strategy that then makes it possible to argue, for example, that women are just as violent as men.

Categories of Proposed Solutions

These categories bring together proposed solutions to overcome the problems raised. They are divided according to whether they are of a school or social nature, relating to:

- the return to classes or schools segregated by sex;

- maintaining co-educational instruction;

- adding teaching and non-teaching staff to help students at risk;

- getting parents more involved in their children's education;

- providing more male role models, e.g., by hiring more male teachers in the elementary grades or helping fathers to gain custody of their children;

- the imposition of admission quotas in some college or university programs to ensure the presence of boys or men;

- the elimination of equal opportunity programs that favour women;

- the creation and improvement of assistance programs for men through a more generous allocation of funding;

- the introduction of gender-based interventions, e.g. using computers to help boys learn French, and embroidery or needlepoint to help girls learn mathematics;

- amending legislation or changing public policy to meet the needs of boys and men;

- using advertising in the media and setting up awareness programs;

- more effective socialization of boys.

The Research Question and Analytical Methodology

The purpose of the analysis is to identify the elements that answer the research question. In the initial proposal, this was worded as follows: "How specifically was it possible to develop in discourse (and thinking), over a period of less than 10 years, such unprecedented opposition to girls' achievement at school" [Translation]? Given the very nature of the discourse, we expanded our research to include the backlash against feminism.

There were two phases in the analysis: After an open-ended reading of the materials, we organized the interpretation categories into meaning clusters. This was mainly a rebuilding process designed to determine what meaning should be attributed to the statements.

After presenting our research findings, we offer readers our thoughts on the form of violence that amounts to "hate-mongering,"[10] and on attacks against women and feminism.

Internet Research

Our analysis revealed a number of men's groups behind the stands taken; either the authors were members of these groups, or journalists gave them visibility by covering some of their activities. We wanted to find out more about these groups by searching on the Internet. On the English side, we found several groups with roots in American bodies with international connections. On the French side, there do not appear to be any branches but, in two cases, there is a system of referral to common resources.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE

This section presents the results of the statistical and qualitative content analyses.

Comparative Statistical Data

Tables (provided in the appendixes) were prepared to present a visual display of some relevant information on authors, trigger events, peak periods, and types of magazines or newspapers. Among the questions they answer are the following: Who is writing? What is the frequency of material from the same author? Do certain newspapers promote this discourse more than others? What is the comparative distribution of coverage of various issues? The tables also provide a comparison of the Francophone and Anglophone press in Canada on these same questions, as well as the press of the other countries surveyed.[11]

Statistics on Major Topics Covered in the Articles[12]
Table 1 (Appendix III) reveals that the issue of education, specifically boys' problems, slow learning or drop-out rates, is one of the major themes addressed by the discourse. It is raised 283 times in the 552 newspaper or magazine articles, ranking as the top concern in all countries except the United States, where it still ranked second, with fatherhood or child custody in first place. The importance attributed to education confirms the relevance of our research proposal.

Violence ranked second in the Canadian English-language and Australian press, and third in the American press. The theme appears 110 times in 552 articles. In France and in the Canadian French-language press, the themes of masculinity (or male identity) and fatherhood (or child custody) occupied second and third position respectively. These two themes combined were among the main topics, with 184 references in the 552 articles. These were the most frequently discussed topics, with other themes, including suicide, remaining marginal. Outside Canada, where suicide ranked fourth (35 mentions in 374 articles), there are few mentions of that theme. Only a few themes were found to be central: education, violence, fatherhood and masculinity. Moreover, because of the way in which authors combine them, themes tend to overlap and intertwine repeatedly.

Statistics on Content Categories
As explained in Chapter 2, we created 12 categories to classify the meaning clusters of the content of newspaper and magazine articles.

Table 2 (Appendix III) shows all the argument categories used in each of the countries to support the discourse. The table reveals that the "cultural arguments" category — one of the three argument categories used most often — is dominant in all countries. It occurs most often (in first place) in the French-language press in Canada, and in the United States, Australia and France. Bear in mind that this category covers arguments related to the specific cultures of each sex, differentiated roles, role models and socialization. These statistics show that societies share the same regard for culture as a primary, although not the only, element for understanding, explaining or claiming different treatment. However, the

American press (75% of articles) and Canadian English-language press (62.5% of articles) focus much more than others on this approach. It is also important to note the similarities between the Canadian English-language press and the Australian press, as the top three topics for both are cultural arguments, school-related arguments, and essentialist or nature arguments. Does this illustrate a deeper concern for boys' school-related problems? Not necessarily; rather, it reflects a desire to blame schools for the problem instead of society or the dynamics of male-female relationships.

Essentialist arguments (which came third in the Canadian English-language press and appeared in 25% of Canadian French-language articles) come under the heading of natural differences between men and women and refer to biological characteristics (e.g. hormones or brains) to justify differentiated treatment.

In Canada's French-language press, socio-political arguments are the most prominent (64%). France is the only other country to refer to these arguments nearly as often. They rank second among the arguments used most frequently in that country (46%), equally with historical arguments. This situation reveals some similarities between the two Francophone societies.

Socio-political arguments relate to power relationships between men and women, and explain inequalities by using the theory of domination. Thus, masculinists blame their problems on the oppression inflicted on them by women as a social group. Historical arguments deem certain events in history to be the cause of differences in the treatment of men and women in women's favour, or recall a "golden age" of masculinity and demand the restoration of these lost privileges. Not surprisingly, this is the second most frequently used argument in the Canadian French-language press. Dumont and Lanthier (1998, p. 104) were not surprised to find various types of resistance to feminism in their review of the magazine *L'Actualité*: "Resistance is sometimes expressed explicitly, sometimes rhetorically, by promoting conservative, even anti-feminist ideas" [Translation].

France has a more balanced distribution, if we can call it that, of the most frequently used arguments, with topics tied for first place (cultural and psychosocial arguments) and second place (political and historical arguments). Psychosocial arguments refer to the building of identity and deal with themes such as the loss of the male identity or the quest for a new identity, and the consequences of redefining traditional social roles.

In the United States, we see a unique combination of dominant arguments. In first place are cultural arguments, as in other countries (except for the French-language press in Canada); behind them, arguments related to families (in second place) and ideologies (third place) are most frequently reported. Bear in mind that the second set of arguments questions the father or mother and his or her role in the communication of values, or attributes blame for the problems identified. Ideological arguments involve a structured approach to raising the awareness or consciousness of social actors in an unequal social situation for an entire gender. Masculinism is presented in these situations as the equivalent of feminism, as a social movement that pretends to speak on behalf of all men.

Statistics Related to Interpretation Categories
With the exception of France, where the order is reversed, in all other countries surveyed (Table 3, Appendix III) the "victimization of boys and men" category dominates the discourse, followed by the "fault of women, fault of feminism" category. The percentages show the relative ranking of each category for all articles in each country. For example, of the 187 Canadian English-language newspaper and magazine articles, 124 (66.3%) mention the victimization of boys and men, and 79 (42.2%) criticize feminism, women or the women's movement. Of course, a single article may include comments that fall into several categories, which is why we analyzed their relative ranking in the corpus. In the Canadian French-language press, the first category appeared 62% of the time and the second 50.8%.

Clearly, these two categories play a key role in structuring the discourse presented in the newspaper and magazine articles used in the analysis. They outnumber other arguments 2 to 1 or 3 to 1 in nearly all cases, a finding that is consistent with the observations of other researchers outside Canada. Table 3 also shows that the United States is the primary source of the discourse on the "suffering" of boys and men, and the promoter of the theory of communicating vessels. In the former case, Lingard and Douglas (1999) point out the special tone of the American argument, which they call the "cultural flavour of therapeutic self-help." In the latter case, this category contains arguments claiming that what is given to girls is, by that very action, taken from boys. This argument is presented almost twice as often in the United States as in other countries.

In terms of criticism of feminism, women or the women's movement, France comes in first place, followed by Francophone Canada. This raises the question of whether certain cultural characteristics are at work in developing the internal logic of these discourses — characteristics that come from the very dynamic of the social relationships between the sexes among Anglo-Saxons or among Francophones of Latin origin, with Quebec being at the crossroads of the two. In France, masculinists are apparently less likely to choose a "poor us" strategy regarding their situation, preferring to criticize feminism and the women's movement.

It is interesting to examine the intensity of the arguments in each corpus, i.e., how often the same argument is repeated (Table 4, Appendix III). We do this by counting the number of meaning clusters (excluding quotations) related to an argument in relation to their total number. It is important to understand that in this analysis, a single article may repeat the same argument two or three times, and so the total number of meaning clusters is greater than the number of articles. However, unlike the first tables, where content categories may be mixed together, in this case they are separate and distribution adds up to 100%.

This new way of presenting the data validates the discourse categories identified in Table 3. In both cases, the first and third categories (victimization of boys and men, and fault of women, fault of feminism) account for 70% of the arguments used in the Canadian English-language press, 72% in the Canadian French-language press, 70% in the American press, 66% in the Australian press and 79% of the arguments used in France. Clearly, this is a two-pronged, somewhat simplistic discourse, and it is relatively consistent in the countries examined (except for France, which tends not to deny so strongly the power relationships

between men and women — a concept referred to as "levelling" in the category designations).

Comparison of Evolution in Themes in English-Language and French-Language Press in Canada

Articles reporting boys' school-related problems began to appear in the Canadian English-language press in 1998, following the release in British Columbia of the Fraser Institute report (Cowley, 1999) entitled *Boys, Girls and Grades: Academic Gender Balance in British Columbia's Secondary Schools.* In the French-language press, this theme surfaced at the start of the decade. By 1999, this aspect of the discourse had spread across Canada and produced a record number of articles.

Material about the suicide of boys was particularly prevalent in the Canadian English-language press in the early 1990s. These articles coincided with the death of rock star Kurt Cobain, declining slowly thereafter. In the Canadian Francophone press, this was a recurring theme throughout the period studied. Articles dealing with violence and fatherhood, on the other hand, were evident throughout the decade in English Canada. As for the types of arguments used to explain the phenomenon, we found on both the English and French sides that there was some evolution in the discourse. The causes of men's violence were explained initially in biological and then in cultural terms. Among women, the causes of violence shifted from cultural to biological, as though the idea was to connect violence to nature on one side while doing the opposite on the other side.

As a final observation, we saw earlier that authors in the English-language media relied much less on political arguments than their Francophone counterparts. Problems raised are seldom discussed on the Anglophone side in terms of social inequalities — cultural arguments are used instead — while among Francophones, this is the dominant category. The Francophone media tend to rely more on the rhetoric of the feminist political left.

The qualitative analysis of the content presented later in this paper is based mainly on the meaning clusters combined in the interpretation categories, and deals only with the Canadian content.

Distribution of Articles in the Canadian Press

Our analysis of the distribution of articles in the Canadian press shows that the discourse has been concentrated in the media of major metropolitan areas in central Canada.

Canadian English-Language Press
The percentage breakdown of the 187 articles in the corpus is as follows:

Publication	Percentage	Publication	Percentage
Toronto Star	29.0	*Financial Post*	1.6
The Globe and Mail	16.1	*Chatelaine*	1.6
The Vancouver Sun	10.2	*Report Newsmagazine*	1.6
The London Free Press	8.1	*The Hamilton Spectator*	1.1
National Post	6.5	*Victoria Times Colonist*	1.1
The Montreal Gazette	5.9	*The Edmonton Sun*	1.1
Vancouver Province	3.2	*Halifax Daily News*	1.1
Calgary Herald	2.7	*Natural Life*	0.5
Maclean's	2.2	*Canadian Living*	0.5
Edmonton Journal	1.6	*BC Report*	0.5
Ottawa Citizen	1.6	*Western Report*	0.5
The Toronto Sun	1.6		

These figures show that in English Canada, six newspapers account for 75% of all written material on the topic (the *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Vancouver Sun*, *The London Free Press*, the *National Post* and *The Montreal Gazette*). The remaining 25% is distributed among 17 other newspapers and magazines in the country. More than 50% of the masculinist discourse carried by the English press in Canada originates in Ontario. The three urban centres identified by the Anglophone axis are Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal.

Table 5 (Appendix III) shows the geographic distribution of articles in English-language newspapers (excluding magazines). Clearly, Ontario and British Columbia play a preponderant role in putting forward this discourse.

French-Language Canadian Press
The percentage breakdown of articles (187) in the French-language press in Canada (Table 6, Appendix III) is as follows:

Publication	Percentage	Publication	Percentage
Le Devoir	26.2	*La Gazette des femmes*	3.8
La Presse	25.6	*Châtelaine*	3.2
Le Soleil	19.1	*Le Journal de Québec*	3.2
L'Actualité	10.9	*Le Journal de Québec*	1.0
Le Droit	6.5		

The data show that three newspapers (*Le Devoir, La Presse* and *Le Soleil*), compared with five on the English side, account for 70% of all articles on the topic in question. Bear in mind that the total French-language production (187 articles) is the same as the volume of English-language production, which is in itself revealing of the place the discourse holds, specifically in Quebec. More than 50% of the masculinist discourse carried in the Canadian French-language press originates in Montreal, while in Ontario the same percentage comes from the Toronto area — both large urban centres.

Further relevant information can be gleaned by analyzing the chronological distribution of the articles (Tables 7 and 8, Appendix III) that form the basis of the discourse. On both the English and French sides, there were a great many articles in 1994–95 and 1999–2000. Looking at Tables 9 and 10, we can see that a number of trigger events produced a veritable media avalanche.

Trigger Events: Quantitative Comparison Between the English-Language and French-Language Press

Although trigger events fall into a broader range of categories, analysis shows that there are five major types of events: the release of books (not necessarily scientific) or research findings, the release of official or statistical reports, symbolic events such as the shootings at the École Polytechnique, events that received a great deal of media coverage, and consciousness-raising activities.

Canadian English-Language Press
In the English-language press in Canada, we identified 129 trigger events in the 187 articles in the corpus, as described in Table 9 (Appendix III). The percentage breakdown was as follows:

- 32.5% were based on books and research findings;
- 26.3% referred to statistical data or official notices published by high-profile public and private groups;
- 17.8% stemmed from symbolic events that received media coverage[13] (e.g. the anniversary of the shootings at the École Polytechnique and the White Ribbon Campaign);
- 14.7% were based on items in the news;
- 6.2% were related to conferences or meetings;
- 2.3% were of some other kind.

Of the 42 articles prompted by the release of research findings, one third are linked to the release of the Fraser Institute report (Cowley, 1999), including 13 in 1999 and one in 2000. Fifteen other studies comparing the schooling of boys and girls also served as triggers during the period between 1994 and 2000.

The release of statistical data is the second most important type of trigger event in Canada's English-language press (34 articles). Most articles concerned data released by Statistics Canada (13 articles in response to such data, including 1 in 1991, 4 in 1998, 4 in 1999 and 4 in 2000), followed by data from the Council of Ministers of Education of Canada (10 articles in total, including 1 each in 1991, 1995 and 1997, 2 in 1998 and 5 in 1999), and from the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du Québec (4 articles in 1999).

Table 9 (Appendix III) lists these trigger events and their chronological distribution in the Canadian English-language press.

Canadian French-Language Press
Some 119 trigger events were found among the 187 articles in the French-language corpus (Table 10, Appendix III):

- 49.5% referred to statistical data or official notices published by high-profile public and private organizations, such as a survey by *La Gazette des femmes*, a joint House of Commons and Senate report, the presentation of briefs to the Parliamentary Committee on Child Support, government policy on sexual assault, the report of the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, or the notice from the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du Québec;
- 17.6% were related to symbolic events that received media coverage;
- 11.7% came from books and research findings;
- 10% were based on items in the news;
- 3.3% were related to conferences or meetings;
- 10.9% were of some other kind.

Unlike the process we saw emerging in English Canada, the trigger events for the French-language press were primarily statistical data or official notices published by high-profile private groups. It is worth noting that 35 of the 59 articles that fall into this category dealt with the notice from the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation (1999), a response comparable to the reaction generated by the release of the Fraser Institute report (1999). In Quebec, however, the former gave rise to nearly three times as many articles as the latter.

Some other points of comparison include the fact that the English-language press relies more on research and books (three times as much), while the French-language press draws on other articles or television programs (classified as "other"). The rates are similar for the other categories — symbolic events, items in the news and organized activities.

We identified recurring trigger events that make it possible to predict when these discourses are likely to appear. Specific examples include articles on legislation and programs regarding divorce and child custody for which the timing is known; data that attempt to show the gap between boys and girls in school, which appear mainly at the beginning of the school year or whenever national test results are announced; and symbolic events marked every year, such as International Women's Day, Father's Day, Suicide Prevention Week, etc. Since these events

are relatively predictable, it might be appropriate to monitor their impact by conducting related analyses and gathering research data on them (see Recommendations section).

Qualitative Data

In this section, we discuss the arguments on which masculinists base their advocacy discourse and how they try to convince the public, through the media, that the women's movement has made men victims of a new social system dominated by feminist values. Excerpts were taken from the 374 articles published in the Canadian English-language and French-language press and used for the purposes of our study. It is clear that the feminization of the school system is the main battle cry of the masculinists, although other issues are also used to demonstrate the discrimination and sexism men allegedly face in school, the family, the workforce and the courts.

Arguments of the Masculinist Discourse
The cornerstone of the discourse is that the women's movement has achieved gender equality and that, as a result of the battle waged by women, they have managed in the space of a few decades to catch up to men in virtually every field. Women have allegedly gone beyond equality and relegated men to second place, even in fields that were traditional male domains. The situation between men and women has therefore apparently been completely reversed in favour of women.

Here are two examples of this type of argument implying that girls have surpassed boys in all areas. The first is taken from the article "Pitié pour les garçons," published in *L'Actualité* (February 1992), and the second appeared in *The Vancouver Sun* (March 1, 2000):

> "Being a man is no longer very interesting," states a sexologist at the Hochelaga psychology clinic and professor at the Université du Québec à Montréal. For girls, everything now seems possible. We ask, even plead with them to choose a career in science. To be pilots, firefighters, police officers. . . . For boys, nothing is possible any more! They appear destined to play second fiddle from now on. Being a boy today seems to be completely out. More and more, Quebec society is interested only in girls, our hope for the future, living incarnations of a better world and a glowing future, while boys are denounced as the guilty heirs to centuries of violence, war and destruction [Translation, 920201a].[14]

> Now, suddenly, the tables are turned. In the blink of an eye . . . the whole victim scene has undergone a sex change. Boys are foundering, says the research. Across North America, boys are trailing girls in most subjects. They're dropping out earlier, taking the rap for rising school violence, gobbling the lion's share of Ritalin and Prozac, and committing suicide at alarming rates. And girls? Coming up roses, from pre-school through post-docs, public and private, same-sex and co-ed. It's a girl's world." [000301vs]

The message is clear, if not convincing: while women enjoy a trouble-free existence, things are going terribly wrong for men.

In the Family
According to the masculinist discourse, feminism has reversed the "essential and fundamental values of the family" [Translation, 910724p], again giving women the upper hand. While women are asserting their independence and taking on new roles, men are finding themselves deprived of their identities as fathers:

> This loss of identity is slowly evolving into the belief that men have become unnecessary. Even their role as procreator has become optional . . . At the same time, women remain "indispensable" in their role as mothers, since cloning is certainly not something that will become widespread tomorrow. At the same time, they are entering fields previously reserved for men and thereby enhancing their own sense of identity [Translation, 990705dr].

This social displacement of men, begun in the family, is also carrying over into education and the workforce.

In Education
At university, the doctoral level is the only place where men still outnumber women, who are in the majority at the B.A. and M.A. levels:

> The Conference of Rectors reports that, since 1994, female students have become the majority in master's-level university courses: last year, they represented 51.2% of master's registrants. At the doctoral level, men are still in the majority, holding 59.8% of places. However, the trend shows that every year women are gaining ground, at all levels of university studies. This is a "steady but not disturbing trend," one rector joked. [Translation, 960928s]

Is this really funny? The concern itself appears to be quite genuine because some people are suggesting a restructuring of school to better serve the interests of boys, as well as the establishment of quotas[15] to slow the advancement of girls, who are currently in the majority in previously male-dominated fields such as law and medicine. The pure sciences and engineering are the only areas in which women have yet to catch up:

> Without a restructuring of the school system that would more fully meet the special needs and interests of boys, there will be fewer and fewer men attending university. . . . "If there is no change, I would support the introduction of quotas. . . . We would take the top 50 boys and the top 50 girls." Will we also begin to see men demanding their own affirmative action programs [Translation, 940222d]?

Faced with the strong performance of girls, some authors comment, as in a *La Presse* article headlined "La misère scolaire des garçons": "Where are all the great women inventors,

architects, philosophers and explorers? We must admit that they are most conspicuous by their absence" [Translation, 991025p(3)]. This type of comment is trivial, to say the very least.

In the Labour Market
Masculinists argue that we should fear for the economic situation of men because even though they still control the economy, they are actually its first victims:

> Much to their surprise, men still control the economic landscape, but they are paying the price: men have higher alcoholism and drug-abuse rates than women, and they suffer more stress-related illnesses. Their drop-out rates at the college level are higher and lastly, as a combination of all of these factors, they die seven years younger than women [Translation, 980531p].

From the masculinist point of view, men are allegedly at a clear disadvantage compared to women because the sum of their privileges is wiped out by the fact that women live longer than they do. What bothers masculinists is that girls' success at school — they make no distinctions — may qualify them for better jobs: when jobs are scarce, those with the best degrees and education will have the advantage. The girls appear to have figured this out, but not the boys:

> What we can now add to this picture are data regarding the differing attitudes of young men and women on the value of education. Recent research, for example, shows that teenaged boys do not seem to be making the link between schooling and success in the labour market. . . . These attitudes contrast strongly with those of adolescent girls and young women, who are much more likely to be convinced that getting a good education will pay dividends in the future [990504GM].

Masculinists therefore use the threat of unemployment and the lack of opportunity for boys who drop out of school to back up their victimization discourse:

> Since 1990, women in Quebec have experienced less unemployment than men. . . . Since that date, the percentage of men in the labour market (participation rate) has fallen steadily (from 75% to 70%), while the participation rate of women has remained stable (around 54%). . . . If we can predict the future from the indicators of the Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec, it will belong more to women than to men. . . . Should we not be focussing on the plight of men [Translation, 990315a]?

What can we say about the gap between 54% and 70%? In line with their victimization strategy, masculinist groups imply that women are doing so well in everything they undertake because all of the attention in the past few decades has been focussed on girls, paving the way for their success. The argument is that either measures in favour of females have had a demotivating effect on males or that absolutely nothing has been done for boys:

"We looked at what needed to be changed for women and made some changes, but didn't make changes for men. It's like we forgot half of the equation," says an executive director of the Calgary Counselling Centre and mother of two boys. "If things weren't OK for girls and women, we made the assumption they were OK for boys and men. We assumed wrong. Loosening the gender straitjacket for one sex seems to have tightened it for the other" [991112ej].

Has the school system abandoned boys? Did it forget them over the past two decades when, in the wake of the feminist movement, the focus was on the social advancement of girls? That is the impression many parents have, some of whom even say that school, consciously or unconsciously, is biased against boys [Translation, 991121p].

Both of these comments illustrate the increasingly strong pressure being placed on decision makers to implement measures for boys and analyze the reasons behind their poor performance: "Boys are the forgotten ones, it is time to pay attention to them, take another look at their education, admit that they are different and foster their emotional development" [Translation, 980620p(2)]. Too much time and space have been given to girls.

Those Responsible for Men's Sense of Helplessness
For masculinists, who of course claim to speak for all men, women are primarily responsible for making men feel inferior. Whether they be mothers, wives, ex-wives, female teachers, managers or professionals, they are individually and collectively responsible for all the ills suffered by the "stronger" sex; they are the architects of the decline of men, their identity crisis, the loss of their parental rights, etc. But even worse than "women" are feminists, whom masculinists ruthlessly attack. In particular, they denounce the "plot" that feminists, working in complicity with governments, judges, police officers and the media, have supposedly hatched against fathers and men accused of violence.

The Fault of Women
The masculinist discourse accuses the women's movement of being the main cause of male helplessness. First of all, when it comes to love, men apparently no longer know how to behave toward the other sex, how to be a man, simply because women no longer know what it is they expect of a man, as expressed in this excerpt: "The male identity is affected. Guys say: 'What should I be: gay? bisexual? macho? We don't know what women want any more.' Female psychologists and career counsellors are accustomed to this type of talk" [Translation, 000217s].

In family relationships, women are apparently taking on too much. Masculinists claim that, since women have become emancipated, they have robbed men of their parental role and their sacred responsibility as providers. In the view of some, this may be contributing to the rising suicide rate for adults between the ages of 20 and 44; at least, that is what one journalist suggested in an article that appeared in *Le Soleil* during Suicide Prevention Week in February 2000:

>And men, statistically speaking, are the hardest hit. Some authors see a link
>to the gains made by feminism. "Since women have taken control of their
>fertility, the man's position in the family has become optional, secondary,"
>she writes. "The roles have now become almost interchangeable and it is no
>longer clear whether there is a specific role for men, other than biological."
>The breadwinner is gradually fading away [Translation, 000217s].

In cases of divorce and separation, masculinists complain that the father is deprived of his right to fatherhood and has become nothing more than "a gene pool and a cash machine" [Translation, 950215p], that mothers strive to alienate children from their father by keeping custody of them with the complicity of judges. This is one of the dominant themes in the Canadian press and the same types of comments are repeated year after year: "In this society, fathers 'lose their sons five minutes after they are born'" [Translation, 910625p]; "They are a forgotten folk, lost amid the *sturm und drang* of women's rights and a lopsided judicial system that, it is widely perceived, still favours the mother as custodial parent" [a940608TS]; "We often forget that fathers . . . no longer have a role to play with their children. That they no longer feel useful . . . joint custody is granted by the mother" [Translation, 960612dr]; "These men feel that their 'parenthood' has been taken from them" [Translation, 971015a].

In the view of masculinists, distancing fathers from their children has a dramatic impact on the way in which young men define their masculinity, especially since boys raised by women in a single-parent home, already deprived of male role models in their family, find themselves "in an essentially female world" [Translation, 950308s] when they attend elementary and high school.

The Fault of Feminists
Feminists have apparently betrayed men by failing to honour their promises of justice and equality between the sexes. This is the claim of the masculinist discourse that seeks to undermine the gains of feminism in order to re-establish traditional, pre-feminism, male values. There are many examples of criticism of feminism throughout the Canadian press, with the French-language press giving this argument significant space. *The Globe and Mail* asks, "Wasn't feminism suppose to be about abolishing double standards?" [980307GM]. In French-language newspapers, we find such comments as "an essential and radical feminism that led to a mistrust of male values" [Translation, 991016p]; the "castrating effects of agonizing feminism" [Translation, 991231dr], and "an exaggerated and anti-male feminism" [Translation, 001024s].

In more concrete terms, the criticism of feminism is centred largely around criticism of a "feminized" school system, but it also includes a denunciation of the alleged feminist plot against men.

The Feminization of School
Feminists have allegedly imposed their values and their view of the world on school, rejecting and renouncing in a single stroke all that is male. Since such a school system is not adapted to boys, they have learning problems that cause them to lose interest in education.

The following excerpts from newspapers and magazines give a general idea of the criticisms of the education system, the central idea being to re-create a school where boys could again decide the rules of the game:

- Feminized teaching methods and programs do not reflect the male character. Boys get bored and drop out. "My own view — and that of a host of experts — is that many teenage boys find public school boring. And I don't think it's necessarily their fault. The current crop of school courses can be pretty sleep-inducing for red-blooded young men" [000208vp].

- The cooperative and group approach promoted by feminist teachers cannot give boys the motivation they need to "perform." To be successful, they need competition and spartan discipline. "One psychologist also wonders whether boys, being more rambunctious, don't need closer supervision and stricter discipline. 'Are boys really being well served by the way we teach children today?' he asks" [Translation, 990316d(3)].

- Mixed classes do not allow boys to externalize their masculinity, putting them in contact with girls who are more mature. These classes are tailor-made for girls who are "naturally" docile, obedient, compliant and eager to please. However, they are contrary to the "nature" of boys, who prefer to be moving around, squabbling and ignoring instructions that impede their creative growth. "In the words of one teacher, girls adapt better to the school setting, which requires compliance, discipline, attention to detail, etc. 'There is an instinctive energy in boys that is repressed at school,' he believes" [Translation, 940222d].

- During in-class evaluations, teachers (for the most part, women) appear to show a sexist bias against boys. It is even suggested that "test questions seem to be systematically biased in favour of girls" [Translation, 990610p] and that researchers suspect "the existence of a negative bias against boys in classrooms" [Translation, 991121p].

- Provincial tests covering knowledge of the mother tongue, whether English or French, allegedly discriminate against boys. Part of the reason that boys lag behind girls at school is said to be that they tend to consider language, writing and literature feminine activities. Rather than recognizing this as sexist stereotyping, masculinists argue that the books selected by female teachers are more suited to the interests of girls and that teachers are not fair when correcting writing assignments:

  When it comes to writing, research has shown that teachers tended to place more emphasis on form and less on content when correcting the written work of girls, and do the opposite with boys' work. According to one teacher . . . the content of the material that students are asked to read is more interesting to girls [Translation, 990610p].

- The fact that there are very few male teachers at the elementary and high-school levels places boys at a disadvantage. Not only are they in an almost exclusively female environment, but the lack of male role models can further erode boys' interest in school:

"The exodus of men from the ranks of teachers, however, could eventually rob our
children of the wide variety of male role models and the opportunity to witness a healthy
collegiality between the sexes in the very first work place most students get to see from
the inside on a daily basis — the school" [990901tsun].

All these elements are combined in an urgent appeal for a school system that no longer
favours girls but lets boys be boys, whatever that may mean: "We do not want our boys
dropping out, we want them to be understood and accepted as boys. We do not want our
schools to produce sissies, timid men, fake boys" [Translation, 991113p].

The Feminist Plot
Masculinists would definitely like the family to return to traditional values and men to reclaim
the position they held in the past. However, under the pressure of feminism, they argue, the
laws have been changed to the disadvantage of men and many men find themselves falsely
accused of violence and abuse and unjustly stripped of their rights. In this case, the discourse
focusses mainly on the abusive definition feminists allegedly give of violence, the claim that
women are just as violent as men, the sexism of the judicial system, and the inequitable
distribution of resources between victims and abusers in cases of spousal violence.

- Masculinists claim that feminists go too far in their definition of violence, using
  questionable methodology in their research to show that men are violent and generalizing
  violent behaviour to all men. Unfair generalization is actually a characteristic of the
  masculinist discourse, as we will see in Chapter 5. Feminists confuse the "natural"
  strength and aggressiveness of men with violence, which means they see it everywhere.
  Even Marc Lépine's crime, in the opinion of some proponents of the masculinist
  discourse, should not be treated in such an exaggerated manner:

    They habitually say that the truest lesson of the Polytechnic shooting is that
    our society is too violent and that we — that is, you, you men and boys —
    need to be inculcated from earliest childhood to be gentle and mild. . . .
    Lepine's crime was horrible not because it was violent, but because it was
    criminal. Why won't feminists acknowledge that? [c941210fp]

- According to the masculinists, men and women are equally violent and it is about time
  that the figures given by feminists in their research include men who are victims of
  spousal violence: "'One woman in five is a victim of spousal violence. . . . But a number
  of university studies have found that one man in five is as well!' If these figures are
  accurate, why have they never been released? The masculinists believe there are two
  major obstacles that would explain this phenomenon: the feminist plot — obviously! —
  and the indifference of the media and governments" [Translation, 9807CHAT].

- Rightly or wrongly, men accused of spousal abuse are presumed guilty and become the
  victims of a "veritable sexism-based legal terrorism" [Translation, 000916d]. Judges
  tend to believe the woman and, despite all the good will of the fathers, they always rule
  in favour of the mothers, depriving men of their parental rights. For men, the legal battle
  is lost before it begins: "It doesn't do a man any good to fight the system. If he does, he

risks facing criminal charges. When a man finds out that his wife has filed for divorce, there is nothing left to do but throw his clothes into a garbage bag and rent a small basement room" [Translation, 970425s].

- The government's refusal to allocate the same resources to men dealing with psychological problems as to women who are victims of spousal abuse is seen as a sexist measure and as validation of the plot concept:

> Behind each of the 24 men, there could be just as many murderesses! Not only do these figures provide a basis for challenging the current inequitable distribution of public funding between men and women in the battle against violence, but they also call into question the existing arbitrary arrest policy, applied almost exclusively to men, and the treatment of men by the justice system, which borders on parody: the police threaten the man so that the ex-wife can take away his house; Crown prosecutors representing the ministry refuse to show the accused the plaintiff's written statement, which means he cannot defend himself, which is bordering on illegal [Translation, 980410d].

To conclude this section on who is responsible for the suffering of men, we will quote the words of the president of the Groupe d'entraide aux pères et de soutien à l'enfant, who, seeming very sure of himself and speaking as though he represented all men, stated, "We are the feminists of the late 1990s. We are the ones who are calling for gender equality" [Translation, 970129s]!

The Justification of Men and Boys
In addition to explaining men's problems by the oppression they have apparently suffered at the hands of women and feminists, masculinist groups rely on cultural and socio-biological arguments to highlight the problems men have when confronted by women who are increasingly accomplished and confident. In a society where violence is constantly in the headlines and where men are accused of being the primary instigators, they have to justify the aggressive behaviour of males. They therefore look for various types of justification that will enable them to shift the blame from men and deny any fault for the unchangeable aspects of their being, because it is the fundamental "nature" of men.

Cultural Arguments
Among the cultural arguments most frequently repeated by the masculinist discourse is the argument of men's suffering and the impact of socialization on specific social roles.

The suffering of men is allegedly neither understood nor accepted. Society apparently expects men to hide their suffering and be strong. This expectation makes it very difficult for men to ask for help when they are in distress. This situation is then linked to suicide as an effective means of ending the pain: "'Society values self-sufficiency and independence in men and stigmatizes expressing suffering and asking for help.' In reality, since men have trouble expressing their feelings and rarely do so, 'suffering is expressed by actions.' This

means that suicide is often a man's ultimate attempt to regain control of his life, his pain" [Translation, 000214d].

Masculinists claim that women in particular refuse to listen to the suffering of men or acknowledge that men also suffer when they are divorced or separated from their children: "Separated and divorced men suffer, even more than women because of their 'low level of social support.' Often, we find that the wife is their 'sole source of affection and intimacy.' This situation leads to loneliness and vulnerability" [Translation, 000217s].

Moreover, men seem to have trouble expressing their suffering. When they are feeling distressed or rejected, rather than seeking help they prefer to act, whether that action takes the form of violence toward themselves (e.g. suicide) or toward others: "The male role model must hide his emotions. Men must solve their problems alone or risk losing their virility. When there is a family conflict, men often refuse the help of a mediator and end up committing suicide after rejecting the help offered to them" [Translation, 981027d].

In Quebec, men's suffering is apparently even less acceptable than elsewhere, according to a researcher and professor of social work at McGill University:

> The image of the Quebec male is not only one of power and privilege, he
> says, but also the image of the absent father, wife-beater, pedophile, sexual
> predator and rapist. In short, a completely immoral man, a torturer who does
> not know the meaning of suffering. . . . "His suffering is unwelcome, and
> there is no room for it" [Translation, 000218s].

Socialization with male role models is becoming increasingly difficult, according to the masculinists, because there are so few men in boys' day-to-day environments, whether in the family (where more and more children are growing up without their fathers) or at school (where male teachers are still few and far between). Refusing to model their behaviour on their mothers, who are members of the "opposite sex," boys look to their peers to find out what masculinity is and to fill the "large void" left by their fathers' absence:

> For children, their role models are first and foremost their parents. For a boy,
> that model is the father. The father's absence creates a large void that the
> young boy has a lot of trouble filling. I believe that the absence of the father
> is directly linked to a boy's failure to perform [Translation, 991025p].

Biological Arguments
The masculinist discourse is increasingly relying on this type of argument in an effort to prove that men really are different from women, that it is impossible to change the male character and that boys just need to be allowed to be boys, as they often say. We will give just a few excerpts of this type of argument here to show the form this justification of male behaviour takes.

- Using the effects of evolution to "explain" violence and "abuses of power" by men:

  As though two million years of evolution have left no trace in the neurons of the male brain. . . . If primitive man had become an emotional male, no one would be here today to talk about it, the human race would have simply disappeared. This may explain many of the abuses of (physical) power by men, although it does not justify them [Translation, 991231dr].

- Using the XY chromosome to account for the fact that boys express their emotions differently:

  For U.S. family therapist Michael Gurian, author of *The Wonder of Boys*, it starts at conception — boys are different emotionally, he says, because of what the XY chromosome does to the structure of the brain and to the production of the rate of that damned hormone, testosterone. Either way, worldwide research has produced stunningly consistent snapshots of the emotional lives of girls and boys, and they're as different as Barbie and the Incredible Hulk. [R9908Chat]

- Boys' neurological weakness explains their learning problems: "A slight difference in the neurological ability to process verbal or non-verbal information can make all the difference. Boys are more fragile neurologically" [Translation, 970104d].

- Testosterone explains why boys are more aggressive than girls: "The male hormone, testosterone, probably also affects behaviour. . . . Since aggressiveness is partly innate, is it really possible, as some hope, to eliminate it from human behaviour" [Translation, 920201a]?

- Differences in brain function, different types of intelligence and cognitive differences:

  Based on educational studies, the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation also says that cognitive styles are there for a reason, i.e., the way that boys and girls store and use the information given to them. For example, boys are apparently more inclined to analyze situations because they are confronted with their physical environment from infancy. Girls, who are more inclined to explore the social world, seem to develop a more holistic way of thinking [Translation, 991014JQ2].

- Boys mature more slowly than girls:

  Why are boys not doing well in school? One of the simplest reasons is because girls and boys do not mature at the same time. Girls mature earlier than boys do. This means that small boys are competing with big girls. Moreover, because the girls are bigger, they set the tone for the classroom and the pedagogy is focussed on them [Translation, 991021s].

By using socio-biological theories, masculinists are able to claim that men and boys are victims of discrimination because of their special nature, argue that the feminized school system is not adapted to boys' learning styles, and justify boys' violence and aggressiveness by factors beyond their control.

Qualitative Comparison of the English- and French-Language Press
As we saw when we were compiling the interpretation data, the qualitative analysis of English- and French-language newspapers and magazines reveals, first and foremost, that the masculinist discourse is very similar across Canada. Over the past 10 years, it has gathered a great deal of momentum and added new arguments to its strategy of representing the male as victim. From simply denouncing situations masculinists consider unacceptable, it has moved to a more "structured" discourse designed to win over more and more individuals and institutions that are letting themselves be convinced of the so-called abuses of feminism. No one likes to think that "their" son is doomed to failure.

Both Anglophones and Francophones use the same local, regional or national events as springboards for their claims, always taking care not to mention the benefits and privileges men and boys enjoy around the world. It would certainly be risky for masculinists to acknowledge the low literacy rates and poverty of women in most countries of the world. The tone adopted by masculinists in the English-language press is sometimes less aggressive than in the French-language press in terms of criticizing the feminization of education. The discourse focusses on denouncing a gender-based school system that apparently does not meet the specific needs of boys, thereby running the risk of impeding boys' integration into the job market over the short and long terms.

What is most striking among the Francophone media in Quebec is the way in which masculinist groups defend males. Acting as though they are the only ones able to stand up to women and feminists, they put down their own sex:

> They have become fugitive wimps, a trait that is widespread in Quebec. Ask almost anyone: Quebec men are worse than others, they back off at the first sign of conflict and act like doormats. This seems to be due to a combination of complexes derived from being colonized and from experiencing a castrating matriarchal heritage exacerbated by feminism and rising unemployment (the provider is now deprived) [Translation, 991021d].

This discourse undoubtedly pleases men who are content to see themselves as victims, but how can it convince those who recognize that the women's movement has helped to liberate them from the traditional, patriarchal values that masculinists are defending?

Lastly, it is important to note that both Anglophone and Francophone masculinist groups know how to derive maximum benefit from media coverage. Making better use of this strength could, in the view of one spokesperson for the masculinist movement who is full of confidence and hope, "mean the emergence of a social movement, or at least awakening to the threat of an exaggerated and anti-male feminism" [Translation, 970131p]. Very much

aware of the persuasive power of the print media on public opinion in a world where knowledge and information are increasingly transmitted through the media, masculinists are choosing to use political language and jump at any opportunity to have their views published. Hey et al. (1998, p. 129) report that there could be no movement in favour of boys before in Britain "because earlier work had failed to construct a political language — and an activism — around equity beyond competing claims about oppression."

4. SOLUTIONS PROPOSED IN THE DISCOURSE

Various authors suggest different solutions to end the "misery of boys" and the "suffering of men," as some put it. Recommendations focus on two levels, primarily intervention at the school level and at the broader social level. Both levels will be examined in structuring our analysis of the proposed solutions.

In the first part, we see that the authors suggest various ways to help boys who are having problems at school. We have grouped the many suggestions into seven thematic sub-categories, the top four being gender-based intervention, segregation of classes or schools, increased interaction of men with boys to serve as role models, and improved programs to reflect the needs of boys. The other categories, though less well-represented, are nonetheless noteworthy. They advocate returning to traditional values, setting quotas and launching advertising campaigns. As we will see, these suggestions flow directly from a "discourse of usurpation" (Bouchard, 1994). The development of that discourse is based on the following arguments: (1) girls are infringing on an area previously reserved for boys and receiving preferential treatment; (2) the school system is not adapted to boys, the role models and culture being mostly female; and (3) school does not reflect the different "nature" of boys. Examples are given to illustrate each of these aspects.

The second part, which covers the recommendations on a social level, is divided into five sub-categories, some of which stem from the same logic prevalent among the school recommendations: gender-based intervention, the presence of more male role models, improved assistance programs and consciousness-raising programs for men, a return to traditional values, and changes to legislation. The suggestions flow from masculinist discourses supporting the concept of "discrimination against men." This notion is paraded out whenever there is any mention of suicide or violence, along with such concepts as "good masculinity" and "bad masculinity."

Lastly, our analysis of the articles revealed solutions that go against the dominant masculinist discourse. In the limited context allowed by the over-representation of the solutions mentioned above, intervention with students who have problems at school, regardless of gender, may appear to be marginalized. However, this represents an important counter-discourse that reflects the status of girls. This approach includes such concepts as differentiated socialization, gender-based social roles and sexual stereotypes. In the third and final section, we return to these concepts by presenting three categories: maintaining co-educational schooling, changing boys' perception, and parental involvement. Tables 11 and 12 (Appendix III) show the distribution of the proposed solutions in the Canadian English- and French-language press.

Here again, a comparison of the data shows the predominance of school as a theme in both Francophone and Anglophone Canada. It also reveals a number of distinct cultural features. For instance, differentiated intervention is more prominent in the French- than the English-language press as a means of solving various male problems. Thus, the solution may be to deal with boys differently in the school system, to "adapt to them," or to do so in the rest of

society. Similarly, a return to single-sex schools is more frequently put forward as a solution by proponents of the Francophone discourse. As we will see below, this solution goes hand in hand with a suggested return to traditional values, which is more widely espoused in the Canadian French-language press. On the other hand, in the English-language press in Canada, the suggestion that there be more men to act as role models, both in school and in society, is much more prominent. This shows that there are two trends or axes of intervention. While both communities agree with the need to re-affirm the differences between the sexes and intervene in different ways, for Anglophones the main focus is on solving the school issue, notably by providing boys with more male role models, while for Francophones the solutions advocate taking a step backward by returning to single-sex schools and resurrecting traditional values.

School-Related Recommendations

Differentiated Intervention
It is clear from reading the press that gender-based intervention is the solution most frequently put forward by authors in both French and English Canada. Indeed, that solution accounts for nearly one quarter of all proposed solutions.

Several Francophone authors suggest that the way to eliminate the school performance gap between girls and boys is to take into account the special "character" of boys, specifically by incorporating more action-based learning activities. One Anglophone author also suggests "structure, competition and very direct instruction" [000222np]. The refrain "let boys be boys" is constantly repeated in English-language articles in Canada. In the Francophone media, one of the solutions is to work with the "active personality" allegedly unique to boys. To achieve this, some authors suggest "stricter discipline" [Translation, 990316d-3] in class, while others suggest that there should be more tolerance for a "less structured and noisier" environment [Translation, 951108d]. Other suggestions include training "teachers . . . to deal with the more rambunctious character of boys" [Translation, 960928s-3] and changing "the expectations of teachers because they appear to be geared more toward the behaviour of girls" [Translation, 990316d-2]. One English-language author, thinking along the same lines, suggests initiatives "that would instil more male-centred methods for boys" [00222np].

As we will see later, this type of suggestion is made mainly by groups that defend the rights of men and by conservative groups (advocates of stricter discipline) that believe the school system itself is at the root of problems boys face at school. Those who support the idea of victimization argue that if boys' behaviour is perceived as problematic at school, it is because they are judged by feminine standards and by female teachers who are incapable of coming to terms with who they are.

In line with that logic, some authors suggest that learning activities and courses be adapted to "natural differences," sometimes called "individual differences" [Translation, 940222d], between boys and girls because, as some Francophone authors argue, "girls have better language skills and boys have better spatial orientation skills" [Translation, 991122d]. Consequently, it is necessary to "have more periods of recess and physical education" [Translation, 991016p], "use embroidery and needlepoint to teach girls mathematics"

[Translation, 94gaz], "make literacy more relevant to the interests of boys" [981104ts], "have boys-only classes for language-based activities" [Translation, 991014s] or, more broadly, "demonstrate to young boys that culture and knowledge (literature and social studies, in particular) are not the sole domain of women" [Translation, 950216p]. These comments reflect an essentialist perspective and the concept of usurpation, especially in the last recommendation. In English Canada, considerable attention is paid to the pace of learning: "It makes sense to pitch the curriculum to boys and girls differently; at a different pace, in a different style" [961119TS]; "Teachers can support different styles of learning, not to mention different paces" [000301vs].

Lastly, some suggest introducing "concrete measures" [Translation, 990316d-2] based on experience and practice, i.e., adapting pedagogical approaches to help boys learn. The argument is that boys would learn more "by working with their unskilled hands, since they lack fine motor skills" [Translation, 991016p-2]. Some suggest promoting the use of the computer because "they [boys] get a real feeling of manipulation" [Translation, 991016p-2] and "[making] reading and writing more attractive [to boys] . . . because they don't like reading books, but like the computer" [Translation, 991014p-2]. One English-Canadian author mentions an experience in Britain: "England is using sports teams in boys' reading promotion" [990318GM]. In short, we have to take another look at educational programs "to more fully reflect boys' interests and skills" [Translation, 980620p-2] because "boys have a need to push the envelope" [980727ts]. Here again, we come back to the idea that the true "nature" of boys is being put down and that the school system is not adapted to their forms of expression. The Canadian English-language press is lobbying to find a remedy by using the same efforts used to help girls. The discourse is punctuated with expressions like "Now it's the boys' turn" [990504GM], "It is time to focus on boys" [990519vs], "The time is right now . . ." [990520vs] and "The time has come . . ." [991112ej].

Single-Sex Schooling
The second category of solutions put forward to solve boys' underachievement at school brings together suggestions for single-sex schooling. As we saw in Tables 6 and 7, this category ranks second among the most frequently offered solutions in the Canadian press. Although some recommendations also allude to the success of girls, they all focus on improving boys' school achievement. Some authors in favour of single-sex schooling would like to see it applied system-wide, with some schools exclusively reserved for boys and others exclusively reserved for girls. A variety of arguments is used to support this suggestion, specifically that girls "perform better among themselves" [Translation, 990214p], that "they see themselves in female role models because the best [student] can only be a girl" [Translation, 96gaz], or that co-educational schools are "inhospitable places" [Translation, 990415a] for boys, which is in keeping with the idea of the school environment being designed for girls. To support this last hypothesis, the argument is made that "the two sexes do not learn in the same way: girls learn by listening and observing, and boys by acting" [Translation, 990415a]. The same authors claim that single-sex schools would boost boys' self-esteem because they are confused by girls' "physical and psychological maturity" [Translation, 990414a]. One English author offers a similar argument: "Boys . . . do better in reading and writing when free of domination by linguistically advanced girls" [961119TS].

In addition, the Canadian English-language press insists that girls are a distraction for boys, based on a conservative view of social relations between genders held mainly by Christian groups. According to the authors, single-sex schools would enable boys to concentrate on learning: "Boys can focus on learning without the social distractions of the opposite gender. But now, with public concern rising over sexual harassment in co-ed schools . . . boys' schools are billing themselves as an idea whose time has come again" [961119TS]; "It's worth considering . . . especially in the hormone-charged years of junior high. If you provided a setting for boys that was like that, you eliminate that element of distraction" [991205ej]. These comments reveal a narrow, traditional view of gender relations in which girls are temptresses and boys subject to their sexual impulses (Bouchard, 2001). Other authors add: "[There are] several advantages to this type of school, including the lack of female distraction. 'In class, boys can be more themselves without the pressure of female observation'" [980808gm]; "The boys feel less need to show off for the girls" [980302BCR]; "Some educators have advocated boys-only schooling as a solution to this perceived crisis, arguing that boys are distracted by girls, and different physical and mental development rates between boys and girls" [980808gm].

This brings us back to the "natural" differences in the development of boys and girls and the idea of the "girl temptress" used to promote a return to a gender-segregated school system. When girls first gained access to education, the sexes were kept separate in the name of a sexual morality that sprang from a narrow view of sex roles: the girls were temptresses and boys subject to their sexual impulses. This view still persists among some proponents of single-sex schooling, as we found in the media discourse:[16]

> When schools were segregated, teachers liked to take on challenges and they chose to work in boys' schools. They liked to teach because they knew how boys behaved. . . . the problems that exist in co-educational schools do not exist in private single-sex schools [Translation, 991113p].

English-language authors share this view: "But boys' schools are specialists in boys' education" [961119RTS]; "Critics say equity programs caused the [problem] in the first place, by giving unnecessary advantages to girls. That, combined with a dearth of male teachers, has given rise to a feminized school system, and the only solution is a return to segregated schooling" [980302BCR]. This comment, which combines arguments about a dearth of male role models and the preferential treatment of girls in recent years, promotes all aspects of the usurpation discourse. An Anglophone author expresses this idea: "For a long time we have focussed on girls, and quite rightly too. And the time is right now for us to spend more time and money on us looking at boys" [990520vs].

According to Lingard and Douglas (1999, p. 96):

> The media representations and related educational debates argue more than [the] differential one-dimensional male/female performance and behaviour. . . . They argue an improvement in the overall academic performance of girls and a decline in the overall performance and behaviour of boys, that is, there is an implied historical element in the argument. Most often this is argumentation

via assertion and clever headlines, rather than reasoning from extensive and pertinent empirical evidence. The same is true at times of readings of the relevant data within some schools. However, there is not all that much readily available historical evidence that allows us to make definitive statements about such changes and for a long time girls and boys basically participated in different curricula.[17]

Although most authors support a return to single-sex schools, several others suggest creating only separate classes within co-educational schools, "where young people would be able to display gender-appropriate attitudes" [Translation, 960401a]. Canadian Francophone authors suggest creating activities restricted to children of the same sex, "at least in subjects where the gaps are widest" [Translation, 991016p]. This suggestion is most often raised in discussions on how to get boys interested in reading and writing, or girls in mathematics. One English-Canadian writer asks: "How do you make it 'manly' to read? Schools must find ways to engage boys. . . . They often excel in all-boy classes" [980305hdn]. Others explain that more subjects should be divided by gender, "not only reading/writing" [Translation, 991016p-2]. As we saw in the previous paragraph, English-speaking authors put forward the argument that boys find it easier to concentrate when there are no girls around: "There seems to be more opportunity to focus" [980226GMB]; "role modelling, the focus on classroom and studies, can give each gender a better opportunity to grow and develop at their own pace" [980601gm]; "Maybe a boy at a time when he's coping with his emerging masculinity is embarrassed to try to speak in front of a female teacher and his female classmates" [990605GM].

Increasing the Number of Male Teachers and Male Role Models
The suggestion that there should be more male role models in school comes up time and again in the articles analyzed, especially in the Anglophone media, where it ranks third among the solutions proposed. For Francophones, the main goal is to "restore the value of the male identity" [Translation, 991030d] by strengthening the male role model in school. The specific target is elementary school, where "identifying with males is critical" [Translation, 951108d], and the suggestion is made that "men be given incentives (bonuses, premiums, hiring priority) to come and teach at the elementary level" [Translation, 991016p-2]. One author asks, "Where are the men who can serve as their models and mentors and explain what it [all] means? In short, share their experiences with them, show them how and why to grow up" [Translation, 991030d]. This type of solution is again based on the criticism that the school environment has more (too many?) women than men, leaving a dearth of role models for boys. One English-speaking author expresses this point of view: "Faculties of education are struggling to address the problem and some school boards are looking at programs to put male mentors into the classroom as teaching assistants" [920816ts].

As Lingard and Douglas (1999, p. 57) explain:

> The situation is such that any call for more male teachers must be handled
> with caution, with the danger being that an influx of conservative and
> uncritical men could simply reinforce more traditional patterns of gender
> relations, rather than contribute to achieving more equitable gender relations
> through schooling. It is interesting, but perhaps not surprising, that the call

for more male teachers, often from those expressing men's rights or masculinity therapy stances, is not accompanied by a call for more women in senior positions in schools and educational systems.

A decade ago, we challenged this approach (Bouchard and St-Amant, 1993):

> Therefore, for girls, the gender of their role models would not affect the development of their "femininity." Girls would not resist models of the opposite sex (therefore less stereotyped), while boys would. It would appear that there are elements here that would lead us to believe that this theory of conflict arises more from the restrictive effects of their sexual socialization than from the feminization of the elementary school. Chaponnière (1987) appropriately recalls one of the implicit sexist assumptions that guides gender-based psychology, that: "the acquisition of gender models and/or the genesis of the gender identity is closely linked to the relationship with the parent of the same gender" (Translation, Chaponniere in Lempen-Ricci and Moreau, 1987, p. 5 [For an analysis of theories on gender roles and models, see Mac an Ghaill, 2000]).

In the context of the masculinist discourse that advocates a renewed appreciation of fathers and the value of "good" masculinity, we also find solutions that encourage paternal models: "The involvement of fathers [is] one of the key conditions for boys' success" [Translation, 991014s]; "Fathers [must be] more involved in supervising homework and [must undertake] cultural activities with their sons" [Translation, 991114d]; "Teachers and parents — especially fathers — have to make sure that boys read and write as well as girls do" [991014GM]; "The 'how to,' although in its infancy, will develop easily once parents and educators recognize this non-dominating masculinity" [Translation, 951108d]. The concept of "good" masculinity is also found in a number of English-Canadian recommendations: "Boys need shoulder-to-shoulder male role models" [991112ej]; "'I'm not just teaching kids how to play football,' says the genial 37-year-old father of four, including two young boys. 'I'm teaching them how to be young men'" [991027ch].

The discrimination discourse underlying all of these recommendations is especially evident in the Anglophone environment: "The lesson here is that boys need help as much as (more than?) girls, but they're not getting it" [960120GM]; "I have two boys, and I think perhaps a little bit more male influence in school would be useful and natural" [051203TS]. Both of these statements highlight the usurpation idea, which argues that girls have appropriated (or received) resources to help them at boys' expense. Other authors argue along the same lines:

> Would it be blasphemous to suggest that boys do learn differently from girls and require models of education different from what currently is offered? I hope that those responsible for these reforms, when developing new programs and materials, take into account the need to address the growing gap between the success rate of girls and that of boys [990405gm].

"Colleges, once mainly concerned with actively recruiting women to teach math and science, are now giving preferential treatment to male candidates interested in a career in primary education" [920816ts]. In the Anglophone community, an urgent need is clearly felt to strengthen male role models in school. A direct appeal is being made to the highest educational authorities, and immediate changes are being demanded, notably by lobbying for the hiring of males, as shown by this comment: "[He] urged university faculties of education to encourage young men to consider teaching the early grades" [98-323ts]. Therefore, the recommendation to hire more male role models goes hand in hand with the suggestion to change school programs.

Improving Programs

The introduction of new educational programs ranks fourth among the solutions discussed in the Canadian media. This category deals solely with boys' school achievement; for Francophone authors, among other things it translates into the creation of "'affirmative action' programs to foster boys' success and advancement" [Translation, 960928s-3]. The issue is "ensuring equal representation of the sexes on certain para-educational committees where there are currently only girls. A type of positive discrimination in favour of boys" [Translation, 990316d-3]. Other authors suggest "providing special support to school boards that find innovative ways of supporting boys. . . . Lastly, form a committee to oversee the improved achievement of boys" [Translation, 991016p-2]; "To put the school more in tune with its male clientele . . . [there is] professional training" [Translation, 960928s-3]. This attitude of wanting the same resources for boys as for girls (even more in the current debate) is one that, in reality, denies the inequalities between men and women. It conceals the social, political and economic division of power that still subordinates women. All of these approaches assume that getting a diploma is the key to success. However, we know that the fact that more girls than boys achieve success in school does not in any way mean that they will be more "successful" in society (Bouchard and St-Amant, 1996).

In English Canada, it is frequently suggested that programs be introduced to direct boys to non-traditional fields, along the lines of programs for girls: "The programs designed to help girls into non-traditional fields such as science and engineering have worked . . . and something similar is needed for struggling males" [990625vs]; "The solution is to lure boys into traditionally female subjects. 'We haven't opened up career horizons for boys as we have for girls'" [980302BCR]; "Girls join workshops on professions such as architecture, law and veterinary medicine. But the B.C. Teachers Federation doesn't sponsor any similar step-up conferences for boys" [990625vs]. Lastly, some English-Canadian authors stress the need for research: "Educators have been concerned about the behaviour of boys in schools and have noted the lack of research in this area" [000222vs]; "Society should invest more time and effort into exploring why Canadian boys, on average, are scoring lower marks than girls" [990707np].

Other Categories

The few remaining solutions do warrant analysis. Francophone authors have suggested the setting of quotas, although this solution has not been proposed by the English-speaking media. The following rationale is given: "Universities have created a perverse situation by relying almost exclusively on high marks when selecting students for faculties. Under the

guise of equality, they have created a huge imbalance between girls and boys. Should we not consider adopting a proportional rule to re-establish the balance?" [Translation, 940308p]. The most concrete way to encourage boys to take back the field of learning would appear to be setting quotas.

Another suggestion seen only in the Francophone media is using advertising to encourage boys to pursue their studies: "In order to counter boys' lack of interest in college-level studies, the Service régional d'admission du Montréal métropolitain last week launched an advertising campaign designed to encourage boys to continue their studies and get their Diploma of Collegial Studies (DCS) in the technical field" [Translation, 991020d].

Some solutions proposed in English Canada do not get much coverage in the French-language media. In particular, parents are encouraged to get more involved in their boys' education. One author explains: "Boys in grades 5 and 6 need all the parental help they can get since girls fare better in the late grades. . . . But for boys, personal attitudes and teacher support were not as important as having an involved parent" [980330sh]. This author also states that "personal attitudes" (i.e. efforts made, getting boys to recognize the importance of school, and so on) are not as effective as parental involvement. As we will see later, this opinion goes against the main argument of the counter-discourse. In addition to greater parental involvement, one English-speaking author suggests changing the laws to give parents a wider choice of schools for their children: "[He] favours 'school choice,' which refers to various policies, such as tax-funded vouchers, that give parents increased power to select the types of schools in which their children are educated" [000222np]. It is reasonable to assume that the author is talking about access to private schools, even single-sex schools.

Both Anglophone and Francophone writers sometimes make the suggestion that a return to traditional values would help boys "pull up their socks":

> But if a dose of good old-fashioned competition is needed to make boys pull up their socks, then let's get on with it. Let's get rid of "social progress," whereby students are promoted year-after-year regardless of their classroom performance. . . . Let's bring back standardized testing, including those once-dreaded provincials. [000301hdn]

> The council's recommendation signals a return to the old ways of the 1940s and 1950s, when there were boys' and girls' entrances and never the twain met in class. [991014gm].

A Francophone writer also argues, "School fails to appreciate male values. Only girls are appreciated" [Translation, 991021p]. The writer adds:

> Not long ago, society blamed mothers for the failings of their children. Now, the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation is pointing the finger at fathers, despite the fact that the school system, especially elementary school, is a totally female affair. . . . Boys have always been poorer students than girls. But 20

or 30 years ago . . . those who did not do well in school could still earn an honourable living in primary or secondary industry. What is there [today] after dropping out? Unemployment. Another difference between then and now is that the [female] teachers of yesteryear, the products of a male-dominated society, respected traditional male values and behaviour [Translation, 991021p].

This quotation shows that conservative groups, or what Mac an Ghaill (2000) calls the New Right, are influencing the French-language press in Canada. It summarizes part of the school-based solutions suggested to help boys, lamenting the passing of the era when female teachers felt the influence of the patriarchy. This quotation reiterates the arguments of the victimization approach and the usurpation ideology. In the second part, we will also see how the return to traditional values coincides with the rise of the right and patriarchal values.

Social Recommendations

Male Role Models
The presence of more male role models is one of the solutions most frequently suggested in the social category. Both Francophone and Anglophone writers believe that boys "are experiencing an identity crisis and need healthy, integrated and balanced male role models" [Translation, 920315a]. Some even draw a direct link with suicide: "The only way to bring down male suicide rates is to re-examine the socialization of men and the rigidity of their role in society" [Translation, 000214d]; "With respect to suicide . . . the Minister . . . speaks of 'the lack of standards and models' to explain the discontent that permeates a society where 'nothing takes the time to grow up'" [Translation, 990215d]. The proposed solutions also frequently mention fathers, insinuating that the mother's model is not enough: "It is important that there be male role models in the single-parent family: a grandfather, uncle or boyfriend who assumes responsibilities for the children" [Translation, 961001a]; "From a broader perspective, there is an urgent need to give our children (especially boys) fathers, so that they have male role models early in life" [Translation, 95gaz]; "There comes a time in a boy's life when he must cut the apron strings. The best mother in the world cannot show him what to do. She can talk to him, but she cannot be his role model, while a father does not need to say anything to communicate this model" [Translation, 971015a-2]; "If the children of these men can grow up and feel that their father was involved, that he was there, then we're giving a new model to the next generation" [970707GM)]; "Of all the solutions . . . the most immediate and accessible is to involve fathers much more deeply in caring for their children. When fathers are tenderly nurturing of their baby boys, the boys grow up confident and non-violent" [910607ts]; "So, a boy who play-fights at school and comes home to a father who wrestles with him in the garden will feel an inner sense of confidence that he is doing something that men do — and he will do more of it" [931127ts].

These comments partly reflect the ideology of masculinity therapy groups who, among other things, emphasize the importance of men being with boys and, to some extent, the macho ideology. The concept of "good masculinity" is also rather prominent in their discourse; the following type of comment is found in the press: "We need to promote mentors, heroes, and

models who support a boy's masculinity" [Translation, 990415a]; "You can learn to use aggressiveness as vitality when you are assertive and present your true feelings" [911216ts].

Differentiated Intervention

Differentiated intervention is also a recurring solution. Several essentialist-type arguments fall into this category. Whenever it is a matter of "distress," suicide or even "men's pain," some writers depict men as victims of their relationship to masculinity, who have not learned to express their emotions and therefore need a particular type of help: "Not only do men need to learn to understand and communicate their needs better, but health-care professionals also need to be made aware of male problems" [Translation, 970611p]; "[Inform and raise awareness] of ways to detect suicidal behaviour and decode the cries of distress that many [men] utter without ever being heard" [Translation, 990215jq]; "Develop strategies to give them options for healing that are geared to their maleness or femaleness" [Translation, 000220s]; "The only way these men can heal is through relationships with other men" [Translation, 911216ts].

These solutions are similar to the arguments of masculinity therapy groups categorized by Lingard and Douglas (1999), not only in terms of the therapeutic approach they advocate but also in terms of the emphasis they place on pain and loneliness. Moreover, when boys are the topic of discussion, mothers are often the ones in the spotlight, either to praise or criticize their child-rearing skills:

> Boys tend to develop their own style of showing love, affection and empathy that is generally quite different from that of girls. Mothers, especially, may wish to share feelings with their sons by doing things together or just hanging out, rather than insisting they sit down and talk. [980727ts]

> Everything we learned about girls and the need for bonding and connection is true for boys as well — although boys express those needs differently. . . . He prescribes more connection with mothers: "I say love your sons as you do your daughters. It won't make them sissies or namby-pambies." [991030ts]

> When discussing emotions, make your point and then shut up. When he's ready to talk, let him express his feelings in private. [9908Chat]

Lastly, in the same essentialist vein, other authors argue that men have a "profound masculine character," which is apparently the source of their impulses. Some English-speaking writers support this point of view: "Stop eradicating boyishness. . . . Their boyish impulses need to be civilized and redirected, not stamped out" [990626np]; "We can change our gun laws, but we must also find ways to address male anger" [960412ts]. As the last comment implies, some authors are demanding legislative changes (especially in the area of child custody). We will examine this aspect below under the heading "Legislative change."

Assistance and Awareness Programs

The establishment of assistance programs for men is the third-ranked social solution. This category does not focus entirely on boys, but also includes men in general and deals with

social and psychological issues: "To avoid men feeling as if they have nothing left, no resources and no help, [he] suggests that shelters be set up for men, more resources be allocated and associations be formed where men can seek help" [Translation, 970425s]; "To help men take responsibility for their offspring, many groups and programs have been set up by divorced men" [Translation, 970802p].

> The flood of calls from men demands that [health-care] workers update their approach. 'Guys ask for help at the last minute, and generally they express the need for help as anger.' Generally, suicidal individuals who get help in time will chose life rather than death. . . . After the death of Gaétan Girouard, many men realized that they were working too hard and not enjoying life enough [Translation, 991014s].

"Several people expressed the hope yesterday that there would be a redefinition of some terms — without going to extreme solutions — in order to avoid leaving the impression that "male" is always synonymous with "violence" when suffering becomes acute and can push someone over the edge" [Translation, 990220d]; "The new documentary details how the program helps teen dads get over the shock of the news, and supports them while telling their parents and through the possible loss of their friends" [970607ch-2].

Writers suggest that resources to help men be made available, stepped up or enhanced. Several writers draw comparisons with the resources available to women: "The sports commentator complains that there are no shelters for struggling men in Quebec, while there are 200 shelters for women" [Translation, 980312d]; "Few employers offer paternity leave and, for financial, social and psychological reasons, few men take advantage of such programs" [930618ts]; "He's been talking to the Women's Directorate at Community Services and it claims not to have enough money for its own programs, never mind his" [940804ts]; "Irked, [he] sent a letter to the magazine suggesting that the males need help as much as, or more than, females" [970106WR]. Here we acknowledge the premise of some men's rights groups and conservative groups (Douglas and Lingard, 1999) that the positions of men and women are symmetrical and that therefore the limited resources available to men do indeed constitute discrimination.

Lastly, some English-language writers also suggest that consciousness-raising programs be introduced, especially with respect to boys committing suicide: "Teachers, counsellors, health professionals and parents have to learn to look for the warning signs: abrupt changes in attitudes or behaviour, withdrawal from others, increases in anxiety or tension, shifts in eating or sleeping habits, sudden moves to give away cherished possessions to others" [921214TS].

Legislative Changes
Several solutions espoused in the Canadian media address the legal aspect of the "discrimination" against men. Francophone writers focus mainly on child custody: "Knowing that it is impossible to always be there for his children after a divorce or separation, [he] believes that the system should be changed to give fathers greater access to their children" [Translation, 950413dr]; "Moreover, when it comes to child custody, the [female] lawyer

feels that there should be a statutory presumption in favour of joint custody" [Translation, 980312d]; "Divorced fathers themselves are demanding that the legislation be amended, that judges be more open-minded, and that men be given more opportunity to participate in the education of children to prevent paternal absenteeism" [Translation, 971015a]; "The group . . . appeared before the committee last May to submit a brief calling on the government to direct that joint custody be granted automatically when a marriage breaks down so that fathers have equal access to their children" [Translation, 981113dr]; "We cannot make divorce illegal, but we must reduce the rate, notably by changing the laws" [Translation, 971015a-2].

Anglophone writers focus mainly on violence, suicide and, incidentally, gun-control legislation: "[He] points to countless studies to show that guns are a big part of the suicide problem. A study in Washington, D.C., showed the suicide rate dropped after gun laws there were tightened" [951007ts]; "Laws to prohibit the corporal punishment of children. Such punishment teaches children that violence is an acceptable way to express love and to show you care" [930618ts]; "We who believe in personal responsibility for crime believe that the appropriate response to it is condign punishment: for example, the reinstatement of hanging for premeditated murder" [941210fp]. These comments also lean toward a return to traditional values, the category we will discuss next.

The final recommendations in this category relate to discrimination against men in the context of spousal violence:

> The false accusations made by too many unscrupulous women . . . must stop. I conclude my book by acknowledging that while it may seem difficult to bring about such social change . . . the only way to confront the terrorism practised by a police and legal system that discriminates against men is to make the general public aware of how it operates [Translation, 001024s].

> An active member of various men's rights groups and claiming to be a victim himself of this conspiracy by police forces, people in the legal system, a type of feminism and the media, [he] is now taking up the pen because he remains convinced that "making the public aware of the sexist attitudes and actions of the legal system toward men" . . . is perhaps the last chance men have [Translation, 000916d].

Returning to Traditional Values
This category includes recommendations mainly gathered from the French-language media, with one exception. The suggestions made come in part from the discourses of conservative groups (Douglas and Lingard, 1999), defenders of the patriarchal system who are seeking to preserve "normal" relationships [complementarity ideology] between men and women — a social order built on their "natural" differences — and the primacy of the family as the fundamental nucleus of the social structure:

> If by "stigmatize" you mean to express strong disapproval, I agree with stigmatizing teen-aged mothers. Similarly, it should be against the law for a single woman to have artificial insemination, in order to make it very clear

that society disapproves of such immoral conduct. . . . And I can guess your next question: Should divorced people be ostracized by stating that divorce represents a failure? My answer is yes [Translation, 971015a-2]!

The result is more and more children who will be forced to divorce their fathers, who will never see them again, or will believe everything bad said about them (the fathers), so that they feel better for having never known this monster, previously known as a "good family man" [Translation, 971125d].

Quebec has the highest number of [couples who live together rather than getting married] and marriage breakdowns in the Western world. And what of the concomitant effects, depression and suicide? It is not a matter of slowing progress, but assimilating what has been done at the same time as we take another step [Translation, 951108d].

The Promise Keepers, for example, who seek to re-establish the patriarchal system and the traditional family, use the religious argument to promote their ideas. . . . Formed in the United States in the early 1990s, the movement is based on good old-fashioned Christian values and preaches a return to the traditional family [Translation, 9807CHAT].

Traditionally, the attainable role as husband and father, provider and educator satisfied the need for manly status without the use of violence or undermining the social order. Fatherhood, as the head of a family, was an ideal to which a boy could aspire. [970615oc]

Conservative groups formed by Christian associations also tend to reinforce the idea that men are naturally more violent, behave in a destructive manner, and are more interested in competition and domination:

I followed the hearings of the Canadian Panel [on Violence Against Women], shocked and revolted by these simplistic presentations, which say it all. . . . Here are these stories that for me and for most other men "only happen to someone else." Which is not to say that we want to be a party to them. . . . Because whether the members of the Canadian Panel like it or not, women who have been victims of violence still have sons to comfort them. And even churches to pray for them [Translation, 930730s].

The traditional values associated with men are dying: where once the man wanted to be the protector, now he is told that he is being paternalistic; where once he saw himself as powerful, now he is the oppressor in the relationship; if he is content to be the strong, silent type, now he is suspected of shutting himself up in a cage [Translation, 980531p].

Our press review also brought to light comments that run counter to the dominant masculinist ideology, comments that also take into consideration the position of girls and women. We will discuss these findings below.

The Counter-Discourse

Most of the solutions offered by these authors relate to school success for both genders, with only two looking at issues from the social perspective. Tables 13 and 14 (Appendix III) provide an overview of these alternatives as presented in the Canadian English- and French-language press.

The first thing that stands out from a comparison of the two tables is the number of articles on each side: the counter-argument is made more strongly in the French-language press than in the English-language press. The second observation is that the solution of making boys accountable appears only in the Francophone press. Lastly, although the tables provide only an outline of recommendations, social solutions appear only in the Anglophone press.

Co-educational Schooling
The solution most frequently offered by Canadian Francophone and Anglophone authors is maintaining co-educational schooling. The main argument is that co-educational schooling allegedly teaches boys and girls how to live in society: "He is opposed to the idea of eliminating co-ed classes: 'Co-education is life, like the differences between individuals. Boys and girls need to learn to live together and do so as early as possible'" [Translation, 991105p]; "'Young people, both boys and girls, prefer co-ed schooling.' Girls told the researcher that co-ed classes were necessary to 'learn how to survive.' One boy was concerned that single-sex schooling would only lead to more sexism" [Translation, 990412s]; "Boys and girls can learn so much from each other in the classroom, [he said], that the benefits of co-ed schooling outweigh any disadvantages" [980808gm].

> In today's world, people must learn from an early age to get along with others, despite differences of race, religion or sex. Learning to understand others, developing the ability to communicate across cultural or sexual differences aren't things that can be learned in isolation. [991015gm]

> Many, however, believe boys and girls need to learn to focus in each other's presence, rather than in separate schools. . . . History teaches us that when we separate students, by race or gender, the lower-valued group ends up with fewer resources and a weaker education. This is especially worrisome today, as funds for education are being cut and funds for girls are being eliminated. [961119ts]

> She is always dubious about the idea of separating adolescents at the high-school level, because, she says, "it gives the impression that it is not possible to develop an egalitarian relationship between the sexes. Single-sex schools amount to institutionalized segregation' [Translation, 960401a].

Parental Involvement

In this category, the authors call for parents to become more involved in their children's education, especially by eliminating sexual stereotypes: "The Minister . . . launched an urgent appeal to parents to become as involved with their children as possible" [Translation, 000121d]; "Currently, these researchers are trying to get to the root of the problem: they plan to work with parents in underprivileged areas to combat sexual stereotypes" [Translation, 970104d]; "For [her], boys' success depends on eliminating stereotypes and also getting fathers more involved" [Translation, 9905CHAT]; "The Board also recommends that school staff be trained to recognize the effects of gender-based social roles and socialization, and that parents and students themselves be made aware of the issue" [Translation, 991014dr]; "All parents should help their children to not accept easy labels based on sex. The more young people question these clichés and stereotypes, the better" [961023gm].

One English-language writer also recommends greater involvement by parents as a response to the single-sex schooling discourse: "Before splitting the sexes apart, schools should try harder to interest boys' families in their school work and to create an environment where boys can develop positive attitudes to learning" [991015gm]. Lastly, a female Francophone writer calls for parental accountability: "'During the hearings, parents came to tell us that their teenagers were not studying because they were watching television. But you can turn the TV off!' she pointed out, exhorting parents to stop shrugging off their responsibility for their children's school performance" [Translation, 96gaz-2].

Changing Boys' Perceptions

Another solution suggested by authors is to change boys' perceptions, i.e., to get boys themselves more involved in their studies. This suggestion appears only in the French-language press in Canada: "Boys need to learn to work and make an effort" [Translation, 991014s]; "Considered from this perspective, the solution to boys' problems rests with their ability to change their attitude, in short, to evolve" [Translation, 990316d-2]; "In other words, if boys don't seem themselves [reflected] in school, then it is up to them — not the educational institutions — to change" [Translation, 960401a]; "It is crucial that we change boys' perception of culture and school, he explained" [Translation, 960928s-3]; "When they decide to bridge the gender gap, boys will have to wage their revolution not in the streets but between their own two ears" [Translation, 961228p]; "One thing is certain. Young boys also have to work on . . . themselves. . . . In her view, schools need to adjust to their students. 'But we must not fall into the trap that the school must do everything and boys nothing at all'" [Translation, 960928s-3]; "Consequently, it would be preferable for them [boys] to commit to their schooling and for girls to have the opportunity to assume their rightful place everywhere" [Translation, 98gaz].

Other Categories

Lastly, among English-Canadian writers we found two solutions relating to violence against women. The first suggests a consciousness-raising campaign: "The infamous Montreal massacre inspired [him] and a group of friends to launch last December's White Ribbon campaign, 'the first time anywhere in the world that men have acted collectively to combat violence against women'" [920924ts]. The second suggestion involves changes to legislation

on spousal violence: "[She], who runs a batterers program at the John Howard Society, feels that treatment should not be left up to a probation officer's discretion, it should be mandatory" [961103ts].

5. ANALYSIS OF THE EDUCATION DISCOURSE

Research Findings on the School Achievement Gap

Our research on the gap between boys and girls in terms of school achievement reveals that students who are successful in school are less likely than struggling students to fit sexual stereotypes, and this applies EQUALLY to boys and girls. As we have shown, successful — or struggling — students of both sexes are much more similar in their attitudes and behaviour at school than they are different.[18] We also found that there are many more boys in the group of stereotypical students and quite a few more girls in the group of students who challenged the stereotypes. To explain this phenomenon, we hypothesized that the effort to define one's sexual identity according to narrow perspectives may conflict with the demands of school culture: for example, in terms of behaviour, defying authority, playing the clown, being "cool" to the extent of being irresponsible, or even behaving in an over-sexualized way may lead to problems in the classroom. Looking ahead, believing that it is possible to cope under all circumstances or setting as a priority "experiencing youth fully" or finding "the love of your life" may lead some students to leave school earlier than others. On the other hand, developing critical thinking is helpful in all learning situations (Bouchard, St-Amant and Tondreau, 1996).

These findings are supported by other research conducted at the elementary (Bouchard et al., 2001; St-Amant et al., 1998), high school and college levels (Baudoux et al., 1998; Bouchard et al., 1998), in both disadvantaged (Bouchard et al., 2000) and financially comfortable environments, on both school socialization and family socialization (Bouchard et al., to be published), using both quantitative and qualitative research methodology.

These studies examine all aspects of the social construct of masculinity and femininity, speaking not of <u>a single</u> masculinity but of <u>masculinities</u> in the plural — some of which limit boys in school and social settings, especially in disadvantaged environments. They are often set aside in favour of two-pronged approaches that lead to a debate in which feminism is criticized, but these approaches do not help to solve the problem of the school performance gap.

The Three Arguments in the Masculinist Discourse on Education

British researchers (Epstein et al., 1998) have recently identified three lines of argument in the dominant masculinist discourse on education: (1) the victimization argument, which they call the "poor boys discourse"; (2) the argument that points the finger at the school system, which they call the "failing schools discourse"; and (3) the essentialist argument of the male identity, which they call the "boys-will-be-boys discourse."

The Victimization Argument or the "Poor Boys Discourse"
This line of argument stresses that the only way to achieve equality now is to focus on boys: boys are "in distress," "losing their identity," "in crisis," "disoriented," "guilty," "lost,"

"damaged," "fragile," "wounded," "distraught," "under-fathered," "at the mercy of feminist teachers," "in special needs," etc. But as Kimmel (2000, p. 2) points out, "If there is a 'war against boys,' who has declared it? What are the sides of the conflict? Who is to blame for boys' failures? What appears to be a concern about the plight of boys actually masks a deeper agenda — a critique of feminism."

The source of the problems remains the same: men are apparently floundering because their lives have been turned upside down by women, especially by feminists. If boys are struggling at school, that is because the school has become a feminized environment[19] that promotes feminine values, such as docility, which is apparently a "natural" female characteristic. In this feminine universe (the term "matriarchal" is frequently used), boys experience an identity crisis. When it isn't the teachers' fault, it is the fault of mothers (who are allegedly "smothering") or single mothers. With no male role models, they are turning boys into "wimps." When it isn't the mothers' fault, it's the fault of feminists or the women's movement. They are apparently unable to accept boys as they are and insist on trying to change them. Here are the headlines of a few articles that reflect these opinions: "How the matriarchy oppresses men" [000331oc]; "Female feminism doesn't provide answer" [990429gm]; "The violence of a type of feminist discourse" [Translation, 930303s]; "Maleness a problem in feminized schools" [990602vs], "The massacre of boys" [Translation, 990415a]. Some articles mention all of these reasons combined.

The Argument that Points the Finger at Schools, or the "Failing Schools Discourse"
Briefly, this argument claims that the school system is not adapted to boys. Consequently, they experience learning and adjustment problems, which lead to slow learning and dropping out, as well as to their lower achievement level (Epstein et al., 1998, pp. 7–9).

In Canada, the following articles support this argument: "When boys don't suit school" [Translation, 961012d]; "They are more successful because they suit school better. School is for girls" [Translation, 980924dr]; "Education system failing boys" [000222np]; "Schools favour girls" [990519vs]; "Are schools biased in favour of girls?" [9990424vs].

As we saw earlier in our discussion of the interpretation categories, the "victimization of boys and men" theme covers this discourse, as well as the discourse that holds the school system responsible, while also laying the blame on feminism.

The Essentialist Argument, or the "Boys-Will-Be-Boys Discourse"
The third line of argument has a common thread: Let boys be what they are, boys. While tautological, this reasoning, as we have seen, is popular in the media. Based on the argument of natural differences between the sexes, it refers to a number of socio-biological theories to explain the male "being" in his essence, and thus his behaviour. It assumes an innate and therefore immutable male character — the source of male aggression, the need to move around, delayed maturity, etc. It attributes boys' problems at school to extrinsic causes.

In Canada, the following articles illustrate this argument: "Changing boys" [Translation, 991122d]; "You can't change human nature" [Translation, 991113p]; "A real man"

[Translation, 991021d]; "Boys will be boys — and it shows" [990426gm]; "Let boys be boys" [990707np].

The Limitations of the Masculinist Discourse on Education

Generalization to an Entire Gender
The first aspect of this discourse, beyond its various facets or the arguments it uses, is the fact that it generalizes to an entire gender phenomena that appear in both genders and are present in gender sub-groups.[20] In 1999, we objected to the way the problem was described in *La Presse* after the debate prompted by the appearance of the notice from the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du Québec (see also Kimmel, 2000). The issue should be framed in terms of gaps between the sexes, taking into account such factors as social origin and family and cultural environment. Generalizations must be avoided. It is also important to differentiate between school success, educational achievement and social success, because they are not all the same thing. The data in Table 15 (Appendix III) show that girls are still confined to traditional areas of schooling, although they now graduate from university in greater numbers.

This approach, which tries to lump men into a homogeneous gender grouping, works better as a means of challenging feminism than it does as a real way to find solutions, especially for struggling students of both sexes (Lingard and Douglas, 1999; Epstein et al., 1998).

Davies (1993) shows that "masculinity has many meanings and the category of 'boys' is problematic due to boys' cultural and social differences" (in Wang, 2000, p. 115).

The Interaction Between Gender and Other Factors
Numerous statistical data have been published to show the gap between boys and girls in school performance. These figures tell us that, for the most part, boys are doing well in school. They also reveal that some girls are having serious problems:

> By couching the debate in terms of "boys' underachievement" implies that
> it is *all* boys who are failing at school and obviously this is not the case. . . .
> At the same time there are particular groups of boys who are doing badly
> but not just because they are boys. Underachievement generally is classed
> and racialized and as Epstein et al. (1998, p. 11) point out, "Class and the
> associated level of education of parents (for both girls and boys) continue to
> be the most reliable predictors of a child's success in school examinations."
> (Skelton, 2001, p. 32)

Based on the findings of one of our studies (Bouchard and St-Amant, 1996) of 2,200 teens in the third year of high school in Quebec, we determined that there was the following proportion of boys and girls among the 20% of youth who were having problems in school and the 20% of high-achieving youth. Boys made up **48%** (or almost half) of the 23% of respondents in the "strong" group (achieving at least 80% in French and at least 86% in mathematics). At the other extreme, girls made up **49%** (again nearly half) of the 22% of respondents in the "weak" group (achieving 64% or lower in French and mathematics). These figures show that the two extremes in school achievement do not divide solely along

gender lines. McLaren and Roman (1999, p. 11) support that contention in their response to the Fraser Institute report (1998):

> All the authors show is that boys get higher marks (by no more than three percentage points in a couple of subjects) in provincial examination results, and that girls get higher marks (little more than three percentage points) in several subjects in school-based assessments.

When we talk about boys' underachievement in school or boys as the victims of the school system, which boys are we talking about? Middle-class boys? Working-class boys, or those from disadvantaged backgrounds? Boys from minority communities — blacks, Aboriginals? In Quebec, for example, 77.4% of Aboriginals starting high school have already failed at least one year: "In outlying regions, 87.9% of Aboriginal youth leave school before getting their high school diploma" [Translation] (Larose et al., 2001, p. 153). Among these students, researchers have found that school resiliency is essentially a female characteristic (Larose et al., 2001, p. 170).

The Statistics Canada survey (1993) shows that the drop-out rate before the age of 20 was 2.2 times higher in lower socio-economic environments. In the United States, students from such backgrounds are at 2.4 times greater risk of dropping out of school than those from the middle class, and at 10.5 times greater risk than those from well-to-do backgrounds (National Center for Education Statistics, 1993).

Australian researchers (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 96) point out that in their country there are major gaps in school achievement between Aboriginals[21] (both boys and girls) and the population as a whole; and in Great Britain[22] and the United States, there are striking gaps between boys from the same social environment (working or middle class) but of different "races,"[23] that is, between white boys and black boys. Connell (1995) offers data for colleges that show only small gaps between boys (49%) and girls (51%) of the so-called white race but large gaps between boys (37%) and girls (63%) of the so-called black race. Sewell (1998, p. 111) shows that the latter are a far-from-homogeneous group. Skelton (2001) highlights the diversity of performance between British boys of different ethnic groups, the rates ranging from 4% (blacks from the Caribbean) to 14% (Pakistanis), 42% (Indians) and 75% (Chinese).

Another Australian author (Gardiner, 1997, in Douglas and Lingard, 1999, p. 111) reports that, among the population of the state of Victoria, about four out of five students finish high school, but only one Aboriginal boy in five graduates. His data also reveal that between the ages of 14 and 16, these young men commit offences and are arrested 7 times more than girls of the same age and the same environment, 6 times more than non-Aboriginal boys, and 23 times more than non-Aboriginal girls. Social and cultural origin clearly have an undeniable impact on gender (Heath, 1999) and it is simply not possible to argue that an entire gender group is homogeneous, as the media do, whether the issue is school achievement or any other problem.

The same questions need to be asked regarding girls' school success. Which girls are we talking about? In one of our studies (Bouchard et al., 1997), we found that high-achieving girls from disadvantaged environments were the most determined to succeed of all the respondents in our sampling, a finding confirmed by the O'Doherty report (1994, cited in Lingard and Douglas, 1999) for Australia.

Galland (1988, p. 401) also found the following in his study of French high school students:

> It is girls from the middle wage-earning classes who appear to be the lucky ones who convey a "critical" model . . . similarly, in the skilled-worker class, it is still girls who distance themselves the most from the traditional cultural model in the areas of work and family [Translation].

These approaches make no mention of the sexual and sexist harassment and physical violence that girls suffer at the hands of boys. Little is known about the impact of such treatment on girls' problems at school (Bouchard et al., 1997).

In an article on the education of girls in Australia, Victoria Foster (1996) discusses the duality of girls' school experience in this context of feeling sorry for boys. They find themselves torn between the desire to find their own niche and "be someone" and the threat they feel from those who try to tell them that this is not a legitimate desire:

> Both desire and threat are in turn produced by an ideology of the neo-liberal equality framework in which desire and threat form a dialectical relationship. . . . Far from being unaware of the conflicting nature of these forces, girls are keenly aware of both, and their influence on schooling and its outcomes. And it is this awareness that leads to girls' self-regulatory behaviour. (Foster, 1996, p. 199)

Critique of the Generalization of School Underachievement
All the studies in various countries show that gaps between boys and girls occur mainly in mother-tongue language arts and are non-existent or very small in mathematics, science and other subjects. These data completely refute the arguments that the entire school system has failed boys. Here again, we need to look at the interrelated impact of social environment and gender on marks. The McGaw report (1996, cited in Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 105) reveals that in Australia, higher achievement in mother-tongue language arts occurs mainly among girls from the working class, and that the more-or-less equal marks in mathematics and science appear to be due to the efforts of girls from the middle and well-to-do classes, a finding that we also confirmed (Bouchard and St-Amant, 1996).

The work of a British researcher (Gilborn, 1997, cited in Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 107) also shows that girls from the working class of African or Caribbean origin are the only ones who get better marks (at age 16) than their male counterparts from the same background. Among children from professional backgrounds, boys always seem to do better than girls.

Thus, the minute that different variables come into play and the data are aggregated not only by sex but by social class and ethnic and racial group, it becomes clear that generalizing to an entire gender group is wrong and that essentialist, culturalist or socio-biological theories do not hold up. Are boys who are poor, Aboriginal or "black" biologically different from other boys because they are the ones who have the worst problems at school? This is also where the gaps are the most pronounced. Boys who are not struggling also grew up in a supposedly feminized elementary-school environment, but it did not affect their school achievement levels. Girls who are having problems are simply ignored.

At school, not all boys and girls behave the same way based on gender. If it is a matter of re-affirming masculinity, as some media claim, which masculinity would that be (Connell, 1995; Renold, 2001)? School achievement practices are often rejected by a good number of boys, who think it is "cool" to affirm their masculinity in this way (Martino, 2000; Adler, Kleiss and Adler, 1992). Some boys are quiet, timid and docile, not active and aggressive (see also Ólafsdóttir, 1996). Nor do boys from other cultures necessarily share this hegemonic view of masculinity (Kenway and Willis, 1998; Wang, 2000). How is it possible to claim, when faced with boys who are having no problems and girls who are failing, that the school system discriminates against boys and favours girls?

Critical Response to the Proposed Solutions

The solutions proposed by those who support the victimization-of-boys discourse are important and revealing. They argue in particular for gender-based intervention (thereby denying any diversity within each gender group), a return to single-sex classes or schools,[24] and the creation of new programs, or the improvement of existing ones, in order to meet boys' needs as they see them. They want to increase the number of male teachers in order to promote male identification. These solutions also promote a return to traditional male values and the establishment of quotas for admission to certain programs.

The same criticism levelled at the way the problem is identified can be made of the solutions proposed. Why treat boys and girls differently, or separate them, if one third of them at the most are having problems at school while three fifths are successful? The civil rights fight in the United States succeeded in eliminating segregation. It is rather surprising that anyone would want to reinstate segregation based on gender.

Segregation[25]
Pedagogical (AAUW, 1998), historical and political arguments should be treated with the utmost caution when it comes to this type of solution. It is difficult to generalize the findings of research comparing co-ed and single-sex schools and classes.

- The long-term impact is not known, as there have been no longitudinal studies.

- The segregated approach applies to entire programs, not just individual classes; to programs integrated into the regular curriculum and supplementary programs added on to regular schooling; to mandatory and optional programs; to programs aimed at eliminating gender inequalities or racial or cultural discrimination as well as programs

organized around social classes, religion and language. All of these factors should be taken into consideration in evaluating these programs.

- Whenever research has identified an impact, the successes or problems have been attributable to a specific sub-group in a specific situation, with specific educational and social goals. There is no reason to conclude that these same factors could not be reproduced in co-educational settings.

- While the research does sometimes show positive results among girls, in certain conditions and for certain aspects, it does not show the same results for boys — and in some cases, quite the opposite. It would appear that depriving a group of its strongest elements further weakens the weakest elements.

In the past, the segregation of students has also meant dividing the teaching staff by gender, although women continued to hold positions at the elementary level. In the second decade of the 1900s, when inspectors were already concerned about boys' drop-out rate, there was a movement to hire more men, presumably with greater authority, to address the problem. Since the 19th century, stressing the value of maternal pedagogy and criticizing the feminization of schools have taken turns dominating discourses. These ideological discourses are repetitive. Whenever women rise to the forefront socially or make significant advances, the same discussions resurface. The correlation between education and access to the labour market is at the heart of the expressed fears.

In the past, the Church was also opposed to women entering the workforce, claiming that their place was in the home. Today, our research has shown that a large number of girls are challenging the stereotypes that set them apart and treat them as inferiors. For them, school represents the road to emancipation. However, their school achievement, seen as rare, is cause for concern for those who are accustomed to seeing men occupy these positions.

Kenway and Willis (1998, p. 160) suggest that the solution of segregation effectively favours boys because it enables them to re-affirm "old-style masculinity for male bravado and bonding."

6. SPOKESPERSONS

In the English- and French-language press in Canada, we found certain writers acting as the customary spokespersons for the masculinist discourse. A smaller number of other writers support opposing views.

Authors of Articles

Regular Contributors to the Canadian English-Language Press
On the English side, 12 writers contributed 34 articles (or 18% of the Canadian English-language corpus), for an average of 2.83 articles per author:

- For *The Vancouver Sun*:
  - Janet Steffenhagen, four articles — one in 1997, one in 1999 and two in 2000.
  - Paula Brook, three articles — one in 1999 and two in 2000.
  - Douglas Todd, two articles in 1999.

- For the *Toronto Star*:
  - Janice Turner, four articles — two in 1994, one in 1996 and one in 1998.
  - Antonia Zerbisias, two articles — one in 1992 and one in 1993.
  - Judy Steed, two articles – one in 1992 and one in 1994.
  - Michael Kaufman, two articles — one in 1991 and one in 1993.

- For *The London Free Press*:
  - Phil Arnold, three articles — two in 1999 and one in 2000.

- For *The Toronto Sun*:
  - Elaine Moyle, two articles — one in 1998 and one in 1999.

- For the *National Post:*
  - Neil Seeman, two articles — one in 1999 and one in 2000.

Two contributors wrote for more than one newspaper:

- Donna Laframboise wrote two articles for the *Toronto Star* (one in 1995 and one in 1999), as well as two articles for the *National Post* in 2000 and one for *The Globe and Mail* in 1998.
- Virginia Galt wrote one article for the *Halifax Daily News* in 1998 and three for *The Globe and Mail* in 1998.

Several articles have no by-line (16), while others come from press agencies (8) and still others are reprinted from foreign newspapers (3).

Articles with No By-Line:

- *The Globe and Mail:* 941018GM; 990318GM

- *Vancouver Province:* 000305vp

- *National Post:* 981114np

- *The Hamilton Spectator:* 990507sh

- *Toronto Star:* 991003ts; b940203ts; c960905ts

- *Victoria Times Colonist:* 991014tvc

- *The Montreal Gazette:* 991015gm

- *Calgary Herald:* 991027ch

- *Report Newsmagazine:* R000619RNews2

- *Maclean's:* R980202Macl; R980427Macl; R981207Macl

Articles Reprinted from Foreign Newspapers:
At least three articles that appeared in *The Globe and Mail*, *The Montreal Gazette* and *The London Free Press* were originally published in the United States:

- *The Economist:* 961005GM

- *Baltimore Sun:* 980120gm

- *Miami Herald:* a981230lfp

Articles from Press Agencies
Eight articles that appeared in the *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail* and *The Montreal Gazette* reprinted dispatches from Canadian, American or international press agencies:

- 991014GM: PC

- c930614ts: PC

- a910327ts: PC

- c921023ts: PC

- a911130ts: PC

- 980208gm: FP Winnipeg

- 941025ts: Reuters

- c920321ts: AP

Regular Contributors to the Canadian French-Language Press
On the French side, 26 writers contributed 81 articles, or 43.3% of the Canadian French-language corpus. That makes twice as many writers as in the English-Canadian press, proportionately producing more articles (an average of 3.1 articles each).

- For *Le Droit*:
  - Normand Bellehumeur wrote two articles in 1999.
  - France Pilon, three articles — one in 1995, one in 1997 and one in 1998.

- For *Le Devoir:*
  - Paul Cauchon, four articles — one in 1994, two in 1996 and one in 1997.
  - Paule DesRivières, four articles in 1999.
  - Valérie Dufour, two articles — one in 1999 and one in 2000.
  - Jean Larose, three articles in 1999.
  - Yves Ménard, four articles — two in 1996 and two in 1997.

- For *La Presse:*
  - Pierre Foglia wrote two articles in 1999.
  - Isabelle Hachey, three articles — one in 1996, one in 1997 and one in 1999.
  - Lilianne Lacroix, eight articles — one in 1997, six in 1998 and one in 1999.

- For *Le Soleil:*
  - Alain Bouchard wrote five articles — one in 1994, one in 1998 and three in 2000.
  - Brigitte Breton, three articles in 1999.
  - Michel Corbeil, six articles — five in 1996 and one in 1999.
  - Lise Lachance, two articles — one in 1996 and one in 1997.
  - Louise Lemieux, two articles — one in 1995 and one in 1999.
  - Anne-Marie Voisard, four articles — one in 1996 and three in 2000.

- For *L'Actualité:*
  - Luc Chartrand wrote two articles — one in 1996 and one in 1997.
  - Martine Turenne, five articles — one in 1992, one in 1995, one in 1997, one in 1998 and one in 1999.
  - Roch Côté, three articles — one in 1999 and two in 2000.

Five writers contributed to more than one newspaper:

- Solange Bolduc wrote one article for *Le Devoir* in 1993 and one for *Voir* in 1996.

- Nathalie Collard wrote one article for *Châtelaine* in 1999 and one for *Voir* in 1999.

- Normand Delisle wrote one article for *Le Soleil* in 1994 and one for *Le Devoir* in 2000.

- George Dupuy wrote one article for *Le Devoir* in 1998 and one for *Le Soleil* in 2000.

- Charles Côté wrote one article for *Le Devoir* in 1995 and one for *La Presse* in 1999.

Four writing teams contributed more than one article:

- Gisèle Bourret and Françoise David wrote two articles in *La Presse* in 1999.

- Pierrette Bouchard and Jean-Claude St-Amant, two articles — one in *Le Devoir* in 1994 and one in *La Presse* in 1999.

Six groups of writers contributed one article per group:

- 920315a, Claude Gamache, Joanne Lagacé, Suzanne Rioux, Nelson St-Laurent and Paul Deschesne.

- 960515a, Sylvain Demers, François St-Laurent, François Bergeron and Louise Rousseau.

- 990601a, Diane Roy, Jeannine Forest and Michel Gagnon.

- 950430p, Renée Cloutier, Antoine Baby, Pierrette Bouchard, Thérèse Hamel, Marie-Josée Larocque and Roberta Mura.

- 951031d, Léa Cousineau, Anita Caron, Huguette Dagenais, Ann Robinson and Chantal Maillé.

- 981027d, Odile Tremblay, Nicolas Doyon, Sylvain Côté and James Douglas.

Four articles have no by-line (only one quarter as many as in the English-Canadian press), four others come from Canadian press agencies (half as many), and three other articles come from foreign newspapers (the same number).

Articles with No By-Line
- 980620p

- 98gaz

- 991014dr

- 000821p

Articles from Canadian Press Agencies
Four articles appearing in *La Presse* and the *Journal de Québec* are reprints of dispatches from Canadian press agencies:

- 910304p: PC

- 970130p (2): PC Toronto

- 991014JQ (2): PC

- 991014p (2): PC

Articles Reprinted from Foreign Newspapers
- 991010JQ: FP Washington

- 960227p: AFP Washington

- 980531p (from the *Boston Globe*) under Réal Pelletier's by-line

Individuals Cited in Support of Arguments or Criticized

Article writers often rely on others to back up their arguments, while other individuals are criticized time and again. In describing the informative and descriptive categories at the beginning of this report, we gave examples of references to researchers, managers and administrators, fellow journalists, leaders of interest groups, theoreticians or those in the field. Frequent reference is not the rule, and only a relatively small number of people (12%) are cited more than once.

In the Canadian Press
Fifty-nine people are cited in more than one Canadian French-language article (Table 16, Appendix III). Of that number, 42 are men and 17 are women. About one third are university professors.

Individuals Cited in More than One Canadian French-Language Article
Thirty-five people are referred to twice, including Charles Caouette, Charles Côté, Ferrel Christensen, Gordon Sawyer and Claudie Solar (Table 17, Appendix III); eight are cited three times (including Michel Lavallée, Roch Côté and Robert Bly); five people are mentioned four times (e.g. Placide Munger and Richard Cloutier); four are named five times (including Manon Théôret and Martin Dufresne); and seven people are cited six or more times (e.g. Céline St-Pierre, Pierrette Bouchard and Germain Dulac).

Individuals Cited in More than One Canadian English-Language Article
In the Canadian English-language press, 52 people are cited in more than one article. Of that number, 39 are men and 13 are women.

Twenty-two people are cited twice, including Doreen Kimura, Ferrel Christensen, Guy Corneau and Warren Farrell (Table 18, Appendix III); 10 are mentioned three times (e.g. Mary Gordon, Susan Faludi and Robert Bly); 6 people are cited four times or more (including Peter Cowley and William Pollack).

Individuals Cited in Canadian French- and English-Language Articles
Among the individuals cited more than once, 15 (10 men and 5 women) are cited on both the English and French sides, e.g., Guy Corneau, Céline St-Pierre and Robert Bly (Table 19, Appendix III).

Individuals Cited in More than One Country
About a dozen people are cited in more than one country, those mentioned most often being Margaret Mead and William Pollack (Table 20, Appendix III).

The Typology of Masculinist Groups[26]

Behind the journalists are the masculinist groups that are increasingly forming national and international networks and feeding journalists information related to recurring events, such as the release of marks on national tests (here or abroad) and Suicide Prevention Week, or current events, such as cases of spousal violence or spousal murders involving child custody issues and fathers' rights.

A number of writers, including Connell (1995), Clatterbaugh (1997), Messner (1997) and Skelton (2001), have suggested different ways of categorizing men's associations. We have chosen the typology of Lingard and Douglas (1999) for its simplicity. They identify the following categories: men's rights, pro-feminists, masculinity therapy, and conservatives. Not included are homosexual groups that, by their very definition, would propose a redefinition of masculinity.

Men's Rights Groups
These groups essentially hold a liberal perspective. They suggest that in the post-feminism era, there is symmetry[27] between the positions of men and women.[28] Derived from a social reproduction approach (i.e. that both men and women are socialized to assume oppressive and restrictive roles), they support the theory of sex roles and also rely on socio-biological theories to avoid the whole social and political dimension of power relationships. As Dagenais and Devreau (1998, p. 11) point out, "Such a theoretical position is evidence of a misguided hope that it is possible to transform both male and female roles without transforming the social structure, the social relationship that produces them and, in short, without changing in any way the oppression of women" [Translation].

Their analysis of the power relationships between men and women is based at the level of the individual, even going so far as to argue that power is equally distributed between men and women (and that women hold more power than men in certain situations). Any mention of such problems as violence against women and homosexuals is met with a counter-argument of symmetry, i.e., that men and women are equally aggressive toward each other.

These groups are largely composed of white, heterosexual, middle-class men who have not been successful in coping with the challenge to masculinity posed by feminism (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 34). The movement focusses, for example, on the issue of fathers' rights, legislation governing divorce and child custody, circumcision, men's health, and their opposition to reforms arising from feminist demands against sexual harassment or for equal opportunity programs. The most conservative groups accuse feminists of being dictators ("feminazis") (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 35). Arguments referring to the power of men or their privileges are countered with arguments about men's shorter life expectancy and their higher rates of suicide, illness, incarceration, accidents, and drug and alcohol consumption — as though everything were equal.

When it comes to boys' underachievement at school, these groups argue that the school system discriminates against boys and demand special measures (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 33), notably segregationist measures, such as single-sex schooling or more male

teachers. They also seek pedagogy based on activity rather than on "docility" to encourage boys to participate in class. They claim that there are fundamental differences between the sexes, and that boys and the masculine culture must be valued.

Pro-Feminist Groups

While men's rights groups espouse the theory of gender roles and present essentialist arguments, pro-feminist groups have taken a broader perspective, encompassing the concept of power relationships that come into play in all aspects of private and social life.

They have formed "anti-sexism collectives," whose members come mainly from the political left and are feminist allies. Some see themselves as a "wing" of the women's movement. They are involved, for example, in the fight for daycare centres and abortion rights. They read the writings of feminists and work to change the violent behaviour of men. They support rape crisis centres and shelters for battered women. These groups argue against the main theme of the men's movement because it fails to confront the patriarchal system. They view the discourse as complacent.

While pro-feminist groups are openly opposed to homophobia and discrimination based on sexual orientation, most of their members are heterosexuals (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 37). The problem with these groups is that they overestimate the change that can be achieved by individual decisions arising from growing awareness, and consequently underestimate the strength of structures and traditions.

These groups have helped highlight the plurality of masculinities. Faced with the issue of "men's suffering," they have put forward the idea of a relationship contradictory to domination, one in which there is both power and non-power, privileges and privations (Kaufman, 1994, p. 142, in Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 39).

Masculinist Therapy Groups

Although pro-feminist groups have had some difficulty dealing with the "men's suffering" concept, masculinist therapy groups are founded on that concept. Disregarding the socio-political approach to power relationships between men and women, they have preferred to base their analyses on men as individuals and their relationships to masculinity. They have especially focussed on their experiences of suffering and loneliness.[29] Therapy groups are interested in personal growth. Much of the masculinist intervention scene involves their peer counselling activities, "12 steps" of this or that, healing groups, and ideas from the mythopoetic movement of Robert Bly.

Therapists, psychologists, counsellors and high-profile men host a variety of workshops, retreats and discussions groups for men. These groups are made up mainly of white, middle-class, middle-aged men (Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 41).

Conservative Groups

While the positions of the last three groups arose in response to the women's movement, the main feature of this last group is its failure to respond to the claims made by women and its

declared anti-feminism. As defenders of the patriarchal system and preservers of traditional social roles between the sexes, they promote the ideology of complementarity between men and women, giving primacy to the family as the basic nucleus.[30] Measures such as affirmative action, access to contraception and adequate child care would only further weaken men's sense of family responsibility. It is up to women to acknowledge the place of men and their position of authority in exchange for men's acting as providers and protectors.

This group includes Christian men's associations composed of fundamentalists who believe that modern society has caused the crisis in the family and led men to abdicate their responsibilities.

Connell (1995, pp. 212–16, in Lingard and Douglas, 1999, p. 45) includes in the conservative movement the gun lobby, which supports the ideology of male superiority, specifically by arguing that they have to protect "their" women.[31] When it comes to boys' underachievement in school, the position of the conservative groups is to return to basic values, i.e., to make boys understand the real meaning of discipline and duty.

There are masculinist organizations and people who support their causes in all the countries studied. They were initially identified through articles and then, more generally, using the Internet. We also used links to other similar sources on sites, thus expanding the circle around this movement. A more systematic survey was done via the "Google" and "AltaVista" search engines, using the following keywords: man-masculinity-group-grouping-fatherhood-violence against women-suicide-second wives (and their French equivalents). All of the sites found were visited, along with those mentioned in the links. We prepared a list of masculinist associations (excluding pro-feminists) on the Internet, along with their organizers and members (see Appendix I), when this information was available (it is not frequently provided).

Internet Sites

A more thorough examination of the groups feeding the media discourse revealed an extensive Internet network. Using the resources provided on these sites, we found a disturbing, even threatening reality, involving the expression of an often hateful, violent and unrestrained discourse against feminists and women. Far from being an isolated case, this second-level, or perhaps "underground," discourse focusses on the same problems as those mentioned in the media (especially regarding fathers' rights), but without any modicum of restraint. None of the groups state on their Web pages that they do not wish to be associated or confused with any specific group of the same type.

Hate-Mongering
Some masculinist groups use the Internet as a vehicle for hate-mongering against feminists. This accessible and virtually universal medium gives them the opportunity to say and post almost anything. It is no accident that this medium is being used by those on the extreme right, pedophiles and pornographers. It lets them both hide and be found easily. While it is easy to find information on the Internet, it is just as easy to disseminate information, whether it is true or not. Some sites contain not just information but defamatory comments and

propaganda inciting fear and hatred. Other sites maintained by men's groups display direct threats to feminists and their allies, and contain vicious comments. The Internet bills itself, as Falquet (1997) mentions, as a "no-rights space." Although the target is feminists, these comments affect all women.

Raymond A. Franklin (2002), author of the *Hate Directory*, explains that hate "advocates violence against, separation from, defamation of, deception about, or hostility toward others based upon race, religion, ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation." This definition, combined with the following definitions of hate crime and hate literature, provides a full picture of the ideological process underlying some anti-feminist discourses on the Internet.

> A hate crime is a criminal offence committed against a person, a group or property which is motivated by hate or bias against anyone who is "different" — usually a person identified as belonging to a racial, religious, ethnic, sexual orientation or disability group. . . . Hate literature is propaganda that demeans whomever or whatever a particular hate group dislikes, and blames that group for the hater's bleak future. It can manifest itself in many forms including:
> - hateful leaflets
> - hate graffiti
> - recorded telephone messages inciting hatred against a group
> - posters depicting distorted images of a group
> - public speeches promoting hatred against an individual or group
> - hate messages on the Internet.

A Few Examples of Hate Messages on the Internet Toward Feminists or Those Who Support Them
Example on the "BC Fathers" Site
We found this picture on the "BC Fathers" site.[32] It combines images of extreme violence (the swastika, SS symbol synonymous with supremacy and racism, transformed so that the "F" of feminism catches your attention, and a picture of a baby who is supposed to be making a threatening comment) with the play on the words "feminism" and "Nazism" and the hateful, angry raised-finger gesture. The whole picture is a very strong symbolic accusation of mothers. This is a father-oriented site, and the decision to use a young child was not a neutral choice.

This picture suggests the possible breakdown of the mother-child relationship. It is a barely veiled threat by the authors of the site. Reproduction and family issues are central to this propaganda. The message below the picture — "We are all tired of feminaziism. So stop it, okay?" — is prescriptive and authoritarian. In effect, the authors of the message are claiming to speak for everyone ("all"), except for feminists or pro-feminists. There is no ambiguity in the wording and no question of discussion or objection; the message simply tells feminists to "stop it."

[We are all tired of feminaziism. So stop it, okay?]

Example of a Comic Strip from the Après-Rupture Group
Defamation is evident in hate literature, within the meaning discussed above, and is used extensively by masculinists. We found many hate-inspired pictures and expressions used to describe and discredit women and feminists. The comic strip shown below, from the Après-rupture group, is a good example:

Après-rupture (2002) received the following notice from the Director of Emploi-Québec:

> At the time that the wage subsidy contracts were signed with your organization, Appendix I, "Obligations of the parties and miscellaneous provisions," was clearly brought to your attention. Both parties signed this provision. Clause A6 requires that you "not break any public order, notably, that you not advocate or encourage any illegal, criminal or immoral conduct."
>
> We have received comments about your organization and have viewed your Internet site. We learned on your site that, according to you:
>
> "Crown attorneys are guilty of professional dishonesty, judges should be tried for crimes against humanity, single mothers often need psychological help, not education, the success achieved by feminists was to send women out into the workforce, abandoning their children in whatever babysitting facility might be available (facilities now run by the state, the seal of incompetence)," and so forth [Translation].

Despite this warning, it appears that the organization continues to issue denigrating statements on a systematic basis. In the example cited above, the group was essentially arguing that freedom of expression was at risk in Quebec.

Example from the Site of the Fathers' Rights Groups and Support in Canada on the "Canadian Lawyer" Site
On the Fathers' Rights Groups and Support in Canada on the "Canadian Lawyer" site (2002, p. 9), the following comments encouraging harassment of pro-feminists can be found:

> BEWARE! Hommes contre le Sexisme. This is one eunuch group run by the most contemptible loser in Canada. It is amazing what some losers will do to get a date. Martin Dufresne is a collaborating wimp who is anti father, anti male and pro feminist. He is despicable, a cowardly wimp. Is he a eunuch? He needs to be stopped. Call him collect to let him know what you think. Preferably, call him at 3:00 AM in the morning. There is nothing good that can be said about this pig. attn: Martin Dufresne [followed by the address and telephone numbers].

Martin Dufresne has spent many years studying masculinist groups and their public manifestations on the Internet, in newspapers and on television. The message names him specifically, encourages people to harass him, and gives out his personal contact information.

Section 264 of the *Criminal Code of Canada* protects citizens from criminal harassment. Criminal harassment is defined as conduct by anyone who voluntarily harasses or follows an individual or communicates with such persons or watches that person's dwelling repeatedly, so as to cause the person to fear for his or her safety.

Prohibited Acts Under Section 264 of the Criminal Code of Canada

(2) The conduct mentioned in subsection (1) consists of

    (a) repeatedly following from place to place the other person or anyone known to them;

    (b) repeatedly communicating with, either directly or indirectly, the other person or anyone known to them;

    (c) besetting or watching the dwelling-house, or place where the other person, or anyone known to them, resides, works, carries on business or happens to be; or

    (d) engaging in threatening conduct at the other person or any member of their family. (CCRVC, 2002).

Legislation Related to Hate Propaganda

There are two acts that prohibit hate propaganda. For some, freedom of expression is a fundamental right and it is not up to the government to interfere. Others believe that it is crucial for the government to protect citizens who belong to groups targeted by hate messages.

Here are the Canadian federal legislative provisions that support the two positions. Section 319 of the *Criminal Code*, passed to prevent hate messages, stipulates:

319. (1) Every one who, by communicating statements in a public place, incites hatred against any identifiable group where such incitement is likely to lead to a breach of the peace is guilty of

    (a) an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years; or

    (b) an offence punishable on summary conviction.

(2) Every one who, by communicating statements, other than in private conversation, wilfully promotes hatred against an identifiable group is guilty of

    (a) an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years; or

    (b) an offence punishable by summary conviction.

Defences

(3) No person shall be convicted of an offence under subsection (2)

    (a) if he establishes that the statements communicated were true;

    (b) if, in good faith, he expressed or attempted to establish by argument an opinion on a religious subject;

    (c) if the statements were relevant to any subject of public interest, the discussion of which was for the public benefit, and if on reasonable grounds he believed them to be true; or

(d) if, in good faith, he intended to point out, for the purpose of removal, matters producing or intending to produce feelings of hatred toward an identifiable group in Canada. (Justice Canada, 2002)

Section 319 defines the words "communicating," "statements," "public place" and "identifiable group" in order to facilitate the legal interpretation. The word "communicating" includes "communicating by telephone, broadcasting or other audible or visible means." "Statements" include "works spoken or written or recorded electronically or electromagnetically or otherwise, and gestures, signs or other visible representations." "Public place" includes "any place to which the public has access as of right or by invitation, express or implied." "Inciting" is defined as "urging someone to do something" [Translation] or "forcing someone to do something" [Translation]. The expression "identifiable group" means "any section of the public distinguished by colour, race, religion or ethnic origin." If the Anti-Terrorism Bill is enacted, the list of distinguishing characteristics will be expanded to include sexual orientation, sex, age and physical or mental deficiencies.

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
Section 2 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* defends the following fundamental freedoms:

- freedom of conscience and religion;

- freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication;

- freedom of peaceful assembly; and

- freedom of association.

The Keegstra case is an example of the application of both of these laws to a court case. In 1990, the parents of students attending a secondary school in Alberta complained about a teacher who had made racist comments in his class.

James Keegstra argued that the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* protected his right to freedom of expression. The Supreme Court of Canada considered section 319 of the *Criminal Code*, which deals with incitement of hatred. The Court ruled that freedom of expression was not protected when there is evidence of wilful promotion of hatred against persons because of their race, colour, religion or ethnic origin. The right to protection against hatred, and its consequences, was upheld in this particular case. Hate propaganda can be brought before the courts. The Supreme Court of Canada used section 319 of the *Criminal Code* to deny a defence based on the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, showing that one law does not necessarily take precedence over the other.

Monitoring Hate Messages on the Internet
Some organizations have made it their mission to monitor the production of hate messages on the Internet, focussing their attention on a specific problem, such as racism, homophobia or sexism. Since the actions of these groups are limited by the virtual nature of hate messages,

they work to denounce these groups publicly by constantly monitoring cyberspace. Only very limited human and financial resources are available to monitoring groups, and this restricts their activities to extreme cases. Hate Watch, founded in 1995 by David Goldman, was a pioneer in monitoring hate on the Internet. Its mission was to make the public aware of this phenomenon. Unfortunately, the organization no longer exists.

There is a clear link between the proliferation of hate messages on the Internet and the rise of the extreme right in the Western world. The democratization of societies, battles for civil rights, the rise of feminism and egalitarian social movements have disturbed the dominant social order that gave white males superior status, both in the family and in society. Dufresne (1998, p. 128) cites the *Riendeau* case, making a clear link between the death threats the man made against his wife, the murder of their child and his affinity for the Réseau Hommes Québec, which urged him to take action. He owned a copy of Guy Corneau's book *Pères manquants, fils manqués*, and considered the author his "spiritual father."

Charters of rights and freedoms appeared after the Second World War and its deadly anti-Semitism, when democrats called for universal rights. Since then, legal frameworks have, with some exceptions, prevented the public expression of hate messages and advocacy of intolerance. However, hate messages can be posted anonymously on the Internet, a fact that increases the number of hateful messages posted. Cyberspace has become a place where there is no law, an environment that is clearly suited to the underground development of such messages.

Some Observations and Food for Thought
The right-wing ideology championed in the masculinist discourse calls for a return to traditional values and the nuclear family (directly related mother-father-children). It develops in a context where minorities are gaining more and more access to democracy. The goals of the masculinist discourse are to regain lost privileges and to stop the women's emancipation movement. It is no accident that masculinist groups are attacking the achievements of women in the areas of family, education and health — three areas in which women have traditionally had specific roles. By arguing that women are responsible for the problems they denounce in these three areas, masculinists are also insinuating that women too are losing something: their "natural" qualities as women. In this way, men become the experts on analyzing the situation in the private domain.

Masculinists are asking women to give them new male roles or let them play the roles they are familiar with. The idea is to intervene to solve the problems caused by the "feminization of society." Socially, they imply that the efforts of the emancipated woman are perverting womanhood. While women are invading the workforce, children's education, health and care are deteriorating. Female-dominated institutions that care for children are perceived as being "social mothers." Masculinists are calling for biological mothers to go back to their children. Their goal is to reinstate the old-fashioned patriarchal family, and thus to completely close the door on new forms of families and new parental roles (Flood, 1997).

7. SILENCES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE DISCOURSE

Masculinists paint a sombre portrait of the lives of men and boys. But, what about women and girls? Although masculinists compare themselves to their female counterparts, they usually fail to provide relevant data about women's real situation. At best, some related data (frequently inaccurate or incomplete) are used to show how hard done by men are; at worst, women's living conditions are passed over in total silence. Either way, the outcome remains the same: the question of power relationships exercised at the expense of women is ignored.

Women still face violence and discrimination, and live in situations where domestic responsibilities are unfairly divided and they must somehow juggle work and family. They still face prejudice and persistent negative stereotypes (of which this discourse is evidence), bear the lion's share of responsibility for birth control, and so on. These constraints impede women's progress toward achieving equality and reaching their full potential. The masculinist discourse makes no mention of problems related to specific themes, such as abortion, unwanted pregnancies, violence, sexual and sexist harassment, prostitution, poverty, single parenthood, girls dropping out of school, the overload created by unpaid household work, having to go on welfare to feed the family, etc. The discourse masks the key elements of inequality between the sexes so that the authors can support the concept that men are being dispossessed by women.

Let's examine what realities are revealed when we analyze the status of women in relation to some of the themes mentioned above. Apart from masculinist claims that equality between the sexes has been achieved, there are no empirical data to support this claim, or any claim that the tables have been turned. Clearly, the masculinist discourse is not intended to prove, with supporting evidence, that women have achieved equality or even that there has been a reversal in the relationship between the sexes, but rather **to give the impression** that this is indeed the case.

In this chapter, we will point out some shortcomings of the discourse by highlighting a few "overlooked" problem areas.

Paid and Unpaid Work

According to *Women in Canada 2000* (Statistics Canada, 2000), daily hours devoted to work (paid and unpaid) are comparable for men and women. In 1998, both men and women worked an average of 7.2 hours per day. However, the initial data did not take into account the gender division within these areas of activities. Men, for example, spend the greater part of that time — some 4.5 hours daily — on paid work, compared with only 2.7 hours of unpaid work. For women, the situation is reversed. Women spend 2.8 hours per day on paid work, compared with 4.4 hours of unpaid work (Statistics Canada, 2000, p. 110). Even when women are employed, they are still largely responsible for looking after their families and homes.

Once children come on the scene, we see the situation becoming even clearer. A married man with children spends an average of 3.3 hours per day on unpaid work, compared with an average of 4.9 hours per day for a married woman with children:

> In 1998, women employed full time with a spouse and at least one child under age 19 at home spent 4.9 hours per day on unpaid work activities. This is an hour and a half more per day than their male counterparts. (Statistics Canada, 2000, p. 111)

Over a week, that difference works out to 10.5 more hours. At an average wage of $10 per hour, that makes a loss of nearly $400 per month. Seen another way, 10.5 hours a week is the equivalent of two rounds of golf, five hockey games, five hours of Internet time plus five hours of reading, or even a good night's sleep — in short, time spent on recreation and relaxation.

Married men without children spend an average of 2.3 hours per day on unpaid work. Having children changes the number of hours of unpaid work much more significantly for women than for men. Married women — even those who do not have children — perform nearly as many hours of unpaid work (3.2 hours per day) as married men with children (3.3 hours per day).

These examples show what the daily lives of men and women are like in terms of jobs, domestic work, child care and even leisure time.

Employment and Income

Employment and income are two of the most significant themes on which masculinists have no comment. Tables 21, 22 and 23 (Appendix III) provide Statistics Canada data on full-time and part-time work by gender from 1997 to 2000.

Data on full-time work reveal gaps of 15% to 25% in favour of men across all age groups. For those between the ages of 15 and 24, the figure was 19.3% in 1997, dropping to 14.4% in 2001, with the largest decline seen between 1997 and 1998 (1.9%) and the smallest (0.03%) between 1990 and 2000. In the 25-to-44 age group, the percentage differences in favour of men were on the order of 18.2% in 1997, dropping to 16.2% in 2001. The 2% drop over five years is never larger than 0.6% in any year. The widest gaps in favour of men were in the 45- and-older age group, 25.1% in 1997 and 21% in 2001.

In terms of part-time work, the data show an over-representation of women in all age groups and a big gap in the 24-to-45 and 45-and-older age groups. For those between the ages of 15 and 24, the gap ranges from 4.6% in 1997 to 11.1% in 2001. An unusual occurrence in this age group is the rise in the number of women with part-time jobs compared with men between 1997 and 2001. In the 25-to-44 age group, the gap has remained virtually unchanged, with 60.7% more women holding part-time jobs in 1997 and 59.4% in 2001. These percentages, which speak for themselves, are also found in the 45-and-older age group, with 45% more women than men holding part-time jobs. The rate remained steady from 1997 to 2001.

These data reveal the status of women in the workforce and show that girls' better school performance compared with boys did not translate into social success in 2001. The data also confirm the major ongoing inequalities between men and women and belie the position put forward by masculinists that equality has been achieved, or indeed that there has been a reversal of positions to the disadvantage of men. This status in the workforce has major consequences in terms of economic independence, insecurity, working conditions, poverty, and the entire impact on health and well-being — as well as culture and leisure. The data on the income gap between men and women in Canada in 1999 are quite significant in this regard (Table 24, Appendix III), showing how much women earn compared to men and vice versa. Although the ratio improved somewhat between 1990 and 1999, we can still see that men are earning one and a half times (56%) more than women. In 1990, the ratio was one and two thirds more (67.3%).[33]

Poverty

How do we define poverty? Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-offs (LIC) show the threshold at which individuals spend such a large proportion of their income on basic necessities — food and/or shelter — that they live in "difficult conditions" (conditions of poverty). The LIC varies by size of family and size of the community in which the family lives.[34]

Who are Canada's poor? Women make up the majority of the poor in Canada. One Canadian woman in five — 2.8 million in all — lives in poverty (Statistics Canada, 1993b). Who are these women?

- Women raising their families alone: 56% of families headed by a single woman are poor, compared with 23% of families headed by a single man (NAPO, 1999). In many of these families, there is no support agreement with the non-custodial parent (usually the father) or support payments are in arrears (Statistics Canada, 1998).

- Elderly women: almost half (49%) of single women, widows or divorced women over age 65 are poor (NAPO, 1999).

- Other women living alone: 41% of single women under the age of 65 live in poverty (NAPO, 1999). Women earn 73% of the annual income that men earn for year-round, full-time employment (Statistics Canada, 1999). Education does not significantly reduce the salary gap: Women with a university degree holding a year-round, full-time job earn 75% of the salary earned by their male counterparts (Statistics Canada, 1995). Even if they work in the same sectors or perform the same functions, women earn less than men. There are no occupations in which the average earnings of women exceed those of men, even in female-dominated sectors such as office work or teaching (Statistics Canada, 1999, 1995, 1994).

- Women earning the minimum wage: In Canada, having a job does not necessarily mean escaping poverty (Centre for Social Justice, 1998). Thirty-seven percent of single

mothers with a paying job are raising a family on less than $10 an hour (Campaign 2000, 1999, 1998).

- Women on welfare and their children: Women who head lone-parent families and single women account for 48% of heads of household receiving social assistance (NCW, 1998).

Divorce, Single Parenthood and Child Custody

The rise in the divorce rate in Canada since 1960 is partly due to changes in the *Divorce Act* introduced in 1968 and 1989, which streamlined divorce proceedings. The changes were introduced at a time when inequitable relationships between men and women were being challenged. The traditional marriage, founded on the model of the financially dependent woman who has sole responsibility for child care and housework, is losing ground. The following statistics clearly show this social change:

> In 1997, there were 225 divorces for every 100,000 people in Canada, compared with 55 per 100,000 population in 1968. . . . The long-term increase in divorce rates has affected, in part, the growth in the number of women who are lone parents. In 1996, there were 945,000 female-headed lone-parent families in Canada, representing 19% of all families with children. In fact, the latter figure is almost double that in 1971, when 10% of families with children were headed by female lone parents (Statistics Canada, 2000, p. 32).

The majority of female-headed lone-parent families had an income below the Low Income Cut-offs:

> In 1997, 56% of all families headed by lone-parent mothers had incomes which fell below the Low Income Cut-offs. In comparison, just 12% of non-elderly two-parent families with children, and 24% of male lone-parent families, had low incomes that year (Statistics Canada, 2000, p. 139).

In light of these figures, masculinists' ideological spin-doctoring to support their claim that not only has equality been achieved but women are doing better financially after divorce is truly amazing. They deliberately overlook the issue of income in female-headed lone-parent families because this variable incontrovertibly shows the vulnerability of this type of family, the need for support payments and, as shown in Table 25 (Appendix III), the impact of poverty on the behaviour of children.

Table 25 also reveals that children, both girls and boys, have more problems when they live in a disadvantaged family environment. It is obvious that the income variable has an impact on the development of a range of problems for children. It is important to point out that masculinists, by using only gender comparisons, completely disregard variables that would provide some context and paint a full picture of certain social problems.

The masculinist discourse accuses the courts of making unfair decisions in child custody cases. In their view, judges systematically give custody of the children to mothers, except in cases of extreme neglect. The following excerpt from the masculinist discourse illustrates this ideology. It is taken from a letter written by a member of the Après-rupture organization:

> If we are talking about the best interest of the children, then why allow them access to their father only every second weekend? Indeed, for more than two decades, the sciences of psychology, psychoanalysis, sociology, etc., have recognized the importance of regular and expanded parental presence and involvement (not only quality but also quantity). Some people still believe in the concept of the quality of father-child contacts, in contrast to the quantity that joint custody allows. Joint custody gives fathers the opportunity to share activities with their children (registration in sports activities and participation in recreational activities, etc.). However, the majority of parents who separate and do not agree on joint custody — the type of custody closest to the traditional family — find themselves before a judge who still grants sole custody of the child to the mother. In the vast majority of cases, this arrangement reflects the desire of the mother, and that does not happen by chance. Changes will be made to the *Divorce Act* in early 2002. The question is whether this trend will continue with the new statutory provisions. It appears that the law will continue to treat fathers more harshly, at least those who want to be part of their children's lives UNDER A CO-PARENTING ARRANGEMENT WITH THE MOTHER. This means there will once again be an increase in suicides and depression among fathers. Do children need their fathers? Is there a place for fathers who want to play a different role than that of provider in this matriarchal justice system? This is a plea for the coming generations [Translation] (Tremblay, 2001).

Matriarchal justice? Women are apparently controlling judges, although no one seems to have noticed yet, by manipulating them into discriminating against fathers. Here is yet another example of the promotion of traditional values.

In this context, the position of some masculinist groups on the civil union bill is not surprising in the least. In addition to refusing to recognize the civil rights of a largely marginalized group, they are opposed to giving same-sex couples the right to adopt children. Their position reflects a lack of openness to the need to broaden the definition of parenthood, since they are fixated on a traditional view of couples and family. Rather than defining what a good father or a good mother is, the issue is to define what a good parent is, regardless of gender. This approach invalidates one of the principles of their arguments, which is that discrimination against fathers is gender-based. The concept of "good parent" also requires acknowledging the fact that tasks traditionally associated with women (child care, household chores, emotional support for family members, etc.) are tasks that any "good parent" should perform.

Suicide

This theme ties in with the victimization theme that is repeated in the masculinist discourse:

> A Prince George, B.C., man killed himself after being ordered to make family support payments that amounted to twice his income, a death some are blaming on a family-court bias against men. . . . The father of four children, aged 5, 9, 10 and 14, he was involved in a custody battle with his estranged wife, Madeleine White. [000323np]
>
> Since the 1970s, the male suicide rate has risen by 78%, notes the association president, Louise Lévesque. . . . Suicide is definitely a male problem. . . . Society values independence and self-sufficiency in the male and stigmatizes the expression of suffering and seeking help, Lévesque feels. . . . This means that suicide is often a man's final attempt to regain control of his life, his pain [Translation, 000214d].

Table 26 (Appendix III) shows the number of suicides in 1996 and 1997, and the rates per 100,000 inhabitants in 1981, 1991, 1996 and 1997.

Socially, should attempting or committing suicide create some hierarchy of concern? Can death or the desire to take one's life — man or woman — be ranked on a scale of importance? Masculinists stress this aspect to create a picture of the discrimination/ victimization of men in society without any ethical consideration. They make no effort to find out, for example, whether there is any connection between young boys committing suicide and homosexual orientation — as Segwick (1993) showed in *Tendencies*. Gay and lesbian adolescents are at two to three times higher risk of suicide than other adolescents, and more than 30% of teen suicides are committed by gays or lesbians. A feature of the masculinist discourse is this type of generalization, which fails to ask questions: Which types of boys are we talking about? Under what circumstances? It is important to realize, as Best (1983) revealed, that very early in life the social construct of the male identity depends on "not being a girl" and "not being homosexual." Conservative groups openly display strong anti-feminist and homophobic views.

Another factor that is not addressed is the contexts that shed some light on young men's higher rate of highway accidents. Nor are all the questions addressed that raise the social-construct aspect of masculinity, as manifested through play, challenges, risk and aggression, the phenomenon of "road rage" or so-called "extreme sports." These various aspects of the male culture are not discussed because they raise the question of what responsibilities social actors have to bear in these phenomena.

Health

Apparently health, like education, is now identified as a feminine world in which women receive more benefits. In an article called "Taking care of men," André Pratte (2001) claims: "Health services were not thought out for men. Let's take a simple example: While women

have long complained that they have always been treated by male physicians, was anyone concerned about the fact that men have been treated by an almost exclusively female nursing staff" [Translation]? This type of questionable analogy is completely unacceptable in a scientific process that ensures that what is being compared is actually comparable.

Table 28 (Appendix III) illustrates the number of physicians in Canada by gender, with men still far ahead. This shows that it is not sufficient just to look at the larger proportion of women among new physicians (ages 20 to 29) and decide that the profession is being taken over by women. Although the picture is changing, medicine is still a male-dominated profession.

Male physicians are available for consultation. In terms of nursing staff, this argument does not take into account the hierarchy of the field, or the fact that nurses operate under the supervision and instructions of medical professionals. Many studies have been carried out on the gender division of knowledge and duties in the medical field (Gendron and Beauregard, 1985, 1989; Ehrenreich and English, 1976, 1982). The nursing profession includes more women for the same reasons as the pre-school and elementary education field. These are sectors toward which women were traditionally directed because of their (socially constructed) skills in caring for others, especially small children and the sick or elderly. It is important to remember that girls had limited options. Socially, these professions were viewed as being of lower status. Why do the current spokespersons for increased masculinization of society reproach women for a system set up by their (male) predecessors on behalf of an equally patriarchal society?

Lastly, the issue of being treated by a person of the same sex must be examined. This insistence on differentiation is a characteristic of the masculinist movement. We see it as an issue in terms of available jobs in a context where men, especially young men, have been experiencing an employment crisis since the beginning of the last decade.

Health is a theme recently addressed by masculinists. The first-ever World Congress on Men's Health, held in Vienna in early November 2000, provided much food for thought. At the centre of the concerns expressed was the gap between men's and women's life expectancy. Generally, women live an average of five years longer than men. However, that figure should be considered in light of recent changes: between 1981 and 1997, life expectancy at birth rose by only 2.3 years for women compared with 3.9 years for men (Statistics Canada, 2000, p. 57). Never before has men's life expectancy at birth been so high compared with that of women. The real question we should be asking is what has caused women's life expectancy to stop rising over the past two decades.

Despite the gap that remains, we must also consider the conditions under which women are living and growing older. We cannot assume that a longer life expectancy means a higher quality of life. According to Health Canada (2000, p. 57), that assumption would be wrong: With this longer life span has come increased chronic illness and disease associated with ageing, such as dementia and osteoporosis, as well as vulnerability to reduced socio-economic status:

> Women are more prone to suffering from Alzheimer's, osteoporosis, chronic diseases, falls, vision problems and spend more days in hospital than men. They are also, on average, poorer than men and more vulnerable to inadequate nutrition and to difficulty accessing uninsured health care such as medications. Older women are more likely to live alone, with inadequate social and material supports in their ageing years. When living with a spouse, they are usually the one providing care if their spouse becomes ill or disabled. The national average income for women 65 to 69 in constant 1995 dollars in 1996 was $16,157, compared to $28,540 for men in the same age group. (Health Canada, 2000)

The reasons given by masculinists for men's shorter life expectancy are the stress, demands and responsibilities associated with their role, factors that take their toll on men from their earliest years. In their view, the past will inevitably be repeated in the future. If we apply that hypothesis to the status of elderly women, it would appear that a great many of them have experienced extremely trying times during their lives.

In addition, some of the factors that explain the poorer health of men are concealed, especially the poor eating habits of some men or their reluctance to consult specialists. The World Health Organization defines the equality of men and women with respect to health as follows: "The elimination of futile, unfair and <u>avoidable</u> differences between men and women in terms of their ability to enjoy good health and the risk of becoming sick or disabled or dying from an <u>avoidable</u> cause" [Translation] (ISHF, 2001). If women are in better health than men, it is because more of them practise preventive health behaviours: sound nutrition; stress management; finding out how to prevent cancer, heart disease and osteoporosis; using alternative medicines; consulting specialists; following instructions; and self-monitoring. In the same vein, specialists are taking a more holistic view of health while taking into account negative factors created by the standards of living of a number of specific groups.

Masculinists claim that there is far more research on breast cancer than on prostate cancer (and therefore conclude that this is another example of discrimination against men) because society allocates more resources to breast cancer. In making this claim, they turn cancer into a gendered illness by reducing it to only two of its dimensions. In fact, cancer takes many forms (leukemia, bone cancer, bladder cancer, colon cancer and many other forms) that attack without distinction of gender, race or class. Masculinists are genderizing a *human* disease that kills indiscriminately. Fundamentally, their real concern is the allocation of research funding. They denounce the fact that more grants are given for breast cancer research than for prostate cancer research. To attempt to sway policy makers, they also challenge the positive benefits of early screening for breast cancer.

World Heath Organization policies on non-communicable diseases (cancer, cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, pulmonary diseases) invalidate the masculinists' approach: "In any population, most people are exposed to a moderate level of risk factors and a minority are exposed to high risk. If these two groups are compared, the former contributes more to the total volume of non-communicable diseases than the latter. This is why an exhaustive prevention strategy must combine, in a synergetic way, an approach to reduce the levels of

risk factors in the general population with an approach targeting high-risk individuals" [Translation] (WHO, 2000).

No research has been conducted to date that explains the possible links between drinking and eating habits and exposure to pollution, for example, or the incidence of cancer by gender.

Violence

A notable feature of the masculinist discourse is its marked lack of contextualization. In the case of violence, it is a question of "violence" by women toward their spouses, with no mention of the forms this violence takes compared with violence by men, nor of the living conditions in which women find themselves. Have women suffered daily abuse for years?

Very early on, the feminist movement identified violence as its primary focus. Women's groups asked the government to develop an action plan that would bring together various bodies with the authority to act to eliminate this phenomenon. Provincial and federal governments developed policies and programs to promote a partnership between those involved in screening and prevention programs, the complaints process, victim protection and public awareness.

The approach of holding social actors accountable for spousal abuse is found at the international level as well: "In 1993, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, which requires countries to pursue, by every means possible, policies to eliminate violence against women through prevention, establishing health programs and services, social services, counselling, and support for women who suffer spousal abuse, taking into consideration those groups of women who are most vulnerable" [Translation] (Côté, 2001). The Declaration also recommends that governments include in their budget planning sufficient funding to implement various policies and programs for the elimination of violence against women, especially by supporting the activities of women's movements and non-governmental organizations.

All this hard work to raise public awareness of spousal violence met with some success. The issue attracted the attention of many researchers and feminist activists, who examined the causes and types of violence. They developed intervention tools, raised awareness among groups and identified populations at the highest risk (Aboriginal women, women with disabilities, etc.) The knowledge obtained from these efforts was indispensable in raising awareness, but the phenomenon remains because spousal abuse is a facet of social relationships in which it is difficult to intervene.

Half of all Canadian women experience at least one incidence of physical or sexual violence during their lives (Statistics Canada, 1993c). A recent Statistics Canada publication (2001) shows a drop in spousal violence experienced by women and an increase among men. This publication also offers a new way of treating and displaying data that takes into consideration incidents reported by men. The tool used to gather the data lists a series of questions that are not really comparable (Statistics Canada, 2001, p. 26):

> During the past five years, has your partner:
> 1. Threatened you with his/her fist or anything else that could have hurt you?
> 2. Thrown anything at you that could have hurt you?
> 3. Pushed, grabbed or shoved you in a way that could have hurt you?
> 4. Slapped you?
> 5. Kicked, bit, or hit you with his/her fist?
> 6. Hit you with something that could have hurt you?
> 7. Beaten you?
> 8. Choked you?
> 9. Used or threatened to use a gun or knife on you?
> 10. Forced you into any unwanted sexual activity by threatening you, holding you down, or hurting you in any way?

The report lists only the frequency of violent behaviour by gender (combined), without considering the nature and impact of the actions on the victim. No distinction is made between a slap and being hit in the face with a fist, or between attempted choking and a push or bite and threats with a knife.

Other data from the General Social Survey on the severity of spousal violence by gender conducted in 1999 by Statistics Canada (Table 29, Appendix III) show that the consequences of violent behaviour are much less severe among men (Statistics Canada, 2001, p. 40).

Table 29 shows that non-Aboriginal women suffer physical injury in a proportion of 4 to 1 compared with men. Their injuries require medical attention five times more often. Other data from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (Table 30, Appendix III) also show that in 1999, three times as many women as men were victims of homicide by their spouses (Statistics Canada, 2001, p. 38).

Statistics do not provide immediate information on the context in which men and women suffer spousal violence. Men often act violently toward their spouses to maintain control of the family and domestic unit. Violent behaviour by women is often used in a defensive context. It is often the end result of years of violence they themselves have suffered. Another aspect of gendered violence has to do with economic status. Recent statistics from shelters (Cybersolidaires, 2001) reveal the impoverishment of women. The masculinist discourse seeks to depict violence by women as violence to achieve control and domination, when it is often an escape mechanism.

Marika Morris' fact sheet on violence against women for the World March of Women, prepared in 2000, can be found on the site of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women. Excerpts follow:

- Half of Canadian women have survived at least one incident of sexual or physical violence (Statistics Canada, 1993c).

- Over one quarter (29%) of Canadian women have been assaulted by a spouse (Statistics Canada, 1999a).[35] Forty-five per cent of women assaulted by a male partner

suffered injury. Injuries included bruising, cuts, scratches, burns, broken bones, fractures, internal injuries and miscarriages (Statistics Canada, 1999a, p. 15).

- In Canada, four out of five people murdered by their spouses are women murdered by men (Statistics Canada, 1999b). In 1998, 67 women were killed by a current or ex-spouse, boyfriend or ex-boyfriend. That's one to two women per week. In 6 out of 10 spousal murders, police were already aware that violence characterized the relationship (Statistics Canada, 1999b).

- Girl children are targets of abuse within the family more than are boys. Four out of five victims of family-related sexual assaults (79%) are girls, and over half (55%) of physical assaults of children by family members are against girls (Statistics Canada, 1999a). In 1997, fathers accounted for 97% of sexual assaults and 71% of physical assaults of children by parents (Statistics Canada, 1999a).

- In Ontario, only 10% of sexual assaults on women are reported to police (Ontario, 1998). Extrapolating from these data, there are 509,860 reported and unreported sexual assaults in Canada per year.[36] That is 1,397 per day, which means that every minute of every day, a woman or child in Canada is being sexually assaulted. Very often, sexual assaults are repeated on the same woman or child by the same offender.

- Ninety-eight percent of sex offenders are men and 82% of the survivors of these assaults are girls and women (Statistics Canada, 1999c).

- Forty-three percent of women in one study reported at least one incident of unwanted sexual touching, forced or attempted forced sexual intercourse, or being forced to perform other acts of a sexual nature before the age of 16 (Canada, 1993).[37] The majority of these cases were at the level of unwanted sexual touching, usually repeated incidents by the same offender.

- Sexual assaults often occur in contexts in which the abuser is **in a position of trust in relation to the person assaulted**, such as a husband, father, other relative, doctor, coach, religious adviser, teacher, friend, employer or date. The majority of sexual assaults are committed by a man known to the victim who is likely to use verbal pressure, tricks and/or threats during an assault (Ontario, 1998). Two thirds of sexual assaults occur in a private home (Statistics Canada, 1999c).

- Wife battering carries on into old age. Spousal homicide accounts for one third (30%) of murders of women over 65 (Statistics Canada, 1999a, p. 6).

- A minimum of 1 million Canadian children have witnessed violence against their mothers by their fathers or father-figures. In 52% of these cases the mother feared for her life, and in 61% the mother sustained physical injuries (Statistics Canada, 1999a, p. 30). Children who witness violence against their mothers often exhibit signs of post-traumatic stress disorder, and their social skills and school achievement are adversely affected (Trainor, 1999, p. 7).

- **Fear of violence** also limits many women's lives. Forty-two percent of women compared with 10% of men feel "totally unsafe" walking in their own neighbourhood after dark, which in Canadian winters can begin at 3:30 p.m., even earlier in the North. More than one third (37%) of women, compared with 1 in 10 men, are worried about being in their own homes alone in the evening or night (Statistics Canada. 1995, p. 107).

- In Canada, a man who beats and rapes his female partner can stay in his own home while the woman and children must sometimes move from shelter to shelter, disrupting their lives, work or schooling. In a 1993 survey, 295,000 abused Canadian women had no access to counselling or housing services (Trainor, 1999, p. 7).

- Who is most likely to be abused? All women are vulnerable to violence, but some are more vulnerable than others. Around the world, as many as one woman in every four is physically or sexually abused during pregnancy, usually by her partner (Heise et al., 1999). In Canada, 21% of women abused by a partner were assaulted during pregnancy, and 40% reported that the abuse began during pregnancy (Statistics Canada, 1999a). Abuse often begins or worsens during pregnancy, when a woman is most vulnerable and most dependent on her partner's support (Lent, 1992).

- **Young women and female children** are highly vulnerable to sexual assault. In 1997, persons under 18 constituted 24% of the population but represented 60% of all sexual assault victims and one fifth (19%) of physical assault victims (Statistics Canada. 1999a, p. 27). In the case of sexual offences against children under 12 (the age group within which boys are most likely to be sexually assaulted), girl victims outnumber boys by 2 to 1 (Statistics Canada, 1999c, p. 1). Women under 25 are also at greatest risk of being killed by their male partners (Statistics Canada, 1999a).

- A Disabled Women's Network survey found that 40% of **women with disabilities** have been raped, abused or assaulted. More than half (53%) of women who had been disabled from birth or early childhood had been abused (Ridington, 1989, pp. 1, 6). Women with disabilities may also be physically, sexually or financially abused by people who aid in their care. Less than two thirds of shelters for abused women report being accessible to women with disabilities (Trainor, 1999, p. 4). However, women with disabilities report that only 1 in 10 successfully sought help from women's shelters (Ridington, 1989).

- Research repeatedly shows that a vast majority of **Aboriginal women** have been assaulted, and that the chances of an Aboriginal child growing up without a single first-hand experience of abuse or alcoholism are very slim. Violence may have begun while at residential school or by parents whose souls were damaged by the residential school experience of rape, physical abuse and cultural genocide. Violence continues into adulthood, with anywhere from 48% up to 90% of Aboriginal women being assaulted at the hands of their partners, depending on the community in which they live. Aboriginal women also experience racially motivated attacks and are harassed on the streets by the public and police more than are non-Aboriginal women (Canada, 1993, p. 101–90).

Women do not lie about sexual assault, any more than anyone else would lie about a robbery or other crimes committed against them. Indeed, one quarter of women who have been sexually assaulted never report the attack to anyone (Statistics Canada, 1995, p. 103). Reporting a sexual assault can be as traumatizing as the assault itself. Women and girls need to be supported and believed. Dufresne (1998, p. 130), based on a number of studies, shows that false allegations are in the order of only 2% to 3% (Thoennes and Tjaden, 1990; Penfold, 1995; Smith and Coukos, 1997).

CONCLUSION

The current debate about boys who are victims of both the education system and feminism carries the implicit message that equality has been achieved and action on girls' behalf since the 1970s has achieved its goals (Yates, 1997, in Douglas and Lingard, 1999, p. 3). This assumption is reflected in the meaning that Faludi (1993, p. xix) gave to the concept of "backlash," i.e., the reactive movement that springs from the worry, justified or not, that women have made great gains, despite the fact that their gains are actually small (see also Heath, 1999; Roman and Eyre, 1997). The small academic gains made by some but not all girls do not necessarily translate into social gains, especially in terms of orientations, careers, income and working conditions that women experience compared to their male counterparts (Dagenais and Devreux, 1998). It is important to distinguish between school achievement, educational success and social success in this type of debate, something that we have been suggesting since 1993 (Bouchard and St-Amant, 1993).

This movement offers a different interpretation of relationships between the sexes, specifically a stubborn denial that girls or women are victims of discrimination, as a social group, by men. Masculinists are in the process of building a discourse to show that indeed it is now men, or in this case boys, who are victims of a school system that has become a feminized environment (in England, in the *Daily Mail* of January 5, 1998, reporter S. Shakespeare talks of a "culture of sissies"), and maintain that feminism is responsible for this situation. Crucial aspects of the feminist criticism of the school system are ignored, although they remain relevant. Victoria Foster (1996, p. 194), an Australian researcher, suggests:

> The possibility that girls might outstrip boys on their own terrain was one
> that could not be tolerated and quickly led to a parliamentary enquiry . . . a
> widespread push for a "Boys Education Strategy", and a plethora of programs
> to address boys' "educational disadvantage" and help them to regain their
> supremacy in the high-status curriculum areas. By contrast, boys' lesser skills
> in, for example, the care of children and domestic work, have never been
> identified as a problem for them, or for women.

According to Lingard and Douglas (1999), the safety of girls, and sexual and sexist harassment of girls by boys (and of boys by other boys, and of female teachers by some boys) is never mentioned:

> We therefore deny the argument that feminist inspired policies for girls in
> schooling have achieved their goals, while not denying that some limited
> gains have been made. We do not accept the backlash argument that there is
> now a "gender imbalance" with girls outperforming boys, nor the argument
> that the future is female because of the growth in service sector jobs requiring
> well-developed communication skills. Rather, we believe the backlash
> elements of the current call for boys' policies in schooling place the gains
> for girls, and indeed the whole feminist project in schooling, precariously
> balanced and under threat (Douglas and Lingard, 1999, p. 5).

> While more women are entering the workforce, male/female wage differentials remain substantial. Even with the same qualifications, the labour market continues to be heavily gender segmented with women concentrated in sales and service, and career progression between males and females remains disparate and unequal (Douglas and Lingard, 1999, p. 10).

Lingard and Douglas do not hesitate to use the term "backlash," arguing, "Feminists, including the weakest liberal form, are on the defensive" (Douglas and Lingard, 1999, p. 4). While Faludi's concept (1992) was fair enough as far as it went, it was not helpful in identifying the source of the situation in question, suggesting that masculinists were reacting to the women's movement. This approach sees equal forces at play in an action-reaction relationship. However, once the phenomenon is placed back in the context of globalization, it becomes clear that the problem is structural rather than linked to economic conditions, and the perspective changes. The French term *ressac,* commonly translated as "backlash," more fully expresses the idea that the action originates with men, who are of course dealing with feminism, but as a continuation of the aims of a still-active patriarchal society. There is an adjustment problem between two interrelated systems, i.e., the economic and patriarchal systems.

As we have shown, the phenomenon of school achievement gaps between boys and girls exists only in industrialized countries, where there are co-educational and democratic public education systems that give girls (and children who do not come from well-to-do families) access to the same education as boys (and the well-to-do). In the past, each gender received differentiated — and hierarchical — training in different venues. For the first time, it is now possible to compare boys and girls enrolled in the same school programs.

A number of socio-historical and political factors needed to converge before there was a realization that more girls than boys were persevering in their studies and achieving good marks in the school system in Quebec and elsewhere: (1) the report on high-school drop-out rates in the early 1990s; (2) the publication of gendered data that provided a basis for comparison using indicators; (3) the globalization of the economy and the emergence of a feeling of insecurity among men; (4) the employment crisis affecting young men in particular over the same period; (5) educational reform and policies on performance and accountability; (6) the intergenerational mobilization in modest and middle-income families to promote their girls — starting with the mobilization of girls themselves; (7) the success of the women's movement, which made education a means of accessing and producing the knowledge that would free girls from traditional social roles.

In seeking a sensationalist approach, the media strive to create conflict between the sexes (Foster, 1996): girls against boys. However, as Mahony points out (1996, p. 355):

> Feminists in education have systematically documented evidence internationally about the ways in which girls and young women are

disadvantaged through schooling. This work continues to be important especially in the current context where the "What about boys?" syndrome seems to have reached epidemic proportions when viewed from an international perspective.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Our research identified a number of issues that have led us to formulate the following recommendations, including the issues of Internet monitoring and providing information on women for journalists.

On School Success:
1. Sexual stereotypes and the denial of gender intra-group diversity are extremely common in the education sector, as witness the generalization to all boys of the difficulties experienced by a minority of them, as well as the generalization to all girls of the success of a significant number of them. Depending on the situation, the naturalism argument makes it possible to discriminate against girls or favour boys. In both cases, girls or women who hold better positions than boys or men are considered to be usurping the place that rightly belongs to the latter. It is important to deconstruct these perceptions and show that girls still have many barriers to overcome in pursuing their chosen educational and professional paths.

2. The issue of school success, examined in terms of sexual categorizations, reveals an extremely important economic and social issue: employment. We know that girls do better in school because they spend more time on their schoolwork (Bouchard and St-Amant, 1996) and are more involved in their education, especially girls from lower- income environments (Bouchard et al., 1998; Baudoux and Noircent, 1995). Educational goals are set at a very young age. If most girls are already motivated by Grade 4 (Gagnon, 1999) and maintain that attitude to high school (Terrail, 1992; Bouchard et al., to be published) or post-secondary levels (Ambassa, 1996), this is due, among other things, to the fact that the discourse with their parents, and their mother in particular,[38] convinces them that special problems await them in the job market, including the difficulty of finding full-time work or work at a salary equivalent to that of male workers (Bouchard and St-Amant, 1996; Bouchard et al., to be published). In this regard, it is crucial to continue to support initiatives that help girls to persevere in the school system.

3. The rapid (in just one decade) and sharp change in gender social relationships is evidenced by the fact that for the first time, the dominant social group of men is being portrayed as a class that suffers discrimination. This attitude, which seeks more resources for boys, denies the social inequalities between men and women. It masks the social, political and economic divisions of power that continue to keep women in subordinate positions. Women have trouble translating their educational capital into access to full-time jobs or equitable working conditions. That is why it is so important to be prudent in allocating government funding and maintaining incentives to encourage girls to look to the professions of the future.

On the Internet:

4. In light of the growing use of the Internet by masculinist groups to develop misogynist sites inciting violence and the growing number of discussion groups used to promote hatred of women, we suggest that a monitoring organization be established, similar to Hate Watch, but focussed solely on gender social relations. It would also be useful to maintain, publish, disseminate and update a list of misogynist groups.

5. Given the proliferation and formation of international networks of these organizations, the Canadian Human Rights Foundation's proposal to establish international observatory centres is timely: "[They] would provide a sound basis for the analysis and evaluation of hate on the Internet and be a source of information to the human rights community. . . . would serve as watchdogs and collect data." (http://www.chrf.ca/eng/education/files/internet/misuses.htm: 4).

6. Discussions should also be held with access providers to suggest a conduct protocol.

7. It is also important to support organizations, such as the Media Awareness Network, that are working to provide information and consciousness-raising for young people, especially since they are likely to encounter misinformation about "school-based discrimination against boys."

8. Along the same lines, studies should be carried out to put together files concerning section 319 of the *Criminal Code*. Mechanisms must also be developed to ensure the safety of those who publicly denounce hate messages against women, specifically action against electronic mail harassment practices, defamation and infringement of privacy through Internet sites.

    Since such action is limited to protecting an identifiable group within the meaning of section 318 of the *Criminal Code* ("'identifiable group' means any section of the public distinguished by colour, race, religion or ethnic origin"), and this section does not provide for the fact that a group distinguished by gender, such as women, may be subject to hate propaganda, we recommend that section 318 be amended to include women among the segments of the public distinguished by sex in the definition of "identifiable group."

9. We also suggest that a strategy be established to develop and support the dissemination by women's groups of positive, egalitarian messages on the Internet to balance the messaging. Although groups such as NetWomen or Par-L act as forums for information exchange, women's groups do not spontaneously create Internet sites to disseminate their goals and lobby for social and political action.

On the Press and Other Information Media:

10. We suggest that a central information, reference, resource and factual data site on women be developed on the Internet. Such a site would also include brief and accurate updates on the status of women in various areas. The site should be broadly publicized to journalists.

11. In addition, a network of experts in fields targeted by masculinists should be formed to react to the misinformation campaign, especially since the trigger events for this discourse are known.

On the Collection and Publication of Statistical Data:

12. The publication of gendered data must always be supported by analyses that provide the context, since without it the data only fuel the masculinist discourses.

13. In addition, the collection of gendered data should be systematically disaggregated by social environment or other relevant variables, such as level of education, type of work, ethnic origin, etc.

On the Effects of this Discourse on Women, Women's Groups and Feminists:

14. Many women and women's groups may experience repercussions from the propaganda of the masculinist discourse, whether in terms of grants to maintain existing resources or create new ones, increased violence against women and the consequent need to accommodate more women, access to public resources, employment equity, possible discrimination in the application of legislation and the creation of new bills, or in terms of the education of girls at risk — completely overlooked — and guilt trips laid on those who succeed, etc. We suggest that support be given to establishing a monitoring and awareness network (an observatory centre) among people and groups targeted by these discourses, notably gays and lesbians, who are victims of the same hate propaganda. This network could also be responsible for gaining a better understanding of how masculinist groups are influencing policy makers, in order to make them aware of the limitations and shortcomings of these discourses. All policies, measures, programs or legislation related to equal opportunity should be monitored.

On Research:

15. We believe that further feminist research should be carried out, notably in the areas of the "alleged violence perpetrated by women," child custody and health, to provide an empirical base for the arguments, concepts and statistics presented by masculinists.

APPENDIX I: CONCEPT DIAGRAM

```
                                    Concept diagram
                                          |
                                    Main argument
      _____|_____
     |                        |                          |                    |
Informative and          Content                  Interpretation         Proposed
descriptive categories   categories                categories             solutions
  ___|___              ___|_____        _____|_____        ___|___
 |   |   |            |     |        |       |         |         |       |       |
Trigger  People     Nature  Arguments  Historical  Victimization  Fault of   From school  From social
events            arguments related to arguments   of men and boys  Women/     perspective  perspective
    Descriptive           political                Levelling or     feminists
    data                  apparatus                denial of inequality
     |                |         |         |         between sexes
  Type and      Arguments  Socio-      Ideological    ___|___
  nature of     related to psychological arguments   |       |
  references    families   arguments        |    Communicating Transgression
  used             |                    Arguments    vessels
              School-related            related to   theory
              arguments                 social actors
                  |                         |
              Cultural                   Socio-
              arguments                  political
                  |                      arguments
              Arguments                     |
              related to                 Economic
              violence                   arguments
```

APPENDIX III: TABLES

Table 1: Key Topics Addressed

	Eng. Can.	Fr. Can.	U.S.A.	Australia	France	Total
Education	110 (59%)	92 (49%)	24 (39%)	28 (61%)	29 (41%)	283
Hyperactivity	9 (5%)	1 (0.5%)	3 (5%)	0	0	13
Suicide	15 (8%)	20 (11%)	3 (5%)	5 (11%)	1 (1.5%)	44
Depression	2 (1%)	0	0	0	0	2
Addiction	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	4 (6.5%)	0	0	8
Violence	59 (31.5%)	21 (11%)	18 (29.5%)	10 (22%)	2 (3%)	110
Fatherhood	21 (11%)	32 (17%)	30 (49%)	0	17 (24%)	100
Masculinity	19 (10%)	30 (16%)	7 (11%)	6 (13%)	22 (31%)	84
No. of articles	187	187	61	46	71	552
No. of mentions	237	193	89	49	71	639

Note:
Most percentages have been rounded off.

Table 2: Content Categories

	Eng. Can.	Fr. Can.	U.S.A.	Australia	France
Nature	41% (3)	24.5%	31%	26% (3)	21%
Historical	39%	42% (3)	41%	22%	46% (2)
Family	35%	37%	44% (3)	22%	21%
School	46% (2)	26%	24.5%	28% (2)	7%
Players	27%	21%	13%	17%	13%
Ideology	22%	40%	46% (2)	9%%	25% (3)
Politics	36%	64% (1)	24.5%	19.5%	46% (2)
Psychosocial	26%	32%	34%	9%	51% (1)
Culture	62.5% (1)	47.5% (2)	75% (1)	39% (1)	51% (1)
Government	11%	21%	28%	22%	17%
Economy	13%	14%	21%	13%	6%
Violence	27%	16%	13%	9%	11%
No. of articles	187	187	61	46	71

Table 3: Interpretation Categories

	Eng. Can.	Fr. Can.	U.S.A.	Australia	France
Victimization	66.3%	62.0%	73.3%	56.5%	56.3%
Communicating vessels	11.2%	13.3%	22.9%	6.5%	11.2%
Fault of feminists	42.2%	50.8%	36.0%	30.4%	71.8%
Levelling	10.1%	13.3%	13.1%	19.5%	18.3%
Transgression	33.6%	27.8%	18.0%	17.3%	23.9%
No. of articles	Tot.: 187	Tot.: 187	Tot.: 61	Tot.: 46	Tot.: 71

Table 4: Intensity of Arguments

	Eng. Can.	Fr. Can.	U.S.A.	Australia	France
Victimization	43%	40%	52%	41%	35%
Communicating vessels	7%	7%	13%	4%	6%
Fault of feminists	27%	32%	18%	25%	44%
Levelling	6%	6%	7%	11%	2%
Transgression	17%	15%	10%	19%	13%
No. of meaning clusters	Tot.: 3,300	Tot.: 3,377	Tot.: 1,833	Tot.: 1,517	Tot.: 1,440

Table 5: Distribution Across Canada of English-Language Newspaper Articles (N = 170)
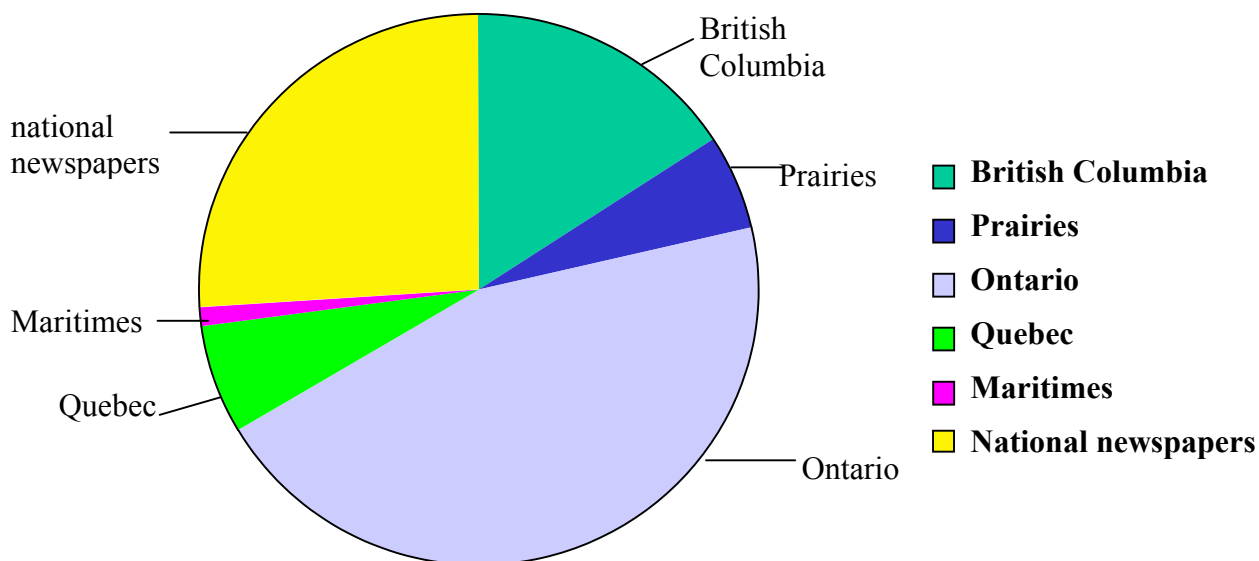
Ontario: 45.3 %. National newspapers: 26.5 %. British Columbia: 15.9 %. Prairies: 5.9 %. Quebec: 6.5 %. Maritimes: 1.2 %. (N=170, excluding magazine articles).

Table 6: Distribution Across Canada of French-Language Newspaper Articles

N = 187   10.9% Actualité, 3.2% Chatelaine, 3.2% Journal de Quebec, 26.2% Devoir, 6.5% Droit, 25.6% Presse, 19.1% Soleil, 3.8% Gazette, 1% Voir
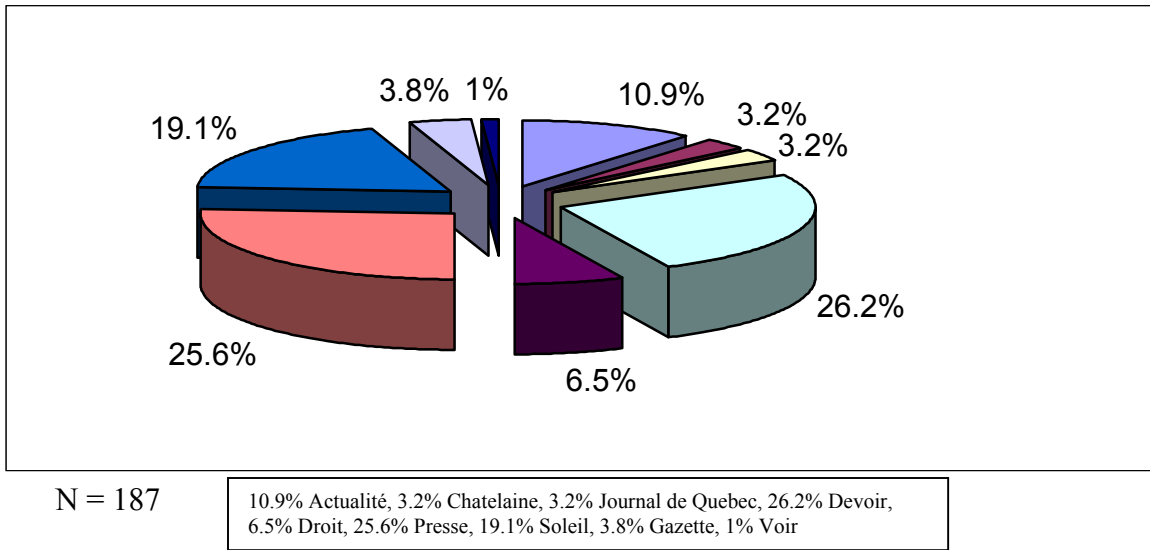
Table 7: Distribution Over Time of Articles in the Canadian English-Language Press
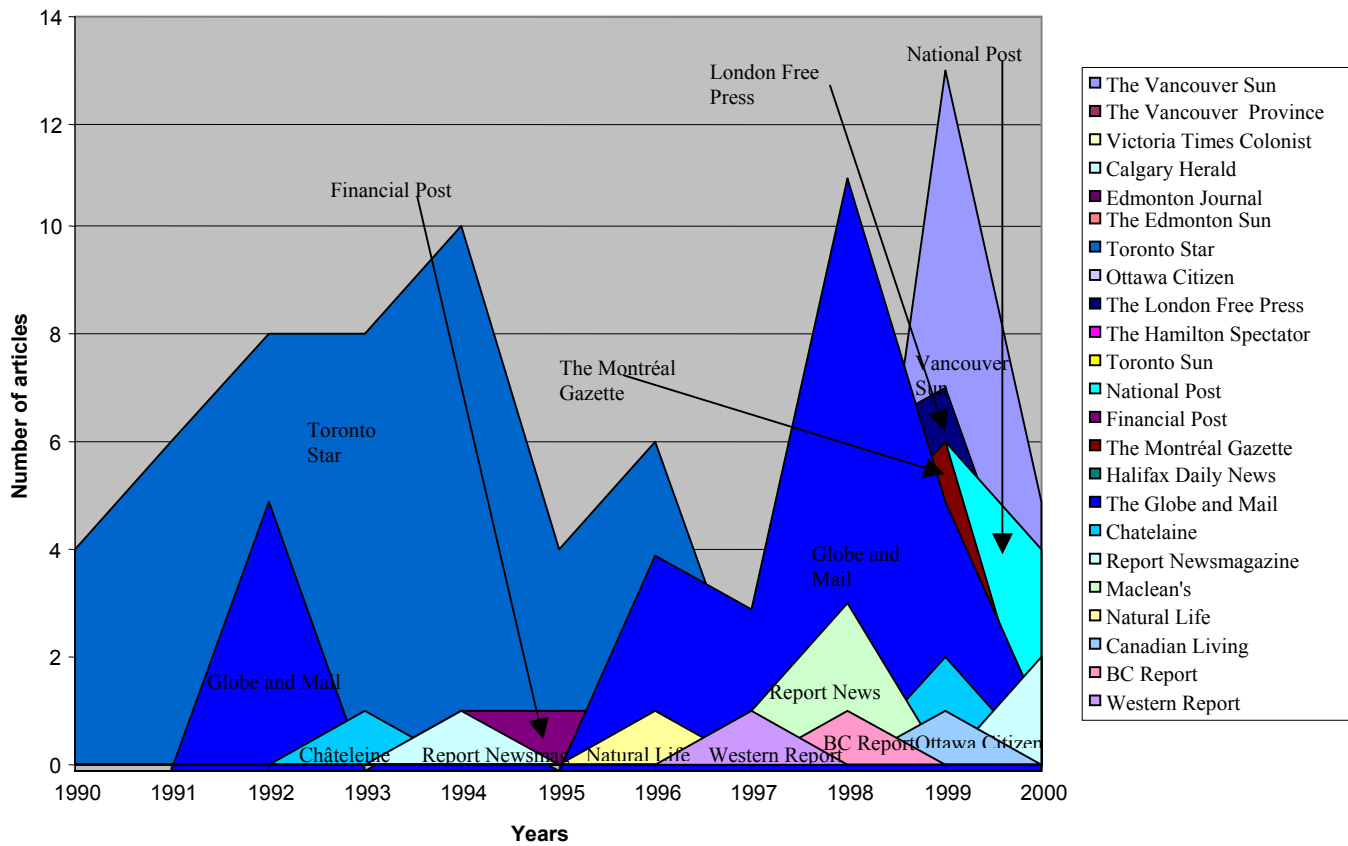
Table 8: Distribution Over Time of Articles in the Canadian French-Language Press
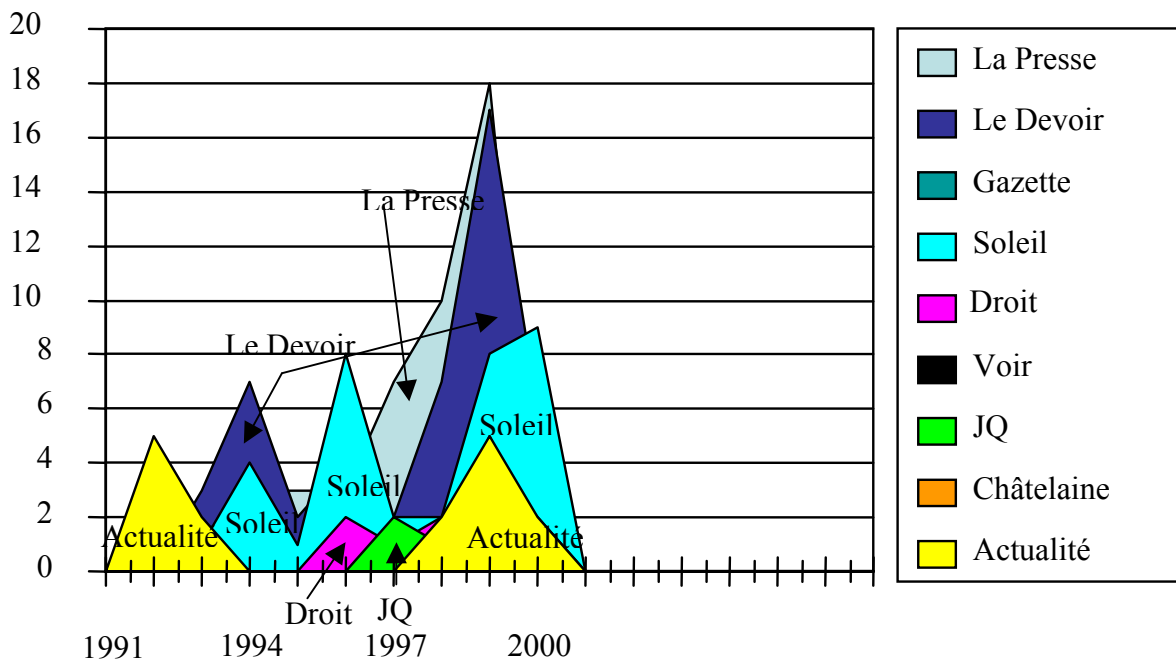
Table 9: Distribution Over Time of Trigger Events in the Canadian English-Language Press
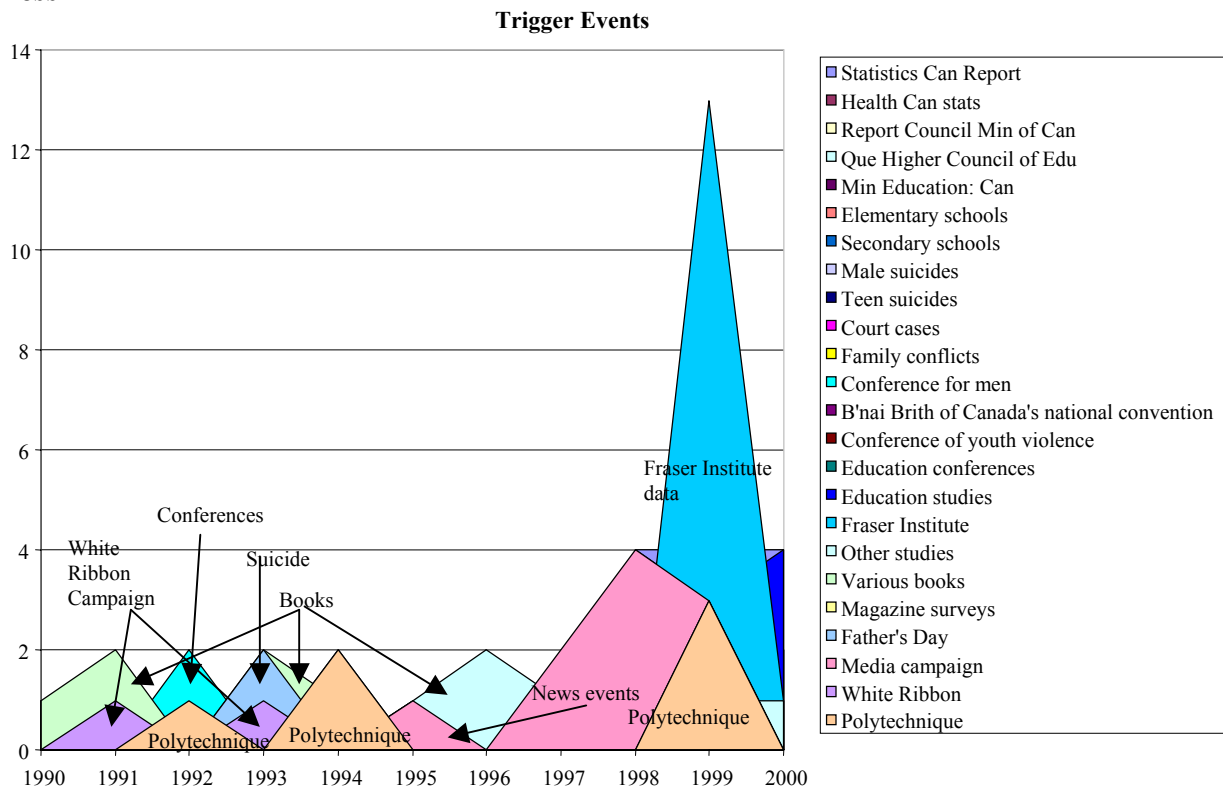
Table 10: Distribution Over Time of Trigger Events in the Canadian French-Language Press

Legend:
- Articles or television programs
- School events
- Books or research
- Conseil Supérieur de l'éducation (CSE) notices
- Statistics Canada
- White Ribbon Campaign
- Government policy
- Polytechnique
- Men's/fathers' groups
- Government committees
- Collectif masculin contre le sexisme
- Collectif anti-féministe du Québec
- Fathers' Day
- Advertising
- News events
- Suicide of Gaétan Girouard
- Youth suicides
- Suicide Prevention Week (SPW) activities
- Government studies
- Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC)
- Commission for the Estates General on Education
- Conferences
- U.K. Department of Education notices
- Court cases
- Legislation
- March 8

Table 11: Solutions Proposed in the Canadian French-Language Press

- **GI** = **G**ender-based **I**ntervention
- **M** = More males as role **m**odels
- **SS** = **S**ingle-**s**ex classes or schools
- **PR** = Improved **pr**ograms
- **L** = **L**egislative changes
- **PUB** = **Pub**licity
- **V** = Return to traditional **v**alues
- **Q** = Establishment of **q**uotas
- **PAR** = **Par**ental involvement
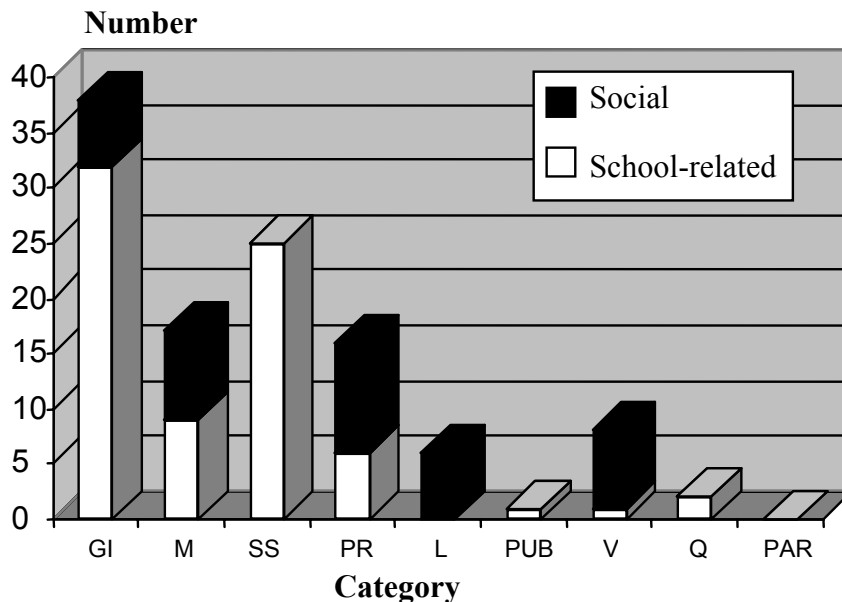
Table 12: Solutions Proposed in the Canadian English-Language Press

- **GI** = Gender-based **I**ntervention
- **M** = More males as role **m**odels
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- **Q** = Establishment of **q**uotas

Number

Category
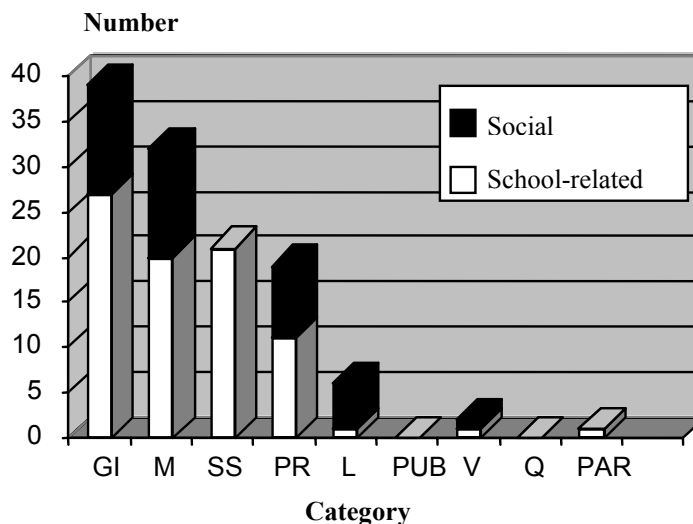
Table 13: Solutions from the Counter-Discourse in the Canadian French-Language Press

- **C** = Maintain **c**o-educational approach
- **PER** = Change boys' **per**ception
- **PAR** = **Par**ental involvement
- **L** = **L**egislative changes
- **PR** = Awareness **pr**ograms

Number

Category
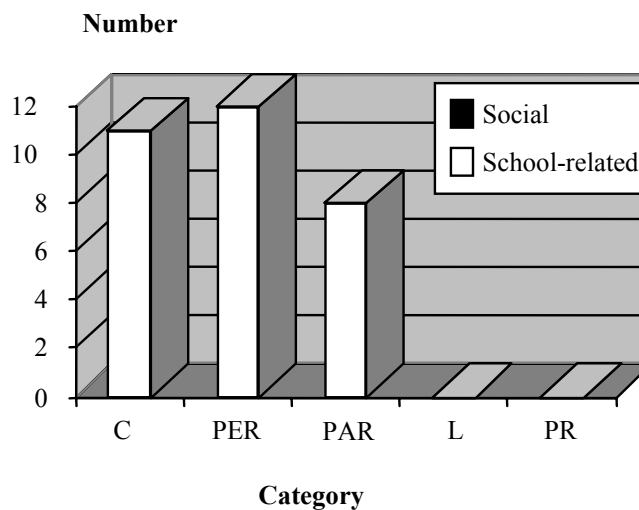
Table 14: Solutions from the Counter-Discourse in the Canadian English-Language Press
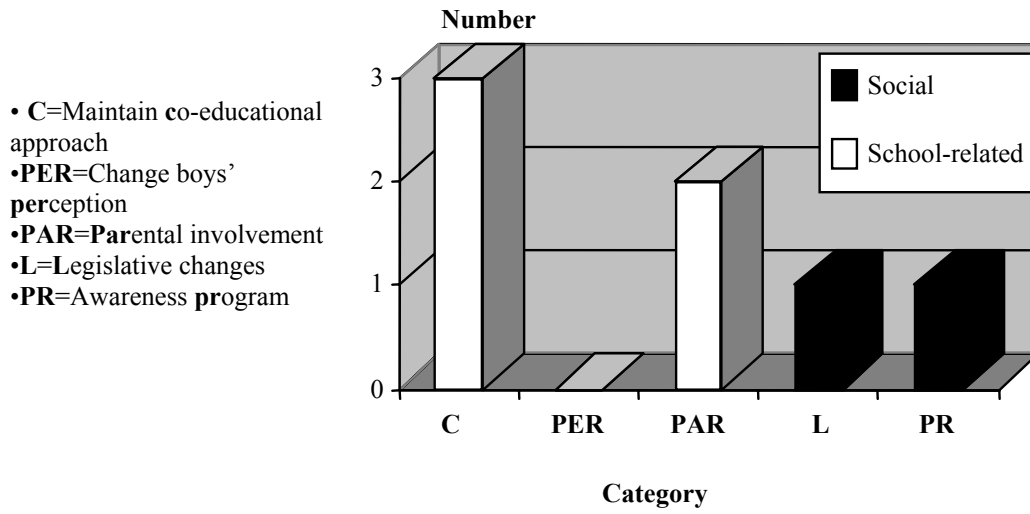
• **C**=Maintain **c**o-educational approach
•**PER**=Change boys' **per**ception
•**PAR**=**Par**ental involvement
•**L**=**L**egislative changes
•**PR**=Awareness **pr**ogram

Number

3

2

1

0

       ■ Social

       □ School-related

    C   **PER**   **PAR**   **L**   **PR**

Category

Table 15: University Degrees by Field of Study and Sex

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Canada	178,074	178,066	178,116	173,937	172,076
Men	76,470	76,022	75,106	73,041	71,949
Women	101,604	102,044	103,010	100,896	100,127
Social sciences	69,583	68,685	67,862	66,665	67,019
Men	30,700	29,741	29,029	28,421	27,993
Women	38,883	38,944	38,833	38,244	39,026
Education	30,369	30,643	29,792	27,807	25,956
Men	9,093	9,400	8,693	8,036	7,565
Women	21,276	21,243	21,099	19,771	18,391
Humanities	23,071	22,511	22,357	21,373	20,816
Men	8,427	8,428	8,277	8,034	7,589
Women	14,644	14,083	14,080	13,339	13,227
Health professions and trades	12,183	12,473	12,895	13,073	12,658
Men	3,475	3,461	3,517	3,460	3,514
Women	8,708	9,012	9,378	9,613	9,144
Engineering, applied sciences	12,597	12,863	13,068	12,768	12,830
Men	10,285	10,284	10,446	10,125	10,121
Women	2,312	2,579	2,622	2,643	2,709
Agricultural and biological sciences	10,087	10,501	11,400	11,775	12,209
Men	4,309	4,399	4,756	4,780	4,779
Women	5,778	6,102	6,644	6,995	7,430
Mathematics, physical sciences	9,551	9,879	9,786	9,738	9,992
Men	6,697	6,941	6,726	6,749	6,876
Women	2,854	2,938	3,060	2,989	3,116
Fine and applied arts	5,308	5,240	5,201	5,206	5,256
Men	1,773	1,740	1,780	1,706	1,735
Women	3,535	3,500	3,421	3,500	3,521
Arts and sciences	5,325	5,271	5,755	5,532	5,340
Men	1,711	1,628	1,882	1,730	1,777
Women	3,614	3,643	3,873	3,802	3,563

Note:
Includes bachelor's degrees, initial stages of a professional program, degrees and certificates at the undergraduate level, other titles at the undergraduate level, master's degrees, doctorates, and degrees and certificates at the master's and doctoral levels.

Source:
Statistics Canada, CANSIM, Summary table 00580602.

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Table 16: Persons Cited in Canadian English- and French-Language Newspapers

Persons cited	French Canada	English Canada	Total
Once	303	391	694
More than once	59	39	98
Total	362	430	792

Table 17: Persons Cited in More than One Canadian French-Language Article

Name	Number of articles	Name	Number of articles
André Caron	2	Richard Tremblay	2
Anne Thibault	2	Roberta Mura	2
Antoine Baby	2	Susan Faludi	2
Armelle Spain	2	Yves Coutu	2
Aurélien Lessard	2	Carol Gilligan	2
Bernard Rivière	2	Sigmund Freud	3
Brian Mishara	2	Georges Dupuy	3
Louise Lafortune	2	Louis Lafrance	3
Charles Caouette	2	Lucien Bouchard	3
Charles Côté	2	Michel Lavallée	3
Claude Bouchard	2	Michel Perron	3
Claudie Solar	2	Robert Bly	3
Dr. J-François Saucier	2	Roch Côté	3
Fernand Boucher	2	Claude Lachaine	4
Ferrel Christensen	2	Placide Munger	4
Gordon Sawyer	2	Richard Cloutier	4
Guy Corneau	2	Robert Bisaillon	4
Jacques Tondreau	2	William Pollack	4
Jocelyn Berthelot	2	Louise Lévesque	5
Jeanne Blackburn	2	Manon Théorêt	5
Louise Harel	2	Martin Dufresne	5
Yvon Charbonneau	2	Pauline Marois	5
Lysiane Gagnon	2	Céline Saint-Pierre	6
Marc-André Pelletier	2	Gilles Baril	6
Mario Beaulieu	2	Claudette Gagnon	7
Michael Gurian	2	François Legault	8
Norman Levasseur	2	Germain Dulac	8
Pierre DePassillé	2	J-Claude St-Amant	12
Pierre Michaud	2	Pierrette Bouchard	20
Renée Cloutier	2		

Table 18: Persons Cited in More than One Canadian English-Language Article

Name	Number of articles	Name	Number of articles
Céline Saint-Pierre	2	Stephen Easton	2
Dan Kindlon	2	Susan Faludi	2
Doreen Kimura	2	Warren Farrell	2
Emma Lyndon	2	Adrienne Snow	3
Ferrel Christensen	2	Doug Blakey	3
Gail Ruddy	2	Gerry Harrington	3
Gary Hunt	2	Jim Gaskell	3
Guy Corneau	2	Mark Holmes	3
Kristin Peterson	2	Mary Gordon	3
Liz Sandals	2	Peter Downes	3
Martin Seligman	2	Phyllis Benedict	3
Matt Sartolli	2	Richard Hawley	3
Michael Thompson	2	Robert Bly	3
Michelle Whyle	2	Michael Kaufman	4
Myriam Miedzian	2	Carol Gilligan	6
Paul Cappon	2	Michael Gurian	7
Peter Ostrowski	2	Peter Cowley	7
Phil Arnold	2	Wes Imms	7
Sandra Witelson	2	William Pollack	11
Sarah Evans	2	Pat Clarke	13
Stephen Byers	2		

Table 19: Persons Cited in Canadian English- and French-Language Articles

Name	Number of French-language articles in Canada	Number of English-language articles in Canada
Allan Roch	1	1
Margaret Mead	1	1
Victor Froese	1	1
Richard Hawley	1	3
Peter Cowley	1	7
Ferrel Christensen	2	2
Guy Corneau	2	2
Susan Faludi	2	2
Carol Gilligan	2	6
Michael Gurian	2	7
Robert Bly	3	3
William Pollack	4	11
Céline Saint-Pierre	6	2
J-Claude St-Amant	12	1
Pierrette Bouchard	20	1

Table 20: Persons Cited in More than One Country

Experts	Canada		United States	France	Australia
	French	English			
Carol Gilligan	X	X	X		
Dan Kindlon		X	X		X
Doreen Kimura		X		X	
Guy Corneau	X	X		X	
Margaret Mead	X	X	X	X	
Michael Thompson		X	X		
Miriam Medzian		X	X		
Richard Hawley	X	X	X		
Robert Bly	X	X	X	X	
Sandra Witelson		X		X	
Susan Faludi	X	X		X	X
William Pollack	X	X	X		X

Table 21: Distribution of Full-Time and Part-Time Work in the Population from 1997 to 2000 (both sexes, in thousands)

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total	13,774.4	14,140.4	14,531.2	14,909.7	15,076.8
Ages 15 to 24	2,043.1	2,101.9	2,206.4	2,289.2	2,313.5
Ages 25 to 44	7,468.4	7,576.7	7,634.7	7,703.5	7,680.8
Age 45 +	4,263.0	4,461.8	4,690.2	4,917.1	5,082.5
Full-time	11,139.7	11,466.6	11,849.2	12,208.1	12,345.2
Ages 15 to 24	1,109.8	1,142.6	1,223.0	1,281.0	1,296.4
Ages 25 to 44	6,452.0	6,577.3	6,659.6	6,760.2	6,731.5
Age 45 +	3,577.9	3,746.7	3,966.7	4,167.0	4,317.4
Part-time	2,634.8	2,673.8	2,681.9	2,701.6	2,731.6
Ages 15 to 24	933.3	959.4	983.4	1,008.2	1,017.1
Ages 25 to 44	116.3	999.4	975.1	943.3	949.3
Age 45 +	685.1	715.0	723.5	750.0	765.1

Note:
Last updated February 5, 2002.

Source:
Statistics Canada, CANSIM II, Tables 279-0003, 279-0010, 279-0014, 279-0018, 279-0020 and 279-0023.

Table 22: Distribution of Full-Time and Part-Time Work Among Men from 1997 to 2000

Men	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Full-time	6,716.5	6,851.1	7,052.2	7,219.5	7,265.7
Ages 15 to 24	662.5	668.6	712.5	741.3	742.0
Ages 25 to 44	3,816.0	3,872.7	3,908.0	3,945.8	3,911.4
Age 45 +	2,238.0	2,309.8	2,431.7	2,532.4	2,612.2
Part-time	791.7	810.3	813.6	829.7	844.0
Ages 15 to 24	403.8	412.8	428.5	436.7	441.0
Ages 25 to 44	199.6	200.4	184.3	181.1	192.5
Age 45 +	188.3	197.1	200.9	211.9	210.4

Note:
Last updated February 5, 2002.

Source: Statistics Canada, CANSIM II, Tables 279-0003, 279-0010, 279-0014, 279-0018, 279-0020 and 279-0023.

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Table 23: Distribution of Full-Time and Part-Time Work Among Women from 1997 to 2000

Women	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Full-time	4,423.1	4,615.4	4,797.0	4,988.6	5,079.5
Ages 15 to 24	447.3	473.9	510.5	539.6	554.4
Ages 25 to 44	2,636.0	2,704.6	2,751.6	2,814.4	2,820.0
Age 45 +	1,339.8	1,436.9	1,534.9	1,634.6	1,705.1
Part-time	1,843.1	1,863.5	1,868.3	1,871.8	1,887.6
Ages 15 to 24	529.5	546.6	554.9	571.5	576.1
Ages 25 to 44	816.8	799.0	790.8	762.3	756.8
Age 45 +	496.8	518.0	522.6	538.1	554.7

Source:
Statistics Canada, CANSIM II, Tables 279-0003, 279-0010, 279-0014, 279-0018, 279-0020 and 279-0023.

Table 24: Average Earnings by Sex and Employment Pattern (in 1999 constant dollars)

Year	All workers		Earnings ratio
	Women	Men	%
1990	20,318	33,997	59.8
1991	20,320	33,054	61.5
1992	21,016	32,930	63.8
1993	20,770	32,316	64.3
1994	20,984	33,748	62.2
1995	21,449	32,988	65.0
1996	21,244	32,901	64.6
1997	21,380	33,700	63.4
1998	22,384	34,769	64.4
1999	22,535	35,169	64.1

Notes:
Data prior to 1996 are taken from the Consumer Finance Survey (CFS).
Beginning in 1996, the data are taken from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID).
Last updated October 25, 2001.

Source:
Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division.

Table 25: Percentage of Children Experiencing Problems by Family Type and Environment

	[1] Low-income Lone Mothers (Below Low-Income Cut-off)	[2] Lone Mothers Above Low-Income Cut-off	[3] Low-Income Couples (Below Low-Income Cut-off)	[4] Couples Above Low-Income Cut-off	[5] Total
	(Percent of Sample)				
Hyperactivity	9	9	4	4	5
Conduct Disorder	15	9	7	6	7
Emotional Disorder	18	14	10	8	10
One or More Psychiatric Disorders	29	22	16	14	16
Repeated a Grade	13	9	8	4	5
Poor School Performance	7	3	4	2	3
Frequent Social Problems	9	4	5	2	3
One or More of Any Problems	43	32	24	20	23

Notes:
Columns [2] and [4] refer to families above the Low-Income Cut-offs. Number of Observations: 12,735 children (ages 4 to 11) for psychiatric disorders and 9,283 children (ages 6 to 11) for schooling and social problems. OCHS thresholds

Source:
Corak (1998).

Table 26: Suicides and Suicide Rates by Sex and Age

	Number of suicides		Suicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants			
	1996	**1997**	**1981**	**1991**	**1996**	**1997**
All ages	3,941	3,681	14.0	13.3	13.2	12.3
Males	3,093	2,914	21.3	21.6	20.8	19.6
Females	848	767	6.8	5.3	5.6	5.1
Below age 15	41	51	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.9
Males	32	39	1.0	0.7	1.1	1.4
Females	9	12	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4
Ages 15 to 19	231	261	12.7	13.8	11.5	12.9
Males	190	207	21.2	23.0	18.5	19.9
Females	41	54	3.8	4.0	4.2	5.5
Ages 20 to 24	350	293	19.6	18.2	17.2	14.5
Males	300	257	33.2	31.7	29.0	24.9
Females	50	36	5.9	4.1	5.0	3.6
Ages 25 to 44	1,770	1,549	17.4	18.1	17.9	15.8
Males	1,390	1,228	26.2	28.8	24.7	25.0
Females	380	321	8.6	7.6	8.6	6.6
Ages 45 to 64	1,060	1,075	20.1	16.2	16.6	16.5
Males	786	826	28.6	25.7	24.7	25.5
Females	274	249	11.9	6.9	8.6	7.6
Age 65 +	489	452	18.3	14.2	13.4	12.4
Males	395	357	30.4	26.3	25.6	23.0
Females	94	95	9.2	5.6	4.5	4.5

Notes:
– None or zero.
x Number not available, confidential or could not be determined.

Source:
Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 82F0075XCB.

Table 27: Number of Weeks of Depression Episodes Over the Last 52 Weeks, by Age and Sex

|	No. of people suffering depression (thousands)	Average No. of weeks	No. of weeks of depression episodes[1] (% of people)			
			2 to 4	5 to 11	12 to 26	27 to 52
Ages 12 +	1,314	7.5	42	24	21	13
Males	480	8.0	51	21	16	12
Females	834	7.0	36	26	24	14
Ages 12 to 14	27	4.6	70	x	x	x
Males	9	4.7	x	–	x	–
Females	18	4.4	62	x	x	x
Ages 15 to 17	86	5.0	51	24	x	x
Males	26	5.0	77	x	x	–
Females	60	5.0	40	25	x	x
Ages 18 to 19	70	5.4	69	18	x	x
Males	22	5.3	x	x	x	–
Females	48	5.4	70	x	x	x
Ages 20 to 24	122	6.1	43	30	23	x
Males	42	6.4	55	x	x	x
Females	80	6.0	37	33	26	x
Ages 25 to 34	294	6.2	43	28	19	9
Males	110	6.0	54	19	18	9
Females	184	6.3	37	34	20	9
Ages 35 to 44	344	6.9	37	27	24	12
Males	134	6.8	42	27	17	13
Females	210	6.9	34	27	29	11
Ages 45 to 54	200	7.8	31	22	27	20
Males	78	8.0	41	25	13	22
Females	122	7.7	24	21	36	19
Ages 55 to 64	95	8.4	38	10	28	24
Males	29	8.9	51	x	x	x
Females	66	8.1	32	11	29	28
Ages 65 to 74	48	9.1	38	17	16	x
Males	18	9.2	x	x	x	x
Females	30	9.0	31	x	x	x
Age 75 +	28	10.3	46	x	x	x
Males	12	10.8	x	x	x	x
Females	16	10.0	x	x	x	x

Notes:

– None or zero.

x Number unavailable, confidential or could not be determined.

[1] The question was asked only of people who indicated feeling sad, demoralized, depressed or uninterested in anything.

Source:

Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1996–97.

Table 28: Number of Physicians by Age Group and Sex
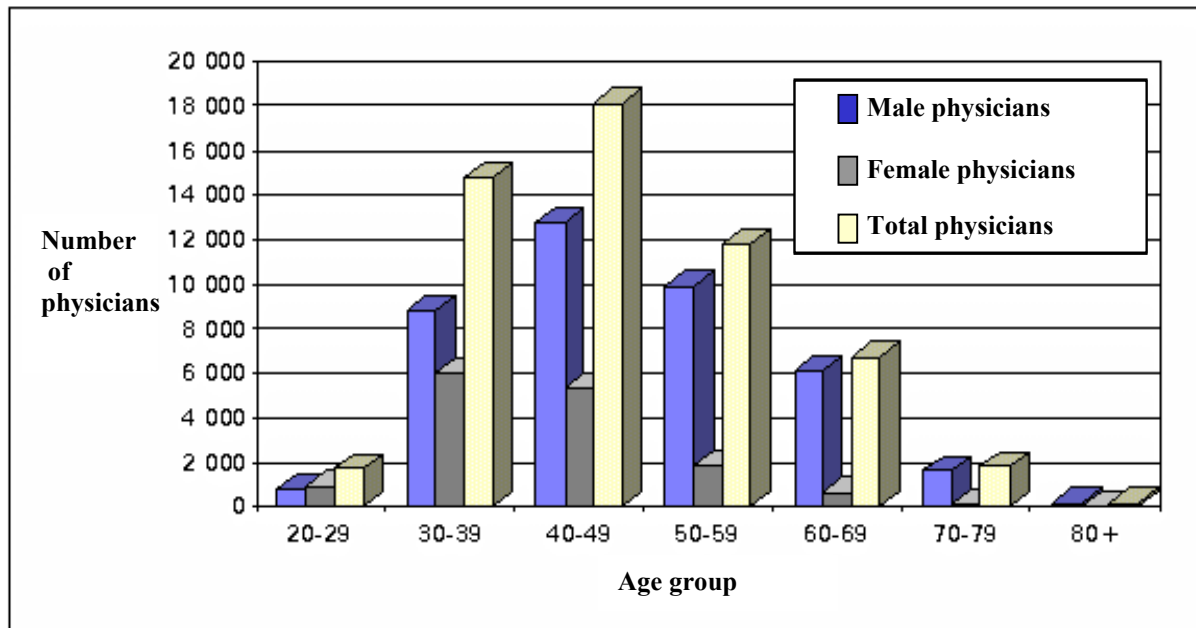
Source:
Southam Medical Database, Canadian Institute of Health Information.

Table 29: Seriousness of Spousal Violence by Sex

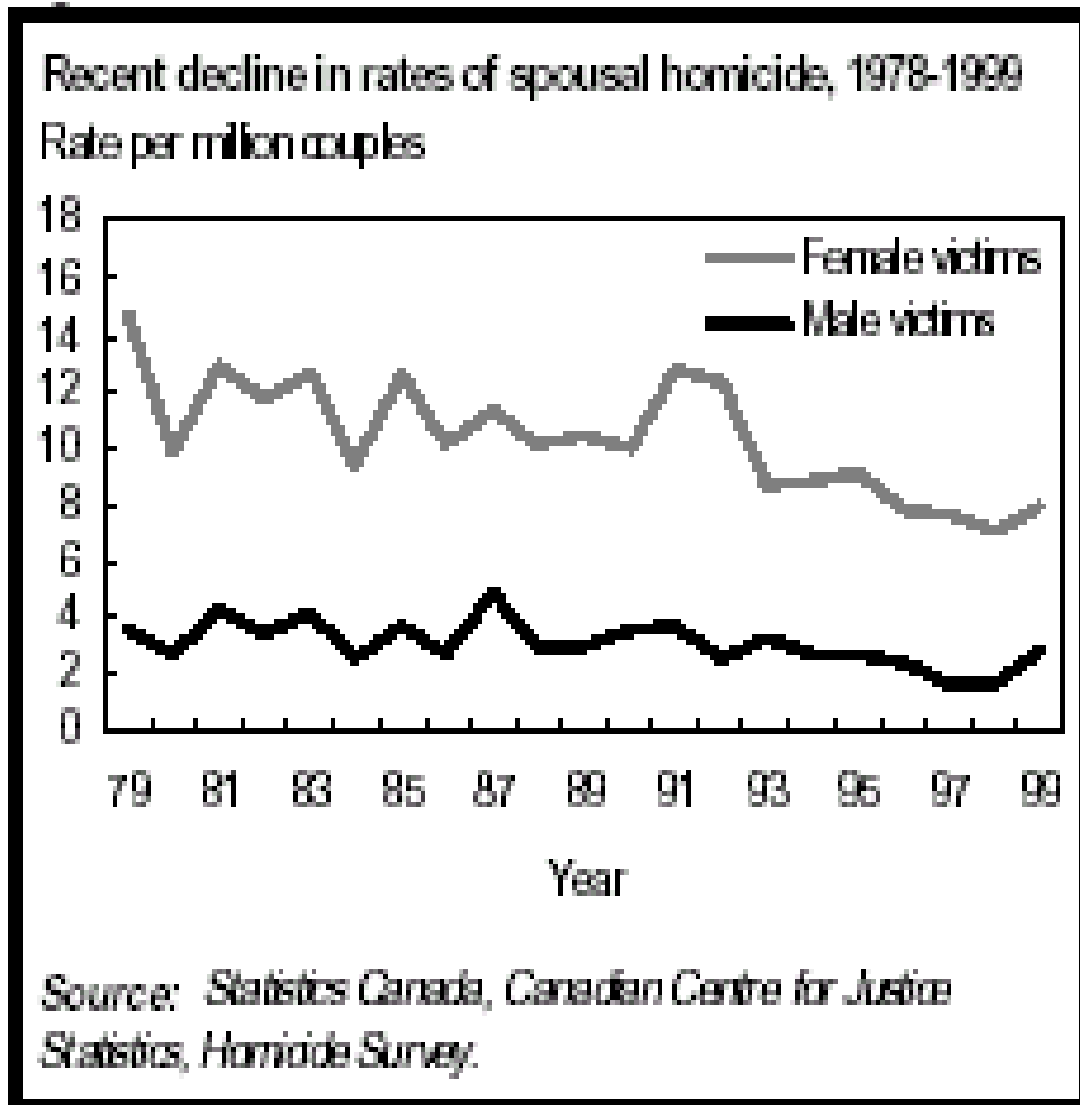|	Aboriginal vicitims of spousal violence						Non-Aboriginal victims of spousal violence					
	Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male	
	No. (000s)	%	No. (000s)	%	No. (000s)	%	No. (000s)	%	No. (000s)	%	No. (000s)	%
Total violence by any spouse	**60**	**100**	**44**	**100**	**17**	**100**	**1 156**	**100**	**632**	**100**	**524**	**100**
Physical injury	25	41†	21	49†	--	--	324	28	255	40	69	13
No physical injury	36	59	22	51†	14	81	815	71	368	58	447	85
Not stated/Don't know	--	--	--	--	--	--	17	1†	--	--	--	--
Received medical attention	11	18†	10	23†	--	--	108	9	94	15	14	3†
Did not receive medical attention	14	23†	11	26†	--	--	215	19	160	25	55	11
No physical injury	36	59	22	51†	--	--	815	71	368	58	447	85
Not stated/Don't know	--	--	--	--	--	--	18	2†	--	--	--	--
Feared their lives were in danger	19	32†	17	39†	--	--	277	24	239	38	38	7†
Did not fear their lives were in danger	40	66	26	59	14	84	858	74	383	61	475	91
Not stated/Don't know	--	--	--	--	--	--	21	2†	--	--	--	--

Notes :
-- amount too small to be expressed.
† Coefficient of variation is high (16.5 % to 33.3 %).
Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Source :
Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1999.

Table 30: Spousal Homicide Rates

Recent decline in rates of spousal homicide, 1978-1999
Rate per million couples

Source: *Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Homicide Survey.*

APPENDIX IV: LIST OF NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES, WITH CODES

Dailies

English-language press
The Vancouver Sun (British Columbia): vs
Vancouver Province (British Columbia): vp
Victoria Times Colonist (British Columbia): vtc
Calgary Herald (Alberta): ch
Edmonton Journal (Alberta): ej
The Edmonton Sun (Alberta): es
Toronto Star (Ontario): ts
Ottawa Citizen (Ontario): oc
The London Free Press (Ontario): lfp
The Hamilton Spectator (Ontario): sh
The Toronto Sun (Ontario): tsun
National Post (Ontario): np
Financial Post (Ontario): fp
The Montreal Gazette (Quebec): gm
Halifax Daily News (Nova Scotia): hdn
The Globe and Mail (Canada): GM
Financial Post (Canada): fp

French-language press
La Presse: p
Le Devoir: d
Le Soleil: s
Journal Voir: v
Journal de Québec: jq
Le Droit (Ottawa): dr

Magazines

English-language press
Chatelaine: Chat
Report Newsmagazine: RNews
Maclean's: Macl
Natural Life: NL
Canadian Living: CL
BC Report: BCR
Western Report: WR

French-language press
Châtelaine: CHAT
L'Actualité: a
Gazette des femmes: gaz

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NOTES

[1] See data below on "accredited" journalists.

[2] "Masculinist" is used here in keeping with the meaning given it by Martin Dufresne (1998, p. 126).

[3] Recently granted to the masculinist lobby in France in 2002.

[4] By "author," we mean both journalists and others whose articles have appeared in a newspaper or magazine.

[5] As men's participation rates fell, women's rates (which had risen throughout the post-war period) stopped rising in the early 1990s. The participation rate of those under the age of 44 has also remained unchanged since 1989. Therefore, it cannot be concluded, as is sometimes implied by traditionalists, that the drop in the participation rates of men under 44 is due to the participation of women in the labour market.

[6] Which corresponds to the typology of Lingard and Douglas (1999), as we will see in Chapter 6.

[7] The "First Search" search engine only lists abstracts; these were not used for analysis purposes in this survey, which is why there are fewer American articles in our corpus, but not necessarily in reality.

[8] This corpus has not yet been examined due to time constraints. Our search of articles in Switzerland was unproductive.

[9] We refer to the concepts of credibility and reliability, that is, to the correlation between the interpretation of the facts and reality as expressed by the situation experienced and the acceptance that a description of the facts creates because they seem plausible.

[10] It would be interesting to apply to this phenomenon the concept of "low-key war against women," put forward by Falquet (1997) to draw a parallel between political violence and domestic violence.

[11] The volume of this corpus lends itself to complementary studies, especially the preparation of dissertations and theses.

[12] Some articles have more than one main topic, which is why the total number of topics is greater than the number of articles. Percentages were calculated according to the total number of articles.

[13] Twenty-three articles in total, including five linked to the White Ribbon Campaign (in 1991, in 1993 and three times in 1999), and six in response to the events at the École Polytechnique (in 1992, twice in 1994 and three times in 1999).

[14] The codes refer to the publication date (year-month-day); the final letters refer to the title of the publication. Appendix IV contains the list of publications.

[15] This position is contrary to the principle of competence normally used by those opposed to equal opportunity programs.

[16] As witness the two boys'-school principals who commented as follows in *L'Actualité* in 1996: [Translation] "If 10 girls wearing jeans and a sexy blouse arrive in a class of boys, all hell would break loose"; "A 15-year-old boy is like a wild stallion; you have to rein him in."

[17] See, for example, the works of Baudoux (1994), Cohen (1998), Dumont and Famhy-Eid (1983, 1986), Skelton (2001), and Thivierge (1982). These authors show that the discourse on boys is not new to the history of education.

[18] Witness the findings from Bouchard and St-Amant's progress report (1996, p. 31). The study was based on a representative sample of 2,249 Quebec youth, with an average age of 15, in the third year of secondary schooling. The questionnaire contained statements that respondents were required to react to using an "agree/disagree" scale between 1 and 4. Thus, the following statements, corresponding to the essentialist or socio-biological theory (which explains the differences in terms of the docility of girls or the repression of boys' activity by the school system), are shown to be false (T-test): Example 1: [Translation] "I have learned to anticipate the expectations of adults" (Table 14). Girls and boys recorded the same percentage of agreement (65%) and disagreement (35%). The average score was 2.7104 for girls and 2.7225 for boys, which is not a statistically meaningful difference. Indeed, agreement with this statement rose with school marks for both boys and girls. A meaningful difference appears when comparing groups by school performance, both sexes combined. Example 2: [Translation] "I am especially appreciated for what I do for others" (Table 12). The average score was 2.4047 for girls and 2.4414 for boys, which again is not a statistically meaningful difference. In percentages, 48% of girls and 50% of boys agreed. Example 3: [Translation] "I prefer to let others decide" (Table 31). This attitude is often associated with girls. In the study, none of the groups supported this approach, the girls scoring (average score of 1.9007 and 80% disagreed) slightly lower than the boys (average score of 1.9892 and 75% disagreed). Example 4: [Translation] "I always like to be busy" (Table 8). This attitude is often attributed to boys. The responses to this question showed identical levels of agreement in both genders: 82%. If family environment (measured by parents' education) is taken into account, there is no significant difference between boys and girls whose parents have a high level of education. However, in environments where the parents' level of education is low, girls are less likely to agree with this statement while boys are more likely to agree. This statement would be an indicator of more clearly differentiated gender roles in environments where there is a lower level of education.

[19] With this argument, it is never a question of whether girls continue to persevere at the CEGEP and university levels despite the fact that, following this same logic, these environments could be seen as being "masculinized."

[20] Part of the following content was published in *La Presse* on November 23, 1999, under the title "La réussite scolaire. Il faut éviter les généralisations abusives" [School success: we must avoid abusive generalizations]. Another section submitted to the newspaper *Le Devoir* during the same period was never published.

[21] They have the lowest results of all of the target groups (Douglas and Lingard, 1999, p. 100).

[22] Lingard and Douglas (1999, p. 107) refer to the Gilborn article (1997). Young African-Caribbean males frequently get the lowest marks and are most likely to be expelled from class.

[23] We use this term as the authors do, not to reflect any racist position. We believe that race, like gender, is a social construct.

[24] Here are a few examples of articles espousing these solutions: "For or against co-educational schools?" [Translation, 990214p]; "Single-sex schools — what if co-ed doesn't work?" [Translation, 990316d]; "Co-ed schools: a problem?" [Translation, 991019p]; "Separating boys and girls in school makes better grades" [000208vs]; "Let's separate boys and girls in classes" [991014gm]; "Boys need to see male role models read" [991025vs].

[25] This analysis was published in Bouchard (2001).

[26] The expression refers to groups that defend men, as a social group, in different spheres of life.

[27] Which we also call "levelling" in our interpretations.

[28] As Lingard and Douglas (1999, p. 33) note, "However, some elements of the men's rights position are far more conservative than liberal, and represent an overtly anti-feminist agenda that seeks a return to traditional roles for men and women."

[29] Today this is a major contribution to the ambient social discourse, although men are still regarded as suppressing their emotions.

[30] "Paradoxically, they agree with the early feminist criticisms of men as being innately more violent, destructive, competitive and seeking dominance. Where feminists seek to dismantle structures that preserve gender inequalities, conservatives seek to reinforce them in order to keep men 'civilized.' For them, "without the civilizing influence of women . . . men are likely to lead opportunistic and escapist lives of crime, vice and drug addiction." (Douglas and Lingard, 1999, p. 43).

[31] For the author, this ideology is seen in the United States in the sports cult, the fascination with violent video games, action films, the types of toys given to boys, the content of comics, etc., all of which promote male physical strength, the superiority of men over technology and their mastery of violence. It is also expressed in the public's admiration of corporate leaders in the race to win first place in the globalization battle. It is men in the working classes and of ethnic and racial minorities who most often adopt this perspective because, by valuing physical strength, they find irrefutable ways to express their identity.

[32] This picture (with the text) is also found on the Quebec site of the Après-rupture group: http://lapresrupture.qc.ca/FrameArhives.html.

[33] The percentage differential between men's and women's earnings is as follows: 1990 (67.3%), 1991 (62%), 1992 (59.5%), 1993 (55.5%), 1994 (60.8%), 1995 (53.7%), 1996 (54.8%), 1997 (57.6%), 1998 (55.3%) and 1999 (56%).

[34] The definition of poverty is up for debate. Some believe that Canada (one of the most prosperous countries in the world) should measure poverty using the same criteria as developing countries, where the majority of the population is fighting for survival. They argue that Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-offs inflate the poverty rates. Others point out that, in reality, Statistics Canada underestimates the seriousness and extent of poverty because Aboriginal reserves, seniors' residences, prisons, the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut are excluded from the data.

[35] These data come from the Violence Against Women Survey (1993), conducted by Statistics Canada among 12,300 Canadian women aged 18 and older. The survey underestimates the real incidence of violence against women because it did not include the Northwest Territories, where violence is especially widespread. According to the 1997 police reports cited on p. 16 of that document, "spousal violence" accounts for one in five of all violent crimes committed in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories (today, the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut).

[36] In 1998, the 179 police forces in six provinces that participated in the Uniform Crime Reporting Program reported 25,493 sexual assaults. Since the RCMP and other police forces were not involved in this program, the survey covers less than half (48%) of the national volume of reported crimes. A conservative estimate of the total number of sexual assaults reported in the country would be 50,986 incidents, or 10% of 509,860.

[37] Data produced by the Women's Safety project, a survey of 420 women randomly selected in the Toronto area. Reported in Canada, 1993.

[38] The articles generally fail to mention the fact that girls' higher school achievement does not translate into better integration into the labour market or equal salaries. The press is dominated by men and those in charge overestimate the achievements of subordinates (Bourdieu, 1995).

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*   Some of these papers are still in progress and not all titles are finalized.