MOBILIZATION OF THE ANTI-PORNOGRAPHY MOVEMENT IN NEWFOUNDLAND (1983-1988): AN ANALYSIS OF IDEOLOGY, STRUCTURE, AND STRATEGY

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by

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this thesis is the mobilization of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland through the efforts of the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography (CCAP), a St. John's based group that formed in 1983. The study places the movement within the context of the national anti-pornography movement, identifying structural, historical, and political conditions giving rise to the movement's formation. By exploring the ideology of those involved in the pornography debate, i.e. the liberal, conservative, and feminist perspectives, the study analyses how different world views affect attitudes about sexuality, and in turn, how these attitudes determine one's philosophical position on pornography. By identifying the key players in the mobilizing effort and their attitudes, opinions, and ability to secure the resources to initiate a province-wide lobby effort, the analysis demonstrates how ideology and resource mobilization interact to help form the structural base of the movement, the strategies undertaken by the CCAP, and the position supported by the group as a whole.

An ethnographic and historical approach was used to conduct the research. Data collection was facilitated by the use of personal interviews, observation, organizational file documents, and newspaper clippings. The involvement of three organizations make up the focus of this thesis. These include, the CCAP, the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and the St. John's Status of Women Council (formally the Newfoundland Status of Women Council).

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This thesis is dedicated to all the women who encouraged and supported me throughout my life. Through them, I was able to see and understand the oppression that women face. Because of them, I gained the strength to say no I will not conform. Without them, this report would not be possible.

Special thanks to Marilyn Porter for her moral support and protection from the patriarchy while I attended Memorial. Thanks to Patti Erving for always keeping close watch on the time, and most of all, thanks to my mother who unknowingly made me understand what feminism is really all about.

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Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

The anti-pornography movement that began in Canada in the late 1970s and early 1980s can be traced to feminist activism during the second wave of the women's movement (1960s to present). The second wave gained momentum in part because of the political awareness developed by women working in the male dominated civil rights movement (Flammang, 1983, p. 38). The concern expressed about human rights and the discrimination against minority groups at this time gave women a channel to voice their discontent about the legal, political, and economic inequalities facing women (Women's Programme, 1974, p. 10). Voicing a women's perspective within the civil rights movement met with much disdain. It was clear to many feminist activists that the sexual revolution and leftist movements of the 1960s were not in the interests of women. Many women who had been active in these movements became aware of their inherent sexist bias, and this awareness led many to make alliances with the feminist movement. While both the feminist movement and the leftist movement denounced the established system, the feminists were quick to acknowledge that even leftist groups had replicated and upheld the sexual exploitation of women (McCormack, 1980a, p. 43). Women recognized that liberal doctrine, the sexual revolution, and the New Left had been formed by men on male terms. Neither feminists nor liberals saw sexual pleasure as immoral. Both agreed that sex for procreation and sex for pleasure could be separate acts. For the feminist, this did not mean that any type of pleasurable sexual activity was acceptable. The early feminist stance condemned the use of pornographic material that violated the rights of women by creating a climate that undermined women's equality (Clark, 1980, p. 10).

During the early 1960s, women began to question many of the tensions and crises facing them. Many of these strains had a structural basis relating to the economic and social changes taking place in family life because of industrialization and technological advancement (Women's Programme, 1974, pp. 7-8). For example, advances in birth control were an important factor in allowing women to choose when to have children and how many to have. This reproductive control, along with other factors such as the increase in home labour saving

devices due to automation,[1] and the increasing role school played in child socialization, all contributed to women's ability to take on work commitments and interests outside of the home (Women's Programme, 1974, p. 8). Other factors such as women's labour force participation in the war gave women greater financial independence and also made them realize that they could perform many jobs traditionally considered exclusively within the male domain.

After World War II, daycare, which had provided women greater freedom to work, was immediately rescinded.[2] The 1950s was a time when many of the gains afforded women during the war effort were undermined[3] (Millett, 1969, p. 223). Barriers to work were instituted to encourage women to return to the home.

Structural changes, along with the liberal views of the sexual revolution, did not change the basic philosophical world views that maintained a sexist understanding of gender and sexuality (Millett, 1969, p. 250). The myth of women's "true" place in society was reinforced through the use of the media, and of course, through science.

> The new formulation of old attitudes had to come from science and particularly from the emerging social sciences of psychology, sociology, and anthropology - the most useful and authoritative branches of social control and manipulation. To be unassailable, there should be some connection, however dubious, with the more readily validated sciences of biology, mathematics, and medicine. To fill the needs of conservative societies...a number of new prophets arrived upon the scene to clothe the old doctrine of the separate spheres in the fashionable language of science.
>
> The most influential of these was Sigmund Freud.... Although generally accepted as a prototype of the liberal urge toward sexual freedom, and a signal contributor toward softening traditional puritanical inhibitions upon sexuality, the effect of Freud's work...was to rationalize the invidious relationship between the sexes, to ratify traditional roles, and to validate temperamental differences. (Millett, 1969, p. 252)

While some women took on new roles, traditional attitudes regarding

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[1]The argument put forward by the Department of the Secretary of State implying that technological advances have freed women from many domestic duties has been refuted by many feminist researchers. These researchers contend that technology has raised the standards of the work performed rather than decreasing the time spent.

[2]This phenomenon of increased daycare was more prevalent in countries which were more active in the war.

[3]The war period should not be seen as a liberating time for women. It was a time when government officials needed all available labour power, and because of this, they were willing to remove women from domestic duties to fill positions normally occupied by men.

women's proper place in society still endured (Women's Programme, 1974, p. 8). Career women were frowned on by society. Girls were still schooled to prepare them for life as wives and child bearers, and women in the labour force were denied equal access to the same jobs as men. When women did work outside the home, there was no legislative protection ensuring equal pay, and it was usually understood that even though women were in the work force their main role in life was tending house, husband, and children.

The 1960s marked a time when women began to write about and verbalize the tensions facing women. Betty Friedan wrote about "the problem that has no name" in her book The Feminine Mystique. She argued that women were in crisis. According to the "experts," women were supposed to fit the image of the happy housewife who found ultimate bliss in caring for others. Yet, many women were unhappy with mandatory motherhood. Some women began to break away from tradition, but for the most part, the social, economic, and political structures were such that they prevented most women from participating in society in any way other than their conventional roles.

The establishment of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in 1946 as part of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, along with the 1961 U.S. Presidential Commission on the Status of Women set up by President Kennedy in order to capture the women's vote, set the stage for Canada's involvement in the human rights movement (Women's Programme, 1974, pp. 10-12; Flammang, 1983, p. 39). This movement allowed women to frame their concerns as a human rights issue. At that time, women's groups in Canada were adamant that a Royal Commission on the Status of women be formed to investigate discriminatory practices against women. In 1967 such a commission was formed. The commission's findings would become a cornerstone for mobilizing a strong and active women's movement.

The research information contained in this Royal Commission report documented for the first time in a comprehensive manner, the biases facing Canadian women. This documentation, along with the report's recommendations to government, encouraged women to form status of women's groups all across the country to ensure the implementation of the report's recommendations (Women's Programme, 1974, p. 17). As a result, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) officially formed in 1971 as a national lobby group with the following objectives: (1) to link all women's groups who were concerned with the amelioration of the status of women into one unified lobby, (2) to improve women's position in society through legislative change, and (3) to ensure the implementation of the Royal Commission's recommendations (National Action Committee, 1978, p. 1). From the lobby efforts of these groups came the formation of the federal and provincial Advisory Councils on the Status of Women

which are responsible to advise government on issues of concern to women (Women's Programme, 1974, p. 18).

As the women's movement developed during the 1960s, feminists began to lobby against the image of women and girls presented in all forms of media, including print, radio and television programming, and school textbooks. These women felt that stereotypic images narrowed the options available to women by portraying women in traditional roles only. Research and discussion concerning sexism and sex-role stereotyping grew during this period, but little concrete action was taken on this issue by public authorities (Spring, 1987, p.5; McCormack, 1980a, p. 44).

During the late 1960s and early 1970s when women were investigating sex-role stereotyping in the media, there was also a growing concern over the increase in pornographic material (Ellis, 1983, p. 107). Many women who had supported the display of explicit material and the liberal tenets of the sexual revolution began to question whether the revolution had contributed to freeing women's sexuality from restrictive social controls. With time, it became increasingly apparent to many women, that pornography, rather than portraying women as equals, portrayed them as frivolous beings whose only purpose in life was to satisfy the sexual fantasies of men. Pornography, hailed by many during this time as liberating, was increasingly understood as aiding the sexual freedom of men through the exploitation of women. According to Susan Brownmiller (1975), "Pornography, like rape, is a male invention, designed to dehumanize women, to reduce the female to an object of sexual access, not to free sexuality from moralistic or parental inhibition (p. 443). Women began to realize that the messages portrayed in pornography were not that different from the message in advertising and television programming. One woman describes her experience of the sexual revolution as follows:

> I...saw the beginning of Playboy [Magazine] and the reason why it became so quickly acceptable. It was a reaction to the old Victorian days, the hypocrisy that had existed where you couldn't talk about anything that had to do with human sexuality. People thought they were throwing off their shackles and it took a while for women to say..."Is this freedom for women?"... Somewhere in there we started to say, "Is this what we really want for women? Does a woman really have to take her clothes off to sell beer?"[4] (Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview. 4 June 1987.)

Women's groups provided networks through which women formed alliances

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[4]All interviews were transcribed verbatim. Where "..." appears in the text of a quotation, it indicates that I have deleted material in order to shorten the quote to a reasonable length. The meaning of the informant's discussion has not been changed through the use of ellipsis points.

with other women across Canada. These networks proved invaluable in co-ordinating the efforts of women, allowing them to bring to government and public attention those issues of concern to them. Through the women's movement, women mobilized to rectify the social, political, and economic inequalities that relegated them to subordinate positions in all aspects of their lives. It is this women's movement that provided the structural basis for the anti-pornography movement in Canada.

The growing concern by feminist groups over media gender imagery, coupled with the increasing distribution and sale of hard-core pornographic material in corner stores and movie theaters, culminated in the formation of anti-pornography groups. While the pornography issue was brought to the public's attention solely by the women's movement, it later gained support from groups which were not affiliated with the women's movement. Many of these groups formed their own committees to address the issue of pornography and to lobby government for legislative reform to the obscenity laws.

One group that was to take a central role in the movement was the Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography (CCAMP). On January 18th, 1983, Maude Barlow,[5] an ardent feminist, along with Rose Potvin, Bonnie Diamond, Sasha McInnis Hayman, and Pat Masters[6] formed the CCAMP (Hale, 1983, p. 30). This group was to play an important role in relaying information to and allying with many of the anti-pornography groups that had formed all across Canada.

The CCAMP formed after Barlow, Potvin, and Diamond[7] called a national protest to oppose the introduction of "Playboy Weekend" on Pay TV.[8] This protest took place in nineteen Canadian cities,[9] and was followed by telegrams and

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[5]Much credit for Newfoundland's involvement in the anti-pornography movement should be given to Maude Barlow. She was involved in women's organizations such as Media Watch Canada, Ottawa's Task Force on Wife Assault, Amethyst Women's Drug and Alcohol Abuse Centre, and Women for Justice. She was also Director of the Office of Equal Opportunity for Women for the City of Ottawa and Senior Advisor on Women's Issues to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (Bibliography produced by the Canadian Federation of Students).

[6]Maude Barlow, Letter to Pauline Stockwood. 30 December 1987.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography. Press release, 12 January 1984.

[9]Ibid.

letters of protest from women's groups[10] and other concerned citizens.[11] The protests led to public statements by many elected members of the provincial and federal legislature.[12] First Choice, the Pay TV station airing Playboy programming also made various public statements. In essence, the Canadian people were assured by First Choice that there was little cause for alarm and that their programming would be acceptable to Canadian viewers.

> At that time, First Choice stated that its 'adult' programming would not be pornographic and assured the CRTC that the programs chosen would 'Be in good taste' (Ottawa Citizen 27-1-83) and 'in the spirit of the CRTC call' (First Choice Application for Pay-TV Licence 20-7-81) [sic]. (Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography, Press release. 12 January 1984.)

But those protesting were not convinced by this statement from First Choice. In their eyes, Playboy programming was not an acceptable form of entertainment. They felt that this programming opened the doors to the possibility of twenty-four hour pornographic Pay TV stations entering Canada from the United States. The advent of Pay TV allowed little control over who viewed restricted material within the home; the advent of a twenty-four hour pornographic station accessible to children of all ages was totally unacceptable to many community and women's groups.

Barlow had been giving lectures on pornography for many years prior to the formation of the CCAMP, but the issue did not take on a national focus until the threat of Playboy programming on Canadian airwaves (Hale, 1983, p. 53). Barlow attributed much of her support in the fight against pornography in those early days to women who had been against pornography for many years, but who neglected to speak out for fear of being told they were "sexually uptight," "old fashioned," or interfering with the rights of others to view what they pleased (Hale, 1983, p. 54).

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[10]Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Telegram to the President of the CRTC and ten Ministers of Parliament. 18 January 1983.

[11]Staff of Bishops College, St. John's. Letter to Federal Government. 18 January 1985.

[12]Lynn McDonald, Letter to the Newfoundland Provincial Advisory Council stating her public position against pornography, 3 February 1983; Therese Killens, M.P. for Saint-Michel-Ahuntsic, letter against pornography appeared in the Provincial Advisory Councils files; 8 February, 1983; also, Norman Doyle, Provincial Minister Responsible for Communications, letter to Ann Bell asking for consultation on the issue of pornography, 31 January 1983.

The visibility of pornography[13] in mainstream bookstores, drugstores, and other retail outlets contributed to the discontent that gave rise to the anti-pornography movement. Even in very isolated parts of the country, pornography was readily available. For example, cover captions such as "Spanking Virgins," "Bondage," and "Special Incest Section" were not uncommon in retail outlets such as airports and crown-funded and operated hotels. One book store located in a large shopping center in St. John's, Newfoundland had a magazine on its shelf with the caption, "Whipping, Spanking and Tickling." The cover displayed a woman in a black bikini with a whip in hand. The contents showed a scene of a woman with hands bound together, while another scene showed a woman having sex with a manikin. The manikin's head was covered with a plastic bag.

At a record store in the same shopping center, pornographic videos could be rented regardless of the customer's age. One such video, entitled Ecstasy Girl was sold over the counter. It contained the following scene. A woman dressed in a black bikini was bound in a forward position. Her face was bound with a leather strap and an apple was stuck in her mouth to silence her screams. A man was lightly spanking her with a whip.

Another example reported to a member of the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography (CCAP), a group located in St. John's, tells of a woman who had gone to a local video outlet to pick up a movie for her child's birthday party. When the woman returned home and played the tape to the children she realized that the 1980s version of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs had taken on new meaning.

During the years prior to the formation of the anti-pornography movement, the industry was preparing the market for the introduction of child pornography and violence coupled with sex. While little material was available that displayed children partaking in explicit sexual conduct, there were magazine illustrations of adult women dressed as children. Clearly, the intent was to arouse the viewer through the use of child-like models. For example, one local drug store in St. John's was reported as having a magazine with the caption "Mommy, Daddy, and Me."

Violence coupled with sex was also not uncommon. Even Penthouse, one of

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[13]It is not my intention to impose a definition of what is and is not considered pornography on the reader. The meaning of pornography varies depending on the ideological perspective of the viewer. For this reason, I have throughout the remainder of the thesis, relied on those involved in the anti-pornography movement to define pornography. The examples below are ones that all steering committee members of the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography felt were pornographic. For further discussion, see chapters one and six.

the "softest" of the pornographic magazines, was introducing an element of violence. It took a national protest organized by women's groups all over the country to stop the distribution in Canada of its December 1984 issue. The contents showed several scenes of women bound and gagged. One scene in particular pictured a woman bound and hung from a tree.

The increase in pornography, both in quantity and degree of violent and degrading content, was amplified by its availability on home videos and the introduction of soft-core pornography on Pay TV Not everyone was opposed to this form of entertainment. After the formation of the CCAMP, Barlow was asked to speak all over the country (Hale, 1983, p. 50). While it was clear to her that there was support for the anti-pornography movement, it was also clear that there was a segment of the population that either supported pornography or adopted a civil libertarian stance. Even within the women's movement, many women were opposed to any legislative restrictions, and some who were in a position to influence the focus of the women's movement tried to stop Barlow from speaking at women's functions.[14]

Most academic work has focused on the anti-pornography movement as a product of religious morality crusades.[15] Women's involvement in these movements centered on upholding the status quo. The present anti-pornography movement in Canada, while undeniably attracting the religious segment of society, is the product of, and for the most part, is led by activists from the women's movement.

The remainder of this thesis focuses on the anti-pornography movement that occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It analyses a group of citizens in St. John's, Newfoundland who formed a coalition against pornography in 1983. The thesis concentrates on:

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[14]Anonymous Source. Personal interview. 1987.

[15]Most work written on pornography in the 1960s and early 1970s argues that pornography is either: (1) morally and socially unacceptable because it violates Christian principles by ignoring values of public decency, encouraging sex outside of marriage, and contributing to the disintegration of the family unit through infidelity, or (2) that the decision to view pornography is an individual moral one and that before society can restrict its access it must prove that pornography is harmful.

By the mid to late 1970s, feminist perspectives on pornography began to appear in the literature. Even though these theoretical positions are well documented, there has been little primary research from these perspectives which look specifically at the recent movements against pornography that occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

1. Assessing the circumstances surrounding the groups's formation, its structure and ideology, and the position taken on pornography by different members who form the core of the group's steering committee.

2. Assessing the contribution of the women's movement in bringing the issue of pornography to public attention, and the involvement of feminists in the anti-pornography movement's mobilization efforts.

3. Determining how this coalition of individuals coming from diverse philosophical and political ideologies formulates group policy. The importance of resource mobilization in the formation of the CCAP and its ability to effectively lobby government is discussed, with emphasis on examining the main protagonists in the mobilizing effort.

This study builds an understanding of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland and Labrador through an examination of the experiences and perceptions of the people involved, how they view the world, and how they see pornography fitting into their world. I shall place these world views in a historical perspective by discussing the conditions giving rise to the liberal, conservative, and feminist ideological positions on sexuality.

Placing the anti-pornography movement in a historical, ideological context is important in understanding the debate over pornography and why certain factions in the movement supported certain positions while others opposed any attempt to regulate the industry. As Dorothy Smith (1981) argues:

> It is not sufficient to incorporate the subject's meaning of actors by referencing it.... The aim of the sociologist is to extend that knowledge beyond what is available to her in her everyday experience. Hence it is not individual social behavior which is our interest, but the social determinations of our everyday experience. The object of inquiry is the historical processes...which organize, shape and determine our directly experienced worlds. (Smith, 1981, p. 17)

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter two discusses the methods used to study the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland.

Chapter three focuses on a theoretical discussion of the ideological perspectives of the three camps involved in the debate, i.e. the conservative, liberal, and feminist world views. It explores how different views of human nature affect attitudes toward sexuality.

Chapter four discusses the emergence of social movements in terms of sociological explanations such as relative deprivation, discontent, ideology, resource availability, and structural analysis. It explores how individuals acting as collectives bring together the necessary resources to affect structural change.

Chapters three and four form the theoretical basis of this research. These two chapters link the data on individual attitudes and behaviour to the social structure that determines, to a large degree, individual world views. The research data illustrate how the social structure modifies the behaviour of those involved in the movement at the same time that individual behaviour modifies the social structure.

Chapter five discusses the emergence of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland and Labrador, identifying key players in the mobilization effort and their link to movement efforts all across Canada. In this chapter I discuss the role played by the Newfoundland Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women in organizing a community approach to the problem of pornography and the formation of the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography (CCAP), the group responsible for mobilizing a province-wide effort to combat pornography. The consequences of this coalition approach for the structure of the movement, the strategies chosen, and the positions employed by movement organizers are also discussed.

In order to understand the strategies and positions supported by the coalition, I explore the world views of key committee members. In examining these world views, I shall explore their reasons for joining the movement, how members feel about pornography, what they believe constitutes pornography, and what they believe the consequences of pornography are for society. By identifying the diverging opinions and attitudes of members, chapter six lays the groundwork for understanding the internal policy making structure of the group, the emergence of leadership, and the roles and duties assumed by each member.

Chapter seven discusses the process of policy formation. It analyses the development of the coalition from formation to maturity and how the diverse philosophical positions held by steering committee members helped to form the position ultimately adopted by the group as a whole.

Chapter 2
METHODOLOGY

Several sources were used to gather the data for this study. Neither a purely historical nor an ethnographic method could, on its own, provide all the necessary data. The sources used include personal interviews, newspapers, organization file documents, and observation. It is my opinion that the methodology chosen is the most suitable one for obtaining an understanding of the development of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland. While other methods such as survey research may allow us to examine the attitudes of a large number of people, they do not offer insight into how and why a social movement has emerged, its structure, and the internal dynamics between the people involved. These factors can only be understood by examining the attitudes and opinions of the key people in the movement in depth, and by observing the social interplay between them.

The study was confined to anti-pornography movement activities taking place within the St. John's area, and even though many groups who were active in the movement on a province-wide basis could not be studied due to time limitations, the study was able to examine the major impetus for movement mobilization. Because it was impossible to interview all the people involved in the movement at the local level, those most active and most influential were singled out for interviews. My experience as a participant in the anti-pornography movement indicates that the interviewing sample chosen included the most important players in the mobilizing effort.

Tape-recorded personal interviews ranging from one to four hours in length were conducted with eleven people who were actively involved in the anti-pornography movement. The tape recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim and were essential in building an ideological understanding of the informants' perspectives. Those interviewed were members of three organizations. Two of these groups were feminist organizations and the third was an amalgamation of several organizations and individuals. Four of the informants interviewed were members of the St. John's Status of Women Council (SJSWC) steering committee,

six were steering committee members of the CCAP, and one was the President of the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

The Advisory Council was chosen as a key source mainly because it was paramount in determining the structure of the movement. It was the council, along with one other feminist activist, which were responsible for initiating a community action approach to the problem of pornography.

The CCAP was chosen as the main focus of the study because of the central role it played in mobilizing the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland and Labrador. Its mandate was to educate the public about pornography and to encourage a province-wide campaign against pornography. With a membership of over three hundred individuals and over thirty organizations from all across the province, it represented the largest anti-pornography lobby effort in either Newfoundland or Labrador. Many of the groups that sprang up as lobbying agents were committees formed by organizations that had a special interest in this issue. Many of these groups were affiliated with, and kept in close contact with, the CCAP. Consequently, the CCAP often took responsibility for co-ordinating provincial level activities. Because the CCAP was connected through its founding mothers to national anti-pornography organizations, it was able to act as a link between the provincial and national movements. Being located in the provincial capital, enabled the coalition to effectively communicate with government departments.

The SJSWC was chosen for personal reasons. In effect, this thesis is a partial product of my own political experience as a feminist involved in the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland. This involvement occurred at two levels - one as Chair of the Anti-pornography Committee of the SJSWC and one as the SJSWC representative on the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography. This thesis is, in part, the working through of conflict experienced between my own analysis of this issue as a feminist and the tension arising from working with the SJSWC's steering committee, which was not united on the issue, and the CCAP, which was composed of members with diverse philosophical perspectives, some of which were in direct conflict with a feminist approach. The resolution process has implications for the research design of the study and is the main reason for singling out the SJSWC for specific inquiry. While the SJSWC is not the major focus of this research, it is, I believe, crucial in understanding much of the conflict that occurred over pornography both on a national and local level. The analysis of the SJSWC allows an understanding of why opposition to the anti-pornography movement mobilized and what were the major areas of contention between the anti-pornography and anti-censorship factions.

My involvement in the anti-pornography movement had both positive and negative effects on the research. It allowed immediate entry into group gatherings

and access to privileged information that would have been unavailable to other researchers. Essentially, I was able to approach key people and obtain personal data that are important in understanding the social dynamics between people.

On the negative side, my involvement may have in some cases, impeded the flow of information. For example, when discussing sensitive subject areas that I was directly involved in, such as interpersonal conflict between myself and members of the SJSWC, some people were reluctant to comment on these matters openly. Other problems included gaining access to information of a personal nature, but these apply generally to any effort to collect data through personal interviewing. For example, during the interviewing process I was confronted with a situation where conflicting evidence regarding an informant's attitudes and opinions became apparent. There was a marked difference in the person's position on pornography, and at the time of conducting the interview, I suspected that the informant may have been falsifying her opinions due to the fact that the information obtained may later appear in a public document.

My involvement gave me insight into the mechanics and operations of the movement, but it must be recognized that the knowledge and experience gained from this involvement also helped form the perspective from which this research is conducted. While I fully recognize that the research process is a reflection of the researchers viewpoint, and that the research question; along with the formulation of the interviewing instrument, is guided by this perspective, I am also aware that, for me, conducting this research has been a learning process through which misconceptions of the anti-pornography movement have been clarified. Dorothy Smith (1986) expresses this point clearly:

> Inquiry...is like the making of the piece of a quilt which remains to be attached to other pieces in the creation of a whole pattern. We begin from where we are. The ethnographic process of inquiry is one of exploring further into those social, political and economic processes which organize and determine the actual bases of experience of those whose side we have taken. Taking sides...does not destroy the 'scientific' character of the enterprise.... Indeed, in sociology there is no possibility of detachment.... The method recommended here is one that frankly begins from somewhere. (Smith, 1986, p. 12)

The data for this research were collected from my personal experience as a movement activist and also from information collected in my capacity as researcher. For the first two years of the CCAP's existence, I was an active member of the group's steering committee, and for the last year I was involved only as a research observer. As an observer, I took detailed notes on the social interaction taking place between committee members. This allowed me to identify the actors who most influenced the direction and policy formulation of the group and the roles played by each. These data, combined with personal interviews,

enabled me to build a clear understanding of how individual ideological perspectives and social interaction influenced policy formation, structure, and strategy. Because of my affiliation with the CCAP, my own personal experiences were used to bridge the gap between past and present coalition activities. For the year I was absent from the coalition, I have used only data collected from coalition file documents and personal interviews with steering committee members.

It must be mentioned that the ideological data collected on each movement activist were collected after the movement had reached what I refer to as the "maturity stage" of coalition development.[16] Any discussion of the attitudes and opinions held by any member of the movement might have differed significantly if interviews had been conducted at an earlier time period.

Finally, information was collected through local newspaper clippings from 1983 to 1988. These were used: (1) to construct an understanding of the public's perception of the CCAP's ideological framework, and (2) to identify the steps taken by the coalition and other groups in combating pornography. File documents of all three organizations under study were also examined to form a complete picture of the lobbying efforts undertaken by each group.

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[16]For a discussion of this stage refer to the chapter entitled "Stages of Coalition Development."

Chapter 3
PORNOGRAPHY: AN IDEOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING

The present pornography debate can be linked to past and present historical developments such as religious teachings on morality, civil rights, and the rise in the women's liberation movement. This chapter will clarify the discourse used in the recent revival of the anti-pornography movement. Each person involved in this debate views pornography from a particular ideological perspective. I will describe these philosophical perspectives and show how the assumptions underlying each accounts for different opinions on sexuality and pornography.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first discusses the conservative and liberal views of human nature. It explores how these views of human nature affect the conservative and liberal attitudes towards sexuality, and how these attitudes ultimately influence the position taken on pornography. Section two examines twentieth century implications of the conservative and liberal doctrines for the current pornography debate. In this section I will discuss the rise of the feminist movement and its impact on the direction and focus of the debate, plus the recent polarization of the feminist movement into two factions - the libertarian and radical feminists. I shall develop each position in a historical context that links the feminist libertarian view to the liberal premise about human nature and the radical view to the belief that human nature is a social construct.

3.1. EARLY FOUNDATIONS: UNDERSTANDING THE DISCOURSE ON PORNOGRAPHY

One's comprehension of human nature determines how one constructs the world in which one lives. Assumptions accepted as true about nature influence how people perceive, shape, and fashion their understanding of sexuality. This understanding directly influences attitudes held about pornography. As explicated by Allan Dawe (1978b) "the progression begins from a view of human nature, from which follows a view of the relationship between the individual and society. The doctrine thus entails not only a theory of society, but also a characteristic approach to the analysis of society" (p. 208).

Until the mid-1970s there were basically two ideologies which influenced the discourse on pornography - the conservative and liberal views. Both are based on assumptions about the essence of human nature.

By the late 1970s, a third perspective was introduced into this debate. This perspective was developed by those women most affected by pornography, who had, until that time, been absent from discussion of this issue. These women viewed sexuality not in traditional terms of nature, but rather as social constructs.

This section will explore how the conservative and liberal ideologies influence the present pornography debate and it will expose the assumptions on which each is founded. Both of these doctrines have historical significance dating back well beyond what can be reasonably documented in this chapter. With this in mind, I have chosen to exemplify the conservative world view by discussing its connection to the Hobbesian position of human nature, and the liberal world view through the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[17]

3.1.1. Thomas Hobbes and the conservative doctrine

Hobbes's view of human nature was influenced by the historical conditions in which he lived. Hobbes grew up in the 1600s, a time when Galileo, Bacon, Mersenne and others developed new scientific techniques of observation used to construct an objective world ruled by mechanical means (Merchant, 1980, p. 206). It was a time of transformation on many fronts. The history of Europe was marked by war and strife, and it was a time that saw the collapse of medieval

[17]My discussion of both Hobbes and Rousseau is an extension of the work of Paden (1984).

society. Hobbes's view of human nature was influenced by the time and place in which he lived.

Hobbes constructed humankind in a similar fashion to Galileo's construction of the laws of motion. For Hobbes, both the physical world and the human species conformed to certain given laws of nature. Hobbes believed, as did Galileo, that things move naturally unless stopped by artificial means. He saw human nature as competitive, self-seeking and ruled by the quest for power and the fear of death. "It is central to this view that, in the absence of external constraint, the pursuit of private interests and desires leads inevitably to both social and individual disintegration" (Dawe, 1978b, p. 207). Clearly, Hobbes believed it necessary to repress the natural self in favor of an imposed civilized existence marked by order and moral authority. Allan Dawe in his article "Theories of Social Action," exposes the function of society that follows from Hobbes's thinking.

> Clearly, if man's nature is such that he can of his own volition create only self- and socially destructive anarchy and chaos, then for his own survival as an individual and social being and, above all, for the survival of society itself, he must be constrained into self- and socially constructive behavior by an entity external to and superordinate over him. (Dawe, 1978a, p. 370)

Following from this assumption, it is clear that humankind must be shaped by society. This society then becomes the political arena in which the battle between human nature (destructive, ruled by self-interests for pleasure) is balanced by the social construction of good. This belief in the need to balance the evil, self-centered nature of human existence with the social good is central to the conservative view of sexuality.

Within such a framework, sexuality is a basic impulse controlled by civilization. To view sexuality as represented in pornography is to unleash natural forces upon the consumer and society at large. Pornography is seen by the conservative world view as immoral and objectionable because it can cause a change in society from a civilized to a "pre-social, natural state" (Paden, 1984, p. 19). Paden says this natural state is what the conservative fears.

> ...this state is self-sustaining, it can be undercut by the experience of unrestrained natural pleasure, or even by the experience of a depiction of this unrestrained natural pleasure, such as can be had through pornography. Pornography by undercutting repressive power serves almost like a catalyst to transform the socialized-self into an unsocialized one. This is what the conservatives fear, what they judge to be immoral, and what they seek to prevent through censorship. (Paden, 1984, p. 20)

Sexuality unleashed, then, is the representation of unrestrained natural

pleasure, a sign of true human nature. The evil from within uncovered. It is this nature that humans must battle with for eternity. This battle had its seed in the apple shared by Adam and Eve that brought about the downfall of the human race.

It is interesting that Hobbes sees the use of force as the only means by which the state can ultimately enforce conformity by all members of society.

> Hobbesian man is totally instrumental in calculation and action, a term which refers to his egoistic pursuit of his egoistic desires by means of an instrumental 'reckoning' or reason and the use of instrumental 'force, and fraud.' (Dawe, 1978a, p. 383)

Here we have all the makings of patriarchal "man" - physical force is heralded over co-operation, control is used rather than negotiation, and society is based on a hierarchical rather than communal form. While Hobbes rejects the view of natural hierarchies for the belief that all people are born equal, he substitutes competition for scarce resources as the means by which one individual dominates another.

In these terms, the collective takes precedence over individual rights and pleasures. The actor derives value from society through constraint and repression. The question then becomes: What standard of morality is acceptable to society at large?

3.1.2. Jean-Jacques Rousseau: the essence of liberalism

The Age of Enlightenment introduced a world view that stressed human capabilities and their release from the forces and confines of nature. The application of reason through scientific procedures was seen as the means of liberating humankind and regaining control over human destiny. The ultimate authority was no longer God's way, but "Man's"[18] way. "Man" and God became diametrically opposed (Dawe, 1978b, pp. 211-212). During the Enlightenment, the "key notion...[was] that of autonomous man, able to realize his full potential and to create a truly human social order only when freed from external constraints" (Dawe, 1978b, p. 214).

Here we see human nature distinguished from and separated from nature, which is external to the human condition. True human potential and the essence of human existence is actualized only by removing external restraints. Once again we see the foundation of patriarchy in the philosophical base of the "liberal man." Human existence is no longer dependent on nature. Nature is manipulated to suit

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[18] I use "man" here because I am referring to patriarchal men who feel that all women are inferior to men.

the purpose of humankind. We see the separation from nature in people's identification with culture. Yet, the liberal view still sees nature as a pre-social human condition. The difference between the conservative and liberal view is that the conservative wishes to repress the nature of humans while the liberal wishes to expose the goodness of natural humanity by manipulating and controlling the external laws of nature.

Rousseau believed that Hobbes had mistaken historical circumstances for a universal law regulating behaviour. Rousseau viewed human nature as positive and creative. He believed that humans are guided by two innate human characteristics, namely compassion and self-love. By extending one's self-love to others, human beings create and fulfill moral action (Dawe, 1978a, pp. 385-387). Dawe describes Rousseau's position concerning humankind as follows:

> ...for Rousseau, he [mankind] is born free. The problem, therefore, is how he can recover his natural freedom.... And, of course, the very idea that he has become alienated from himself implies a particular view of human capacity and potential. It is that which seizes on the positive dimension of the ambiguous experience of the modern individual: autonomous human agency as a creative force. (Dawe, 1978a, p. 385)

For Rousseau, human essence is creative because morality is founded on reason that extends from self-love.

As with Rousseau's philosophical postulate, the liberal view is derived from the assumption that human nature is positive. This positive state is transformed by life circumstances through the socialization process. By repressing our natural selves, the true essence of the human condition is overridden. The objective of the liberal is to uncover this basic human quality.

Paden, in his article "On the Discourse of Pornography," explains the difference between the liberal and conservative world views:

> It is the socialized person, neurotically divided against himself, enslaved to his passions, in possession of a repertoire of social roles rather than in possession of himself, empty yet self-centered, who is incapable of a truly social life, and who is the Hobbesian individual. (Paden, 1984, p. 22)

This view of nature has implications for understanding pornography. The liberal sees the rise in the public display of pornography as liberating. Pornography allows people to get in touch with nature by breaking down the barriers of repressed sexuality. Pornography's celebration of the human body and its support of sexual encounters outside the traditional family, is seen as removing the inhibitions imposed by social and moral constraints.

Both the conservative and liberal views contend that a natural human condition exists and that this state of being precedes the socialized self. The

difference between the two lies in their view of human essence. The conservative sees this essence as a destructive human force, and as a result, believes repression is necessary. The liberal, on the other hand, views human nature as positive and life affirming, and consequently, is directed to uncover natural pleasure in its pure state by shedding repressive social restrictions (Paden, 1984, pp. 17-36). Both the liberal and the conservative see pornography as depictions of natural sexual activity produced in a cultural vacuum and unchanging over time (Killoran, 1983, p. 444; MacKinnon, 1986, p. 66). Both views of nature and sexuality are constructed in climates which support the belief of man's natural superordination over women.

3.2. TWENTIETH CENTURY IMPLICATIONS

This section connects the conservative and liberal views of nature held by Hobbes and Rousseau to present day conservative and liberal theory. I will show that present Canadian obscenity legislation is based on a conservative understa ding of sexuality that calls for repressive measures. These measures act to ensure moral and religious continuity and help to maintain patriarchal beliefs within the social structure.

I will then discuss the implications of the rise of modern liberal theory in the 19th and 20th centuries. I will show, first, that liberal theory allowed dissension from the dominant conservative view of sexuality, and second, that liberal theory supported feminist demands in the 1800s for equality of the sexes. I show that even though the feminist movement had its beginning in liberal thought, mainstream liberal ideology is based on patriarchal views of women and sexuality. I argue that traditional liberal theory does not account for, nor does it try to rectify, the unequal distribution of social power by gender.

3.2.1. Conservative theory

The present law regulating pornography and sexuality is founded on a conservative world view that permits legal intervention in sexual matters even when sex is conducted in private by consenting adults. This view is based on two premises: First, that a society can only function as a moral, cohesive unit by uniting the individuals who make up that society through shared and common moral values, and second, that unless legal intervention is undertaken to ensure moral consensus, society will eventually dissolve (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1985, p. 17). Legal action is, therefore, justified on the grounds that certain acts will offend the moral values held by citizens.

It is important to note that the entire section dealing with pornography and sexuality in Canadian legislation is worded in language such as "lewd," "obscenity," "decency," "morality," "offences tending to corrupt morals," and so on.[19] The guidelines regulating customs, for example, maintains that it is obscene to "lewdly and explicitly [my emphasis] display the male and female sexual organs, sexual intercourse," et cetera (Special Committee on Pornography

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[19]Definition of Obscenity - Criminal Code Section 159(8) "For the purpose of this Act, any publication a dominant characteristic of which is the undue exploitation of sex, or of sex and any one or more of the following subjects, namely, crime, horror, cruelty and violence, shall be deemed to be obscene" (CCAP file document).

and Prostitution, Vol. 1, 1985, p. 47). Of special interest here is the emphasis placed on the display of explicit sexual material. The assumption is that the viewing of sex can somehow change people from a moral to an immoral state. Sex, understood in this context, is necessary but evil. It must, because of this, be controlled, harnessed, and channelled in very specific ways, usually those laid down by religious doctrine.

Historically, discussions of sexuality and pornography have centered on how much sexual conduct is acceptable in public, and legally, the test of what is acceptable has been the community standards or tolerance within the community. In this regard, conservative morality sees sex as good or bad depending on the circumstances in which it takes place. Sex is tolerated in private within a heterosexual, monogamous relationship between a married couple for reasons of procreation, but outside these structures it is seen as breaking down the moral fabric of society (Killoran, 1983, p. 446). "Pornography, by definition...advocates sex for every reason but procreation. Consequently, for conservatives, pornography, like prostitution, is an agent of corruption, subverting the nuclear family and the authority" (Burstyn, 1985, p. 17). Accordingly, the law "considers obscenity deviant, anti-social. If it causes harm, it causes anti-social acts, acts against the social order" (MacKinnon, 1986, p. 71). Catharine MacKinnon (1986) clarifies the moralist perspective by quoting Louis Henkin.

> Obscenity is not suppressed primarily for the protection of others. Much of it is suppressed for the purity of the 'community'. Obscenity, at the bottom is not a crime. Obscenity is a sin. (Henkin, 1963, p. 395 in MacKinnon, 1986, p. 67)

The main point is that the conservative believes sexuality, and hence pornography, is sinful, a carnal lust, that must, therefore, be repressed. The law is not concerned with the subordination of women in pornography. What it regards as objectionable is the "perverseness" of the material under question. The subordination and degradation of women is of little concern. In fact, religious teaching has traditionally upheld and perpetuated patriarchal views that keep women in a subordinate position (Killoran, 1983, pp. 446-447).

> For conservatives, the desired end is a morally just population (with 'morally just' defined in biblical or at least strictly traditional - and patriarchal - terms), organized into hierarchical nuclear families in which each individual knows his (or her?) place.... To achieve this end, conservatives believe they have a moral obligation to intervene.... Many see it as a Christian duty to take a stand against pornography by calling for censorship of a wide range of materials, including sex-education literature, treatises by and/or for homosexuals...and pro-choice (abortion) information. (Killoran, 1983, p. 449)

In summary, the conservative argues that free speech should be regulated

by the requirement of public decency and "human sensibilities." Pornography violates the privacy of individuals, hence self-restraint is necessary to combat the evils of pornography which can harm society. The violation of human dignity in pornography is a symptom of decadence, the disintegration of social ties, and a sign of the need to enforce repressive measures.

3.2.2. Modern liberal theory: philosophical and ethical considerations

> *Modern liberal theory on the relationship of law and morality grew out of a need to answer the more traditional conservative position that there is a necessary coincidence between law and the moral values of the community.* (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, Vol.1, 1985, p. 17)

The liberal view is founded on the premise that individual freedom, without intervention, is a primary right. John Stuart Mill was foremost in influencing present day liberal thought. He emphasized the idea that society benefits from a variety of ideas rather than the hegemony of the moral perspective of the majority (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, Vol. 1, 1985, p. 15). Mill's theory is in direct contrast to the conservative view which says that all people must follow the teachings of the church, and that certain people, as prescribed by the authority vested in the church, are not suitable for certain positions in life. Mill asserted that all people must be given the right to compete with others for their position in life. He argued that this right to compete must be extended to women.[20]

Liberal thought as conceived in the late 1700s, is based on the conception of the individual. Within liberal ideology, individuals are viewed as "separate and autonomous beings," who are "free and rational" (Tapper, 1986, pp. 37-38). The liberal position assumes that, as rational beings, all people come from similar backgrounds and similar perspectives, that individuals can, through the use of logic, reach the same conclusions. Subjective differences are considered personal, and therefore relegated to the private sphere. In public affairs, private matters are considered to carry little weight (Tapper, 1986, p. 39). The individual, then, is viewed as separate from the physical body (Tapper, 1986, p. 38).

Liberal doctrine was an important tool for early feminists in challenging the unquestioned axiom of women's universal inferiority. Liberal feminists demanded that women be treated as men's equals in the public realm. The effect was that women strived for acceptance and equality on male terms (Tapper, 1986, p. 37).

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[20]Any discussion of Mill must recognize Harriet Taylor's contribution in developing Mill's analysis of women's position in society. In fact, Rossi (1973) contends that his writings on women must be considered a joint endeavor.

> [Liberals argued that] women entering the public would be required to put aside the fact that they are women. Having gained such access women can succeed if they adopt the principles and values according to which the public is organized. But the problem is that...the public is already organized in ways which not only remark [sic] sexual difference but do so in a way which privileges men and makes the public world a man's world. (Tapper, 1986, p.41).

Liberal doctrine does not contend that all people in society are equal. "Natural inequalities in skill and intelligence lead, in competitive liberal societies, to social inequalities. This is not thought to be unjust since it is in the interest of all to encourage the gifted to develop their capacities fully" (Green, 1986, p. 32). In this context, liberal theory, when applied to women, may well, in the eyes of society, relegate them to a "naturally" inferior position based on their reproductive functions and "inferior" physical strength.[21]

Liberal thought makes a distinction between public man and private woman. While liberal tradition opposes the institutionalization of patriarchal forms of state control, it accepts patriarchal control within the family (Green, 1986, p. 26). Different rules are applied to private and public life.

> [The] distinction between the public sphere, in which actions are to be governed by principles of justice appropriate for regulating the affairs of equal rational individuals, and the private sphere, governed by love and relations of natural subordination and superordination, is an intrinsic feature of liberal thought. (Green, 1986, p. 27)

Tapper(1986) notes that, to some extent, the theory of John Stuart Mill makes a distinction between rational public man and private woman. While Mill supports the equality of women, the underlying and unstated assumption made by him is that women must compete within the existing social framework. In fact, Mill upholds many of the positions traditionally prescribed for women, a notion he supported throughout his life.

> [A woman's main goal] would continue to be marriage to a man she loved; her occupation after marriage would be to 'adorn and beautify life' by sharing fully and intelligently her husband's occupation and interests.... [Mill] saw no benefit to a wife's contributing to the income of the family, on the grounds that her work in the household and the rearing of children were her contribution to the family unit. (Rossi, 1970, p. 23)

Mill clearly separates the roles of women from those of men, but he feels

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[21]Physical strength can be shown to be socially constructed. For a good discussion of societies where women are revered warriors and feared by men in their own culture as well as neighboring villages, see the work of Sanday (1981).

that women must be on an equal intellectual footing with men so that husband and wife can communicate on an equal basis.[22]

Feminist demands that would eliminate the private/public distinction threaten the foundation of liberal thought (Tapper, 1986, p. 42).

> [The liberal framework]...requires a division between the public and the private within the social based on a division of public and private features of persons, and the public aspects have been extrapolated from ideal concepts of manliness and traditional assumptions about the roles of men. (Tapper, 1986, p. 43)

For example, the inclusion of children in all aspects of our lives would radically change our concept of public (professional) as opposed to private (personal/emotional) life. Bringing children to executive and board meetings would destroy much of the professionalism that has been created and used to distinguish certain status holding and power groups from those who wield little prestige or power.

This distinction between public man and private woman is also ingrained in the liberal thinking of our time. Gender roles are assumed to be a given, unchanging over time, and of little importance in discussions of equality and justice.

Up to this point, I have tried to show that the construction of liberal theory, as exemplified by Rousseau and Mill, has two important elements: (1) nature is viewed as a pre-social condition which can be tapped by the removal of social and moral restrictions, and (2) liberal thought clearly distinguishes between private and public affairs and has been concerned with social justice only as it applies to the public realm.

Both of these postulates have clear implications for the debate over pornography which has occurred in the last thirty-five years. I will now explore the recent historical implications of liberal theory on this debate and make two points: first, that the liberal view of nature affects how liberals view pornography, and second, that this view has implications for how liberals perceive the function of legislation in regulating this matter.

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[22] I do not mean to underestimate the importance of Mill's work in the emancipation of women. It is clear that his work has important implications for both 19th and 20th century women, but it is also clear that, while liberal doctrine allows women the grounds on which to oppose their exclusion from education, voting, (etc.), liberal theory is not formulated with gender relations in mind.

3.2.3. The recent debate on pornography and sexuality

The New Left politics and the sexual revolution of the 1960s were made possible by the liberal writings on civil liberties and freedom of speech by those such as John Stuart Mill. This freedom of speech meant freedom to reject traditional values, particularly the values imposed on citizens by the church (McCormack, 1980a, pp. 37-38).

At this time, much of the discussion regarding reforms to obscenity laws emphasized the individual's rights to decide on sexual matters based on the liberal tenet of individual freedom. Liberals argued that all regulation of pornography should end because pornography was not a public policy matter, but rather a question of personal and individual moral standards. They believed that only demonstrably harmful behaviour should be restricted.

The liberal views pornography as positive and life affirming, a part of human sexuality that is grounded in human instinct. Any attempt to suppress it is an attempt to suppress sexuality.

> For the liberal, the pornographer is a pioneer, battling against the cultural repressions which have truncated our ability to be freely sexual beings. Pornography is understood as a medium which proclaims that sex need not be restricted to procreation, that sex can be fun and that it need not be grounded in a love relationship to be a valid and perhaps a valuable human experience. (Killoran, 1983, p. 446)

Any sort of restriction on access to pornography was seen as a threat to the free dissemination of ideas. During the early 1960s, the anti-censorship argument made sense, especially considering the general climate that repressed information on subjects such as birth control. In this sense, the liberal argument against the restriction of sexuality was an attempt to subvert the repressive moralist climate of the time (Clark, 1980, p. 10).

3.2.4. Feminist analysis of liberal theory

Anti-pornography feminists of the 1960s and 1970s argued that the liberal doctrine of free speech meant the right of men to impress their view of sexuality on all of society. Feminists maintained that, because men controlled the means of communication, only the male view was conveyed. They argued that free speech did not express the opinions of all people because all members of society did not have equal access to the mechanisms of communication. Many, such as Catharine MacKinnon (1986), maintained that, in reality, free speech allowed certain ruling segments of society to have a monopoly on discourse.

In a society of gender inequality the speech of the powerful impresses its

> view upon the world, concealing the truth of powerlessness under that despairing acquiescence which provides the appearance of consent and makes protest inaudible as well as rare. (MacKinnon, 1986, p. 71)

For men, the doctrine of free speech made some sense, but "for women, the urgent issue of freedom of speech [was] not primarily the avoidance of state intervention as such, but finding an affirmative means to get access to speech" (MacKinnon, 1986, p. 73). Feminists argued that what liberalism never understood was that "the free speech of men silences the free speech of women" (MacKinnon, 1986, p. 71).

Feminists argued that the liberal model that called for an unrestricted flow of ideas did not account for the sexist society in which pornography was made and distributed. Liberals who saw pornography as a form of noncompliance with conservative views did not understand that pornography reinforces existing patriarchal views, held by both the conservative and liberal alike.

For the liberal and the conservative, pornography expands the boundaries of acceptable sexual practices, but for the feminist it institutes and reinforces "boundary maintenance." "Pornography articulates the existing normative structure surrounding male/female relationships and the position of women in society" (Killoran, 1983, p. 447). For the anti-pornography feminist, the liberal focus on civil liberties and free speech detaches the discussion of pornography from the lived realities of women and places it in an abstract discourse that ignores the violence, degradation, and humiliation that women face on a daily basis.

For these feminists, pornography and sexuality must be understood within a patriarchal context. Sexuality is a highly charged political issue that deals with the power relations between women and men. Feminists spent much time analyzing these power relations and exposing pornography's message, but the feminist concern about that message was never taken seriously. The liberal reaction to the feminist claim about the power dynamic in pornography was to view pornography purely as sexual entertainment that had, they claimed, little to do with reality. Many liberals put forward the argument that pornographic material was nothing but fantasy and that people view it as just that, mere fantasy. Such an argument assumes that the social construction of sexuality can be separated from one imposed by nature and that people can distinguish between what is seen on a day-to-day basis and what reality, in fact, is. The liberal argument also assumes that mainstream pornographic fantasy in magazines, videos, and advertising does not influence our perception of reality.

The liberals maintained two conflicting premises concerning pornography. At the time of Playboy magazine's introduction in the early 1950s, liberals argued that pornography was a liberating force, but, as feminists exposed its inherent

sexist bias, the argument in support of pornography changed from seeing it as liberating to asserting that it was mere fantasy. In response, feminists have argued that pornography is not mere fantasy, distanced from reality, but is the construction of patriarchal sexual values. Feminists argue that reality is, in fact, socially constructed. Once in mass circulation, large quantities of pornographic images along with other sexist media forms serve as a powerful device reinforcing stereotypic views of women and men.

3.2.5. Feminist responses to liberal view

In the early 1980s, polarization of the feminist movement into two factions occurred. The movement split into libertarian feminists versus the radical feminists. These two factions developed from different assumptions and philosophical understandings of sexuality, power, and human nature.

The libertarian view originates from liberal ideology and the expansion of liberal doctrine to include equality for women. The radical feminist position rejects much of liberal thinking. Both positions question the assumption of a pre-existing natural self and argues that sexuality is the social construction of patriarchy, but the libertarian feminist places individual rights over societal rights. These two positions clearly divide the feminist movement on the issue of pornography. The end result is that the libertarian feminist supports any kind of consensual pleasure,[23] and for this reason, supports "sadomasochism, pornography, role oriented sex, cruising, and adult/child sexual relations"[24] (Ferguson, 1984, p. 107). Radical feminists, on the other hand "condemn sadomasochism, pornography, prostitution, cruising (promiscuous sex with strangers), adult/child sexual relations, and sex role playing (e.g., butch/femme relationships)"[25] (Ferguson, 1984, p. 107). The central concern of the feminist libertarian is the removal of sexual restrictions, while the central concern of the radical is the deconstruction of patriarchal sexuality.

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[23]For example, Duggan, Hunter and Vance (1985) assert that anti-pornography feminists use terms such as "degradation" (etc.) to describe pornographic material. Duggan, et. al. argue that this has the negative effect of censoring material that shows penetration with animals or movies such as Deep Throat. They argue that pornography has a positive function, that sexual images are no more harmful than advertising, that legislation impedes rather than advances feminist goals, and that women do not necessarily experience pornography as victimization.

[24]For a complete discussion of the feminist libertarian position see Burstyn (1985), Echols (1984), Rubin (1984), DuBois and Gordon (1984).

[25]It is important to recognize that the pornography debate which has been polarized to fit this dichotomy, has, in fact, many anomalies. Many libertarian feminists, for example, who do not accept adult/child sexual relations may accept pornography and sadomasochism as consenting conduct and many radical feminists may not object to sexual encounters for pleasure only.

Ann Ferguson, in her article "Sex War: The Debate between Radical and Libertarian Feminists," builds two paradigms that clarify the stance taken by each side in the debate. Ferguson says that the libertarian feminist is concerned with sexual pleasure and the removal of any restrictions, moral, legal or otherwise, that impede one's pleasure. The libertarian believes that sexuality is presently repressed and that sex is characterized as either normal, healthy sex, or abnormal, unhealthy sex. Libertarian feminists argue that sexual freedom can only be actualized by refusing to distinguish between correct and incorrect sexual practices.[26] Ideally, sexuality should be agreed on by all participants (Ferguson, 1984, p. 109). Libertarians distinguish fantasy and role playing from reality and do not acknowledge a link between such behaviour and women's subordination. In other words, they believe that people distinguish between play enactment of power relations and power relations as they occur in reality. They insist that proof of a direct link between sexual violence against women in pornography and violence against women in real life is necessary before any restriction of access is permitted.[27]

The libertarian argues, that as feminists, we must acknowledge that many people enjoy role playing forced sex with their partner(s) and that such activity is distinguishable from coercive force where one or more of the participants is held beyond their will.

> ...contemplating them from a safe distance, and in a totally different context, is apparently highly erotic to consumers of what the anti-porn movement calls 'violent pornography'.... The symbols that make danger erotic may in their usual context be quite repellent: the implements and insignia of war, repression, or torture. The wish to encounter those terrifying realities at as close a range as possible under highly controlled circumstances is the impulse behind many activities. (Ellis, 1983, p. 121)

Here we see danger and violence taken out of its real life context and

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[26]While the libertarians argue against taking any position on what constitutes ideal sexual behaviour, they are, in fact, distinguishing between good and bad sexual practices, the latter being any form of restriction on sexuality or non-consensual sexuality.

[27]Demanding a direct link is a safe and strategic position to adopt because such a causal link is almost impossible to prove in the social sciences. One can never prove that pornography causes violence because it is impossible to control for all extraneous variables. Even if all variables could be controlled, using experimental findings to predict social behaviour in the real world is difficult. There are just too many factors accounting for how people behave. All we can safely say is that there is mounting evidence that violent pornography is correlated with violence against women and children.

What is being raised here is the question of epistemology, a question not specific just to pornography. All studies are open to debate regarding what constitutes evidence. What is interesting is that the pornography issue is so divisive, that evidence which normally would be unquestioned is being used as a mechanism to stall legal action.

structured into a form that can be safely enjoyed. The question that must be asked is: What distinguishes feminist sadomasochistic role playing from patriarchal sadomasochism? Does one condemn mainstream sadomasochistic magazines as oppressive while supporting a feminist sadomasochistic publication as liberating? The libertarian feminist answers that, even though the context in which each of these magazines is produced is different,[28] both must be accepted as consenting acts. The libertarian stresses that consent between participants is the true test of whether a particular act is acceptable or unacceptable. They believe feminism must oppose all restrictions on non-coercive sexual behaviour.

> [One way] of infusing an exclusionary moralism into the women's movement [is through] implicitly criticizing women who cultivate 'incorrect' fantasies, who wear 'incorrect' clothing, or who are aroused by 'incorrect' images or behaviors. (Ellis, 1983, p. 120)

Feminist libertarians, like most liberal thinkers, see two main positions in the pornography and sexuality debates, the moralist view versus the liberalist. Libertarians accuse the feminist anti-pornography movement of moralist tendencies.

The radical feminists see the libertarian feminists and liberals as retreating into a dogmatic position. They believe that philosophical abstractions such as free speech ignore both research evidence and the lived realities of women. By omitting the discussion of gender relations, the vision of women's equality is lost in a theoretical debate over correct ideology. The radicals argue that the feminist movement is founded on the personal as a political force, and that these personal realities must direct feminist action. Irene Diamond (1984) argues that free speech must be the basis of feminist analysis, but she criticizes liberal thought for reifying this concept into hard and fast rules that do not account for changes in the human condition. What is missing, she says, is the nexus between theory and women's reality. Diamond goes on to argue that "tolerance is progressive only when all people have access to authentic information and disparate power positions do not exist - when persons are not being manipulated" (p. 79).

MacKinnon (1982) contends that stressing consent masks the patriarchal character of the action under question: This focus ignores the social and economic realities of women and other minorities, and it also ignores the fact that consent is often the product of socialized tolerance. Women learn to obtain pleasure from sexual servitude to men. Ferguson (1984) believes that feminists must:

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[28] France (1984) for example, distinguishes between the power held by men and women. She contends that men mimic in their sexual practices the power they hold in the real world, but women do not hold or view power in the same way. France claims that feminist sadomasochism does not reproduce patriarchal power.

> ...examine the concept of consent itself in order to explore hidden power structures that place women in unequal (hence coercive) positions. That some avowed feminists think they consent to sadomasochism and to the consumption of pornography does not indicate that the true conditions for consent are present. Libertarians must show why these cases differ from the battered wife and 'happy housewife' syndromes - something they have not yet convincingly done. (Ferguson, 1984, p. 110)

According to the radical, by seeking unquestioned pleasure, we continue to live within a patriarchal framework ignoring the effect and outcome of our actions.

> Merely to remove the onus placed upon the sexual expressiveness of women is a hollow victory if the sexuality they become freer to enjoy remains the old one that converts women into objects .../. This already 'freer' sexuality mostly reflects a spurious ideal freedom: the right of each person, briefly, to exploit and dehumanize someone else. Without a change in the very norms of sexuality, the liberation of women is a meaningless goal. Sex as such is not liberating for women. Neither is more sex. (Sontag, 1973 in MacKinnon, 1982, pp. 533-534.)

Ferguson (1984) says the radical feminist views sexuality as a vehicle through which patriarchy perpetuates the myth of female submissiveness and male domination, hence the rejection of sadomasochism. The radical believes that sadomasochism and other practices that uphold control or implied control over another through psychological or physical means, whether in real life or "play" enactment, is a reflection of patriarchal thought, and in the end, leads to the perpetuation of the patriarchy. The radical's view of equality is therefore much different from the feminist libertarian who places emphasis on consent as the deciding factor in determining whether an action is acceptable or not. To the radical, equality and bondage are a contradiction in terms. For true sexual freedom to occur, human sexuality must be practised in an environment of respect and mutuality that does not entail power imbalances of any kind. Radical feminists insist that women must reclaim their own sexuality by refusing to partake in sexual activities where a power imbalance exists.

The libertarian feminist is clearly aligned with liberal thinking. Both liberal and feminist libertarians view sexuality from similar philosophical perspectives in terms such as sexual repression, freedom of expression, consent and pleasure. Both insist that sexuality is an individual matter, and that pleasure should be the primary mechanism in determining sexual practices. Legal restrictions are only permissible where direct harm can be empirically shown.

3.3. SUMMARY

This chapter examines the discourse involved in the present pornography debate. Three ideologies are identified: the conservative, the liberal, and the feminist positions. The feminist position is composed of two factions: the libertarian position and the radical feminist position.

Both the conservative and liberal views contend that a natural human condition exists, and that this state of being precedes the socialized self. The difference between the two lies in their view of human essence. The conservative views it as destructive, and for that reason, supports repressive measures that regulate moral action. The liberal views nature as positive and is committed to uncovering natural pleasure by removing repressive social restrictions. Both views are constructed in a patriarchal context which supports the belief in men's "natural" domination over women. Both see pornography as the depiction of "natural" sexual activity.

The conservative believes human nature is violent, self-seeking, and competitive. Sexuality is condoned only as a means of procreation within a heterosexual, monogamous marriage. The conservative's main concern is upholding the moral fabric of society as dictated by religious teachings. This is done through legal intervention enforcing the moral conformity of all members of society. Viewing pornography is considered harmful because it threatens to uncover the baseness of human nature, which can, once exposed, lead to the disintegration of society and the undermining of religious doctrine.

The liberal views human nature in a positive light, but sees sexuality as presently repressed and in need of liberation. Human sexuality is viewed as the exchange of pleasure between consenting participants. The liberal sees pornography as part of this human sexuality. Liberal concern is mainly with freedom of expression and the rights of each individual to determine their own life without restriction or intervention. Any attempt to suppress pornography is an attempt to repress sexuality and a threat to the free dissemination of ideas. The liberal believes that viewing pornography is an individual moral decision and that legal intervention is justified only where the behaviour under question can be directly demonstrated to harm others.

Liberal analysis is concerned primarily with the rights of individuals. It is not concerned with the collective effect on society of all individuals acting in their own best interests. Competition between individual members of society is seen as positive. The liberal extends this right to compete to women, but believes that natural inequalities are not unjust.

The libertarian feminist is closely aligned with liberal thought. She extends the liberal doctrine to include women, and sees freedom of speech and individual rights to self-actualization as primary. The libertarian feminist differs from the liberal in that she sees patriarchy as the controlling mechanism in undermining the equality between the sexes.

The radical feminist views nature as a social construct that is presently under the dominion of the patriarchy. The main concern of the radical feminist is the deconstruction of patriarchal society. This is considered essential before true equality between women and men can be achieved. The radical believes that sexuality should be an intimate bonding between consenting adults who participate as equals. Control over women's sexuality, the central mechanism in men's ability to oppress women, must be in the hands of women.

Radical feminists view the sexual revolution as supporting sexual stereotypes that reinforce traditional views of women and men. They criticize liberal ideology for keeping patriarchal views intact and supporting only male-defined social justice. Legal intervention in the case of pornography is justified because pornography creates a climate that undermines the equality of women, by: (1) reinforcing the attitude that women are inferior to men, (2) portraying women as sexual objects whose primary function in life is the sexual gratification of men, (3) perpetuating the myth that women enjoy rape, and (4) condoning behaviour that treats women in a degrading and humiliating manner. The radical feminist sees pornography as an equal rights issue. Radical feminist analysis focuses on the collective effect on women of all individuals acting within a patriarchal framework.

Chapter 4
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

4.1. SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL AND RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORIES: DEBATES OVER FOCUS IN EXPLAINING THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Sociological research has traditionally utilized social-psychological theories, collective behaviour,[29] and relative deprivation[30] to explain why individuals participate in the emergence of social movements[31] and why people are predisposed to take action (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 38; Klandermans, 1984, p. 583). The primary focus of this early research is personality, alienation, discontent, and ideology (Klandermans, 1984, p. 583). Social movements are seen as emerging due to "structural strains" occurring in the social system. These strains, viewed as societal disruptions in a previously copacetic social environment, cause discontent among those adversely affected by change (Jenkins, 1983, p. 528). Accordingly, understanding how and why discontent arises is central to understanding participant action. All these theories follow collective behavioural models that assume that social movement activity is a form of illogical, unreasonable, and temporary behaviour which occurs in society from time to time (Klandermans, 1984, p. 583).

Empirical research has not confirmed that social movement participants differ in personality traits from the population at large, nor has the importance of the ideology or relative deprivation of participants been ascertained (Klandermans, 1984, p. 583). Although relative deprivation has not been abandoned as an explanatory factor, more recent research has focused on the

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[29]Collective behaviour theories subsumed the study of social movements under the broad heading of collective behaviour which includes the study of such occurrences as mass riots (etc.).

[30]Relative deprivation theory contends that social movements are "attempts to rectify or make palatable invidious comparisons between ones self and significant others"(Wilson, 1973, p. 81).

[31]I have adopted Zald and Ash's (1966) definition of social movements which defines a movement as a "pervasive and collective attempt of a number of people to change individuals or societal institutions and structures" (p. 329).

importance of resource availability in accounting for movement mobilization. In effect,

> resource mobilization theorists have argued that grievances are secondary. Tilly (1978), Jenkins and Perrow (1977), and Oberschall (1978a) have argued that grievances are relatively constant, deriving from structural conflicts of interest built into social institutions, and that movements form because of long-term changes in group resources, organization, and opportunities for collective action. (Jenkins, 1983, p. 530)

In effect, sociological concern since the 1960s has shifted away from how people form groups to the study of how groups gain access to resources (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 39). With this shift, social analysis has begun to concentrate on the organization of movements rather than the individual actors within it (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 39). How researchers view social movements has also changed. Researchers no longer regard social movements as going through various set stages from inception to dissolution, rather, social movements are seen in more dynamic terms which stress historical and environmental factors in determining movement patterns (Jenkins, 1983, p. 543). Also, movements are no longer seen as temporary aberrations, but as agents of social change. Participants are understood as rational beings who weigh the costs of becoming politically involved in initiating change. Rather than focusing on theories of collective behaviour, resource mobilization theory sees movement formation as due to the ability of interest groups to mobilize (Jenkins, 1983, p. 530). Discontent must be followed by the right combination of resources and opportunities before collective action can occur. Much of this change in focus can be attributed to the civil rights and student activism of the 1960s which helped shift the researchers' emphasis away from viewing mass social action as irrational behaviour.

Resource mobilization theory explains social movement formation by concentrating on several factors (i.e. discontent, resource availability, and organizational as well as political opportunities), but one of the main criticisms of the theory has been that it "underestimates the significance of grievances and ideology as determinants of participation" (Klandermans, 1984, p. 584). Jenkins (1983), referring to resource theories, says that "In general, the formation of movements is linked to improvements in the status of aggrieved groups, not because of grievances created by the 'revolution of rising expectations' but because these changes reduce the costs of mobilization and improve the likelihood of success" (p. 532). Jenkins goes on to argue for a multifaceted approach that can account for discontent as well as structural factors.

Recently, there has been a move towards the integration of both social-psychological and resource mobilization theories in explaining social movements (Klandermans, 1984; Jenkins, 1983; Ferree and Miller, 1985; Sinclair, 1987; Fireman and Gamson, 1979). According to Ferree and Miller (1985):

> Resource theorists have adopted incentive models in order to escape the emphasis on deviance implicit in previous social psychological explanations of social movements. While we accept their criticisms of deviance approaches, the shortcomings of the incentive model lead us to urge the adoption of a social psychological approach that can shed light on the linkage between structural conditions, articulated demands, and personal participation. (Ferree and Miller, 1985, pp. 42-43)

Wilson (1973) looks to structural analysis as well as participant motivation to identify the conditions that account for the emergence of social movements. Structural analysis stresses examination of the social system on a macro level rather than focusing on the individuals responsible for movement activities. The main concern is understanding the social, economic, and political constitution of society and its division into competing social groups. Structural changes in variables such as age, sex, income, or employment are seen as contributing factors that bring about the necessary conditions for action. "The most unfortunate result of adopting the [structural]...approach is that it obscures and...conceals impulses to change which emanate from within society itself.... The temptation is to look outside the community" (Wilson, 1973, p. 54).

To understand why individuals take the initiative to bring people together, we are directed to examine individual attitudes, feelings, and expectations, that is, participant motivation. Structural conditions alone cannot explain why people join. Ultimately it is the individual who must decide whether to become involved (Klandermans, 1984, p. 584). Questions such as whether change can effectively be made within the confines of the existing social and political environment must be considered.

Understanding the social environment and the historical context in which the movement evolves is necessary to explain why a movement forms. Such background information allows us to understand preconditions to movement formation, but tension and strain within any social structure do not invariably lead to the formation of a social movement. Other factors must be operative as well. First, all other channels available to institute change from within the system must be unavailable to the members of society. Second, potential participants must attribute discontent to inequities within the existing social structure and believe that collective action can in fact secure change. Third, the necessary resources must be brought together in the right combination. Most social movements that organize to bring about specific changes within the social structure, must define the issues, decide on a position that is acceptable to the general population, and recruit members (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 48). These steps must be accomplished with reference to the resources available and the limitations placed on these resources due to internal structural, as well as external constraints (Freeman, 1979, p. 170).

> Movements direct their efforts toward strengthening their position along both dimensions: achieving control over resources and over the way in which the issue is defined.... Resources are not the sole source of strategic or tactical decisions..... Like resources, ideology affects both the relationship of movements to societies in which they operate and the internal dynamics of the movements themselves. (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 48)

4.2. MOVEMENT EFFORTS

4.2.1. Controlling necessary resources for mobilization

> Mobilization is the process by which a group secures collective control over the resources needed for collective action. The major issues, therefore, are the resources controlled by the group prior to mobilization efforts. (Jenkins, 1983, p. 533)

Resources must be used by movement organizers to mobilize others to act, but the amount of resources necessary will depend on the geographical distance between those who must be mobilized. If, for example, the majority of the population live close to one another, mobilizing will be relatively easy and economical.

Resources may come from within or outside the existing social structure. For example, professional movements rely more on external resources such as paid staff, technical advisors, and resources from member organizations, rather than internal resources from individual members. In fact, professional movements often have a very small, if not non-existent, membership base. For example, certain segments of the women's movement, such as the Advisory Councils on the Status of Women set up by the provincial governments, may be considered professional movements. Those heading the councils are sometimes past women's movement activists who see the councils as helping the women's movement through existing government and community structures. Mass movements on the other hand, must rely on internal resources. They have large memberships and operate most often through volunteer staff. Their activities are usually directed at mass participation of their memberships. The large number of participants makes them a viable force, whereas professional movements, rely on strong lobbying efforts directed at key people in authority.

The resources available to any social movement depend on the structure of the movement under consideration. Structure affects not only the use and

effectiveness of these resources, but also the strategies and tactics chosen by the movement. The structural component of a social movement refers not only to the organizational form, but also to the leadership and decision making structures. Structure is rarely the product of a conscious decision by the group. Usually it is a product of the individual values held by the organizers, and often it depends largely on the skills these organizers bring to the movement. The best structure for a movement depends on the goals the movement wishes to achieve, and often the movement's structure is tied to the social structure in which the movement must operate (Jenkins, 1983, p. 540). Internal and external shifts can affect structure. For example, when leadership changes, there is usually an accompanying change in the basic structure of the organization. Structural change is also apparent at different stages of the movement's life cycle. For some movements, the will to sustain the movement as a viable force well beyond its ability to create and maintain public interest and support is accompanied by an increase in bureaucratization. When this occurs the movement may come to resemble a business rather than a social movement.

The structural organization of a social movement can vary depending on the goals and purpose of the movement. Usually movements possess attributes of many different structural types. A centralized structure for example, is usually hierarchical in nature with a power base that is central to one organizing body. It has a strong division of labor and is best suited for promoting institutional change. A decentralized structure, on the other hand, has little hierarchy and little central control. Its division of labor is relatively simple, and often it is composed of many diverse groups. Its best asset is its ability to reach many people via recruitment from its various affiliated organizations. An example of a decentralized structure would be the women's movement, which is made up of many diverse groups that take action on issues of concern to them within their community, but whose efforts are not centrally co-ordinated. In total, these groups working individually make up the movement. Inclusive and exclusive organizational structures are distinguished by the degree of commitment they require to certain organizational values. Inclusive organizations do not require much commitment of time or attitude change on the part of the recruit, while exclusive organizations require strict adherence to the values espoused by the movement. For example, some religious groups demand extended initiation periods before membership is granted, while others grant membership by birthright. An organizational structure that is particularly relevant to the study of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland is the coalition structure, which will be discussed along with its decision making structure in the section on movement strategies.

Resource mobilization theories point to the need for certain key resources as preconditions for the emergence of a social movement. These resources can be divided into two main categories: human resources and monetary resources. How a movement obtains the necessary human resources depends on the recruitment strategies employed by the organizers. In turn, who is recruited affects the ideological position of the movement, its activities, strategies, and structure.

Ferree and Miller (1985) contend that recruitment strategies employed by social movements have "consequences for the development and internal dynamics of the movement as a whole" (p. 39). They identify three main recruitment strategies used by organizers to mobilize people. These include: (1) the Coalition Strategy, (2) the Conversion Strategy, and (3) the Direct Action Strategy.

In the coalition approach, a social movement aligns itself with existing social and community groups that have their own goals which are often unconnected to the movement's. By aligning with such groups, the movement can: (1) use the influence and power base of these groups in lobbying, and (2) encourage member groups to take up the cause by pressuring government authorities on movement issues (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 49). In effect, aligning with other well known and established community groups gives a social movement respectability and status in the eyes of potential recruits, government members, and the general public.

A coalition strategy is more likely where the ideological position of the movement is congruent with the dominant social system's. Movements that use this approach are usually not concerned with changing the beliefs of the groups with which they align; their main concern is to gain as much support from as many organizations as possible (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 50). Forming community alliances ultimately restricts the movement to advocating moderate social reforms. Movements wishing to radically transform society are unable to convince community groups that they can benefit from a coalition approach (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 50).

The coalition approach is also a popular option when amalgamation "promises greater facilities,...financial aid, or attainment of goals. Thus coalitions are more likely when...the costs of investing in the coalition seem small in comparisons with the potential benefits" (Zald and Ash, 1966, p. 335). Coalitions offer certain direct benefits, but conflict due to differing perspectives of various member interest groups is also likely, especially when these interest groups become actively involved in the policy decisions of the movement. In the long run, coalitions tend towards an inclusive structure that does not require much commitment of time or attitude change on the part of member groups.

> A...coalition leads to a search for a common denominator to which [all] parties can agree. The more conservative part...finds itself with more

> radical goals and vice versa..... The more conservative members...and the more radical member...may find that the goals (or tactics)...are no longer congenial. Both extremes drop away. Furthermore, now only one organization speaks for the movement, whereas before several voices clamored for change. (Zald & Ash, 1966, p. 335-336)

The two recruitment strategies described below can be used by any movement organization regardless of structure. They are determined more by movement goals than by structure. Con· .rsion is aimed at recruiting those most open to persuasion through the use of information based on logical deduction and scientific fact (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 51). Discussion leaders provide a new world view within which a problem can be analyzed. Through discussion, the potential recruit is brought to a particular understanding of the subject matter that they had not previously questioned. Potential recruits come to see a problem not as an individual, personal one that only they are experiencing, but as one having a direct link to the social system (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 44). Most often the movement organizers use networks and personal contacts to reach potential recruits (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 50).

Direct action recruitment is used when the organizers are concerned with mobilizing people to work for the movement regardless of their values. In many cases, such a recruitment strategy is temporary and those recruited often stay only for short time periods (Ferree and Miller, 1985, p. 52).

Fireman and Gamson (1979) identify another recruitment strategy whereby a social movement emerges as an extension of another movement. This is usually the case where movement organizers have been actively involved in the parent group prior to mobilizing efforts. Organizers may split from the parent movement to concentrate specifically on one of the movement's issues. In this case, the new movement may have the unanimous support of the parent group. On the other hand, the new movement leaders may feel that the parent movement is split on an issue. In such a case, organizers try to recruit branches of the parent organization that have concerns similar to those of the emerging movement (pp. 24-25).

Contact is a necessary condition before recruitment can occur. The ability to secure individual members is a function not only of individual ideological values, but also factors such as the time constraints and outside obligations of the potential recruit (Snow, Zurcher, Jr., and Ekland-Olson, 1980, p. 792). Recruitment strategy is also an important factor. Snow, Zurcher, Jr., and Ekland-Olson (1980) found that organizers who recruit by direct contact through networks outside the movement produce the highest number of recruits (p. 792). Other factors also determine recruitment strategy. The number of members may not be as important as the quality of members recruited. For example, as

mentioned earlier, because professional movements are more apt to recruit a small but specialized membership base, they are more likely to recruit through personal contact than are mass social movements.

Social movement resources are constrained by many forces. In effect, "organizers are subject to a range of internal and external pressures which affect their viability, their internal structure and processes, and their ultimate sucess in attaining goals" (Zald and Ash, 1966, p. 327). The outcome of a movement's activities is dependent on: (1) the strategies of the movement; (2) the support for, and opposition to the movement; (3) the position and values of those in power; and (4) the political environment (Jenkins, 1983, p. 543). Adapting to constraints may involve redirecting aims and/or structural and strategic change (Zald and Ash, 1966, p. 328).

Of the external constraints, the two most important are the values held by society at large and the ability of opponents to mobilize. The attitudes of society affect the movement's ability to influence potential members and must be considered when making policy decisions. A social movement that disregards historical and cultural factors affecting the beliefs and sentiments of the populace decreases its chance of success. A movement cannot rely on theoretical ideals to gain support; it must adopt a pragmatic approach. Usually, "in the process of accommodating to the society, the goals of the [movement] become watered down," but the influence society has on the movement is also dependent on the structure and goals of the movement itself (Zald and Ash, 1966, p. 332). If the goal is to offer a radical alternative to the present social structure, the movement will be less concerned with pressure from society to modify its position. For example, some women's groups offer retreats where women can live alternative lifestyles. These alternatives are part of the grass roots action of the radical faction of the women's movement who are searching for new forms of feminist living arrangements.

Opposition to a social movement can be organized or unorganized and can have negative as well as positive effects on the movement. Opposition can enhance group solidarity by defining an identifiable enemy, but it may also lower movement morale by promoting the perception that the opposition has more influence and support than it actually has (Freeman, 1979, p. 187).

Organized countermovements often appear as social movements reach maturity. An example of this phenomenon is R.E.A.L. women (Real, Equal, Active for Life), a group formed in the 1980s to oppose feminist organizations. This group formed at a time when the women's movement was well organized and had achieved substantial gains for women in many areas. Because news reporting depends on "new" and "interesting" events, countermovements such as R.E.A.L. women can often capture the public spotlight.

Unorganized opposition can also have an effect on a social movement. The use of authority positions on the part of politicians, and such events as selective news coverage can work in favor of or against a movement's success.

A social movement must also contend with internal constraints. Two resources that will be briefly discussed here are human resources, including leadership and ideology, which may act as a resource or constraint depending on external factors.

People can contribute time, status, knowledge, and access to external support systems. Of the human resources needed by movements, qualified organizers/leaders are probably the most important. Because movements are usually temporary organizations that have few monetary resources, success may well depend on leadership expertise, commitment, and ability to execute tactical maneuvers at the right time. Ultimately, leadership acts to unify movement activists and often provides them with a firm ideological understanding of how the social system works and why it is in need of change. Leaders/organizers must reduce factionalization and power struggles within the movement and be able to advance the concerns of the movement through diplomacy and public relations skills. It is the leaders'/organizers' job to raise the level of public dissatisfaction by convincing them that the present social system violates highly valued social standards and moral laws such as justice, equality, and human rights. Once injustice is demonstrated, the leaders/organizers must offer a solution that gives the public a vision of a new and improved society. Most good leaders/organizers possess the ability to empathize with others, and make contacts with and communicate with potential recruits without making them feel intimidated. Good movement organizers must possess knowledge of the political process, have access to networks that can aid movement activities, and possess special abilities such as communication skills.

4.2.2. Defining the issues: ideological considerations

Not all movement leaders possess all the requisite skills; even when they do, their values, expectations and ability to analyse the external environment all play important roles in directing movement activities. Organizers must interpret events from their own particular ideological perspectives. Expectations, values, and ideology affect how one perceives the world and, especially in the case of leaders, can influence the structure and focus of a movement. In defining movement issues, the ideology of movement organizers must be considered.

Wilson (1973) defines ideology as follows:

> An ideology is a set of beliefs about the social world and how it operates, containing statements about the rightness of certain social arrangements and what action would be undertaken in the light of those statements. An ideology is both a cognitive map of sets of expectations and a scale of values in which standards and imperatives are proclaimed. Ideology thus serves as a clue to understanding and as a guide to action, developing in the mind of its adherents an image of the process by which desired changes can best be achieved. (Wilson, 1973, pp. 91-92)

In effect, an ideology: (1) offers an analysis of the social structure; (2) allows the movement to identify the source of, and principles responsible for, discontent; (3) offers society a new vision/perspective of a just society; and (4) provides a solution. The solution varies according to the extent to which the existing social values are called into question.

Ferree and Miller (1985) identify two ways in which ideology emerges: (1) from within the present social system, and (2) from outside it. Both forms of ideological explanation contend that the present social structure is unjust, but one takes the form of a complete rejection of the system's ideological base, while the other accepts the system's basic premises while asserting that particular aspects of it's ideology need to be changed (p. 45).

Reform movements emerge from within the present social structure. They are not in conflict with the predominant ideology. These movements concentrate on changing the organizational structure of society by focusing on legislative and cultural reform. According to Ferree and Miller (1985), a movement that emerges outside the present social structure usually occurs where a group of people with similar life experiences come together and realize that their problems are not personal ones, but are due to structural conditions in society. Through discussion of their experiences, the group begins to see that they have been denied certain rights. As an understanding of how the system works against them emerges, so does a new perspective on the world. This new world view conflicts with the interests of the dominant ideology, causing emergent social movements to form outside the existing structure (p. 44-46).

The extent of a movement's ideological analysis depends on the type of movement. A movement committed to completely rejecting the present system must have a relatively complex ideological analysis to replace the old one. Such movements must also be able to mobilize sufficient resources to challenge the existing system. Often, movements that start out with a mandate to change the existing social structure are faced with the reality that radical change is impossible, given internal and external constraints. Often, these movements must resort to a more pragmatic social reform policy.

Unless the organizing members are committed to similar goals and value

systems, policy planning and other movement activities are difficult and ineffective at best. Movement leaders must, in order to build group solidarity, keep conflict and interpersonal strife, and power struggles to a minimum. All members must, to some extent, accept and assimilate the movement's goals. Where the policies and positions of the group are not accepted, tension and ideological "power plays" occur. Movement integration is therefore important in maintaining social movements.

> Group solidarity is greatly enhanced by a clear delineation of membership identity in terms of which each member can perceive his[/her] likeness to his[/her] fellow[/sister] members and his[/her] dissimilarity to outsiders. Locating and describing the opposition and establishing a firm, favorable self-conception on the part of the membership is another contribution the ideology makes to social solidarity. (Wilson, 1973, p. 286)

Wilson (1973) sees this integration as "the management of those divisive tendencies introduced by special interests attached to particular roles and substructures within a movement" (p. 265). Ideology plays an important role in this unifying process:

> Ideologies are formulated for the purpose of, and reflect the particular position of, social groups. A collectivity which shares certain objective characteristics in common thus becomes a social movement through the common adoption of an ideology. (Wilson, 1973, p. 95)

When a social movement forms, its ability to sustain itself is unclear. Having little, if any, social structure, it must build norms and rules which members of the group will agree to follow. Because pure hierarchical structures are rare in social movements, group pressure operates to encourage conformity by individual members to group norms (Wilson, 1973, p. 281). When a movement is composed of many diverse groups with different goals and ideological perspectives, factions can occur within the movement over the perspective and policies the movement will ultimately support. It is often the intent of these member groups to use movement activities to influence authorities in a direction that will ultimately produce beneficial effects for their own constituents (Wilson, 1973, p. 11). While the goal of any movement is the improvement of society for all, in fact, certain groups benefit more by movement success than others. Such benefits are reflected in the strategies and objectives of these groups and must be identified in the analysis of movement activities. Identifying the dominant ideology of a social movement is not an easy task. Differing group perspectives cause different ideological emphases at different times. When irreconcilable ideological clashes occur at the policy formulation stage between different interest groups, it is possible that certain groups will withdraw from actively supporting the movement. The goals of the movement at this time may be redirected to accommodate a shift in interests.

In analysing the formation of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland, I have adopted aspects from both the social-psychological and resource mobilization theoretical perspectives. So far, I have provided a brief historical background to help the reader understand why the formation of the anti-pornography movement took place, and I have identified some of the structural strains within the social system that account for the social, economic, and political changes giving rise to this movement. Discussion of movement formation will concentrate on the ability of organizers to mobilize the necessary resources, given social and political constraints, the stance and structure adopted by the CCAP, and its influence on the strategies and tactics chosen by the organizers. While most emphasis will be placed on an analysis of the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography and their contribution to and involvement in the mobilization of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland and Labrador, it should be noted that the CCAP does not constitute the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland even though it was the central agent for much of the action that took place in the province. Neither can the group be viewed solely as a special interest group. The discussion that follows should reveal that the CCAP was, in fact, an amalgamation of at least three different ideological perspectives and several interest groups.

Chapter 5

MOBILIZING FOR ACTION: NEWFOUNDLAND'S EXPERIENCE

5.1. NEWFOUNDLAND FEMINISTS RESPOND TO THE NATIONAL CONCERN OVER PORNOGRAPHY

The anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland was started by Newfoundland feminists who had, through their contact with women's groups in other provinces, recognized the importance of becoming involved in the anti-pornography movement that was spreading across Canada.[32] The main impetus for the movement came from two key people, Ann Bell of the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women and Dorothy Inglis of the National Action Committee on the Status of women. Both were important players in the movement at different times. Bell contributed most to laying the groundwork for the movement in its early stages, while Inglis became recognized most for her work in the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography.

The movement clearly had a national impetus. Much work had taken place at the national level before Newfoundland's formal involvement. A national coalition had formed, and meetings, workshops, and debates organized by feminist groups were already underway. The Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography was important in this process.

In March 1983, Maude Barlow, President of the CCAMP, spoke at a

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[32] It should be noted that the rise of the movement in Newfoundland and Labrador cannot be credited to any one person. Several women, women's organizations, and community groups were involved at various times and to varying degrees. All helped to generate the momentum that ultimately led to the anti-pornography movement. Because of time limitations, many groups in Newfoundland and Labrador who played important roles in the movement have not been given adequate recognition for their efforts.

meeting of women's groups in Ottawa held by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.[33] Ann Bell, President of the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women, attended this meeting, a meeting that had a profound effect on her, and one that would ultimately sow the seeds for Newfoundland's involvement in the anti-pornography movement.[34] The lecture on pornography gave Bell the motivation to get Barlow's message to the people of Newfoundland and Labrador. Bell recalls her initial reaction:

> Maude showed excerpts from the Playboy channel in the United States and I think that was my first exposure, though I had seen Not a Love Story before when [the] National Film Board screened it.
>
> It was only when we saw these excerpts..., they were so explicit and so frightening.... It was so horrendous that that's when I came home and got the film and decided that I was going to participate in the public process of showing it to the general public, trying to get some reaction.... I got fired up.... I had to get up...when I saw those video's that Maude showed and I said, "This can't go on! This is so destructive to the human race, this just can't go on. We can't as human beings allow this kind of permutation of our society!" (Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.)

Bell's enthusiasm led her to take action. At the provincial level, Bell stated her concern in a letter dated February 15, 1983 to Norman Doyle, the Provincial Minister of Communications:

> The federal government has abdicated responsibility for this problem, stating that it is the work of the CRTC [Canadian Radio-television Communications] to regulate. CRTC says the industry can police itself. The contract between First Choice TV and Playboy Enterprises point out the fallacy of that statement [sic].
>
> Women in all areas of the province are extremely concerned that pornography is becoming more available with the advent of Pay TV.

On February 17, 1983, Ann Bell and the Administrator of the Advisory Council, Dorothy Robbins,[35] laid charges against a local pornography store[36] for

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[33] Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ann Bell and Dorothy Robbins often worked as a team. While I give little recognition to Robbins due to time constraints, Robbins must be given credit for her active involvement in the fight against pornography.

[36] The "Escape Hatch" located on Harvey Road, St. John's.

the sale of pornographic material under Section 160 of the Criminal Code.[37] The charge only resulted in a small fine and the confiscation of a few magazines, but the knowledge gained by the Council was important. The court procedure was ineffective in dealing with the increasing amount of pornographic material in local stores.[38] Legal action was cumbersome and time consuming, and it laid the responsibility for law enforcement on the citizen, who had to formally lay a complaint with police and be willing to testify in court.

Realizing that the display of and access to pornography must be restricted, Bell took several steps. First, she began to educate the public. She showed Not A Love Story[39] wherever she could get permission to do so. This activity brought her to places such as Grand Falls, Corner Brook, Stephenville, and finally, to the Provincial House of Assembly where she tried to educate house members about the harmful effects of pornography on women.[40] While conducting these presentations, Bell realized that the audience's reaction to her message was always positive and that there existed a strong element of public support for the legal restriction of pornographic material. Bell described this response as follows:

> ...it was all culminating, and every time you went to a group and you would get this reaction, you knew you had the people behind you. So that gave us the energy to do other things. (Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.)

And Bell did do other things. She tried to get support from the general public for the anti-pornography movement. The Advisory Council's mandate to advise the government on all issues relating to women's status made it impossible for the Council to spend a large amount of time on any one issue. Bell felt that to bring about the necessary changes, a concerted effort against the pornography industry was required.

> With the onslaught of Cable TV, the videos, and the lack of governmental controls, we were really afraid that the same thing would happen in Canada as in the United States with the proliferation of pornographic materials. It got out of hand and people [there] felt that they could not get control back. Before it got too far, we wanted to make sure there [were] legislative barriers to [control] the dissemination and production of material in Canada. (Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.)

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[37] Advisory Council, File Document.

[38] Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.

[39] Not A Love Story was released by Studio D of the National Film Board in 1981.

[40] Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.

For Bell, the timing was crucial. She felt that action was necessary before Playboy programming became firmly entrenched on Cable TV.

In April, the Advisory Council wrote the CRTC to complain about its lack of concern regarding the introduction of "adult" programming on Pay TV.[41] When the CRTC held a public hearing in St. John's, the Provincial Advisory Council took the opportunity to inform them of the Council's discontent with their policy. The Council's presentation reads as follows:

> The women of Canada were astounded when it became apparent that the CRTC was not going to regulate Pay TV.... The Commission's response to this protest was to call on the industry to develop voluntary standards governing program content.
>
> Within a few days we were again astounded when we read of CRTC's decision # 83-115, which granted a license to Aim Broadcasting of British Columbia which proposed to devote 20% of its viewing time to "adult" programming. So much for the development of voluntary standards. The decision confirmed our misgivings about the sincerity of the CRTC and your sensitivity to the serious problem of pornography.

The council was angered that the CRTC ignored the recommendation of its own Task Force on Sex-Role Stereotyping which called for all forms of TV Broadcasting to comply with sex-role guidelines. Bell writes:

> To protect Canadian content, the commission sets quotas, issues guidelines, imposes definitions, initiates prosecution of offending licensees, and spends time, energy, and money on policy formation and implementation. Yet, for "adult programming," against which you have received significant public opposition, the commission has not even called a public hearing..... We are sure that as members of the CRTC you must feel the frustrations expressed by the people of this country. We cannot believe that as a regulatory agency you can agree to the insidious uncontrolled mushrooming of the pornography industry, but you have, and history will record this. (Advisory Council. Brief to the CRTC Public Hearings in St. John's. April 1985.)

From Bell's experience in the women's movement, she knew that many women's groups were divided on the issue of restricting the pornography trade. Some women were in favor of government regulation while others were opposed. Those opposed felt that restricting pornography was an infringement of people's right of access to sexually explicit material. Freedom of speech was their primary concern. Others felt that pornography infringed on their human rights by maintaining a climate that oppressed women. The latter believed that pornography treats women as second class citizens, as sexual objects that can be

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[41] Ann Bell, Letter from the Provincial Advisory Council to the CRTC. 12 April 1983.

manipulated and sold purely as commodities.[42]

To Bell, how women gained support for passing the needed legal restrictions was secondary to the goal of legal controls.

> There is a strong element within the women's movement that did not want any restrictions. They were civil libertarians and they followed a civil libertarian approach. They did not want to participate, so my feeling was that at this stage we had to...use everything that was at our disposal.
>
> Our overall objective was to get...controls in now [and] we used all other agencies on side to support those initiatives. How we got them [was] immaterial. If they [were] put in place [was what was] important. (Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.)

Bell's involvement in educating the public taught her something else: "There were a lot of different people who supported the idea of restricting pornography who did not necessarily support all of the initiatives that the women's organizations were involved in."[43]

Bell fully understood that many who would involve themselves in an anti-pornography movement would have different political views from women's groups, and that the resulting alliances would not satisfy everybody. She also realized that, unless women tried to make some gains in this area, women's views would not be reflected in the law at all.

> There is always that very real danger in every group and organization that women co-join with...that the women's interests will be overshadowed and that other interests will take over. Well that's part of how things work, and when you have a male-dominated system in policy development then that's part and parcel of it.... [The] whole idea of getting women into policy is that people will get a look at things differently. But...if you haven't got anybody making an effort. At least now we got them talking about [pornography], thinking about it, and making an effort towards it. Without that...we would have nothing....
>
> There is no question...[that] all policies...are looked at from the male sphere and until you begin to bring to them the other side, they don't see it. If I had my way it would be a major crime to produce any kind of pornographic material. That's not going to be,...so until we have a government that has [the] political will to enhance society rather than degrade society, you're going to have pornographic material.... However, I think that the legislation is a first step. (Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.)

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[42]For a complete discussion of the radical and libertarian feminist positions on pornography see chapter three entitled "Pornography: An Ideological Understanding."

[43]Ann Bell. Personal interview. 1 July 1987.

For Bell, pornography was not confined to sexually explicit material. Her view of pornography constituted a continuum that included material such as sexist advertising or any other material that degraded or objectified women by portraying them as play objects, as "somebody's sexual ideal" of what a women should look and act like.[44] One Advisory Council file letter replying to a request for information on pornography clearly illustrates the feminist position taken by the Advisory Council. This position distinguishes between pornography, erotica, and sexually explicit educational material.

> There has been confusion about the difference between erotica and pornography. The terms are often used interchangeably intensifying the confusion. Erotica is sexually explicit material which is life affirming, passionate and mutually joyful. Pornography is sexually explicit material which degrades and dehumanizes.
>
> Longino[45] in defining pornography made some fine distinctions. She says pornography is not immoral because it presents sexually explicit material but because of the kind of sexual behaviour the material endorses. Sadistic, abusive or forced sex is immoral because it injures and violates another. What is wrong with pornography is its degrading and dehumanizing portrayal of women and children - not its sexual content.
>
> Sex education material differs from pornography and erotica in that its content is merely to educate. It would be morally objectionable only if it showed explicit sexual material in which persons were shown in a manner that did not maintain self respect. (Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Letter to Norman Doyle, Minister of Communications. 15 February 1983.)

For Bell, protecting the pornography industry in order to protect individual freedom of speech did not make sense.[46] In her opinion, the idea of free speech does not exist as an absolute concept.

> That they [those opposed to restrictions on pornography] feel that we have to protect the rights of individuals to see what they want to see and that a discerning and educated public will not be interested and will not allow the proliferation of this kind of material in the world; to me that is a head in the sand, an ostrich behaviour. We are censored everyday. Every time we turn on the radio we are censored by the opinion of the reporter, the news editor - his decisions. They censor the

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[44]Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.

[45]Longino is a feminist who has done much work on the pornography issue. She is well known for her definitions of pornographic and erotic material.

[46]Bell takes a radical feminist position. For a complete discussion of this position see chapter three.

> news, they put on what they decide is the news.... The day-to-day happenings in any community is censored by the people who do the writing...and reporting. (Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987.)

The Advisory Council tried to bring about the involvement of many diverse groups in the anti-pornography movement in this province. During the summer of 1983, the Provincial Advisory Council began to organize a public forum on pornography scheduled for September of that year. The public forum brought together the people who would eventually: (1) bear the burden of educating the Newfoundland public on this issue, and (2) lobby for legislative change on a provincial and national level.

5.2. KEY HUMAN RESOURCES COME TOGETHER: A PUBLIC FORUM SPONSORED BY THE PROVINCIAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The public forum was held on September 18-19, 1983. Maude Barlow, President of the Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography (CCAMP), was the keynote speaker. During this visit, Bell used Barlow's expertise on the subject of pornography to help mobilize the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland and Labrador. Bell scheduled Barlow to speak at the forum and also to appear as a guest speaker on a local CBC television show and an open-line radio program. Barlow also addressed a group of two hundred women at a Women's Network Dinner.[47]

The Advisory Council organized a panel discussion as one of the scheduled forum events. The panel was composed of a diverse group of speakers. These included: Margaret Hammond of the Salvation Army; Judy Gushue, Newfoundland's representative for Media Watch and a member of the Provincial Advisory Council; and Dr. Terry Goldie, English Professor at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Two workshops were scheduled: "Pornography and the Law," given by Bob Hyslop, Crown Prosecutor with the Department of Justice, and "Pornography's Effect on the Total Community," facilitated by Dorothy Inglis, Vice-President of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC).[48]

The forum initiated action on two fronts. It encouraged participants to demand action from community officials to regulate the display of pornographic material in retail outlets, and it acted as the impetus to form a coalition of citizens against pornography. In fact, the forum had been organized with these two objectives in mind.[49]

From the second workshop, a resolution was unanimously passed calling for action by the Newfoundland municipalities to pass a by-law regulating the display of pornographic material. Bell, in a follow-up letter to Ron Fagan, President of the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Municipalities, requested that this resolution be addressed at their upcoming annual meeting in

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[47]Ann Bell, Letter of confirmation to Bas Jamieson of Q-Radio, 20 August 1983; Ann Bell, Letter of confirmation to Shirley Newhook of Coffee Break, 30 August 1983; Ann Bell, Personal interview, 1 July 1987.

[48]NAC represents over 500 women's organizations from all across the country. It is the only national lobby group representing women's interests.

[49]Ann Bell, Personal interview, 1 July 1987.

October.[50] All forum participants who expressed interest in attending an organizational meeting to form a citizen's group were also contacted by the Advisory Council and asked to do two things: to write to the Federation supporting this resolution and to call their local representative on the Federation asking for their support at the Federation's annual meeting.

The public forum was considered a success by the organizers. Well over 100 people from various community groups attended the forum, and of these, 28 people identified themselves as interested in becoming involved in future action. At the end of the day, an organizational meeting was scheduled for October 6th, 1983 at the Education Building of Memorial University. Fourteen people attended this follow-up meeting and five of these later became the steering committee of the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography (CCAP).

The Advisory Council's involvement in the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland and Labrador operated on two levels, one as a mobilizing agent and the other as a lobby force. Because the Advisory Council was already organized as a lobby group with a mandate that allowed it to participate in and make the public aware of women's issues, the Council was able to mobilize the necessary resources to quickly and easily bring this issue to public attention. Through the communication networks of the Provincial Advisory Councils and local Status of Women Councils, the structure was already in place whereby women could have a voice on issues of concern to them. The spread of information and ideas was facilitated by contact with national and local women's organizations via conferences and meetings. At the local level, these conferences and meetings also allowed the Council to make presentations on pornography. Because the Council operated at arms length from the government, it was able to use resources obtained from within the system to lobby for and bring about changes in the existing social structure. Funding from the provincial government enabled the Council to allocate some of its monetary resources to the issue of pornography.

The strategy chosen by the Council was aimed at three key areas:

1. educating the public;

2. lobbying the provincial and federal governments for action on several fronts, including: changes to the Criminal Code legislation; increasing the CRTC's responsibility for monitoring and restricting

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[50] Ann Bell, Letter to Ron Fagan, President of the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Municipalities. 27 September 1983.

"adult" programming on Pay TV stations; and restricting the display of pornographic material in stores by introducing Municipal By-Laws at the local level; and

3. mobilizing a coalition of community groups and concerned citizens that would represent the Newfoundland public as one consolidated lobby effort.

The last is probably the most important contribution the Advisory Council made to the movement. Bell's decision to combine the efforts of many community groups[51] can only be understood by examining: (1) the conditions giving rise to the anti-pornography movement, and (2) the attitudes and values of Council members.

Several factors explain why the Council chose a coalitional mobilization strategy. The aim of the Council was to mobilize all available efforts to make the movement a strong, viable force that the government could not ignore. Because the Council could not spend the time necessary to organize, mobilize, and maintain such a movement, it needed to involve those who had the time and expertise to do so. It was clear to Bell that a unified effort from the women's movement was unlikely. Women's groups appeared to be divided on this issue, and while many stood behind and were willing to support a nation-wide movement, many remained ambivalent about what constituted pornography and what should or should not be done about it. The coalition organizers felt that timing was important and that immediate action was necessary. Many community groups could be mobilized to support the movement, but the catch was that the perspective ultimately adopted might not be acceptable to all women's groups.

Many feminist organizations believed that working with other community groups meant that a feminist perspective would be co-opted in favor of a more traditional view of sexuality. Alliance with conservative factions was seen as a dangerous step in the direction of restricting sexual freedom. To understand why the Advisory Council was willing to align with non-feminists, while other women's groups were not, it is necessary to understand the structure and goals of the Advisory Council.

Some feminist organizations work outside the social structure developing alternative life styles for feminist living, while others work within it trying to bring about small changes to the legal and political structure. Those working from within, use the resources and tactics of the system to further movement goals. Organizations such as the Advisory Council try to implement moderate

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[51]Other feminists such as Dorothy Inglis were also pushing for community action at the same time as Bell, but it was the Advisory Council that sponsored and organized the forum that brought these community groups together.

social reforms with the long-term goal of moving society in a more egalitarian direction.[52] The mandate of the Council is to offer suggestions and lobby for changes, making the present system more equitable for women. The Council is comprised of women who have worked effectively within the present social structure.[53] These women have organizational as well as public relations and communication skills, they are familiar with the political process, and they use their knowledge, experience, and alliances with community groups to effect change. Their main objective is to ensure women equal representation in the social and political decision making processes. They do not see radical action such as building a women's subculture as effective; rather they opt for a more pragmatic approach directed at implementing small gains in the present system. Given these differing perspectives, it is understandable that those tending toward more radical social reforms view community groups as working against feminist goals, while groups working within the system see them as agents that can help, rather than hinder reform. While both groups may ultimately want similar ideals, the latter uses an approach that considers the effect of social and political limitations on implementing change.

Besides the fact that action was needed immediately, and that the women's movement was not unified on this issue,[54] a coalitional approach was an attractive option to many feminist groups mainly because it brought respectability in the eyes of the public and state officials. The broad appeal for support showed that the anti-pornography movement was supported by a wide range of constituents. Finally, given the public support for the movement against pornography, recruitment of the general public was easily accessible to the women's movement.

On the issue of pornography, the Council used a pragmatic approach that took into consideration the social and political climate of the times as well as a feminist analysis of pornography. While the forum was structured such that the feminist analysis was predominant, the presence of other perspectives diametrically opposed to feminism were also present.

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[52]It should be noted that unlike many of the Advisory Councils in other provinces, the Newfoundland Provincial Advisory Council is composed mostly of feminists, who have at one time or another, been involved in the women's movement.

[53]The council representatives are government appointed and for this reason are not necessarily feminists. Where appointments are made on a basis other than knowledge of and experience in the women's movement, relations between the council and feminist organizations are often greatly hampered.

[54]Ann Bell, Personal interview. 1 July 1987; Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview. 4 June 1987.

Chapter 6
DIVERSE IDEOLOGIES FORM A COALITIONAL BASE

The objective of any social movement is to mobilize action through the public dissemination of ideas. Ideology plays an important role in this mobilization process. By adopting an ideological stance, the movement is able to mobilize its efforts around a common theme. The ideology identifies the problem and its source, and offers a solution to the problem. Essentially, the ideology gives the public a framework in which to analyse the social structure. The movement must therefore concern itself with raising the level of public discontent by offering an ideological analysis that provides a vision of a new world.

The ideological position of the anti-pornography coalition influenced the movement to take certain forms of action. Although ideology tells us much about the "origins," "the nature of tactics," and "organization" of a movement (Wilson, 1973, p. 28), an analysis of the ideological stance of the coalition reveals fragmented and often conflicting positions. In order to understand how the strategies taken by the group emerged and changed with time, it is necessary to examine the world views of the steering committee members and their role at committee meetings.

The public forum sponsored by the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women opened the door for various interest groups to take action on the issue of pornography. From the time of its inception in the fall of 1983, the coalition's steering committee was composed of many individuals. Six of these can be identified as central to maintaining the operation of the CCAP. Most joined the coalition during its formative period, but some joined at a later date. All played a major role in the policy and decision making of the group. These key protagonists include: Dorothy Inglis of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women; Margaret Hammond of the Salvation Army, later replaced by Roger Gordon; Michael Rochester of the Baha'i Faith; John Lewis and Iris Kendall, both active supporters of the Catholic Church; Judy Facey; and myself, representing the St. John's Status of Women Council.

By November of 1983, a steering committee had formed composed of John Lewis and Judy Facey as chairpersons, Dorothy Inglis as field-worker, Margaret Hammond, Iris Kendall, and myself. While the CCAP membership was composed of over 350 people from across Newfoundland and Labrador including thirty organizations such as the Newfoundland Teachers' Association, the Newfoundland Association of Social Workers, the Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council, and the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour, along with various church and women's groups, all decision and policy making was the sole responsibility of the steering committee. Individual members and organizations were welcome to join in on the decision making process by taking a seat on this committee.

6.1. STEERING COMMITTEE MEMBERS: STUDIES OF IDEOLOGY

6.1.1. Key feminist activist - Dorothy Inglis, Coalition field-worker

Dorothy Inglis, a humanitarian, an activist on women's rights, and an advocate for social democracy, began her fight against pornography at about the same time that the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women became involved in the anti-pornography movement. Inglis was Newfoundland's provincial representative on the National Action Committee on the Status of Women at the time and was by no means a newcomer to the political scene. She had grown up in Vancouver, British Columbia. Her father was a minister and a member of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation which was a forerunner to the New Democratic Party (NDP). Both her mother and father were politically active.

> I grew up with politics at every meal. As a child, I was part of the Co-operative Commonwealth Youth Movement (CCYM). All the kids in the family were. Father was active in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and believed strongly that politics must be directed by christian motives. [At CCYM] meetings we would discuss the state of the world and the system that kept some people rich and some people poor. We were involved in international affairs, the peace movement, and non-violence.
>
> I've always been a part of the NDP. I didn't come to politics on election day. It was a way of life for me, fighting for justice, peace, and a good community. (Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview. 18 December 1987.)

When the women's movement reactivated in the 1960s, Inglis immediately

became involved. She realized at that time that women were fighting against the same injustices that had concerned her for years. Her work in the movement never stopped from that time on. Many years later she was to become one of the founding mothers of the Newfoundland Status of Women Council (later named the St. John's Status of Women Council), the provincial representative on the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), the Vice-President of NAC, and the Provincial Women's Representative of the NDP. She was active in both the women's movement and mainstream politics. In the early 1980s she ran provincially for the NDP in the St. John's North riding, but was defeated to John Carter.

Inglis's political expertise made her one of the key figures in the anti-pornography movement, on both the national and local level. When the issue of pornography started to gain public attention in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Inglis decided to become involved. For years she had been worried about society's lack of concern over the display of pornography. With the introduction of Pay TV's "adult" programming, Inglis felt that society was ready for a re-evaluation of Playboy's claim to "sexual liberation."

> It had always appalled me when I would walk into stores and behind the counter would be an absolutely normal woman or sometimes man and beside us might be some really grim looking magazine like Hustler;...and here we were, fairly normal average people acting as though this obscenity between us was no more important than The Evening Telegram.... I used to go out of there and think, "This is a crazy world. We are all acting as though putting those magazines on the shelf is normal and it isn't. This is not normal! What is in there is very violent, ugly, degrading stuff! Why are we all acting as if this is O.K.?... What do kids think? They see normal adults going into the store and not objecting. Why don't I throw it out on the side walk and say, That's where it belongs. And don't I owe that to my kids. Why am I not making a statement?" (Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview. 4 June 1987.)

These feelings led Dorothy Inglis to become active in the anti-pornography movement. She co-chaired the Pornography Committee of NAC and started discussions in her own community through her contacts in the women's movement. She worked closely with the St. John's Status of Women's Council and the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women to get the public involved in this issue. When the Advisory Council sponsored the public forum on pornography in St. John's, Inglis, acting as a discussion facilitator, encouraged forum participants to opt for a coalition approach to the problem.

Inglis saw the coalition as an extension of the feminist movement, with church groups and other organizations playing a supportive role. In her opinion, the feminist movement had brought the issue to the forefront by offering a

analysis of pornography that had not been considered by either the liberal or conservative factions of society. In this regard, she says:

> It was our research and it was our issue that made public awareness. I don't want to deny the tremendous support from all sorts of people in all sorts of groups cause we could never have done it alone, but it was our agenda.
>
> I've always believed that [the feminist involvement] kept away the right wing or strong fundamentalist position. That was never a part of the public debate that took place across Canada and its because the feminists were, in the main, the central motivating force in the debate. Now the churches got involved, but they were supportive, they weren't original. (Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview. 4 June 1987.)

Inglis believed that the religious-minded people involved in the steering committee of the coalition were the more "enlightened" ones, those taking a more "liberal approach" to sexuality. Inglis never felt that her "principles were ever at odds with the others [coalition members] who came to the issue from different backgrounds."

Growing up in a Christian family environment may well have given Inglis an understanding and acceptance of the religious perspective that many feminists would find difficult to support. Her background allowed her to deal diplomatically with religious groups on this issue, but even given the strong religious commitment of some coalition members, many religious groups saw the CCAP as not going far enough to support a conservative, anti-nudity stance. For those members who stayed with a coalitional approach, Inglis had this to say:

> I think that says great things about the representatives on that committee. That they have taken a lot of flack from their own groups. I know they have in various ways, but they have kept [the position they would publicly support] to this broad consensus area and they have listened and reasoned the feminist argument. (Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview. 4 June 1987.)

Inglis's ideological position supported a feminist perspective, but she was also a strong advocate for social democracy and the participation of all people in matters affecting them. Her support for a democratic solution to the problem of pornography influenced her position just as much as her feminist framework. It was her belief in the democratic process that allowed her to support censorship boards made up of a representative cross-section of community groups. She envisioned these boards as composed of elected members who would implement community standards in accordance with the provisions set down by law. Inglis supported the notion of representative community censorship boards from the time of her initial involvement with the movement in the early 1980s throughout her involvement with the coalition.

Inglis believed that nudity and sexually explicit depictions were not an issue; imposing a sexist construction of sexuality on all of society was the issue. Her primary concern was removing all forms of violent, hard-core pornography while restricting access to soft-core material. She was particularly concerned with removing soft-core pornography from the view of children.

Inglis wanted a women's perspective to be central in implementing legislative action, but she was also aware that others were opposed to a feminist analysis of pornography. She saw pornography, sex-role stereotyping, equal pay for work of equal value, and all other issues affecting women as integrally connected. She says:

> All these things are not accidental.... If you determine that women are second class people and then go on to enforce this by giving them less pay, less opportunities, and so on, you are then going to view everything they do in a similar fashion.
>
> If a society sends out messages that human beings are worthless, and in this case it is women that are shown to be worthless, my God, that has a bearing on what happens to women in their homes, on the street, in the bars and wherever, [and it gives the impression] that this is an image of women that is acceptable.
>
> The basic message [in pornography] is that women are lower, inferior creatures. That they're there to titillate men, to be at the service of men,...and that women love to be victims of power. One [image] is terrifying because it is condoning and legitimizing somebody beating, raping, or hurting [women], but the others prepare the climate. That's the climate I talk about.... You couldn't enforce or impose pornography on a community that viewed women with respect and equality - You just couldn't! (Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview. 4 June 1987.)

Inglis was adamant that the coalition adopt a position that distinguished between pornography and erotica. For her, this distinction was of the utmost importance in differentiating the present anti-pornography movement from the decency crusades of the past. She believed that once this position was formally adopted by the coalition, that it would have repercussions for the future direction of the movement. She felt that once this position was accepted, that many fundamentalist religious groups would not officially support a pro-sex organization. Inglis felt that only then could she rest assured that the movement was heading in the right direction.

> That was a very muddy area when we started out..... [I was] terrified! Terrified that it [the discussion] would bog down so that the very people I opposed on almost all issues would come into this and use it for their own devices. Yes terrified that we would be split by having narrow-minded people [on the steering committee]. (Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview. 4 June 1987.)

Based on an understanding of the historical events leading up to the anti-pornography movement, Inglis believed that the position adopted by the movement must be acceptable to a wide spectrum of society. This meant some compromises between feminist ideals (i.e. removing sexist images from society) and pragmatic considerations.

As a member of the steering committee, Inglis felt that her views were widely accepted by the coalition as a whole. She says; "I have received such support for my id as in the coalition that I am totally appreciative of the fact [that] they have let the feminist argument carry the day."[55]

6.1.2. Michael Rochester, Baha'i Faith representative - Ideology and strategy

> Hedonism is an increasing part of the...social philosophy of North America and one of the intrinsic elements of hedonism is that you do not think about consequences, so that your view is confined to the present and you're looking for immediate gratification.....
>
> I believe that human beings have souls. I believe that there is a distinct quality of human beings which can either be developed, which makes them more human, or which can...be ignored,...in which case they only develop their purely animal qualities.... This whole attitude of hedonism is a focus on the animal part of human nature and gives little scope to develop...human qualities.....
>
> The animal part of our make-up will be there, sure, but I think that the whole evolution of humanity and civilization is that the...purely animal expressions are mitigated, or refined, or controlled, depending on...the civilizing process. (Michael Rochester, Personal interview. 24 June 1987.)

For Rochester, the idea of a basic innate self, modified through socialization, is important in building the human social self. He says that "part of becoming human is that you replace selfishness with selflessness."[56] This re-direction away from individual motives to a higher, altruistic good is the key that connects each and every individual. It places responsibility on each person for the effect of their actions on others. The individual must therefore limit some behaviours for the good of all. Because all behaviour at one level (i.e. at the individual level) interacts with and effects behaviour taking place at another (i.e.

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[55]Inglis, Dorothy. Personal Interview. 4 June. 1987.

[56]Michael Rochester, Personal interview. 24 June 1987.

society), what people do as individuals is important in determining the values held by society. These values in turn tend to have a socializing effect on individuals. Rochester attributes the acceptance of pornography by society to two main factors - socialization and the process of desensitization.

Socialization is an important ingredient in attitude and value formation. Rochester believes that our society socializes children in a gender specific manner that encourages aggressive, violent qualities in men, while at the same time, "dampening" their "nurturing" qualities." The same process is responsible for men's attitudes towards women; attitudes that view women as sexual objects. He explains: "That, I think, is simply tied [to]...the way in which men have been trained;...that sexual prowess [is]...something highly...desired among males, and it has attached to it this atmosphere of domination, of the woman as object."[57] Women also play a major role in this gendered, dominant-submissive power dynamic. Rochester believes that, to some extent, women imitate what they see in pornography.

> One of the things that women are socialized to do is to be agreeable and responsive to what they perceive to be needs.... One of the consequences...is that many women who think that this kind of behaviour is what men want in a sexual relationship, could, because of the existence of porn and its widespread consumption by men, assume that that's what a man would like..... I think there is ample evidence that a lot of women feel under pressure to behave in ways that the media teaches. (Michael Rochester, Personal interview. 24 June 1987.)

According to Rochester, pornography and other forms of media teach values about men, women, and their sexuality, the roles played by each, and the sexual behaviour each is expected to perform. These behaviours are accepted due to the process of desensitization.

Rochester believes that the pornographic message is embedded in all social institutions and that we assimilate these messages without realizing it.

> I do feel that the constant portrayal of acts of violence, degradation, or inhumanity, all this kind of thing builds up a climate, desensitizes people; so I think you have to be very careful about how you portray or describe these things.....
>
> There's lots of evidence that [pornography] leads to desensitization and therefore,...[viewing] women as objects...and...sexual relationships as more inhumane.....
>
> A lot of pornography portrays the woman as enjoying and wanting this kind of treatment and that has an educational effect. I think that's

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[57] Ibid.

one of its worst aspects, especially if pornography is used by teenagers. (Michael Rochester, Personal interview. 24 June 1987)

Rochester's view of pornography is strongly influenced by his belief in equality between the sexes. For him, what is portrayed in pornographic imagery is the imbalance between women and men that really exists in society. He places pornography on a continuum that includes not only sexually explicit material, but also other forms of degrading material. Television messages about sexuality are not all that different from the m ssages in pornography. For him, even violence is pornographic in a way. In defining pornography for legal or practical purposes, Rochester adopts a much narrower definition. The latter depends on: (1) whether an association between sex and violence has been made, or (2) whether women are portrayed as sexual objects. In his opinion, nudity should not be prohibited on television as long as parents have control over children's access to it. Yet, at the same time, he is concerned that the introduction of nudity on TV will lead to degrading forms of sexual imagery. Even the definition of nudity, which is a social construct, can become a problem in defining the limits placed on television viewing.

I think some of it has to do with context. I mean obviously there are films in which a loving relationship is being portrayed and [there is] a lot of background to it, and the scene of sexual love is not...exploitative, but is part of a broader relationship.... Well I would find that much more acceptable than the way in which many sorts of nude sexual scenes...come up gratuitously in a lot of television programming. (Michael Rochester, Personal interview. 24 June 1987)

Magazines such as Playboy and other forms of soft-core material are pornographic because they "convey a message of women as objects." Ideally, all forms of pornographic material should be removed from society. In reality, Rochester believes that hard-core, violent pornography can be regulated because most people are offended by these images, but for the soft-core material and the material falling into the "middle ground," he sees education as a more viable strategy than prohibition. Regulation is necessary to ensure that the pornography industry does not push pornography beyond its present limit. Rochester believes that the dangers of pornography and its effect on society far outweigh the dangers of regulation.

I would far rather have much tighter controls on the distribution of pornography and then start looking at where there was over-control on acceptable material because I think the emphasis is so far out of balance that I think we should be worrying much less about the dangers of censorship and much more about the dangers of the...free distribution of pornography. (Michael Rochester, Personal interview. 24 June 1987.)

To achieve long-term results, regulation must be followed by education.

Without effective education programs. Rochester believes that regulation is only a piecemeal solution.

> If an appetite for something has been developed and you put legal constraint on it, it will find other ways...[of] finding its market.....
>
> I think you have to educate people.... There are so many people who feel that...mild porn isn't at all harmful.... There is that enormous middle ground, some of which goes a pretty long way towards degradation, horror, and violence in a sexual and a completely non-sexual context.... Here is [where there is] a range of opinion and I think that that's where the education is needed. (Michael Rochester. Personal interview. 24 June 1987.)

The purpose of education is to inform the public of the effects that the mass media has on attitudes about sex and gender. Ultimately, the hope is to construct a view of sexuality that shows respect for the dignity of all participants.

Rochester believes that any new legislative regulation must: (1) not reduce the legal protection now available, and (2) impose restrictions depending on the impact of the medium used, with an emphasis placed on visual depictions rather than printed material.

Michael Rochester joined the CCAP for two main reasons. First, he was asked by the Baha'i Faith to represent their interests on the coalition. Second, he felt that pornography was a "psychological and spiritual threat" to men and a contributing factor to physical threats against women. Rochester always felt that his position was in tune with the position and policy decisions of the coalition. At no time did he feel that his personal or religious beliefs were compromised by being a member of the group.

6.1.3. Judy Facey, Co-Chairperson - Ideology and strategy

Judy Facey's analysis and understanding of sexuality and pornography developed gradually over her lifetime. As a child she was strongly influenced by church doctrine and the conservative climate of the times. It took her many years to overcome the victorian attitudes taught her in the past.

> My attitude towards sex growing up was that it was dirty. You didn't talk about it, you weren't meant to enjoy it, you just did it and wished it was over. Nonsense! Victorian all the way! And bodily functions [at that time] were hidden and were...disgusting, you know. And [there was] no affection shown at home. Mom and Dad didn't touch and kiss in front of us and you never heard anything happening from the bedroom.

> Never! I didn't know how babies were made until I was eighteen and in university. (Judy Facey, Personal interview. 20 May 1987.)

The public forum held by the Advisory Council on the Status of Women helped bring a new perspective to her understanding of pornography. For Facey, the main impetus to action was the stark realization that she had been completely oblivious to what was taking place in the pornography industry; that for years she had closed her eyes to what pornography symbolized. Maude Barlow's film excerpts from the U.S. Playboy station made Facey realize that she could no longer sit back and allow the industry to continue without regulatory restrictions.

> [At the forum] they showed some very disgusting video tapes of what was on the market at that time, and most of the women I knew...had to leave the room. But I stayed and watched it and I was emotionally assaulted.... For the next week I stayed to myself.....
>
> When I saw the cheerleader video...[at the forum] I was amused. All during my life you bought Playboy if you wanted to be risque, and I remember Christmas time, three times out of the eighteen that I was with my husband, I might have given him a Playboy magazine as a joke. I thought it was just harmless titillation, you know, and then I began to realize that these cheerleaders,...giggling and running around being chased by young men was unusual, and by the time I had seen all the videos [that Barlow showed] I was thoroughly disgusted.... The girls were being degraded. From that point on I began to realize that this was insidious rather than...cutesy. (Judy Facey, Personal interview. 20 May 1987.)

At the forum, Facey also realized:

> [That] sex;...although equally a part of your body,...had been denied.... [That] sex could be used against you, to control and hurt you. That was frightening. I know out there in the big world that you can be knocked down, killed, and raped, [but] then I suddenly realized that on my television and at the movies people were being taught indirectly how to hurt me and I was afraid. (Judy Facey, Personal interview. 20 May 1987.)

Facey realized that the same messages about gender and sexuality contained in pornography were everywhere. Women were considered inferior beings not only in pornography, but at home, in the workplace, in the church, in all of our institutions. She realized that pornography, violence against women, the socialization process of young boys, war, and the arms race were all connected. For this understanding she thanks the women's movement.

> I very closely identify myself with the feminist and the women's movement and [I've] gained tremendously [from it]. I'm a happy woman today because of it and I will always be grateful for the Dorothy Inglis's,

> the Ann Bell's, the Pauline Stockwood's, the books, the 'Cinderella Complex' and the 'Women's Room'... (Judy Facey. Personal interview. 20 May 1987.)

The public forum helped Facey form a feminist world view. From the perspective of this world view, the distinction between sex education, erotica, and pornography became apparent. This distinction placed soft-core material in the category of pornography. She says, "If I was in charge of going into drug stores and taking off the shelf everything that I found offensive, I would probably weed [out] the works."[58] While she felt a personal urgency to rid society of all forms of pornographic material, she recognized that a compromise was in order, that getting consensus meant that a broad perspective would have to be taken, one that could be accepted by most of society.

> I don't think the coalition was going to side with anyone. It was the middle of the road all the way. This was a human rights issue you know. It is not a religious issue, it is not a feminist issue; its a human rights issue. (Judy Facey. Personal interview. 20 May 1987.)

On the issue of pornography, Facey's ability to compromise made her a successful member of the steering committee. She always looked for ways to find a solution that would be acceptable to all. This did not mean that she put her feminism to one side. On many occasions she stood her ground to ensure that the principle of equality was adhered to. In her work with the coalition, a feminist understanding of the construction of gender relations is evident.

> My nature is to please. All young girls are taught to be peace makers, [to] co-operate, [not to] stand out in the crowd.... I have compromised a lot of my opinions over the years just so I wouldn't stand out in the crowd and defend them. (Judy Facey, Personal interview. 20 May 1987.)

Facey involved herself in local activities that she felt familiar with such as the distribution of mailouts and the organization of boycotts. She wanted to help the anti-pornography movement in its fight against pornography, but felt her best contribution would be as a worker rather than a figurehead and policy maker. On many occasions Facey acted as co-chair of the coalition and she took a central position at many public activities, but she preferred to be on the sidelines. Facey's work was invaluable. From the inception of the coalition, her motivation, enthusiasm, and commitment made her a central player in the movement. Facey worked hard to find what she considered a viable solution. This meant accepting that soft-core porn was here to stay. While Facey was willing to compromise, she brought a strong feminist analysis to the understanding of pornography.

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[58]Judy Facey. Personal interview. 20 May 1987.

6.1.4. Pauline Stockwood, St. John's Status of Women Council representative - Ideology and strategy

I joined the coalition when the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women held its forum on pornography in the fall of 1983. At that time, the SJSWC had just formed Women Against Pornography (WAP), a committee that I chaired. WAP worked at the grass roots level, distributing pamphlets, writing letters to government, and lodging complaints with local store owners. The committee had few connections with the Canadian anti-pornography movement, and most of its members had little lobbying experience or knowledge of the political process. For the group to become more effective, I felt that it needed to affiliate with more knowledgeable lobbyists. I also felt that if community groups and service organizations formed a coalition against pornography, it was important to have feminist concerns represented on this coalition.

When I joined the CCAP, my concern for pornography and its effect on women was not new. From a very young age I was interested in pornography and sex-role stereotyping and their connection to women's position in society.

> I knew by the time I was fifteen that I was a socialist. I remember talking about socialism in grade nine, even though I didn't know the terms to express it. I knew I had compassion for others and that there was something very unjust about this world. I knew that everybody wasn't getting their fair share. Some earned exorbitant amounts of money and were put on a pedestal, while others worked very hard and received very little. This analysis of society fit into my analysis of women. Women were one of those groups who received little for their efforts, and their work was considered less important to the maintenance of society. I realized back then that there was discrimination against women. At about the same time, I also began to understand the patriarchal view of sexuality, which entailed degrading women sexually while encouraging sexual prowess in men. Women were ostracized for any sexual deviation, yet at the same time they were encouraged to be sexually inviting to men. This double standard made me recognize the images of women in the media, their meaning, and how they affect women. As a teenager, these images taught me a lot about who I was and who I was supposed to be from their [patriarchal] perspective. I didn't want to be degraded for being a sexual human being and I didn't want them to impose their view of what a woman is

suppose to be on me.[59]

As a young teenager, I had a positive view of sexuality, but I soon learned that society believed sex was something that only "bad" girls engaged in. I remember seeing pornography in the corner stores and the feeling that it gave me.

> It made me angry! Very, very perturbed I think. I don't know how to explain it because a lot of it was on an emotional level, but behind the emotion there was the realization that this was not a joke, it had a meaning, and it had to do with the relations between men and women and how women are subjugated and subordinated to men in every aspect of their lives.

With time, I discovered that men acquired their power by keeping women in these subordinate roles. They benefit from our labor, much as capitalism benefits from the use of surplus labour. By controlling human and natural resources, one gains power, status, and recognition. Women are part of this hierarchal system, a system that places God at the apex, followed by men, women, children, and finally animals. Women gain recognition mainly as sexual beings and mothers, roles which are given secondary status to the prescribed duties of men. Women are revered for their beauty and sexuality, and denigrated at the same time for being sexual beings. Pornography epitomizes this paradox. It is a reflection of how men see women.

> These images [in pornography] never came out of nowhere. They came from the thoughts and views of men. It is an extension of their view of women and what they want women to be and act like. The pornographic image is not new. There is not much difference in the images in pornography and the modeling images, for example. They are very similar. That's their [the patriarchy's] view of sexiness. That's the way to be sexy. You know what men want by what they produce. Go to any movie and you have subtle forms of pornography.
>
> I think there is an element of pornography that constructs our view of sexuality. That's all we ever see, so how can we construct sexuality any differently? How can we make alternatives to pornographic images? It has subtle ways of manipulating us so we do not realize that we are seeing sexuality through the eyes of the pornographic image. So we accept those images.
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> I don't think that pornography influences us any more than other media forms. I think it all combines - the media, pornography, everything we read, everything we do, how we communicate with one another - it all combines to make up a whole system, and I think that

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[59]This section contains quotations from an interview Pam Hiscock conducted with me some time ago. I have used this interview to construct for the reader an understanding of my own views on pornography. The style that results is a peculiar one, but I feel that the dialogue resulting from the interview allows the reader a better understanding of my position.

all told that system is a patriarchal system, and I think porn contributes to it.

My definition of pornography is influenced by my feminist analysis. I make the distinction between erotic and pornographic material, and support the definitions put forth by groups such as the Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography and the SJSWC. To exemplify my position, I will quote the SJSWC's brief to the Fraser Commission on Pornography and Prostitution, of which I was a co-writer:

> The NSWC [now the SJSWC] is opposed to pornography which we define as 'verbal, written or pictorial material which is degrading, abusive, dehumanizing, or depicts violence, particularly against women and children and/or their exploitation for profit.' N.S.W.C. encourages the use of erotica which we define as 'a celebration of human sexuality.' It, by definition, does not contain acts of violence or coercion, and bears no uneven power dynamic. Rather, individuals are portrayed as freely and equally participating in sexual activity for their mutual pleasure. Erotica is characterized by humour, caring and mutuality. (St. John's Status of Women Council, 1984, p. 1)

I was involved with the coalition for less than two years, and my main concern at that time was ensuring that the group did not support a conservative, anti-nudity stance. Back then, I was more radical in my approach for several reasons. I felt that the CCAP should support a more feminist analysis of pornography and that this analysis should direct policy decisions. I did not support the idea of community represented censorship boards mainly because I felt that the community's inability to distinguish between sexist material and sexually explicit mutual material was what got us into this problem in the first place. I felt that a democratic approach would not work in the interest of women. In the past, democracy had never benefited women or reflected women's concerns, so I was not an avid supporter of the "democratic" process. My position was that any decisions made by censorship boards should be guided by a feminist analysis of sex-role stereotyping.

> When I was involved [with the CCAP], much of the relations between myself and the [religious] groups was confrontationalist. We were, at that time, trying to figure out the position and direction the CCAP would take, and there were many different perspectives. I think if I were to work with the coalition now, I would get along with them very well. Their position is one that is already formed, and it is one, that while not totally feminist, it is one I can live with. I've realized that there is no way you can get millions of people in Canada to agree on a feminist analysis, so you just have to take the bad with the good and hope that you can make some small gains. Like the bill before parliament now. There is much I think that needs to be changed in it, but it is on the whole, a much better piece of legislation than the old obscenity law that

> relies on community standards of tolerance. If I worked with the coalition now, I would only compromise to a certain point though. I would not compromise if the base of the coalition pushed a religious perspective. I would fight like hell against them if they supported an anti-nudity stance.

Because I worked with the coalition for only a short period of time, I was not directly involved in the policy formulation stage. I did support those members of the coalition who pushed the CCAP to adopt a feminist definition of pornography. In my opinion, this was probably the most important decision made by the group, and I can honestly say that without a strong feminist backbone, the direction taken by the coalition would have been much different.

6.1.5. Roger Gordon, Salvation Army representative - Ideology and strategy

Roger Gordon represented the Salvation Army and his duty was to ensure that the Army's position was presented at coalition meetings. On the whole, the Army's main concern was to reinstate, or at least preserve, the traditional values of society. In this regard, pornography was just one of many issues that concerned the Salvation Army. Pornography was basically viewed as "damaging to society...[and] to the family in particular."[60] Its acceptance was seen as a step towards accepting other forms of "deviant behaviour" and "other things that are...based on a personal freedom of choice."[61] Gordon, who felt that his views were in line with the Salvation Army's, believed that society's acceptance of "open" sexuality was much too liberal.

> I feel a lot more comfortable with the old [values about sexuality] in terms of what society is accepting of. I don't like the old way of dealing with it; that is to say, that kids are left to find out for themselves,...but I prefer the more traditional values..... The [old] attitudes were that you should not have sex before you got married, period.... [Now], sex outside of marriage is regarded as the norm rather than being something to be frowned upon or discouraged.... I think that people accept the view now that provided that the sexual behaviour is being entered into with consent and provided that it doesn't involve children and other deviant practices such as animals, that this is perfectly O.K.....

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[60] Roger Gordon, Personal interview. 20 October 1987.

[61] Ibid.

> What I think [pornography] is telling you is that sex is something that you can take in a casual fashion...and not something which is part and parcel of love in the marriage scene. Therefore, I think it is destructive to the concept of families. (Roger Gordon, Personal interview. 20 October 1987.)

The belief that pornography is a threat to family life is based on biblical writings. The Army's philosophical position is that pornography "is contrary to the scriptures and that it represents a sin. It is against the wishes of God, therefore, Salvationists should not...participate in or be accepting of pornography."[62] What is defined as pornographic is the depiction of sex for the purpose of sexual gratification. Nudity is permitted as long as the intent is not to arouse the viewer. Sexually explicit material is permitted only for educational use and under the condition that the material is in accord with religious morality. Gordon explained that depictions of masturbation, for example, would be prohibited even in an educational context because it is felt that it has the potential to arouse.

The Salvation Army's analysis of pornography is based on pornography's ability to arouse. Sexual arousal outside of the marriage contract somehow changes the individual from a state of being that is sanctified in the eyes of God, to one of sin. Consequently, arousal has the ability to destroy the traditional monogamous marriage which forms the basis of the heterosexual family unit. The Army's analysis of pornography's content must be understood in terms of this conceptual schema.

The statement which follows might well be one that a feminist would make. It concentrates on woman as sex object and the role played by men and women in pornography, but the rationale behind the statement is not a feminist one.

> I think the message that is being displayed about women is that they're objects to be played around with.... And I think it is sort of telling them that women are something like alcohol, they are O.K. for recreational use, but not to be taken seriously. It gives a macho sort of interpretation of what men are.... It's leading younger people to think that this is the way for men to be manly - to play around with a women. (Roger Gordon, Personal interview. 20 October 1987.)

Gordon does not want men and women to emulate the images created in pornography because these images move societal values away from traditional sexual norms. Gordon fully understands that in some cases the message in pornography is one of male domination and female submission, but he feels that this is unintentional on the part of the producers; an accidental product of

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[62] Ibid.

capitalism. With regard to the prevalence of sexual violence against women in pornography, he says the following:

> I don't think it is the main reason for [pornography's] being or that was the intentional message.... I mean I basically think that if money could be made out of showing a man whipping a horse there would be a thriving industry going on that, but there is not a lot of money. Who wants to see that! (Roger Gordon, Personal interview. 20 October 1987.)

A question still remains: Why do men want to see women beaten? His answer is that there will always be deviants and that there is no logical explanation for certain behaviour.

> I can see that there are people who are deviant,...and in the same way that we have paedophiles, you can't rationally explain everybody's behaviour. I think...most men are not naturally aggressive towards women. There are some men who are and because men physically tend to be stronger than women, they have a greater hold over them and that may come out in some of the themes in porn. But I think that it is basically done to make money. (Roger Gordon, Personal interview. 20 October 1987.)

Male domination is explained in terms of deviant behaviour and men's superior physical strength. Questions about why women are portrayed as they are in pornography are seen as a secondary, unfortunate consequence of pornography. The idea of man as biologically aggressive is rejected by Gordon. His only explanation for violent themes in pornography is that there are some who have innate aggression, but on the whole, he attributes this behaviour to an unexplained deviation from the norms of society.

Gordon concerns himself mostly with the depiction of visual material. As he explains, "nobody cares about [literature] any more because people don't read it."[63] At one time the church's main concern was the content of literary works, but now magazines, television, and videos are its central focus. Basically, the position of both Gordon and the church is that sex for gratification outside marriage is off limits. Theoretically, this position could include depictions of sexuality found in literature. Gordon was uncertain of the church's position on literature and his own personal opinion on this matter was undecided.

> As to whether or not government should intervene [in literary works], I honestly don't know.... It would be a natural next step and I might finish up coming to that conclusion, however, I can well see the dangers in censorship and so forth in terms of literature.... It does raise a whole lot of questions which are not...as obvious as with...home videos and so forth. (Roger Gordon, Personal interview. 20 October 1987.)

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[63] Ibid.

Gordon feels that education is the only real solution to the problem of pornography. Regarding legislation, he believes that there is no realistic way to limit soft-core pornography.

As a member of the coalition's steering committee, Gordon had to compromise his position on many occasions. This compromise still left him with a much more conservative position than other coalition members.

> My principles in relation to the church to which I belong override a number of other positions that the coalition as a whole may want to take. I found myself on the coalition somewhat more to the right of the other people that were on it. I didn't always agree with some of the positions that were taken..... I make no bones about it, I am far to the right of some people on the coalition! (Roger Gordon, Personal interview, 20 October 1987.)

Gordon often wanted the coalition to take a tougher stand against pornography, especially in legislating material depicting masturbation and homosexual behaviour. On this matter, the coalition and Gordon did not agree.

6.1.6. John Lewis, Co-chairperson - Ideology and strategy

Lewis believes sex is by "nature" meant to be a private act between a man and women. Sex in and of itself is not wrong, rather it is its public display that is objectionable. The sex act has been tied to certain values. Lewis sees pornography as threatening the values which make up the moral fabric of society. He believes that the message portrayed in pornography is that "an acceptable way for men to relate to woman...is on a level purely sexual."[64] He goes on to say that: "That's a distortion of the way it should be in my view. The message is that [women's] consumption is something which can be viewed as a mechanical and almost a biological function of males."[65] This innate, biological function, must, according to Lewis, be shaped into a loving, caring relationship. In effect, Lewis believes that there is a basic sexual instinct that must be modified by society into a positive force. He says:

> At one level the sexual urge is very instinctual and...these instincts express themselves powerfully if they are not moderated by...higher forces in a personality.... I guess what we are seeing in the porn

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[64] John Lewis, Personal interview, 3 June 1987.

[65] Ibid.

business is the operation of that instinctual hunger at a very basic level.....

I think there has always been a sexual instinct and there's always been, therefore, an interest in the sexual object as opposed to the sexual person. (John Lewis, Personal interview, 3 June 1987.)

Clearly, Lewis believes that society is necessary in the intervention of this basic process. When the sex drive does not become part of a relationship, he believes there is a tendency to objectify.

Lewis defines two elements that constitute what he considers objectionable material.

1. The depiction of sex as a public, commercialized commodity. For him, public exhibition moves sex away from and detaches it from a personal relationship.

> My general view about the depiction of sexual intercourse scenes even when they're done with artistic sensibility,...[is that] these tend to represent an intrusion into a part of human life that deserves to be protected from that kind of exhibition, and because that is so...it tends to debase and degrade the quality of the human relationship.....
>
> ly position is that it is sacred, and...by its nature it will not stand being exhibited for profit. (John Lewis, Personal interview. 3 June 1987.)

2. For Lewis, the depiction of sex is what is the degrading factor, not necessarily the context or content of the explicit material. The more explicit the depiction, the more pornographic.

Lewis does consider violent pornography more harmful and therefore believes it warrants greater restriction, but he sees soft-core material as having an erotic component. In this regard, one could easily be drawn to the conclusion that Lewis sees sex and pornography as synonymous.

> Both sexes can be stimulated by certain types of pornography and I think that has been shown by the research, you know,...but that's the softer stuff; the consenting erotic type of material that is stimulating for nearly everybody, men more than women. As you move up the scale, most people drop out, but some continue to be stimulated by the hard stuff. (John Lewis, Personal interview. 3 June 1987.)

In Lewis's analysis, the central concern is the morals of society. While he is fully aware of the research on, and feminist content analysis of pornography and its meaning as it relates to women, his goal is to stop the pornography trade from pushing the community standard of tolerance beyond its present limit. He

advocates a trade-off. Somewhere a line must be drawn. He explains, "My original incentive in [joining the CCAP] was a feeling of repugnance and disgust for the slyness and the sleaziness of pornography,"[66] but this repugnance was modified by studying the issue further. While his personal ideological framework has not changed because of this exploration, how he deals with his personal feelings has changed. He proposes a level of tolerance that will be accepted by the majority of society.

> I have learned more about the social harm, the research that has been done on it, and I have learned about the difficulty of definitions and the controversial aspects of prohibition.
>
> Now when does the exercise of that right [to legislate/censor] become oppressive? That's a fine question which takes a lot of political theory to answer properly, but the fact is that every society has exercised the making of regulation for its own protection.... Obviously, almost every law is an exclusion or prohibition of certain forms of behaviour.... (John Lewis, Personal interview. 3 June 1987.)

Lewis views society as moving "back and forth on a pendulum." At one time it is more liberal, while at another time, it takes a more conservative stance. His strategy is not to change the content of sexually explicit material, except of course for violence coupled with sex, rather he wants to restrict its display. Believing that he cannot turn the clock back, he opts for a position that will impede further entry of pornographic material into the country. He advocates a middle-of-the-road position, as he calls it.

> The religious position tends to go a bit farther and they tend to include simple nudity,...whereas the sort of middle-of-the-road position in this day and age is somewhat above that point. You know simple nudity a hundred years ago was a big deal.... I think you would get a majority to support an anti-nudity thing then. Now we are much more permissive in that area. (John Lewis, Personal interview. 3 June 1987.)

Lewis's strategy is an interesting one. He is clearly influenced by his strong Catholic family background, and takes a relatively conservative ideological stance that views commercial sex as pornographic, yet he opts for a very liberal strategy. Lewis draws the line between what is and is not acceptable at the depiction of sexual intercourse, and believes that this line should apply to children as well as adults. Anything below this line would, in his opinion, be left to the responsibility of the parent to supervise and monitor. This stance clearly would allow soft-core material on public television. He chooses intercourse as his criterion because "it

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[66] Ibid.

would [leave] room for different interpretations."[67] He is clearly concerned with identifying and instituting a community standard. For him, the coalition has served to translate his own perspective on pornography into pragmatic terms that will be more generally acceptable, given the liberal sentiments of the times.

6.1.7. Iris Kendall, Administrator - Ideology and strategy

Iris Kendall first joined the coalition when she was President of the Catholic Women's League. Kendall was personally keen to become involved in coalition activities, but this enthusiasm was not forthcoming from the rest of the League. Because of this lack of support, Kendall sat on the coalition as an individual rather than as a community group representative.

Kendall had always taken the stand that sexually explicit material depicting mutually gratifying behaviour was pornographic; in addition, she would not condone nudity. For Kendall, sexuality should be a part of a loving, caring relationship. Any attempt at public display destroys its original intent envisioned by God.

> My definition of pornography would be much more encompassing of a lot of things that the coalition wouldn't define as porn. For instance, I am against the publication of erotica. I personally don't like nudity either. Nudity is only an attempt to reach into the rest of the sexual aspects of it in my opinion, but I know that the coalition doesn't go that far. (Iris Kendall, Personal interview. 27 May 1987.)

Even though Kendall took a conservative view on issues concerning sexuality, she compromised her personal ideals to support the coalition's efforts to restrict at least the most severe forms of pornographic material. She was able to compromise because she firmly believed in the rights of others to hold differing opinions, and this allowed her to work within an organization that demanded some compromise of personal values.

> I may totally disagree with your way of life. I may totally disagree with your philosophy or what you think, but I think I have every responsibility to respect you for your right to have that, and for your right to live a different kind of life than I am living.... I myself have a great respect of another person's right to differ from me and I find that I learn a lot from other people. Very often when people with different ideas, with different affiliations, and different age groups come

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[67] Ibid.

together, it's a tremendous opportunity for growth. (Iris Kendall, Personal interview. 27 May 1987.)

Kendall's analysis of pornography conforms to her religious beliefs about the role sexuality should play in life. She realized that women are used as sexual playthings for men's benefit, and that in its most severe form, pornography is linked to violent crimes against women.

> To me it is horrible, its terrible, it shouldn't exist and the whole world of women are just sitting back and letting it happen!... I think it is outrageous, terrible, disgraceful for a woman to be degraded to that extent and to be treated _____! Heavens above, in the old testament days women were more or less slaves to men and I don't think it was as bad as that!..... Women are being used,...their bodies are being used for money making purposes, they're being used to amuse men. We are not toys you know, and I find that very degrading and very disgusting!..... As far as I am concerned, I think sexuality should be the expression of a loving, caring relationship.... I don't think by and large that people love themselves enough. If people loved themselves enough they would have more respect for themselves and they would realize that they don't have to do this. I don't have to sell myself to be popular. I don't have to give myself away to every Tom, Dick, and Harry who is going to forget about me tomorrow as soon as he finds someone with a different color hair that he likes.... I think we are created in the image and likeness of God the Creator and I think that in itself gives us dignity..... To me the beauty of a person is not always in their height and width. I think the beauty...is in their real psyche, their real potential for good and for love, for sharing and interpersonal relationships. (Iris Kendall, Personal interview. 27 May 1987.)

While Kendall believed it possible to make the images in sexually explicit material more positive, she clearly felt that bondage and other forms of violent depictions were the ultimate form of degradation and could never under any circumstance have any redeeming qualities. While she attributed much of the problem to the fact that women are unaware that they are the objects in the pornographic scenario, she felt that it must be women who speak out and demand their rights in this regard.

Kendall, active in the administrative functions of the coalition, often left policy decisions to other members of the steering committee. Her main involvement came a few years after the coalition's formation. Because of this, Kendall was not involved in the formulation of the coalition's position on pornography.

This chapter brings together the viewpoints of all the major coalition steering committee members. A division is discernable based on feminist and

religious philosophical perspectives. These perspectives fit into the theoretical discussion of the ideological character of the pornography debate in chapter three. While some members conform to either the conservative or feminist world views, others advocate variants of both ideological perspectives.[68] Rochester, for example, offers a feminist analysis which identifies socialization as the major factor influencing society's view of sexuality, yet, at the same time, he believes in the conservative premise that the human condition in its most basic form is controlled by its "purely animal expression." This animal expression must be socialized into an acceptable form.

One of the basic differences between the feminist and conservative view is the importance placed on nature versus nurture as a determinant of behaviour. The feminist places greater weight on socialization and views pornography as a patriarchal construct that has its origin in the socializing process. For feminists, nature is a concept that cannot be distinguished from the social context in which it is formed. What is considered instinctual behaviour changes according to the culture and the historical time period in which it is constructed.

The conservative, often equates pornography with the depiction of basic drives. These drives are seen as having their origin in the laws of nature. The natural drive objectifies sexuality unless it is given social character. Through the civilizing process, instinctual, objectifying behaviour is transformed into a loving, caring relationship. To allow the display of pornography encourages and condones base behaviour. For example, Lewis, who fits well into this ideological frame of reference, therefore concludes that such depictions are destructive to society. For Lewis, private interests must give way to a higher moral authority. Society is this higher authority. Bad is transformed into good either by adding a civilizing factor or by restraining natural law. Hence, censorship and society work hand in hand.

Gordon also fits into the conservative world view, but unlike Lewis's, his analysis contains elements from other ideological perspectives. For example, in accounting for the sexual behaviour seen in pornography, Gordon places much more emphasis on socialization than does Lewis.

All coalition steering committee members want restraint imposed on pornography, but their views regarding restraint are products of different belief systems. The more conservative element wants to return to a society based on traditional values, while the feminist wants to build a new and visionary society based on equality between the sexes. For the conservative, pornography expands the limits of sexual conduct acceptable to society; for the feminist, it reinforces

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[68]Understanding individual world views involves placing them into a historical, ideological context. To do this requires the collapsing of data. The analysis of each individual is hampered by the lack of fit between their ideologies and the ideological typologies constructed in chapter three. Some overlap between the liberal, conservative, and feminist philosophies is therefore evident.

and perpetuates the patriarchal view of women as inferior beings. The ultimate goal of the feminist is to deconstruct patriarchal sexuality.

Within the coalition, the frame of reference used by each feminist member emphasizes different base premises. Inglis, for example, is a strong advocate of social democracy. She supports the participation of all people in matters affecting them. Because of this, she is an ardent believer in a coalition approach, and she advocates the idea of democratic censorship boards represented by various community groups. Social democratic principles also underlie her contention that the coalition must adopt a position that is acceptable to the majority of society. My position, on the other hand, holds a more sceptical view of the democratic process. It is my belief that society is not a product of the views of all its constituents, and that a democratic solution does not necessarily promote the interests of women. As a member of the CCAP, my concern with the idea of community censorship was that unless censorship boards were composed of a strong feminist element, a morality code would be implemented that accepted sexist images while banning mutual, sexually explicit material.

Under ideal conditions, one's ideological perspective would determine the position a person is willing to support, but, as will become evident in the next chapter, other factors must also be taken into account in understanding how people come to accept and uphold a particular viewpoint.

In the following chapter, I look at how, given the internal and external constraints placed upon the coalition, individual ideologies interacted to form policy. The chapter analyses the coalition from formation to maturity, exploring the process by which the group came to accept one policy. To understand the factors determining policy and action, the chapter examines the influence of internal conflict, leadership formation, group structure, resource mobilization, and public sentiments.

Chapter 7
STAGES OF COALITION DEVELOPMENT

The development of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland and Labrador was fraught with social conflict based on religious beliefs and differing gender perceptions. It could be argued that class was a factor contributing to conflict over the definition of what is and is not pornographic (McCormack, 1980b, p.8), but it is not the focus or the intent of this research to analyse class distinctions. My analysis is confined to three stages of the coalition's development: the Formative Period, the Conflict Management Period, and the Movement Maturity Period. While I have categorized coalition activities into three distinct stages based on my data, activities from one stage often overlap with another stage. The analysis that follows does not, therefore, strictly conform to the temporal categories imposed by me on the data.

During the formation of the CCAP, action was taken without set policies or procedures. Members were uncertain of their roles and leadership was just emerging. The position that would be taken by the group was, as yet, undefined, and special interest groups acted in accordance with their own concerns and principles.

The conflict management period was a time of policy formulation. Internal conflict accompanied this stage, especially when interest groups were negotiating the position the coalition would ultimately support. Leadership and group structure emerged during this phase. These structures affected the outcome and direction of the movement. At this stage, it was clear that the resolution of conflict was essential. Without ideological consensus, the movement could not sustain commitment from member organizations. Those groups which did not conform to, or agree with the group's decisions, either withdrew their active support or compromised their positions.

By the maturity stage, the aims and policies of the group were firmly entrenched. Newcomers conformed to the existing organizational structure. Efforts at tension management diminished and more time was spent strategizing

for action. The group was unified and committed to a common purpose. While ideological differences were still evident, group action was aimed at implementing only that stance which the group believed acceptable to society as a whole.

7.1. THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

During the formative period, many developments took place. The structure of the coalition was decided and the group mobilized all available resources. Leadership, duties, and norms were uncertain, and group policy was, as yet, unformulated due to the diverse ideological perspectives held by coalition steering committee members.

7.1.1. Resource mobilization

Discontent alone is not a sufficient condition for the emergence of a social movement. Mobilization cannot take place without access to the right combination of key resources. These include financial and human resources, communication and social networks, and public support. In order for a movement to mobilize a strong lobby effort it must be able to control these resources in sufficient quantities to bring about the needed change.

The Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography had access to adequate financial resources and was able to recruit experienced, respected community members who could tap, and use to the movement's advantage, pre-existing communication networks. The example set by the coalition, and the media coverage of local and national anti-pornography activism, encouraged the formation of anti-pornography groups such as the Community Against Pornography[69] in Central Newfoundland and other special committees on pornography within organizations such as the Newfoundland Association of Social Workers and the Newfoundland Teachers' Association.

The mobilization of a province-wide anti-pornography movement was facilitated by funding received by the CCAP from the Women's Programme of the Department of the Secretary of State. In the first year of the coalition's existence,

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[69]This group was established in the fall of 1983 after a public forum on pornography was held in Grand Falls sponsored by the Central Status of Women Council. The organization was basically a feminist group committed to the feminist distinction between erotica and pornography.

the group received approximately $22,000[70] in financial support from this source alone. This funding was crucial to the mobilization effort. Without it, the group's effectiveness would have been greatly diminished, and mobilization efforts would probably have been confined to metropolitan St. John's and the surrounding area.

Internal monetary resources were also secured from the coalition's membership. Some of the larger community organizations, which were able to collect and donate much more than individual members, often contributed to coalition activities, but these funds were small in comparison to the Secretary of State grants.

With the funds received from the Secretary of State, Dorothy Inglis was hired as a full-time co-ordinator and field worker. Her job was to encourage community action on a provincial level and to educate the public about pornography and its effects. She visited many communities from one end of the province to the other and spoke to countless community groups.

The CCAP obtained the necessary human resources mainly from two sources. First, the coalitional strategy employed by the founding mothers allowed the coalition access to key people in the community. These people were primarily prominent, highly educated, affluent professionals, possessing a wide range of experience and skills. Second, mass mobilization and recruitment took place mainly through connections individual members of the steering committee had with various women's groups, church groups, and public service organizations. The coalition was able to gain access to the networks provided by a large number of these groups through committee members such as Dorothy Inglis, John Lewis, and Iris Kendall, all of whom were well known and respected within the community. Inglis had connections in the women's movement as well as in established political circles, while Lewis and Kendall were actively involved in or supported the Catholic church.

The anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland and Labrador emerged as an extension of the women's movement. This occurred because the founding mothers of the coalition, namely Dorothy Inglis and Ann Bell, were actively involved within the women's movement on a local and national level. The use of already existing women's networks helped mobilize the movement in terms of ideology and also in terms of a guaranteed membership. The women's movement network, which was already in place, cannot be underestimated in the role it played in this mobilizing process. Feminist coalition members who attended women's functions always took the opportunity to raise and discuss the

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[70]CCAP File Document. Acknowledgement of $6,000 received in April, 1984; Walter F. McLean, Federal Minister Responsible for the Status of Women. Letter to CCAP confirming a grant of $15,780. 7 November 1984.

pornography issue at meetings. This tactic allowed the coalition to contact women's groups in other parts of the province without having to make large expenditures from their own financial resources. Also, the Status of Women Councils and other women's organizations regularly sponsored Inglis to speak at public events, conventions, etc. For example, the annual provincial conference and government lobby held by the councils always had pornography on its agenda. Resolutions from the conference were often put forth at the annual government lobby, usually by one of the coalition members or a representative of a women's anti-pornography lobby group that had formed in another part of the province.

One of the most important human resources was the coalition's ability to secure strong leadership with the experience and knowledge to mobilize and direct the movement. This aspect of resource mobilization will be discussed in-depth in a later section because of its link with other considerations such as ideology, policy, and strategy formation.

7.1.2. Public perceptions of the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography

From the start, two distinct perspectives were represented within the CCAP - those concerned with preserving religious values and those concerned with humanist and feminist ideals. In the formative stage, the coalition publicly espoused both a conservative and feminist stance. Many of the initial public statements tended towards a conservative perspective in terms such as "obscenity," "profanity," "moral responsibility," and "the violation of basic human values." At other times, the coalition upheld a more feminist view. For example, while many of the coalition's first statements conform to the conservative view of obscenity, the coalition later took the position that obscenity is not a useful concept in dealing with the increasing proliferation of pornography and should, therefore, be replaced by a definition which distinguishes degrading from erotic material. While no formal, written policy acceptable to all steering committee members appeared during the formative stage, the strategies embraced and the messages portrayed through the media clearly show the presence of these two perspectives.

The feminist stance stressed sexual exploitation, violence, and degradation of women and children, while the more conservative faction viewed the pornography trade in terms such as " 'an immense social evil' unleashing 'dark

and terrible passions'."[71] In one newspaper report the CCAP was quoted as saying that, as a group, the coalition was "protesting the baseness and unworthiness of the pornographic material,"[72] and another reported that the CCAP was demanding that the CRTC "live up to its own mandate of maintaining public standards of decency."[73] These quotations clearly show a conservative element in the CCAP.[74] The Salvation Army, as a member group of the CCAP steering committee, for example, was quoted as holding the following position: "We're against the exploitation of sex,...it is destructive to family life. We are serving notice that we are not prepared to accept things the way they are. Sex is a gift from God to be treated with dignity and respect in privacy."[75] Here, the feminist rhetoric of sexual exploitation is transformed to fit a religious context. Rather than viewing sexual exploitation as a patriarchal paradigm that keeps women in traditional roles, feminist rhetoric is here used to reinforce and keep the traditional family unit intact.

Two factions were operating at this stage. One viewed pornography in conservative terms of community standards of tolerance, with a central focus on maintaining society by preserving a "reasonable" degree of public decency. The other faction espoused a new vision that maintained a clear distinction between erotic acts which are mutual and non-exploitative and those which promote a power imbalance subordinating one partner, namely the woman.

Many people saw the coalition as having a strong right-wing element, and judging by many of the newspaper reports, this opinion was not unjustified. One woman who was active in the feminist movement expressed her group's discomfort with the CCAP as follows:

> They were very worried that it [the CCAP] was being taken over by right-wing, anti-sex, anti-choice, anti-sex education in schools, anti-family planning information...and they did not want to be associated

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[71]The Evening Telegram (E.T.). "Coalition Against Pornography Assembles Awareness Kit." 22 November 1983.

[72]E.T. "Citizens Planning Protest Today Against Pornography." 9 April 1984.

[73]The Daily News (D.N.). "Protest Today Against Porn on Pay TV." 18 January 1984.

[74]It may be argued that these quotations are practical strategies used by activists to ensure that government agencies follow their own rules and guidelines. It is my contention that such statements fit into the personal ideological perspectives of movement activists. For example, discourse such as public standards of decency are rarely used by feminists. They usually view pornography in terms of equality and mutuality while conservatives are more apt to see pornography as a matter of community standards.

[75]E.T. "Anti-pornography Group Demonstrate." 19 January 1984.

> with that kind of attitude because it was against what feminists believed in..... I don't think anybody [in my group] was against the issue itself. I think they thought that the coalition was dangerous. (Roberta Buchanan, Personal interview. 29 October 1987.)

Another woman recalls her impressions: "I think there was a lot of discomfort with the coalition's position. My impression of what they wanted to do was more of a wholesale restriction of anything sexual."[76]

The different and often conflicting perspectives publicly espoused by the CCAP depended mainly on who spoke for the coalition at any particular time. In the first few months, the coalition's platform was not clearly defined. These months were a time of learning. Many of the steering committee members had joined the coalition with just a gut feeling about pornography. It took months for some to understand the ins and outs of the legal system and to become familiar with what was taking place across Canada with regards to movement matters. Others came to the movement with a clear understanding of the issue and a well defined sense of what should or should not be done about it. As a result of these varying degrees of sophistication, different perspectives were evident in public documents published by the CCAP. For example, one of the first public documents produced by the coalition gives the impression that the group favored a more conservative view of pornography. This document reads as follows:

> The meaning of the word "pornography" is imprecise. One working definition is: "Representations of a sexual nature, usually sold for profit and purchased for sexual gratification, which are depraved, degrading, or otherwise offensive to the ordinary standards of society. (CCAP Application for Membership Form. 2 January 1984.)

This position is markedly different from the one later adopted by the CCAP on its application for membership form; one that clearly displays a feminist understanding of the issue. The statement that follows, which later appears on the coalition's membership application, was taken directly from the application form devised by the Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography.

> Pornography and sex-role stereotyping violate the dignity and right to self-determination of women. We define pornography as verbal or pictorial material representing sexual behaviour that is degrading or abusive to one or more of the participants in such a way as to endorse the degradation, and believe it to be substantially different from erotica, which we consider to be mutually pleasurable sexual expression between people who have enough power to be there by positive choice. We are not for the repression of sexuality but rather are seeking a new portrayal of mutuality and respect in the representation of sexuality. (CCAMP Application for Membership Form)

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[76] Linda Kealey, Personal interview. 18 November 1987.

The application goes on to link not only pornography, but also sex-role stereotyping to a social "climate in which women's physical safety in the street and in the home is jeopardized, and women's right to equality in the workplace continues to be denied."[77] This revised form used by the CCAP, identifies women, not community standards, as the central concern in the fight against pornography.

7.1.3. Feminist analysis contributes to the coalition's platform

The position of the CCAP was not developed in a vacuum, nor was policy formation a linear process whereby a formal position was decided on before action was taken. Public statements were made and activities undertaken without formal commitment from all organizations involved in the steering committee. Decisions about how to approach a problem were often left to the discretion of the person assigned to the project.

The group was influenced not only by the perspectives of its members and the structure of the group itself, but also by the group's analysis of how far the public was willing to go in legally restricting pornographic material.

During the formative period, members of the coalition who espoused a feminist understanding of pornography wanted the CCAP to clearly distinguish between erotic and pornographic material and to accept the former as an acceptable form of sexual expression. From the start, these members felt that this distinction was essential to gaining public support, particularly given the liberal sentiments of the 1970s which would not condone any stance that was anti-sex. These members felt that, in order to bring new insight to an old problem, a perspective was needed that allowed for a new understanding of the issue. This new understanding came from the feminist analysis of pornography which viewed women's sexuality as subjugated to male dominance. The primary concern of feminists in the group, was not the explicitness of the material under question,[78] but rather the portrayal of women and children as sexual objects whose only purpose in life is to please men. One local paper reports this position as follows:

> The coalition says the types of magazines it is primarily opposed to are not those that depict nudity or erotica.... [They are] opposed to those which depict violence, cruelty, crime, abuse, incest or other forms of

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[77] CCAMP Application for Membership.

[78] This distinction holds for at least two of the feminist members of the coalition.

> human sexual behavior in such a way that it degrades and humiliates while also endorsing the activity. (E.T. "Pornography Protest: Company Caught in Middle." 12 April 1984.)

Even though some committee members wanted this distinction to form a part of its public platform,[79] it was clear that members such as the Salvation Army would have preferred a more conservative position.[80]

The coalitional structure chosen by the founding members inherently predisposed the group to a diversity of opinions and views on pornography. Because of the varying ideological perspectives of steering committee members, the stance taken by the coalition had to be one of moderation; one that would be supported by the majority of its members and the majority of society. In this regard, the CCAP worked within the confines of the existing social order, which meant that the group did not need to build an elaborate ideological base founded on radical alternatives to the existing order. In fact, the ideological base had to be such that it would gain mass support. To this end, the coalition relied on a broad platform encompassing many different perspectives. To some extent, the CCAP did define the issue in new and visionary terms by offering the public an understanding of pornography that had not been considered before by either liberals or conservatives. This new vision was based on the feminist distinction between erotic and pornographic material. How well this position was understood by the public is debatable.

At times, the ideology of the coalition was unclear. Certainly, much of the media coverage of coalition activities in the formative stage indicated a conservative element. This stage was a period of intense media attention and also a time when the coalition was the least organized. These factors, coupled with the lack of any formally agreed upon ideological perspective, contributed to public confusion about the coalition's stance. In part, the coalitional structure caused inconsistencies in the public's view of the group's ideological perspective, both because of the diverse member groups supporting the CCAP and the inconsistent public statements made by different steering committee representatives.

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[79]Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview. 4 June 1987.

[80]Roger Gordon, Personal interview. 20 October 1987.

7.1.4. Role of leadership in mobilization and policy formation

The attitudes and opinions of those forming the steering committee of the coalition, plus their ability to organize and arrive at some consensus as a group, influenced the movement's ability to mobilize as a strong lobby. Inglis played an important role in both the mobilization effort and the formulation of the position adopted by the CCAP. The leadership structure became apparent in the early stages of the group's formation and emerged as a function of knowledge, experience, and communication skills. Leadership determined the channels of communication and networks used by the movement, which in turn, influenced the focus and position of the coalition. The fact that it was the women's movement that brought the issue to public attention, to some extent helped influence the movement's agenda by involving feminist activists in the political process, but the final direction taken depended on those involved in the coalition and their ability to influence policy decisions.

From the start of the public debate on pornography, it was Inglis who took the initiative to mobilize public discontent over pornography by writing newspaper articles, giving public lectures, etc. She worked alongside of, and in close contact with, the Advisory Council and other feminist groups which had been concerned about the pornography issue. As early as February of 1983, almost a year before the formation of the coalition, and before any formal action was taken on this issue in the province, Inglis had written an article for the local newspaper, The Evening Telegram, discussing the issue from a historical and feminist perspective. This article shows that she had clearly analysed the issue and that she had already come to the conclusion that legal restriction was necessary.

When the time came to take public action, it was Inglis who appeared at the forefront. Inglis brought with her not only leadership qualities, but also the knowledge of how to form an effective lobby group. It was her experience in such matters that made her the central and most important agent of the movement.

Inglis grew up in a politically active family which used a socialist approach in its analysis of the human condition. This, plus her father's predisposition to Christian principles, may have given her the ability to empathize with, and effectively negotiate with, feminist and religious groups alike.

Her political background with NAC and the NDP had given her a thorough understanding of the political process and the agents that must be invoked to bring about changes to the social structure. With strong social and political connections within political circles and the women's movement, on both the national and local level, as well as her extensive public speaking experience, Inglis became an important asset to the coalition. She understood how to use all

available resources to bring about change. In fact, she was the only member of the coalition who had a good understanding of government agencies and how these could be effectively exploited for the movement's benefit.

It was through Inglis that the local coalition was linked to the Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography and other politically active national groups. Probably most important was her position as Chair of the Pornography Committee at NAC which allowed her to have regular personal contact with many groups involved in combating pornography all across the country. This post allowed her to get a sense of what was taking place in each province. Inglis became the central communication link between the local and national scene and a key figure in co-ordinating local and national activities.

Inglis came to the coalition with an analysis of pornography and how it could most effectively be approached. Her knowledge, diplomacy, and rational approach to the subject quickly made her an authority figure within the group. Inglis brought with her a women's perspective, one which she never compromised or watered down at meetings to accommodate other differing perspectives. Her feminist focus was respected by the other steering committee members. While she saw women as the central concern of the movement, her approach was one that could be accepted by a wide range of people. Her goal was to promote a view of the coalition not as a radical fringe group, but as a group expressing the sentiments of the majority.

7.2. THE CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STAGE

During the conflict management stage, the various members of the steering committee interacted to formulate group policy. This process, as mentioned earlier, is a difficult one to pinpoint. Policy formation did not take place through formal means, rather it emerged from the interaction of the various members. Those most involved and committed to working on and bringing about change were able to influence policy by the mere fact that they were often the most vocal and the most active. By attending functions, organizing demonstrations, conducting seminars and lectures, etc., the organizers' expectations, attitudes, and values became entwined in the work process and its products.

Those who were public figureheads had more opportunity to form public opinion. Inglis, for example, became the coalition field-worker. In her capacity as field-worker she worked full-time recruiting and mobilizing other community groups all over the province. She gave public lectures in places such as Labrador City, Gander, Grand Falls, Mount Pearl, and Bell Island, talking to audiences

such as high school students, women's groups, church groups, social workers, and labour unions. Inglis presented a feminist analysis of pornography at these educational gatherings and certainly her analysis influenced how others felt about the coalition. Other coalition members were also important in forming public opinion. John Lewis as spokesperson, played a central role. He was the one most often quoted by the media at demonstrations and public events especially during the first six months when the coalition strategized for high public visibility. The coalition newsletter was also responsible for forming public opinion. The newsletter, written by Judy Facey, one of the feminist members, regularly gave information on action taken by feminist groups and other organizations. It also clearly documented the coalition's concern for feminist issues related to pornography such as child abuse, sex-role stereotyping, and sexist advertising.

Leadership played a very important role at this stage in unifying the group around a common position. The main role of the leader was to direct the individual members away from their own personal ideals towards a pragmatic stance that could reasonably be implemented given the political and social climate of that time. While some members pushed for a more conservative or feminist position, the modifying factor was the recognition that for the coalition's position to become a viable solution, it must have widespread support.

The strategies supported by individual members were key in determining their position and power base in relation to those who were central in determining policy. Where the position supported by a member was incongruent with policy makers, the potential for conflict was present. Conflict also materialized where members viewed others as differing radically from their own views. For example, differences between radical feminist[81] and strong religious factions were evident. When people with such divergent views work together, some conflict is inevitable. One special interest group, for example, was adamant that sexually explicit homosexual material should not be condoned by the coalition and that there should be more severe legal sanctions to restrict its availability. From a feminist perspective this stance constituted clear discrimination against an identifiable minority group. Also, other members initially wanted more legal restrictions on soft-core material, but these views were moderated by strong leadership intervention which brought the issue into focus, ensuring that any action taken by the group was one acceptable to a wide range of people.

The coalition's support of the distinction between erotic and pornographic

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[81] "Radical feminist" refers here to Ferguson's (1984) use of the term. See chapter three for clarification.

material did keep some groups from participating in coalition activities. One member of the coalition talked about her alliance with the Catholic Women's League and why she felt that the organization did not wish to be represented on the coalition steering committee.

> They're all anti-porn of course [referring to the Catholic Women's Leagues], but they're anti-porn even more so than the coalition because they are anti-erotica.... In some respects, the group up here is not er, bused over the coalition because it doesn't go far enough. That doesn't hit me that way personally at all. I think if you can do the front of your house, do it. I don't see any reason for not co-operating because they [the coalition] are only going this far. (Iris Kendall, Personal interview, 27 May 1987.)

Many groups which saw the coalition's position as opposed to their own did not wish to associate with coalition efforts. The coalition was viewed as much too liberal by the conservative-minded and much too conservative by the liberal-minded.

The SJSWC was one such group that had difficulty supporting coalition efforts. Much of this lack of support was in response to the SJSWC's own inability to form a position on pornography acceptable to its own steering committee. Other factors, such as the SJSWC's belief that the coalition represented and supported conservative views on sexuality, were also responsible for conflict between the SJSWC and the coalition. Because of this perception, many of the SJSWC steering committee members sat on the fringe of coalition activities, maintaining a critical view of the positions taken and the alliances made by the CCAP. In the end, the SJSWC withdrew its support. To explain why the SJSWC was viewed as a fringe group it is necessary to understand the internal policy making process within the SJSWC itself.

During the first eight months after the formation of the coalition, the SJSWC was represented on the CCAP by the chair of their pornography committee, Women Against Pornography (WAP). The decision to have a delegate of the SJSWC on the coalition was made by the steering committee of the Women's Council at the request of WAP,[82] but some people on the steering committee were never quite comfortable with this idea.[83] Time and time again, discontent was expressed by the steering committee over the SJSWC's affiliation with the CCAP.

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[82]SJSWC Minutes. 6 February 1984.

[83]SJSWC Minutes. 14 May 1984; 7 October 1985; 21 October 1985.

As chair of WAP, the difficulty of representing the SJSWC at coalition meetings became apparent when I realized that the SJSWC did not unanimously support an association with the CCAP. Many on the SJSWC steering committee adamantly asserted that only groups supporting a strong feminist perspective should receive the Women Council's support. As a representative of the SJSWC, I was concerned about pushing for a coalition commitment to an ideological position acceptable to feminists. Because many of the SJSWC steering committee members were against aligning with the coalition from the very beginning, this allegiance was a difficult one. It meant I had to deal with conflict stemming from a diverse range of opinions on pornography in both the CCAP and the SJSWC.

During the formation and conflict management stages, the position the coalition would finally endorse was uncertain. At that time, concern was expressed by myself and the SJSWC that the perspective that would eventually form the coalition's position would be a conservative one. As a representative concerned with a particular political focus, my main concern was to ensure that the perspective taken by the coalition was, if not a feminist one, at least a liberal[84] understanding of sexuality. Unlike Inglis, who felt empathy and respect for religious viewpoints, my political view of those adhering to religious teachings was that their understanding of sexuality conflicted with feminist beliefs. This view was ~~also~~ supported by most representatives of the SJSWC steering committee, a stance that put the SJSWC in direct conflict with other coalition members.

Because the coalition was a group composed of many perspectives that had to be compromised or assimilated into one unified position, the strategies supported by the CCAP were not acceptable to all members of the SJSWC steering committee. Not only was the SJSWC divided internally over what was and was not pornography, but it was also divided as to what should be done about it. These divisions caused internal conflict within the SJSWC. Some steering committee members felt that legislative intervention would set a dangerous precedent. One committee member said, "I don't think anybody was against the issue itself. The steering committee felt there was a feminist line on pornography and that they would make the distinction between erotica and pornography."[85] A problem arose, however, over where to draw the line and whose definition of what was degrading or objectifying would become the official position of the SJSWC. On this point another member said:

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[84]"Liberal" here should not be interpreted as liberal in the libertarian sense which considers any restriction on sexuality as moralistic or puritanical. Nor does it mean that I would personally support any sexual activity between "consenting" adults. Liberal here means that I would, if necessary, endorse a non-feminist position that takes a more positive view of sexuality by promoting sex education, the depiction of nudity and erotic art, etc.

[85]Roberta Buchanan, Personal interview, 29 October 1987.

> This was always a problem I think, because everybody was against pornography, but everybody's definition of pornography was a little different, and then when you talked about the whole area of censorship then things got really strange. (Beth Lacey, Personal interview. 2 June 1987.)

Opinions about what constituted pornography did differ substantially. At one meeting of the steering committee, one member expressed her view that bondage in a sexual context could, in fact, be erotic. She supported it by saying that bondage could be a mutual act between consenting adults. For the most part though, the SJSWC did not consider bondage an act of mutuality.

> That horrifies me because it seems to me such a patriarchal paradigm of power and to me the feminist movement is trying to get away from domination-submission and trying to get into personal relationships. The whole idea of S&M [sadomasochism] seems to me totally against any kind of feminist consciousness. (Roberta Buchanan, Personal interview. 29 October 1987.)

Differences of opinion and tension over this issue were apparent.

> I'm not sure where anybody stood. It always seemed to get so heated when we talked about it. It's like abortion, people have really strong views on it. If you are anti-censorship then you are really strongly anti-censorship. (Beth Lacey, Personal interview. 2 June 1987.)

Beth Lacey, co-ordinator of the SJSWC Women's Center, explained that she wanted pornography removed from society, but "without losing access to erotica."[86] For her, the main problem was over the censorship issue and where the line would be drawn between acceptable and unacceptable material.[87] For Lacey, the risk involved in restricting legitimate works was too high.

> With these conservative attitudes returning to our society at this time, I would be apprehensive about condoning censorship boards and legislation disallowing material to be printed or viewed.....
>
> I hate pornography and want to be rid of it, but I'm also scared to death of censorship. I believe that we should explore the issue of censorship further before any decisions are made, keeping in mind that our society is leaning dangerously to the right and that caution is needed. (Beth Lacey, Speech delivered during a panel discussion on censorship, sponsored by the Human Rights Association. Fall 1984.)

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[86]Beth Lacey, Speech delivered during a panel discussion on censorship, sponsored by the Human Rights Association. Fall 1984.

[87]Ibid.

For Lacey, the only safe solution was education.[88] "I don't think we can legislate it in any way.... That sounds really wishy-washy, but I don't think we can legislate."[89] Lacey's anti-censorship attitudes influenced her view of how the SJSWC should tackle the issue of pornography. She viewed any group working for legislative reform with suspicion. Working with those who held conservative views of sexuality was out of the question.

Consensus on the issue of pornography was not forthcoming from the SJSWC steering committee and the issue was never brought to the SJSWC membership for a general vote. Some steering committee members favored legislative action while others did not. The fear of right-wing takeover of the pornography issue made some feminists unsupportive of implementing legislative reforms. Many were even uncomfortable about supporting feminist initiatives because of the possibility of losing the battle; of having a definition of pornography sanctioned that did not coincide with their own understanding of pornography. The idea of democratic censorship boards or legal restriction on viewing material was one that many feminists feared would be contrary to the interests of women. Past experience had shown the feminist community that the system often worked to women's detriment, even when laws were put in place to alleviate injustices experienced by women. The concern of many feminists was that legislative restraint or censorship boards would be controlled by those holding conservative views of sexuality.

The debate within the SJSWC steering committee centered on three main areas. One was the problem of deciding on a definition of pornography. The second centered on who would decide, in a pragmatic way, what was or was not pornographic. The third was over which group would be able to mobilize politically to control the issue. Those who believed that society was made up mainly of liberal-minded people were more inclined to support legislative action, while those who saw the conservative element as predominant tended to see legislation as a threat to the expression of sexuality. Strong differences of opinion over these questions ultimately led to conflict within the SJSWC and between the council and the CCAP. The outcome was the withdrawal of support by the SJSWC for coalition efforts.

The conflict within the SJSWC is probably typical of the divisions within the women's movement over the issue of pornography, on both the local and national levels. Some of the views on censorship expressed by steering committee members resemble those of the anti-censorship faction that mobilized to oppose

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[88]Ibid.

[89]Beth Lacey, Personal interview, 2 June 1987.

the anti-pornography movement. In this sense, understanding the different positions of SJSWC steering committee members illuminates the larger debate over pornography.

The coalition did, from time to time, have strong conservative steering committee members serving on the board, but for the most part, their stay was short-lived. Because of the coalition's pro-sex stance, many fundamentalist groups did not wish to be represented on the coalition. One member of the Pentecost Faith who was interested in representing her church was denied support by church officials due to the liberal stance taken by the coalition. Another group, the Salvation Army, was represented during the formation and conflict management stages. While the Salvation Army often supported and lobbied for a more conservative stance regarding legal restriction and intervention, many of their more extreme positions received little support from the coalition.

7.2.1. Internal structure of coalition begins to emerge

With time, the steering committee moved from being a fluid entity with few norms and ground rules, to a semi-structured unit. Unlike the formal hierarchical structures characteristic of business and bureaucratic organizations, the structure that emerged in the CCAP maintained a more communal style, with each member often taking on the roles and duties of other steering committee members. At the end of the formative stage, members began to take on duties for which they felt they were most suited. The roles and duties assumed by each corresponded to their individual knowledge and experience. This allocation of roles played an important part in determining the policies and strategies adopted by the group as a whole. Inglis, for example, was most effective at directing the policy decisions of the group. At steering committee meetings she concerned herself with global matters. She co-ordinated and mobilized other members to take public action, always accounting for the most effective and expedient means of securing political results. Most strategic maneuvers were calculated to take into consideration political will and public reaction.

Lewis, Facey, and Rochester worked most effectively at the local level, writing letters, contacting and meeting with government officials, and conducting community projects such as door-to-door canvassing. Facey was responsible for keeping the membership informed on movement matters through the monthly newsletter. Rochester, was on many occasions, concerned with the progress of the

anti-pornography movement and its image in the eyes of the public. In this regard, he focused not only on local matters, but also on how the local movement co-ordinated with national concerns. Kendall dealt with in-house administration including day-to-day financial matters, correspondence, and minutes. Hammond, Gordon, and myself were more concerned with advocating restrictions on pornography that conformed with particular ideological perspectives.[90]

The coalition steering committee can be viewed as having three distinct groups of participants. These include what I refer to as a core group, a support group, and a radical fringe. At the center of the steering committee were those whose ideological perspective was congruent with the strategies chosen by the group as a whole. This group adhered to a more "liberal" view of sexuality and lobbied for strategies congruent with this liberal understanding. The core group was composed mostly of members tending towards a humanitarian/feminist world view who supported the public viewing of sexually explicit material based on mutuality between participants. The core group functioned as an overseer and instigator of coalition activities. Its main purpose was to co-ordinate local activities in harmony with the national scene so that the movement could effectively invoke and use the necessary resources to mobilize change.

The support group was composed of those holding a more conservative ideological schema, but supporting the liberal strategies of the coalition. The members of this faction recognized the need to compromise their own personal views in order to secure legislative change. They saw the movement as a means to reforming rather than transforming the present social structure. The objective of this group was not to change the basic values held by society, but to ensure that these values were more strongly entrenched in the social structure. Most members in this grouping believed that sexuality should be a private affair between married heterosexual couples. The support group participated in core group decision making and became actively involved in local activities. Some of its members held administrative positions. Members of this group were, on the whole, less experienced with political lobbying.

The radical fringe was composed of members whose ideological beliefs and strategies were congruent (i.e. those holding a conservative ideology and supporting more conservative strategies or those holding and supporting a feminist ideology and strategy), but conflicting with the core group's position. This group was composed of special interest groups that saw pornography as one issue among many that is connected to a global understanding of the world and how the world should work under ideal circumstances. Their ultimate hope was to

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[90]It should be noted that Hammond and Stockwood were active in the coalition only during the formative stage.

implement a new world vision and they saw the coalition as potentially contributing to the implementation process. While some core group members also wished to build a new society, they were more willing to adopt a moderate reform policy than were those in the radical fringe. The fringe members were concerned with implementing a stance that would concur more with their own ideological world view. Because of their unyielding stance, this group often lay outside the main decision making body. Their main function was to act as a lever, trying to sway other members to support a more or less militant position. The fringe held the purist ideals which had, in reality, the least chance of implementation. While all members of the coalition had a vision of how the world should ideally operate, most were willing to make compromises. The core and fringe groups were the least likely to compromise ideological views, with the core more effectively determining the coalition's position.

7.2.2. Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography: ideology, policy, and strategy

As previously discussed, pinpointing the ideological stance of the coalition is difficult. In fact, many ideologies were operating simultaneously. At no time during the coalition's life cycle did the entire group adhere to one particular philosophical perspective, but by the end of the conflict management stage it did agree on a position and strategy.

The coalition took a pro-sex position. From its inception, feminist activists were adamant about the necessity of adopting such a stance. Inglis's contention that any action taken should be founded on the distinction between erotic and pornographic material was one case in which feminist members made a unified effort to support a common position, thereby ensuring that the coalition would not be founded on conservative principles.

As early as February 1984, the group had decided on two areas of focus: sexual violence and degrading material.[91] Sexually violent material was considered totally unacceptable by all members of the steering committee, but the definition of degrading sexual depictions depended on the conceptual schema used by each member to interpret the context and content of the material under question. The coalition did adopt the position that non-degrading sexually explicit material was not of concern to them, but in fact, this was the area of most conflict within the group. For some, the context in which the material was

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[91]CCAP Minutes. February 1984.

displayed was most important, while for others the content was the determining factor in judging whether the material was degrading. For example, to the more conservative element, the public depiction of sexual activity was critical to understanding its pornographic nature, while for others, the display of power imbalances was more important than its public display or explicitness. All steering committee members considered soft-core material such as Playboy and Penthouse magazines to be pornographic, regardless of their philosophical position. Where the line between what should or should not be tolerated was to be drawn was an area that members had to come to terms with. The coalition's "liberal" position supported a pro-sex and pro-sex education stance. Groups such as the Salvation Army were much more restrictive on both accounts.

During the formative and conflict management periods, all groups actively contributed to coalition activities. By the later stage of the conflict management period, the steering committee was comprised of the core group and support group only; the radical fringe had dropped out of active participation in steering committee duties. Even though the conflict management stage was a period of working out strategy, the degree of conflict between members was never sufficient to divide the group. The core and support groups comprised the majority of steering committee members and became the basis of solidarity. Conflict was not that evident. All members agreed about restricting pornography; opinions differed only over where to draw the line.

The coalition had been originally envisioned as representing various community groups. Even though many groups supported coalition efforts through maintaining their membership and or advancing financial assistance, community group representation did not become the basis for coalition decision making. For many special interest groups, the compromise necessary to become a working member of the coalition's steering committee was contrary to their group's ethical and moral standards. What developed was a committee composed of individuals who were, for the most part, willing to compromise their own personal ideals to obtain some action on pornography.

By the end of the conflict management stage, the position and strategy the coalition would employ to lobby for increased legal intervention had been decided. The major concern of the group was to stop the pornography industry from gaining further access to public markets for middle-range[92] and hard-core[93] pornography.

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[92]Middle-range material includes material that is more degrading and more explicit than the soft-core, pinup, centerfold type material. It focuses on activities such as lactation, masturbation, and actual penetration, and often it depicts blatant power imbalances between partners.

[93]Hard-core material depicts violence coupled with sex, coercion, incest, child pornography, and activities such as defecation and urination in a sexual context.

The strategies[94] used by the coalition were tied to the development of the movement. Some strategies were predetermined by the work already undertaken by the founding mothers of the CCAP. For example, Dorothy Inglis and Ann Bell laid the groundwork for a provincial by-law restricting the display of pornographic material in retail outlets long before the coalition formed. Once the coalition became established, advocating the by-law immediately became a part of the coalition's platform. The implementation of municipal legislation was to become a major lobbying effort for the coalition, lasting from the time the coalition began in 1983 to the time of this writing in July of 1988.

Bell and Inglis were not the only protagonists to bring a resolution to the Federation of Municipalities to restrict the display of pornography. The Board of Directors of the federation received requests to implement such a by-law from many people and groups.[95] Other women's groups such as the Mokami Status of Women Council in Labrador were active in rallying support for this by-law.[96] The concern of all these groups was to get the municipalities to bring forward a motion at their annual meeting in 1983 to restrict the sale and display of pornographic material. For example, Joy Pye-MacSwain, President of the Mokami Status of Women Council presented a resolution to her local town council who in turn took the resolution to the annual general meeting of the Municipalities.[97]

The federation received numerous requests to pursue this issue further, and even though support was forthcoming from the federation, it would take years of lobbying to decide the outcome. First, passage of a law enabling municipal control over the display was stalled because the Provincial Department of Justice felt that such a law could be challenged under constitutional law. Then, when enacting legislation from the province was finally legislated giving municipalities the right to control the display of pornography, a municipal by-law was bogged down because the municipalities did not want the responsibility of defining what would be pornographic. They also did not want the added expense of policing magazine stands.

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[94]Information contained in the following section on coalition strategy was compiled from St. John's newspapers and the CCAP minutes and newsletters.

[95]Doug Smith, Director of the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Municipalities. Telephone conversation. 11 December 1987.

[96]D.N. "Pornography Resolution to be Presented." 14 October 1983; Cecilia Saunders, Co-ordinator of Mokami Status of Women Council. Letter to SJSWC. 18 October 1983.

[97]Joy Pye-MacSwain, Letter to Inglis. 18 January 1984.

Members of the coalition learned much from these efforts. First they learned that to implement even minor changes to any law requires an immense amount of time and effort, and second, that without the coalition's constant vigilance, changes would be unlikely. This realization may well have spurred the coalition to continue its work over this five year period.

The coalition's work was invaluable in the lobby for municipal restrictions. Each time a roadblock appeared, hampering the implementation of municipal control over the display of pornography, the coalition was there offering new solutions to government. Without the coalition's constant monitoring of the by-law's progress, the possibility of legislation might have fallen by the wayside.

During the formative stage, the concern of the CCAP was first, to mobilize a strong movement all across the province, and second, to raise public awareness about the seriousness of pornography and its effect on society. It accomplished the latter by strategizing for high public visibility through tactics that would gain the attention of the media. Media coverage was used to sway government officials into taking action on the issue and to inform the public about pornography and its availability.

The Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women was involved in many of the initial public events in which the coalition participated. Many of these events were, in fact, jointly sponsored by both the Advisory Council and the CCAP.

After the formation of the CCAP, the Advisory Council and members of the coalition immediately called a press conference to inform the public about the coalition and its intent to take action on pornography. The press conference stressed violence and sexual exploitation as key areas of concern. Inglis, commenting on public opinion, said that "a difficulty still exists in making people understand the degree to which child abuse, masochism, sadism, incest, rape, and other forms of sexual violence are exploited through magazines and films."[98]

The press conference was followed shortly by the pressing of charges under Section 159 of the Criminal Code against two outlets. One was H.H. Marshall, the provincial wholesaler responsible for distributing most of the pornographic magazines available in Newfoundland retail outlets, and the second was an exclusive pornography shop located in St. John's known as "The Escape Hatch." Other establishments singled out for future action included crown corporations such as hotels and airports that sold over-the-counter pornographic material.

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[98]E.T. "Coalition Against Pornography Assembles Awareness Kit." 22 November 1983.

Prosecution was effective in gaining public visibility for the issue and raising the awareness of store owners about the type of material carried in their own stores. Convictions were obtained on both of the charges, but other attempts at prosecution were not so successful. In January 1984, the coalition tried to convict H.H. Marshall and several retail outlets for carrying a magazine called Playboy Parody (Winter 1984 edition). The magazine contained depictions of violent sex and child abuse, yet the Crown Prosecutor's Office refused to lay charges because the material was judged not to contravene the law. This inaction on the part of the prosecutor's office reinforced the coalition's view that legislative reforms were long overdue.

Discussions with representatives of H.H. Marshall, plus legal action taken against the company, did not result in any corporate policy change regarding the distribution of pornographic material. In April, the coalition planned a protest in front of H.H. Marshall's wholesale outlet to demonstrate the company's lack of concern. The march resulted in the Roman Catholic School Board withdrawing support for the company's annual children's book review contest. It was also rumored that company representatives were told to do something about the kinds of materials it distributed or the school board would consider finding other agents to supply the board's textbooks.

In January 1984, the coalition, in conjunction with the Advisory Council, called its first demonstration to "protest the lack of action by the federal government in regulating the program content of Pay TV."[99] The protest was a follow-up to the national protest against Playboy programming which had been called one year earlier. The demonstration was effective. First, it called public attention to the fact that a year had lapsed and the government had taken no action on this matter, and second, the one hundred people that attended the mid-day, mid-week march was a clear indication that the public was truly concerned about pornography.

The coalition also worked behind the scenes, meeting with and writing to government officials. During its first six months, much time was spent preparing a brief to the government-appointed Fraser Commission on Pornography and Prostitution that held hearings in St. John's on May 7, 1984. The brief presented to the Commission argued for legal restraint of individual freedoms based on the potential harm to others. It also supported the implementation of a community standard based on the tolerance of society. The report contained little indication of how the vast array of pornography, ranging from soft to hard-core material, should be dealt with by the law, or how provincial and federal jurisdiction over pornography should be allocated. This position would only be formalized after the group had reviewed the Fraser Commission's findings and recommendations.

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[99] D.N. "Protest Today Against Porn on Pay TV." 18 January 1984.

By fall 1984, the coalition's work was receiving national prominence. The CBC television program "Man Alive" produced a special documentary on pornography, focusing on the efforts of the CCAP. The film received national coverage and was a clear sign to government officials that the anti-pornography movement would have to be reckoned with.

The impact of efforts by the coalition and other groups was being felt all across Canada, and it was clear that other factions in society were finding the growing public discontent with pornography threatening. One St. John's newspaper reverted to public name calling as its only defense against coalition work. On one occasion, the editorial writer defended a magazine that had been denied entry into every province in Canada because of its sexually explicit photos depicting bondage of women. The editor described the magazine as having a "modest, but well-earned and well-deserved reputation for muck-raking journalism."[100] The article went on to malign Dorothy Inglis and the coalition by referring to them as "a small, relatively unknown interest group" which "manages to dictate to millions of Canadians what they may read and see."[101] The article painted the anti-pornography movement as a "censorship brigade," composed of a minority who wish to "force its standards and morals on the rest of us."[102] Other comments, such as the following, directly attacked Inglis. Inglis was referred to time and time again in this editorial as "Ms. Inglis and her gang," "Ms. Inglis and her guardians of our morality," or "Ms. Inglis and her legionnaires of decency."[103] One can only conclude from this attack that the coalition's work was being heard in high places and that those in opposition to legislative control were starting to retaliate.

By late 1984 and early 1985, indications of a backlash by civil libertarians began to appear in the news media. The Periodical Distributors' Association of Canada was one group that distributed information packages to magazine sellers telling them that it was their right to sell what they pleased and that they should ignore complaints by individuals or anti-pornography groups.[104]

The distribution of the Periodical Association's kit, plus allegations from the media that the CCAP was a small unrepresentative special interest group,

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[100] E.T. "Is it a Victory." 16 November 1984.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

[104] E.T. "Help for Magazine Sellers in Dealing With Complainers." 6 February 1985.

prompted the coalition to call a press conference early in 1985. The press conference was represented by the following members of the CCAP: the Newfoundland Association of Social Workers; the Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council; the Women's Resource Centre, Memorial University; the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labor; the Salvation Army; the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women; the Anglican Church of Canada; Transition House for Battered Women; the Baha'i Community, St. John's; the St. John's Status of Women Council; the United Church of Canada; the National Action Committee on the Status of Women; the Women's Institute; the Catholic Women's League; and the Newfoundland Teachers' Association.[105] At the press conference, the coalition recalled past successes and unveiled plans for future action. One project was the distribution of "Porn-free" signs to store owners all across the province who did not carry pornographic material. The porn-free campaign was an attempt to encourage the public to be conscious of where they shopped. This campaign was to be followed by the distribution of an information package to combat the misinformation contained in the Periodical's kit.

Neither of these projects met with much success. With all the other pressing duties of the coalition, neither project was given sufficient attention. The only consolation was the publicity received when the coalition unveiled its plans.

A review of the coalition's work during the formative and conflict management stages reveals four main areas of concentration. They include:

1. Educating the public about pornography. The coalition did this through conducting educational sessions, distributing newsletters to various community groups, and writing to the editor of the local paper, etc.

2. Bringing the issue to public attention by holding various events to attract the attention of the media. Activities such as demonstrations, press conferences, and pressing criminal charges against wholesale and retail outlets carrying pornography were effectively employed to produce the desired effect.

3. Lobbying government to regulate Pay TV programming, the display of pornographic magazines in retail outlets, and to introduce new criminal code legislation.

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[105] E.T. "Porn-free Signs Next Step in Fight by Coalition." 19 February 1985.

4. Mobilizing other groups to become actively involved in lobbying government.

7.3. THE MATURITY STAGE

The maturity stage was marked by the formation of a clear position on pornography adopted and supported by all coalition members. At this stage, conflict diminished and those who continued to work with the coalition were unified in their approach.

The adoption of a clearly formulated stance was, for some coalition members, aided by the release of the Fraser Commission's Report on Pornography. The report solidified many of the legal and philosophical arguments surrounding the issue, and posed a three-tiered solution that divided pornography into soft, medium, and hard-core material. The position finally adopted by the CCAP was as follows:

1. The CCAP supported the criminalization of any material endorsing criminal acts such as violence, child pornography, incest.

2. The group wished to ensure that material not presently legal under the old obscenity law would not become legalized under the proposed amendments to the act.

3. They wanted children's access to over-the-counter, soft-core pornographic material restricted, and material to be stored away from view of the general public.

Most steering committee members felt, that before violence coupled with sex became commonly accepted as a form of entertainment, community action was necessary. All believed that hard-core pornography could easily be controlled because the market was not yet established or accepted by the public, but the soft-core pornography was the most visible and it was probably this material that caused many people to support or become actively involved in the anti-pornography movement. Certainly, this was the case for at least three of the coalition's lobbyists. Some members came to the movement with the naive belief that it was possible to remove at least some of this soft-core material from society. For example, one member who was responsible for assembling one of the first awareness kits of the CCAP said in the letter that introduced the kit to community groups, that the aim of the group was to "stamp out pornography."[106]

[106]CCAP Anti-pornography Kit. 10 November 1983.

By the end of the conflict management stage, such all-encompassing statements were rare. The group understood that it was unable to successfully curtail this flourishing market. At most, the movement might be able to impede its growth into areas traditionally off-limits to the industry. These areas included the introduction of soft-core programmes on Pay TV, the increased distribution of hard-core magazines in over-the-counter retail markets, and the increase of hard-core pornography on home video cassettes.

The position finally adopted by the coalition reserved criminal sanctions for criminal acts. Where a variety of public views existed i.e. the soft-core and middle-range material, the coalition lobbied for local restrictions on access and display. The cutoff line between acceptable and unacceptable material was drawn at the depiction of sexual intercourse. While all coalition steering committee members agreed on this cutoff, their individual reasons for choosing sexual intercourse and other middle-range sexual activities such as the display of ejaculation, lactation, and so on, differed substantially. Inglis, for example, was concerned that allowing the display of intercourse would open up the market to material that was presently illegal under the obscenity law. The end result would be the liberalization of the pornography trade rather than its restriction. Inglis realized that this position would alienate many women's groups who were adamant that sexual explicitness should not be subject to legal sanctions. Even Inglis was not concerned with displaying intercourse in a mutual relationship, but she was concerned that allowing its display within a patriarchal context would only increase the number of sexist and degrading magazines on the market. In discussing the proposed Bill C-45, Inglis says the following:

> The question remains as to this number six [of the proposed criminal code] where they have termed it intercourse, ejaculation and so on. As you know and I know, what they [the justice department] have been trying to get at are the magazines where women are ejaculated upon [and] urinated upon.... This bang-bang is the only way I can describe the dehumanization of people in those films. That's what that section is set up for..... We are not talking about intercourse as a human activity. That's allowable under this act. What isn't allowable is what is being shown as a bang-bang, an inhuman, degrading activity..... If there's any way that somebody would like to suggest that number six be made clearer. If there's...extra words to show artists across the country that their rights are not being infringed upon. If there is a legal way of adding that, fair enough; [but].....I don't think we fought one battle in order to loose another, and I don't want feminists in Canada to be responsible for opening the door to any degrading material.... So whatever safeguards anybody thinks are necessary to control that, I have no argument with, but I have every argument with anybody who thinks that's not important.... (Dorothy Inglis, Personal interview, 4 June 1987.)

Compared with Inglis's reasoning for choosing intercourse as the cutoff, Lewis's reasoning conforms more with a community standards approach and is compatible with his view of maintaining a moral code of decency. The position he chooses to support is well above his own personal standards, but he chooses this position in consideration of what he believes society is willing to tolerate. Like Inglis, Lewis wishes to prevent the pornography trade from going beyond its present legal limits.

At the maturity stage, coalition efforts moved away from high public visibility and education to increased private lobbying of government officials. The concern of the coalition at this time was the implementation of particular legislative reforms. At the provincial level, the municipal by-law and the introduction of a video ratings system were priorities for the coalition.

Because of the coalition's experience and expertise in the area of pornography, the group often worked directly with government offering assistance and suggestions about possible reforms. In effect, the coalition took on the function of public watchdog, monitoring government action. The media was used mainly as a lever to ensure progress in this regard. At this stage, the need for monetary resources diminished slightly because the large amount of funding required in the mobilization stage was no longer necessary. During the maturity phase, lobbying experience and an understanding of the political process became of paramount importance.

At this stage, success depended more on the group's ability to negotiate effectively with government agencies. Success was, however, subject to the ability of outside opposition forces to mobilize against the anti-pornography movement. Opposition's ability to control the outcome of the anti-pornography movement was a function of its ability to convince government that there was strong public support for an anti-censorship position. Also, the fact that the pornography industry was funding some opposition efforts helped the movement for free speech mobilize. Political "powerplays" within government were also a contributing factor. Those working within government who were against the anti-pornography movement were in some cases able to discourage government action. Tactics such as delaying legislative reforms allowed the free speech faction time to mobilize. For example, many coalition members suspected that the first anti-pornography bill tabled in the House of Parliament by Justice Minister John Crosbie in 1986 was, in effect, a roadblock to allow opposition forces time to mobilize an anti-censorship movement. This bill received little support because of a clause giving judges total control over what materials would be considered pornographic.

As the anti-pornography movement was entering the maturity stage, a time

when it received little media coverage, the free speech campaign was becoming highly visible through the media. This visibility suggested that the anti-censorship groups were gaining public support. As the anti-censorship movement became more organized and began lobbying against Bill C-54 (the proposed federal legislation to control pornography and its distribution), it became clear that there was a strong possibility that this new bill, introduced by Justice Minister Ray Hnatyshyn in 1987, would not receive second reading in the House. Some coalition steering committee members suspected that opposition from within government was holding back on the bill. At coalition meetings, discussion focused on how to immobilize anti-censorship efforts which were often financed by private business interests and supported by many human rights organizations, prominent members of the arts community, and the libertarian faction of the feminist community. The coalition felt that this campaign was deceiving the public by spreading propaganda about Bill C-54 and its effect on literary works of art. The coalition was faced with the dilemma of how to combat anti-censorship forces with the meager monetary resources received from its membership dues.

Chapter 8
SUMMARY

In this thesis I have examined the historical, structural, and ideological conditions giving rise to the anti-pornography movement in Canada. I place the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland within the broader context of the Canadian movement. I identify and study two main protagonists in the mobilization of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland: the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women and the Coalition of Citizens Against Pornography.

The thesis puts forward three arguments: (1) that the women's movement was an important factor in the mobilizing effort of the anti-pornography movement in Newfoundland and Labrador, (2) that women were central in determining the structure of the movement, and (3) that the position supported by the mobilizing agent of the movement i.e. the coalition, was, to some extent, influenced by the feminist perspectives of coalition steering committee members.

The analysis illustrates how the pornography debate was shaped by three theoretical paradigms, namely, the liberal, conservative, and feminist world views, the implications each had on the pornography debate, and their influence in the formation and development of the movement. The life experiences and social interaction which give rise to, and help shape the perspectives of each member of the coalition are explored, focusing on the social conditions which organize how people come to hold differing ideological perspectives. I begin from the assumption that ideologies help organize people in different ways by shaping how they view the world. From this point, I show how these world views helped to form the position, strategy, and structure of the coalition.

Essentially, this thesis is the working through of the paradox that exists between theoretical ideals and pragmatic considerations. The study examines the factors that modify the ideals that brought coalition members together in the first place. The trade-offs people make between their knowledge of the world as constructed through the use of logic i.e. the models, paradigms, and ideologies used to organize reality, and knowledge of the world as gained through lived experiences, are examined. This paradox has led me to personally question how people come to understand the world, how they construct "knowledge" about this world, and the influence of experience and ideology in forming what constitutes "truth." In this regard, the thesis poses important questions for future study.

By the completion of this thesis, the outcome of the anti-pornography movement's efforts was uncertain. Clearly, an anti-censorship movement had organized to disrupt the passing of legislative restrictions on pornography, but only time would tell the influence that the anti-pornography movement had on the public's perceptions of pornography and their views regarding regulating the pornography industry.

On a personal level, I believe that the experience I gained from my involvement in the anti-pornography movement was invaluable. The conflict arising between my political analysis of pornography and that of other coalition members made me realize that compromise is inevitable in the process of implementing change. People who are not in a position to bring about change can espouse a radical political platform, but once they are in power, constraints exist that make the implementation of ideals unworkable. The experience also made me realize that all people have something of value to say and that not all people who hold different ideological perspectives are our enemies.

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