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THE MONTREAL MASSACRE

A Story of Membership Categorization Analysis

Wilfrid Laurier University Press



This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through the Aid to Scholarly Publications Programme, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program for our publishing activities.

National Library of Canada Cataloguing in Publication Data

Eglin, Peter, 1947–

The Montreal massacre : a story of membership categorization analysis / Peter Eglin and Stephen Hester.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-88920-422-5

1. Montréal École Polytechnique Women Students Massacre, Montréal, Québec, 1989. 2. Crime and the press—Ontario—Case studies. 3. Journalism—Social aspects—Ontario—Case studies. 4. Journalism—Methodology. I. Hester, Stephen, 1947– II. Title.

HV6535.C33M65 2003

070.4'493641523'0820971428

C2003-904094-1

© 2003 Wilfrid Laurier University Press

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada N2L 3C5

www.wlupress.wlu.ca

Cover and text design by P.J. Woodland. Cover image from Cindy McMenemy's assemblage "Daughters Precious Daughters," the artist's response to the Montreal Massacre.

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Preface

WHEN GENEVIÈVE BERGERON, Hélène Colgan, Nathalie Croteau, Barbara Daigneault, Anne-Marie Edward, Maud Haviernick, Barbara Maria Klucznik, Maryse Laganière, Maryse Leclair, Anne-Marie Lemay, Sonia Pelletier, Michèle Richard, Annie St-Arneault, and Annie Turcotte were shot and killed by Marc Lépine on December 6, 1989, it was not as persons with names that they were murdered. They were killed because they were treated as instances of a category: feminists. Indeed, part of the response to the murders consisted of recovering the identities of the victims *as* particular persons with individual lives, rather than as incumbents of a category. Newspapers and other media printed their names, often in a framed or boxed list. Short obituaries were provided of each one. The heartfelt comments of family members were reported as well. We remember the women each year at memorial services on university campuses and elsewhere.

It was initially out of a concern and involvement with gender politics, both on and off campus, that one of us was led to clip the papers as they appeared and to put the clippings in a file. But what brought the clippings out of the file was categories: “You’re *women*. You’re going to be *engineers*. You’re all a bunch of *feminists*.” This immediately made the massacre a topic for us given our sociological, that is to say, ethnomethodological, interest in categories. Moreover, the course of action that became formulated as the Montreal Massacre was social-ized from the beginning. That is, in its formulation and execution, and in the reaction to it, it was produced as a societal phenomenon. It was done as and through sociological analysis, both of the lay and more-or-less professional varieties. That included seeing it as having roots in, and consequences for, the social structure itself. Treating the massacre as produced through the sociological analysis of the parties to the event gave it, then, a second relevance for us as ethnomethodologists. For the practices of sociological inquiry form a cardinal, not to say primordial, topic of inquiry for ethnomethodology.

Even though we sought to treat the massacre via our materials as purely a topic of intellectual inquiry, we found it impossible, eight and nine years after the event, not to respond ourselves in more personal ways. Sympathy, sorrow, and anger surfaced (again) as we thought about the victims and their murderer. For us, this posed the question of what to do analytically with our emotions. Moreover, the killer's avowed motive was a political one. He insisted he did it for political reasons, defining his politics in terms of the places and relations of men and women, and giving particular significance to the role of government. Similarly, much of the media commentary we have analyzed addresses at least the first of these selfsame political dimensions. Both of these framings, then, invite their audience to respond politically to them. Where then does our own inquiry stand in relation to such politics? We do not pretend to have satisfactorily answered these questions, but we recognize their seriousness. We have addressed them in the last chapter of this book.

An earlier and summary version of chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 appears in Paul Jalbert (Ed.), *Media Studies: Ethnomethodological Approaches* (International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis and University Press of America, 1999). An earlier version of chapter 4 appears in a special issue of *Human Studies* (October 1999), edited by George Psathas and Hisashi Nasu, which contains the papers given at the International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis International Conference, "Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis: East and West," held at Waseda University in Tokyo in August 1997. It also appears in a Japanese translation of selected papers from the conference in *Culture and Society: International Journal of Human Sciences* (October 2000). An earlier version of chapter 6 was presented at the fourteenth annual Qualitative Research Conference, held at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto on August 8, 1997.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Anna Toth and Dorthy Madden, undergraduate students in sociology at Wilfrid Laurier University (WLU) at the time, for assembling and compiling the news clippings into a useable collection of research materials. John McCallum, WLU librarian, was, as usual, timely and helpful in supplying the information on Denis Lortie. The research was supported by a grant partly funded by WLU operating funds and partly from an institutional grant awarded to WLU by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. We appreciated the support at a later stage of the project given by Rowland Smith, Vice-President: Academic at WLU. We valued the invitation from Colm Kelly of St. Thomas University and Chris Doran of the University of New Brunswick at St. John to present a version of what is now chapter 4 in their Discourse Analysis Research Group Conference Series in Fredericton in March 1997, and the engagement of those present in precisely those questions that we join in chapter 8. We also wish to acknowledge the

efforts and contributions of our students in analyzing the phenomena of the Montreal Massacre. We dedicate this work to the special women and girls in our lives, our partners, daughters, and step-daughters, the value of whose presence and contribution is beyond calculation.

INTRODUCTION



CHAPTER 1

Ethnomethodology, Crime, and the Media



INTRODUCTION

THE CRIMES, HORRORS, AND TRAGEDIES of everyday life are endlessly topics of media attention and analysis. In this book we examine media coverage of the homicides that became known as the “Montreal Massacre” in which, on December 6, 1989, at L’École polytechnique in Montreal, gunman Marc Lépine killed fourteen women (thirteen engineering students and a data processing worker), and wounded twelve other people, including some males. Thirteen of the victims had been shot; one was stabbed to death. In one classroom, witnesses reported, the gunman separated the male and female students, ordered the men to leave, and then shot at the women, killing six of them. Just before opening fire, he was reported to have said, “You’re all a bunch of feminists. I hate feminists.” At the end of his rampage he shot himself dead, leaving a suicide letter explaining his action.

The event occasioned intense media coverage and much commentary. We examined all articles on the subject published in the *Globe and Mail* from Thursday, December 7, to Saturday, December 16, 1989, as well as selected articles in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* (as our local paper was then called) over the same period and extending to December 29, 1989.¹ This collection of materials proved sufficient for our purposes, as will become evident below. Furthermore, the last article in our *Globe and Mail* sample itself formulates an ending:

E0 *The self-centred hype of Montreal massacre*

AT ONE P.M. on Tuesday [Dec 12], Radio-Canada aired its first news bulletin in 5-½ days without reference to the massacre of 14 women students at the Ecole Polytechnique. The murder would linger a little longer on open line and public affairs programs. That was it, basically, for the bloodiest crime in Quebec’s modern history. (Dec 16 [1])

Coverage focused on the details of the killings as reported by witnesses (that the killer selected women as his target, what he said, etc.); the response of the police, ambulance service, and coroner's office (what was in the suicide letter he left, a possible second suspect, etc.), the response of government officials (the prime minister, the premier of Quebec, the mayor of Montreal, etc.); the candlelight vigils and funeral/memorial services (who attended, what was said, the number of mourners, etc.); the character and life of the killer (who he was, whether he was insane, whether he was related to any of the victims, his biography, etc.); the response of university and polytechnic officials, engineers, academic experts, gun-shop owners, relatives of the victims, survivors, students, women, and representatives of women's organizations, and so on.

Our approach to these materials is an ethnomethodological one (Garfinkel 1967; Garfinkel and Sacks 1970; Sacks 1992a, 1992b). Our interest, then, is in the Montreal Massacre as a *members' phenomenon*. We will elaborate the significance of this conception later in this chapter when we consider briefly some alternative approaches that have enjoyed sociological and criminological prominence in recent years, namely realism and social constructionism. For now we will confine ourselves to its key point. Thus, to say that we wish to investigate the Montreal Massacre as a members' phenomenon means that we are not offering a theoretical view of it. We do not seek to provide a sociological explanation of the massacre; rather, we aim to discover *what* the Montreal Massacre was as far as the members involved in telling its story were concerned. We are saying that the "facts" of the case—what happened, who the victims were, who the offender was, what kind of event it was, what the motives were, what its consequences were, etc.—are matters for members, and therefore discoverable in their orientations to and treatments of them. Furthermore, insofar as all of these facts were made available in the media coverage—specifically in the media description and analysis contained therein—the Montreal Massacre provides a particularly perspicuous case of how social phenomena are inseparable from and, in a sense, constituted by, the ways in which they are described and analyzed, that is, made accountable in media reportage and commentary.

In researching our materials, we were soon struck by how the emergent phenomena constituting the Montreal Massacre, notably the "problem of violence against women," were dependent on the categories and category predicates used by parties to the event to describe who was involved, what they were doing, and why they were doing it. Our approach, then, is specifically informed by membership categorization analysis (Sacks 1992a; Hester and Eglin 1997a). That is to say, we searched our corpus of media texts both for the categories used to refer to persons and collectivities and for the actions and attributes predicated of them. We then sought to explicate how these category and predicate combinations were constitutive of the news stories and the resultant social phenomena they afforded. Naturally, we recognize that we

In Part 2 chapters 6 and 7 are then devoted to analyzing respectively the explanations that are offered and the consequences that are formulated in the commentaries. In chapter 6 this involves analyzing the use of social context and social structure as explanatory devices, while in chapter 7 it means explicating what we might call “folk functionalism.” Since the structural context and functions of deviance are classical subjects of professional sociology, we take the time in these chapters to address such professional sociological accounts in order to show their continuity with lay sociological practices. Finally, in chapter 8, we take up the emotional, ethical, and political questions that pressed themselves on us as we entered into an academic, indeed ethnomethodological, study of our materials.

The organization of our book in this way is not accidental. Rather, it reflects the temporal ordering of the overarching story of the Montreal Massacre itself. Although there are a variety of stories told about the murders, there is also an emergent story that becomes paramount. As reportage is replaced by commentary, so the stories of crime, horror, public disaster, and private tragedy, and the stories of and about the killer, recede, and the story of violence against women becomes the central story.² (Later, the story of gun control would take on a life of its own.) Of course, this story of violence against women is based on the inescapable fact that a man shot and killed many women, but the subsequent story this engenders is not just about the particular event. As reportage gives way to commentary (though we emphasize that there is no clean or tidy break here), so particularity becomes the document of a general and underlying problem, namely, male violence against women, not to say misogyny or male chauvinism. We seek to trace the accomplishment of this story, principally in the methods of membership categorization deployed by its storytellers. There is, furthermore, a pervasive irony here. Just as the killer grounded his actions in his categorization of his victims, so is a similar categorial logic displayed in the story based upon them.

In the remainder of this opening chapter, we outline the nature of an ethnomethodological approach to crime and the media, distinguishing it from realist and social constructionist approaches, and we give a brief synopsis of membership categorization analysis.



ETHNOMETHODOLOGY, CRIME, AND THE MEDIA

As an ethnomethodological study, this book offers an alternative to the approaches of realism and social constructionism, which have traditionally bifurcated the sociology of crime and deviance (Maynard 1988). Such bifurcation obscures characteristics that these traditions share with each other: theoreticism and ironicism. In both realism and social constructionism, the standard sociological practice of distinguishing the analyst (theorist) and the (ordinary) member of society permits the analyst to say what crime and

that a complete picture could otherwise have been provided, nor that the inevitable partiality of our account requires supplementation or, for that matter, triangulation. Rather, as we have contended and sought to show elsewhere (Eglin and Hester 1992; Hester and Eglin 1992, 1997c; cf. Lee 1984), it is our view that there is much to be gained from an inspection of the detail of media texts *in themselves*.



MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIZATION ANALYSIS

We have elsewhere (Eglin and Hester 1992, Hester and Eglin 1997b) outlined the main features and history of membership categorization analysis, and so we will not repeat ourselves unduly at this juncture. However, some explication is in order, not least for those who may be otherwise unfamiliar with this particular approach within the ethnomethodological corpus.⁴

In a series of brilliant studies, Harvey Sacks discovered, investigated, and developed a domain of inquiry whose central focus was on the uses of membership categorization devices, membership categories, category predicates, and associated rules and maxims in talk, especially conversation. Some of these studies were published separately, but most of them remained in the form of lectures and research notebooks that did not appear until *Lectures on Conversation* was published in 1992, seventeen years after his death. In line with his general interest in the objects that people use to accomplish social activities, Sacks sought to show how categorizational phenomena comprised a machinery or apparatus for understanding and achieving conversational interaction. An early example consisted of identifying just those categorial resources of which the use and analytic depiction would “reproduce” the conclusion that a suicidal person might reach, namely, that they had “no one to turn to.” Likewise, in the most famous example of work in this genre, Sacks described the categorial apparatus used to find a sense of the children’s story “the baby cried, the mommy picked it up.” It was here that Sacks laid out the key steps followed in much membership categorization analysis: find or make one’s common sense of some piece of talk or text, and then turn that sense into an object of investigation. The aim of analysis is to identify *how* sense is achieved.

Of course, categories and the collections that they compose, together with associated phenomena such as viewer’s, hearer’s, and doer’s maxims, may be used to accomplish a much wider range of activities than making sense alone. As studies by Schegloff (1972), Watson (1978, 1983, 1990), Drew (1978), and Jayyusi (1984), amongst others, as well as by Sacks himself, have shown, categories are interactionally deployable in formulating locations, doing accusations, making excuses, allocating blame, finding a motive, telling a story, and so on. It is just such interactional uses of categories, albeit textually achieved, that we are at pains to discover and reveal in the analysis that makes up our study here.



CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the chapters that follow, then, membership categorization analysis affords an investigation into two main topics. First, it permits us to analyze and describe the categorial organization of the various stories comprising the reportage and commentary on, and the killer's own version of, the Montreal Massacre. Second, it allows us not only to examine the central organizational resources deployed in the telling of these stories, it also affords an insight into how the phenomenon that came to be known as the Montreal Massacre was constituted through this "production-recognition" apparatus. In our conclusion, we show how our approach may also provide a way of addressing some of the emotional, political, and ethical issues, not least for us, that were touched off by the murders and their media coverage (see Malette and Chalouh 1991; Fahmy 1994).

PART 1

Stories of the Montreal Massacre



CHAPTER 2

The Story Characters Appear on Cue



INTRODUCTION

BEFORE TURNING OUR ATTENTION in chapter 3 to the various stories that make up the Montreal Massacre as an accountable phenomenon, we want to begin here by providing for *who* turns up in these stories. In doing so we wish to note that—and how—these persons comprise an *unremarkable* collection of story characters. We will argue that the selection and identification of these persons is generated from the categorial resources made available by the initial characterization of the event. Our inspiration here is the following remarkable passage from Sacks's lectures in which he introduces the idea that “character appears on cue.”

Now we'll say that for some pairs of activities, pairs of actions that are related by norms, that there's at least a rule of adequate description which says “character appears on cue,” i.e., if the first takes place and it's an adequate grounds for the second taking place, then it's okay to describe the thing without having provided for how it is that that second person happened to come on the scene to do whatever it is they properly do, if one says the first occurs and the second occurs as well. (Sacks 1992a: 254)

Since our argument turns on the significance of the initial characterization, we will start by considering the *Globe and Mail's* first story, which appeared on the front page on Thursday, December 7, the morning after the massacre:

E1 MAN IN MONTREAL KILLS 14 WITH RIFLE

Canadian Press and Staff

MONTREAL

A gunman went on a rampage at the University of Montreal last night, killing 14 people before shooting himself dead.

Police took away a second suspect in handcuffs an hour after the shootings began. Late last night, a heavily armed police tactical team was combing the six-storey engineering building of the Ecole Polytechnique, which is affiliated with the university, for a possible third suspect.

Claude St. Laurent, a spokesman for the Montreal police, said the man taken away in handcuffs was being questioned. Some students said they recognized the man as a part-time physics teacher, but police would not confirm that or release his name.

Police also would not release the name of the gunman or any of the 14 other dead people.

Earlier, a spokesman for the Urgence-Sante, the Montreal ambulance service, said at least 12 people were injured.

Witnesses said two and perhaps three men—one of them carrying a hunting rifle—burst into a crowded computer class about 5:30 p.m., shouting anti-feminist slogans.

“He (the man with the gun) ordered the men and women to separate sides of the classroom,” said Louis Hamel, 24, a second-year engineering student.

“We thought it was a joke, then the man fired a shot, and all hell broke loose.”

Witnesses said the young gunman, who spoke French, roamed the halls and classrooms of the university’s engineering building, shooting students on at least two floors.

The building, which can hold up to 5,000 students, was evacuated and sealed off by police shortly after the shooting began.

“I saw death close up and I shook,” said Vanthona Ouy, 22, one of scores of horrified students who streamed out of the building.

“All I know is that a crazy guy came in here and began shooting at anything that moved,” said Dominique Berube, 22. “It’s our friends who have been killed.”

There were reports that the gunman shot mainly women students, but police would not release a breakdown of victims by gender.

Francois Bordeleau, a student, ran from the first to the second floor and dragged people by the collar to keep them from going in the man’s direction.

“It was a human hunt,” he said. “We were the quarry.”

He said he heard 20 to 30 shots and the man appeared to be aiming mainly at women. “I heard the gunman say: ‘I want the women,’” Mr. Bordeleau said. That was confirmed by several other witnesses.

Witnesses said the gunman entered several rooms including the computer room and the building cafeteria.

In the computer room, he aimed at the wall and then ran out, said Lucien Justin, who was in the room. "Somebody locked the door, but he shot off the lock and then left a second time.

"I was terribly afraid, I ran like hell," Mr. Justin said.

At least 20 ambulances were on the scene, taking the wounded to four hospitals in the area. (Dec 7 [1])



OFFENDERS, EMERGENCIES, AND DEATHS: THE CRIME STORY AND ITS ADJUNCTS

The headline provides the news content of the story; it's a mass homicide. The event may be said to implicate an initial pair of categories for describing the parties, namely "offender" and "victim(s)." These may be said to constitute a standardized relational pair in relation to a potentially criminal act such as homicide (Watson 1983; Hester and Eglin 1992: chap. 6). As such, they provide for the relevance of others' actions and for their own transformation into other categories in the context of those others' actions. Sacks continues:

but if the first is, for example a violation, then you can provide that the second occurred. For example, "he was speeding and he got arrested." Perfectly okay... What occurs is good grounds for the cop to do what he ought to do; he's on the scene and he does it. So he's introduced via the action he does, where the grounds for that action are laid out, though how he happens to be there need not be indicated. (1992a: 254, 183)

Thus the homicides reported in the headline and in the first sentence of the news story become the motive for the involvement of the police, and thereby the appearance of the police on cue, and without explanation of how they got there, in the second sentence of the story. Thus:

E2 A gunman went on a rampage at the University of Montreal last night, killing 14 people before shooting himself dead.

Police took away a second suspect in handcuffs an hour after the shootings began. (Dec 7 [1]; emphasis added)

To spell it out, the reader understands that the police action reported in the second sentence is in response to the killings reported in the first sentence (and not some other story concerned with other shootings). This is made possible by the reader invoking the rule "character appears on cue." The idea expressed in the phrase "character appears on cue" was reconceptualized by Sacks in his published analysis of "The baby cried" as the "second viewer's maxim": "If one sees a pair of actions which can be related via the operation of a norm that provides for the second given the first, where the doers can be

seen as members of the categories the norm provides as proper for that pair of actions, then (a) see that the doers are such-members, and (b) see the second as done in conformity with the norm" (Sacks 1974: 225).

Throughout the story "Man in Montreal Kills 14 with Rifle" (pp. 13–15), and in subsequent news stories, the same means provide for transforming the offender ("gunman") into "[murder] suspect" and "killer," and others present into "witnesses." Witnesses, for example, appear unannounced in the eighth sentence. These categories, including "victims," may be said to form the collection "parties to an offence" (Watson 1983: 36). To these categories are tied a number of predicated activities, such as the police arresting and questioning suspects (second and fourth sentences), searching for other possible suspects (third sentence), releasing the names of offender, suspects, and victims (fifth and sixth sentences), trying to determine the killer's motive, and appealing for other witnesses (subsequent articles). Specifying Watson's title, let us call the combination of categories-from-the-collection and their tied predicates the membership categorization device "PHI" (parties to a homicide investigation). Using it as an interpretive scheme permits the reader to find the relevance in, and see the connectedness of, not only the first six sentences of narrative in Extract 1 considered above but also of a sequence of reported speech, such as that contained in the following news report:

E3 *Killer fraternized with men in army fatigues*

Marc Lepine, who killed 14 women and wounded 12 other people in a shooting rampage at the University of Montreal on Wednesday, hung out with a small band of men who walked around their neighborhood wearing army fatigues.

Employees at a grocery store across the street from the killer's flat on a narrow street just east of the downtown core said yesterday that Mr. Lepine and his friends rented war and violent action films from a nearby video store.

"They loved watching army and violent films," *one employee said...*

Another employee said Mr. Lepine would sometimes make caustic comments about women...

At a nearby camping and hunting supply store, a clerk said Mr. Lepine was a frequent visitor...

...

Claude Boilly, director of the CEGEP, said teachers vaguely remember Mr. Lepine.

...

Major Serge Quenneville, a spokesman for the Canadian Forces in Montreal, confirmed that Mr. Lepine had applied in the winter of 1980–81 under his former name and was rejected.

...

Neighbours said he shared a \$285-a-month, five-room, second-floor flat with a young, blond man named Eric.

...

Maurice Dutrisac, his landlord, said he was shocked to learn that Mr. Lépine had committed the murders. (Dec 9 [3]; emphasis added)

That is, the appearance in the story of assorted persons identified as “employees at a grocery store across the street from the killer’s flat,” “one employee,” “another employee,” “a clerk [at a] nearby camping and hunting supply store,” “Claude Boilly, director of the CEGEP,” “Major Serge Quenneville, a spokesman for the Canadian Forces in Montreal,” “neighbours,” and “Maurice Dutrisac, his landlord,” makes sense as a motivated collection of persons under the auspices of “character appears on cue,” where PHI provides for their identifiability as “witnesses” or “persons with information potentially relevant to this homicide investigation.” The same means repair the indexicality of all such expressions (including also “the killer,” “nearby,” “Mr. Lépine,” and “he”). Furthermore, PHI is the initial formal basis for developing one theme in the crime story into a story in its own right, what we call in chapter 3 “the story of the killer.”

The telling of the stories comprising the Montreal Massacre as a members’ phenomenon is carried on not only in the reporting of events and of witnesses’ reports of events, but also in the response to and commentary on those events by “third parties.” The selection of commentators is organized, then, in categorial terms and conducted in terms of category relevance, where for features of the homicides a collection of relevant categories of commentators is a touched off matter. That is, in terms of “character appears on cue,” those who comment are an unsurprising collection whose selection does not have to be provided for other than in categorial terms. Yet the very unremarkability of those who comment, and of the comments they make, belies formal organizational considerations pertaining to the selection of *these* resources for telling the news. Thus, if the event is an X, then select Y (but not Z) as a commentator for quotation; similarly, if the victim is an X, then Y (but not Z) as a comment. These formal considerations can be said to “organize” the story of the Montreal Massacre. Thus, insofar as the homicides are constituted as “crime,” that is, as murders—indeed a mass murder—then categories of commentator for whom commenting about crime is a recognizable predicate can be expected to, and indeed unremarkably do, appear on cue: sociologists, criminologists, anthropologists, psychologists, persons who have written books about mass murderers, murder experts, and other characters with a special interest or skill on issues such as criminal motivation and the causes of crime are used to address topics touched off by the crime. For example:

- E4** “This is perhaps the first crime perpetrated against a whole sex. That’s what this is all about,” said University of Montreal *criminologist*, Jean-Paul Brodeur. (Dec 8 [2]; emphasis added)

- E5** Before the mid-1960s, mass murders were very few. *Criminologist* James Fox of Boston's Northeastern University says there now are 30 a year in the United States.

...

Dr. Lana Stermac, a senior *psychologist* at Toronto's Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, said she and her colleagues could recall no precedent of such a systematic sorting out of people as Mr. Lepine did in the engineering classroom. (Dec 8 [6]; emphasis added)

- E6** **Mass murders not increasing, Canadian *anthropologist* says**

The phenomenon of mass murder is still a relatively obscure crime in Canada, says the country's leading expert in the field.

Elliot Leyton, an *anthropologist* at Memorial University in Newfoundland, says the senseless slaying of 14 women at the University of Montreal on Wednesday, combined with the recent murders of four people in northeastern New Brunswick, creates the impression that multiple killings are on the increase.

That is not the case, he said. (Dec 8 [10]; emphasis added)

To return to the first news report of the massacre, Extract 1, we have noted that after the opening sentence the next five sentences are devoted to telling the crime story; police figure in each one of these sentences. They may be said to be generated out of the resources of PHI, itself made available in the headline and first sentence. But the seventh sentence ("Earlier..."; see E7 below) has a different pair of actors, "people [who] were injured" and (the organizational actor) "the Montreal ambulance service." Yet the character who appears, namely "a spokesman" for the organization, may be said to have been cued in the first sentence (and again in the sixth sentence). Killings transform "victims" into "dead" and "injured" or "wounded" people who, as *medical emergencies*, become the business of ambulance services and paramedics (and subsequently of doctors, nurses, and surgeons), who also arrive in the story on cue. From Extract 1:

- E7** Police also would not release the name of the gunman or any of the 14 other dead people.

Earlier, a spokesman for *the Urgence-Sante, the Montreal ambulance service*, said at least 12 people were injured. (Dec 7 [1]; emphasis added)

- E8** "I was terribly afraid, I ran like hell," Mr. Justin said.

At least 20 *ambulances* were on the scene, taking the wounded to four hospitals in the area. (Dec 7 [1]; emphasis added)

In E7 "dead people" can be read as both invoking the category "victim" from the "offender/victim" relational pair, *and* the category "dead and wounded" from

the pair in which the other category is, say, “emergency service” (such as ambulance service). In this way the appearance of these categorial objects is accountably in accordance with the norm that provides for their relationship and as such needs no explanation; such absent explanations are not seen as missing.

Similarly, homicides are a class of *medico-legal events* where “victims” become co-terminous with their names, sexes, and ages; they are civic objects to be officially identified and accounted for. As such they become part of the workload of coroners:

- E9** At the news conference, *Chief Coroner Jean Grenier* said all the victims have been identified and the families have been advised. Then, to a hushed room, he read the names and ages of the 14 dead women. He said autopsies were being carried out. (Dec 8 [1]; emphasis added)



THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS CATEGORIES: THE HORROR STORY

Formulations of the *setting* are themselves category-generative. The headline of the first story (E1 above) locates the event in “Montreal.” The first sentence of the article specifies the setting as the “University of Montreal.” The third sentence refers to “the six-storey engineering building of the Ecole Polytechnique, which is affiliated with the university.” In the eighth sentence “a crowded computer class” is introduced. Subsequently, reference is made to “the classroom,” “the halls and classrooms of the university’s engineering building,” “the building,” “two floors,” “the first to the second floor,” the “building cafeteria” and “the computer room.” This sequence of place formulations itself provides a nice example of the use of a “common-sense geography”—that of a university campus—to organize the telling of the story (see Sacks 1986; Schegloff 1972; Drew 1978; McHoul and Watson 1984; Eglin and Hester 1992: 249–250, 263; Hester and Eglin 1997b: 9–11). However, our point here is to bring out how the place formulations, from the “University of Montreal” on, provide for the relevance of identifying persons at the scene in terms of the hearably co-selected, university-campus categories of “students,” “teacher,” “professor,” “faculty,” “dean,” “president,” “students association” and so on. Moreover, like the membership categorization devices “family” and “baseball team,” the collection “university personnel” appears to have the property of “duplicative organization” (Sacks 1974). That is, not only does this setting-based collection provide, via the consistency rule, for readers to see that these are *university* students and teachers (and not, say, their primary or secondary school equivalents), readers may take it that these are students and teachers at one and the same university, *this* university, the University of Montreal. Thus, from Extract 1:

- E10** Claude St. Laurent, a spokesman for the Montreal police, said the man taken away in handcuffs was being questioned. Some

students said they recognized the man as a *part-time physics teacher*. (Dec 7 [1]; emphasis added)

- E11** Witnesses said two and perhaps three men—one of them carrying a hunting rifle—burst into a crowded computer class about 5:30 p.m., shouting anti-feminist slogans.

“He (the man with the gun) ordered the men and women to separate sides of the classroom,” said Louis Hamel, 24, a *second-year engineering student*. (Dec 7 [1]; emphasis added)

That is, once again, the unexplained appearance of “students” in the fifth sentence of the opening article (after four sentences of police action) is the appearance of a class of characters cued from the first sentence by the description of the scene in terms of a “relevant category environment” (Jayyusi 1984: 135) founded in the initial characterization of the setting as a “university.” In chapter 3 we shall argue that the description of the setting in terms of the categories and category-tied activities “belonging” to a university campus is a crucial resource for the making of a horror story out of the events of the massacre. Here, however, our purpose is, to repeat, to provide for who it is who turns up in these stories. To return to the cases at hand, readers may have recourse to the same device to find the identity of the “students” referred to in the headline of the second story on the first day of coverage, appearing on page five:

- E12** Terrified *students* describe shooting scene. (Dec 7 [2]; emphasis added)

Some further examples follow:

- E13** Still in shock after the massacre at the Ecole Polytechnique late Wednesday afternoon, teary-eyed *students and members of the faculty* huddled in the lobby of the school recounting the ordeal and mourning their friends.

...

Helene David, *psychology professor* at the University of Montreal, urged anyone traumatized by the tragic event to seek help as soon as possible.

...

“This is perhaps the first crime perpetrated against a whole sex. That’s what this is all about,” said *University of Montreal criminologist*, Jean-Paul Brodeur. (Dec 8 [2]; emphasis added)

- E14** It does not appear to be coincidence that Mr. Lepine chose the engineering school, one of life’s remaining male enclaves being entered by women. (“What do I say to the parents,” asked Louis Courville, *dean of the engineering school*, his voice breaking with

In this way, then, under the auspices of “character appears on cue” these categories and predicates provide for the coherence of juxtaposed and sequentially organized discrete items of information as they turn up in the reportage. They provide, that is, for the story of the Montreal Massacre itself, in two senses of news story—that is, the sense in which the expression may be used to refer to a particular bounded textual item, a particular news report, and that in which it may be used to refer to one or other ongoing story being told in such reports and in associated commentary. For with these resources the newspaper may produce an elaborate skein of actual stories, each one touched off by some predicated tie to, or transformation of, the initial set of categories. There may be a big story and a variety of little stories, and these of course can change their status over time. What we wish to bring out here is how the category-generated stories that make the Montreal Massacre an observable, news-reportable, members’ phenomenon are made formally possible by the simple norm-based relationship expressed in the phrase “character appears on cue.” The stories themselves—of crime, horror, tragedy, gun control, the killer, what we call in contradistinction to the last the “killer’s story,” and the story of violence against women—these we take up in the succeeding chapters.



CHAPTER 3

The Stories of Crime, Horror, Tragedy, Gun Control, and the Killer



INTRODUCTION

IN THE LAST CHAPTER WE CONSIDERED the various story characters who appeared on cue in relation to different aspects of the phenomenon of the Montreal Massacre. For the telling of different stories, each of which offered a different conceptualization, as it were, the arrival on the scene of a restricted collection of categorical incumbents was both unsurprising and appropriate, both reasonable and unremarkable. That it was so arose from the stories' reliance and dependence on taken for granted category-organizational resources. In this chapter we now turn to several of the particular stories themselves and examine in more detail their organizational accomplishment.



THE CRIME STORY

As noted in chapter 2, what the reader gets initially is a *crime* story founded in the standardized relational pair of categories “offender” and “victim(s),” and in the membership categorization device we called “parties to a homicide investigation” (PHI). The reported event is a mass killing that quickly becomes a “mass murder.” The “offender” becomes a “killer.” For about a week it's a detective story, as follows:

E32 MAN IN MONTREAL KILLS 14 WITH RIFLE

A gunman went on a rampage at the University of Montreal last night, killing 14 people before shooting himself dead.

Police took away a second suspect in handcuffs an hour after the shootings began. Late last night, a heavily armed police tactical team was combing the six-storey engineering building of the Ecole Polytechnique, which is affiliated with the university, for a possible third suspect.

Claude St. Laurent, a spokesman for the Montreal police, said the man taken away in handcuffs was being questioned. Some students said they recognized the man as a part-time physics teacher, but police would not confirm that or release his name.

Police also would not release the name of the gunman or any of the 14 other dead people. (Dec 7 [1])

E33 Killer's letter blames feminists

Suicide note contains apparent hit list of 15 women

The man who killed 14 women and wounded 12 other people at the University of Montreal on Wednesday wrote a three-page suicide letter that began by saying he was going to die on Dec. 6.

The man, whom police identified last night as Marc Lepine, unleashed a vicious diatribe against women as the reason for the shooting rampage. Police revealed that the letter contained what appeared to be a hit list of 15 women, all Quebec personalities, apparently including one provincial cabinet minister.

Detectives refused to release the names, noting that each woman would be interviewed by police in the coming days.

Minutes before an afternoon news conference was to begin, homicide detectives learned the killer's identity. But Andre Tessier, head of the Montreal Urban Community criminal investigation division, refused to release the name. He said his detectives still had to get in touch with the man's family so that a member could make a positive identification. Police confirmed the killer's name later.

At the news conference, Jacques Duchesneau, director of MUC's organized crime unit, would not release the handwritten letter, which was found in Mr. Lepine's pocket. He said the letter was being analyzed forensically.

However, Mr. Duchesneau did highlight several points made by Mr. Lepine.

"First, he mentioned he was doing this for political reasons. He said feminists have always ruined his life; that he wasn't too happy in life, particularly in the last seven years; that he was rejected from the Canadian Army because he was not sociable; and he made a reference to Corporal Denis Lortie, saying he was only doing what Mr. Lortie did."

(Mr. Lortie killed three people with a machine-gun in the Quebec National Assembly on May 8, 1984.)

Mr. Duchesneau said a photograph of Mr. Lepine had been taken at the morgue for distribution to the news media, but it was not released because police had discovered the man's identity "just a minute before we came into the room."

The person imbued with the sense of powerlessness over his own life in a world of larger and larger impersonal institutions. The devotee of Rambo cultural imagery, seeing in it the solution to the individual's societal impotence.

...

It is the social conditions that produce Marc Lepine—and more and more Marc Lepines—that concern me. (Dec 11 [3])

Although it is revealed in the reporting that the killer had a plan, had bought a gun and rented a car, that his target was “feminists” (including a “hit list”) and his motive was “political,” nevertheless neither the *Globe and Mail* nor the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* pursues the “political angle” in their reporting.⁴ Though one tiny article in each paper reports that, respectively, a “Violent film on terrorists preceded tragedy” (Dec 9 [2]), and “TV aired movie of terror in the classroom” (*KWR*, Dec 9 [2]), and one commentator (Sasha McInnes) is reported asserting in an open letter to men “This is a men’s issue, this is men’s violence; this terrorism and these deaths are your creations and your shame” (Dec 11 [4]), the newspaper does not call the killer a terrorist, nor is he compared to other terrorists. His political goals are not elaborated, the question of the efficacy of his methods not raised. Rather, as we have already noted, he is framed by a list the newspaper provides of previous “mass murders” (Dec 8 [11]), quite a different scheme of interpretation. The structure and content of the reporting, based in the categories of description employed, exhibits a preference for viewing him as an instance of social pathology rather than as the “rational erudite” he sought to be. This, then, is a story about a killer, but not, except in briefest part, the “killer’s story.” This, too, then, is an embedded commentary informing the Montreal Massacre as a members’ phenomenon.

It is also a view that stands in marked contrast to the idea, which we examine in the next chapter, that “he was not a very politically astute man, but he was, as terrorists are, more political than the people who try to understand him socially or psychologically.” (McCormack 1990: 32)

PART 2

The Montreal Massacre and Moral Order



Accounting for the Massacre: Categories and Social Structure



INTRODUCTION

IN THIS CHAPTER OUR INTEREST is in members' methods of accounting for the murders. The attentive reader will have noticed that explanatory elements are already contained in various of the stories considered in the previous chapters. Such accounts occur in, and are thereby partly constitutive of, the crime story, the story about the killer, the killer's story, and notably the story of violence against women. Here our interest is in examining these accounts for their own formal features. In particular, our concern is with members' uses of social structure and social context as explanatory devices. A significant part of the Montreal Massacre as a members' phenomenon consists in the methods whereby it is produced, we might say "socialized," as a *societal* phenomenon. As we said in chapter 5, but did not analyze there, the transformation of the killings into a story of violence against women consisted not only in the collecting of the killer's actions with a range of other actions deemed instances of the phenomenon "violence against women" but also in their *explanation* in terms of "violence-against-women" theorizing, and in the *formulation of their consequences* for women and society generally. In this and the next chapter we will examine members' accounts of causes and consequences in our materials and take the opportunity to engage long-standing sociological debates about these matters.

We wish to show how membership categorization analysis, as ethnomethodology, can offer a novel point of view on traditional sociological problems by respecifying the study of such issues as the relation of individual and society, the link between social structure and social action, and the connection between motivation and action. It is our contention that all sociological areas as traditionally investigated, whether demarcated as theoretical or substantive, not only rest for their intelligibility on but also constitute forms of membership categorization on the part of the sociologist. Our style of presentation changes accordingly. In previous chapters our purpose was to exhibit *in* the

news stories and commentary the use of various methods of practical reasoning through which they are put together. We attended closely to the materials and presented them in detail. Here and in the next chapter, in contrast, our tack is to more patiently develop a sociological position *on* some aspects of our materials. We write, then, more argumentatively and programmatically, and use the materials more illustratively. At the same time we seek to develop the account we have presented in outline elsewhere (Hester and Eglin 1997d, 1997e).



SOCIOLOGY, ETHNOMETHODOLOGY, AND THE EXPLANATION OF CONDUCT

If sociology's original questions, such as "how is society possible?" and "how is social order possible?" were good ones, sociology's answers have been overwhelming in their partiality and spectacular in their omissions. The fundamental reason for this state of affairs and, in particular, for the lack of sociological attention to the detail of social life is sociology's preoccupation with *theorizing* its object of inquiry, rather than inspecting those naturally occurring sites of human activity in and through which social life is *done* and social order *accomplished* and *displayed*. In contrast, a key feature of ethnomethodology is its study policy, its analytic mentality, which insists on doing empirical studies, by working on materials to see what can be discovered in and from them, rather than selecting problems and data on the basis of some theoretically specified agenda (Sharrock and Watson 1989: 434–435; Hester and Eglin 1997b). From this point of view, sociologists have not only missed the detailed, interior "whatness" of social life, they have also unwittingly denied themselves access to the constituent practices through which social order is accomplished and members' sense of society manifested. This is not to deny sociology's achievements *on its own terms*, nor is it to adopt a constructionist model of society or social reality. The products of sociology's formal analytic (Garfinkel 1991) theorizing may be massive achievements in their own right, but they do not illuminate the endogenously accomplished orderliness of social activities and phenomena. Instead, they substitute externally generated theoretical models of how the social world works for an observationally based appreciation of how social life is ordered *from within*.

Ethnomethodology, from its inception, has sought to respecify sociological and criminological phenomena, to treat as a topic of inquiry in its own right that which is taken for granted as a resource in sociology, and to treat procedurally the social facts that are sociology's stock in trade. Studies (Garfinkel 1967; Cicourel 1964; etc) have shown that professional sociology relied upon and took for granted a panoply of everyday knowledge and practical reasoning, whose use rendered its subject matter intelligible and available in the first place. As Sharrock and Watson (1989: 433) declare, "Sociology itself is a natural language pursuit, one carried on and reported in some one of the variety of

“Systematic slaughter is without precedent” (Dec 8 [6]), he subsumes the killings under the category “mass murders,” adduces a criminologist to describe and explain the social distribution of the phenomenon, classifies the phenomenon by type of victim (“blacks, Asians, Hispanics, children, and workmates”), then invites expert commentary on what is now the novel type, the mass murder of women:

E122 Before the mid-1960s, mass murders were very few. Criminologist James Fox of Boston’s Northeastern University says there now are 30 a year in the United States—murders which he classifies as having more than four victims. He predicts a steady increase, as more and more baby-boomers become discontent with life.

He said seven of the 10 biggest mass murders in US history have occurred in the 1980s. He talked about the contributing criteria of job dissatisfaction, too few social supports such as close friends and family, the greater incidence of media-portrayed violence and the greater availability of high-powered weapons.

Mass murderers have chosen blacks, Asians, Hispanics, children and workmates as their targets. But we haven’t had this happen before: the choice of women.

Senator Lorna Marsden, a University of Toronto sociologist specializing in women’s issues, characterized the Montreal murders as the historical continuity of violence against women. (Dec 8 [6])

In the second column, “Litany of social ills created Marc Lepine” (Dec 11 [3]; see figure 1), he argues the case that attributing the killings to the collection of, and thereby explaining them in terms of, “men’s abuse of women... lets too many people off the hook.”

FIGURE 1

Litany of social ills created Marc Lepine

MICHAEL VALPY

Marc Lepine’s killing of 14 women is being turned solely into an issue of men’s abuse of women. This lets too many people off the hook.

To be sure, I have asked questions of my 16-year-old daughter I have never asked before. Has she ever felt physically threatened by males? Yes. Has she ever felt physically afraid of males? Yes. This is my precious daughter, in her normal, secure, middle-class world.

“It was so close to us. He could have come into our school, he could have come after us women.” Us Women is what she said.

But what if Marc Lepine had gone after blacks, Asians, children as the cause of his woes, as other mass murderers have gone after blacks, Asians, children? And what if my daughter were black, Asian, a child?

In the past two decades, mass murder has become a footprint of North America.

Marc Lepine fit to a T the mass murderer's profile. The loner, pathologically alienated from the supports of close friends and family. The person imbued with the sense of powerlessness over his own life in a world of larger and larger impersonal institutions. The devotee of Rambo cultural imagery, seeing in it the solution to the individual's societal impotence.

Will we go demonstrating in the streets this week—holding vigils, carrying candles, wearing white scarves—in protest against the depersonalization of humanity in a First World society greed-driven to constructing corporate and social structures that screw the poor and robotize the rest of us?

Will we demand that our politicians take action against spirit-breaking housing costs, against the shattering humility of private charity food banks, against the untrammelled growth dehumanizing our cities and destroying the soul-nurturing tranquility of the rural landscape, against the obscenity of \$300 teddy bears in Christmas toyshops.

Will we boycott the products of corporations that treat their workers as faceless cogs, mere human machinery to be dismantled at whim, tossed out, say, if there is a chance for a few extra bucks profit by moving the factory south of the border?

Will we denounce the Prime Minister's unctuous hypocrisy? "Why such violence in a society that considers itself civilized and compassionate?" Brian Mulroney asked.

The answer, in part, is because his government reduces unemployment insurance benefits and expenditures on health, education and welfare while his Finance Minister shills \$1,000 bottles of cognac in a Toronto magazine.

Mr. Mulroney's government is a statement—such as we haven't heard in Canada in this century—of our evaporating social compassion. In the five years of his administration, one million Canadians—40 per cent of them children—have become dependent upon private charity food banks in order to eat.

Can there be a woman—or man—in Canada who does not recognize the breeding grounds for Marc Lepines? The stone weights of poverty and powerlessness on families. The urban isolation. The depersonalized workplace. The ghastly cultural images of resolution . . . get your gun, get your military fatigues, be a man, take a man's way out . . .

Can someone—maybe Justice Minister Douglas Lewis—explain why anyone needs to buy automatic or semi-automatic weapons? We've shot up just about all the animals within easy reach. What's left . . . except blacks, Asians, children, women?

It is the social conditions that produce Marc Lépine—and more and more Marc Lépinés—that concern me. Not enough of us have been driven mad yet for us to be really interested in building a civilized, compassionate society.

Source: *Globe and Mail*, Monday, December 11, 1989, A8.

Rather than being (merely) a case of a mass killing of *women* and hence an instance of *male violence against women*, Valpy argues again that the killings belong to the collection “mass murder” and that along with other mass murders (for example of blacks, Asians, etc.) the murder of the Montreal women has to be seen in terms of a wider social configuration: “a world of larger and larger impersonal institutions.” In a kind of sociological functionalist analysis the author lists social ills that are apparently connected to mass murder: “the depersonalization of humanity in a First World society greed-driven to constructing corporate and social structures that screw the poor and robotize the rest of us”; “spirit-breaking housing costs,” “the shattering humility of private charity banks,” “the untrammelled growth dehumanizing our cities and destroying the soul-nurturing tranquility of the rural landscape,” the treatment of “workers as faceless cogs, mere human machinery to be dismantled at whim, tossed out, say, if there is a chance for a few extra bucks profit.” And more particularly, because “government reduces unemployment insurance benefits and expenditures on health, education and welfare,” and because of a wider “evaporating social compassion,” we have “the breeding grounds for Marc Lépinés. The stone weights of poverty and powerlessness on families. The urban isolation. The depersonalized workplace. The ghastly cultural images of resolution . . . get your gun, get your military fatigues, be a man, take a man’s way out.” The passage is, in its way, a remarkable theorization of the relations between social structural conditions, culture and government policy. In short, “It is the social conditions that produce Marc Lépine—and more and more Marc Lépinés—that concern me. Not enough of us have been driven mad yet for us to be really interested in building a civilized, compassionate society.”

We note here that not only are wider contextual features in the form of various categories of social configuration being invoked but also that there is more to the commentary than cause-and-effect analysis. The commentator can be clearly heard to allocate blame for the events. Indeed, this blame allocation was hinted at earlier in the *Globe and Mail* (Dec 8 [3]) editorial writer’s account (“cannot be disowned”). In allocating blame to the “wider society” and by implication to “us,” the author can be heard to engage in moral ordering work. Thus, by extension, the *offenders* in this case include those responsible for the objectionable social configurations and not just the murderer who emerged from them. There is also a hint of excuse in this account, namely that Lépine was “driven mad” by the social context in which he was “socialized.”

Such theorizing affords clues, perhaps, to the hidden normative character of professional functionalist-sociological theorizing.

In the third column, “Risk of murder linked to non-domestic roles” (Dec 12 [6]), Valpy again gives a voice to social scientists, this time to test the thesis that there is a “growing ‘male backlash against feminism’” that may explain Lépine’s actions. This most professionally sociological of the three articles evokes (but does not mention) Durkheim’s concept of anomie, or insufficient regulation, as an explanation of women’s increased risk of being murdered. It is perhaps worth providing Durkheim’s account here to appreciate the long explanatory tradition in which Valpy’s column stands. By anomie, Durkheim meant that “loss of place” or the experience of “not knowing one’s place” that comes from sudden changes of fortune. One’s sense of social status, of where one belongs, of what one may reasonably aspire to—these matters are largely given by one’s occupational rank in society. But it is just the character of industrial, as opposed to feudal, society to be struck with periodic crises, the effect of which is to upset the balance of things. Whether the crisis is one of boom or bust, the old scale is upset: “something like a declassification occurs,” Durkheim says in *Suicide*. Since no “living being can be happy or even exist unless his needs are sufficiently proportioned to his means,” and since in humans that regulation is not physically built in, it must be moral in origin. But since society is the source of moral regimens then social change brings moral *deregulation*. “Appetites, not being controlled by a public opinion become disoriented, no longer recognize the limits proper to them.” This state of societal dis-ease eventuates in a rise in suicide rate. In this way Durkheim explains the rise in suicide rate at times of economic boom or bust. Moreover, in the industrial and commercial occupational groups “the state of crisis and anomie is constant and, so to speak, normal”—thus the higher suicide rates of these groups.

However, for periods of economic depression the aggregate rise in suicide rates conceals variation by class: suicide rates rise in the upper classes but do not change significantly among the lower classes. Instead, *homicide* rates increase in the lower classes. In their *Suicide and Homicide*, Henry and Short (1954) introduced a “frustration-aggression” hypothesis into a basically Durkheimian theory to explain this. Economic loss was said to cause frustration which was said to cause acts of aggression. *The powerless directed their aggression at others whom they held responsible for their losses, whereas the powerful directed it at themselves*. Thus, when times were bad, lower-class individuals committed more homicides, upper-class individuals more suicides (see Eglin 1985). Valpy’s column draws on current sociological research in which moral deregulation resulting from *gender declassification* is the pertinent phenomenon. The “more women step outside traditional domestic roles” the greater the rate of “excess female homicide” (presumably above a Durkheimian equilibrium figure for “normal” female homicide) consequent upon women

losing the “protective advantage [Durkheim again] against murder [from] remain[ing] in traditional settings.”



CONCLUSION

PROFESSIONAL SOCIOLOGISTS do not have privileged access to ideas of social context. Lay persons make use of such a method for making sense and for providing accounts.⁴ Such explanatory uses of social context by laypeople are similar to the methods of professional sociologists. Are professional sociological accounts parasitic on lay members' methods? Are they just extensions thereof? Such accounts do moral ordering work, allocating blame and responsibility. Not for nothing, then, is sociology a moral science. Social configurations have predicates in the same way as personal membership categories do; that is, actions follow from (are conceptually tied to) particular social configurations. Furthermore, we note that such moral ordering work is in line with the anthropomorphization of social configurations and the increasingly prevalent combination of critical with descriptive ethnography.



Appendix

IN THE TEXT WE PRESENT the data in the form of numbered extracts (for example, E1) consisting of a part or the whole of an article. In one case, a whole article is presented in the form of a separate figure. Each article is itself identified by its date of publication together with a number. In the case of the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* we add the prefix *KWR* to distinguish its articles from those in the *Globe and Mail*. The numbers simply distinguish the different articles published on our topic on that day. The order of the numbers generally reflects the order of appearance of the articles in the paper; that is, for example [2] appears either on the same page as, or on a later page, than [1]. Some of the *KWR* citations have no number, as we referred to one article only from the paper for that day. The following lists give, for each paper, in chronological order, the title, byline, and page number of each article according to its date and number in the text. Where an article appeared on the front page, we indicate whether or not it was the lead article. In a page number like, for example, A7, the A refers to the main news section of the paper; a B refers to the Local section of the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*; a D refers to the Focus section of the Saturday *Globe and Mail*, which contains major feature articles and editorials. Bold face indicates that the original headline was either in particularly large type or particularly bold face or both. Underlining indicates underlining in the original, while italics indicate a slanted typeface in the original.



THE GLOBE AND MAIL

- Dec 7 [1] “**Man in Montreal kills 14 with rifle,**” Canadian Press and Staff, Montreal, front page (lead article).
- Dec 7 [2] “Terrified students describe shooting scene,” Canadian Press, Montreal, page A5.
- Dec 8 [1] “**Killer’s letter blames feminists** / *Suicide note contains apparent hit list of 15 women,*” by Victor Malarek, the *Globe and Mail*, Montreal, front page (lead article).

- Dec 8 [2] "Quebec mourns senseless deaths," by Patricia Poirier and Barrie McKenna, the *Globe and Mail*, Montreal, front page.
- Dec 8 [3] "Why were women in the gunsight?" Editorial, page A6.
- Dec 8 [4] "The massacre in Montreal / **Speaking about the unspeakable**," by Emil Sher, Mr. Sher is a Montreal writer, Montreal, page A7.
- Dec 8 [5] "A time for grief and pain," by Diana Bronson. Ms Bronson is a Montreal journalist who wrote the following commentary for CBC Radio's *Morningside* program, Montreal, page A7.
- Dec 8 [6] "Systematic slaughter is without precedent," MICHAEL VALPY, page A8.
- Dec 8 [7] "*Hundreds in Toronto mourn killing of 14 women*," by Stevie Cameron, page A13.
- Dec 8 [8] "Opposition MPs demand long-promised gun control," by Richard Cleroux and Craig McInnes, the *Globe and Mail*, Ottawa, page A13.
- Dec 8 [9] "Police suspected more than 1 sniper was loose in school," by Benoit Aubin, the *Globe and Mail* with Canadian Press, Montreal, page A13.
- Dec 8 [10] "Mass murders not increasing, Canadian anthropologist says," by Robert MacLeod, page A13.
- Dec 8 [11] "*Canada's past includes other mass shootings*," Canadian Press, page A13.
- Dec 8 [12] "14 dead women identified," Canadian Press, Montreal, page A13.
- Dec 9 [1] "*Don't have feelings of guilt, woman hurt in massacre urges her fellow students*," by Benoit Aubin, the *Globe and Mail*, Montreal, front page.
- Dec 9 [2] "*Violent film on terrorists preceded tragedy*," Canadian Press, Montreal, page A6.
- Dec 9 [3] "*Killer fraternized with men in army fatigues*," by Victor Malarek, the *Globe and Mail*, Montreal, page A6.
- Dec 9 [4] "Lewis will not commit to tough 1978 gun law that wasn't proclaimed," by Graham Fraser, the *Globe and Mail*, Ottawa, page A6.
- Dec 9 [5] "**OUR DAUGHTERS, OURSELVES**," by Stevie Cameron, page D1.
- Dec 9 [6] "Violence and anger," WORD PLAY by John Allemang, page D6.
- Dec 11 [1] "Thousands of mourners wait in silence to pay final respects to slain women," Staff and Canadian Press, Montreal, front page.
- Dec 11 [2] "Aware of symbolism," letter to the editor, page A6.
- Dec 11 [3] "Litany of social ills created Marc Lepine," MICHAEL VALPY page A8.
- Dec 11 [4] "Slayings deal blow to gender relations, murder expert says," Staff and Canadian Press, page A9.

- Dec 11 [5] “*Families, friends remember victims’ lives,*” Canadian Press, Montreal, page A9.
- Dec 11 [6] “Ease of getting gun in Canada ‘unacceptable,’ Mulroney says,” the *Globe and Mail*, Meech Lake, Que., page A9.
- Dec 12 [1] “3,500 friends, relatives bid a tearful farewell to murdered students,” by Victor Malarek, the *Globe and Mail*, Montreal, front page.
- Dec 12 [2] “**‘Men cannot know the feelings of fear’**”/ Yet an anti-feminist backlash has been intensified by the massacre in Montreal,” by Melanie Randall. Ms Randall is a doctoral student in political science at York University and a researcher-activist in the field of women and violence, page A7.
- Dec 12 [3] “More massacre details to be released by police, but an inquiry ruled out,” by Victor Malarek, the *Globe and Mail* with Canadian Press, Montreal, page A14.
- Dec 12 [4] “Quebec engineers observe day of mourning,” by Barrie McKenna, the *Globe and Mail*, Montreal, page A14.
- Dec 12 [5] “Tension grows at Queen’s over sexism controversy,” by Stevie Cameron and Orland French, the *Globe and Mail*, page A14.
- Dec 12 [6] “Risk of murder linked to non-domestic roles,” MICHAEL VALPY, A8.
- Dec 13 [1] “Police refusal to answer questions leaves lots of loose ends in killings,” by Victor Malarek, the *Globe and Mail*, Montreal, page A18.
- Dec 13 [2] “1,000 fill church in Montreal to mourn victim of massacre,” by Patricia Poirier, the *Globe and Mail*, Montreal, page A18.
- Dec 13 [3] “Students’ newspaper warned to end sexism,” by Orland French, the *Globe and Mail*, page A18.
- Dec 16 [1] “The self-centred hype of Montreal massacre,” LISE BISSONNETTE, page D2.



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- Dec 7 [1] “**Killer hated women** / 14 dead in rampage at college,” by Penn MacRae, The Canadian Press, Montreal, front page (lead article).
- Dec 7 [2] “‘Joke’ turns into terror / ‘It was a human hunt, we were the quarry,’” Montreal (CP), front page.
- Dec 7 [3] “Last day of classes suddenly shattered,” by Andrew McIntosh, *Montreal Gazette*, Montreal, page A5.
- Dec 7 [4] “Policeman finds body of daughter,” Montreal (CP), page A5.
- Dec 7 [5] “Justice consultant urges stricter gun control laws,” Ottawa (CP), page A5.
- Dec 9 [1] “300 at Guelph ceremony mourn death of students,” by Margaret Mironowicz, *Record* staff, Guelph, front page.

- Dec 9 [2] "TV aired movie of terror in the classroom," Montreal (CP), page A8.
- Dec 11 [1] "Canada grieves brutal killings / 10,000 pay respects in Montreal," Record wire services, page A1.
- Dec 11 [2] "Marc Lepine: abused child who grew up to be a quitter," Montreal (CP), page A8.
- Dec 11 [3] "Priest confesses shame over 14 slain," by Margaret Mironowicz, Record staff, Cambridge, page B1.
- Dec 11 [4] "100 attend Speaker's Corners vigil for 14 women slain in Montreal," by Monica Gutschi, Record staff, page B3.
- Dec 12 [1] "Mourners see better world / Massacre debated as 14 buried," Montreal (CP), front page.
- Dec 12 [2] "Grieving together," Editorial, page A6.
- Dec 12 [3] "Massacre proves need for ban on automatic guns," Christopher Young, Ottawa, page A6.
- Dec 12 [4] "'He'd never ask for help' / The murderer of 14 university women grew up with a brutal father," by Rod MacDonell, Elizabeth Thompson, Andrew McIntosh, and William Marsden, Montreal, page A7.
- Dec 13 [1] "Killings rekindle panty-raid debate," by Rose Simone, Record staff, B1.
- Dec 13 [2] "Girl photos bumped to back pages by shooting," by Chisholm Macdonald, The Canadian Press, page A12.
- Dec 14 "Universities honor 14 dead / Hatred continues, uw service told," by Margaret Mironowicz, Record staff, page B1.
- Dec 18 "Montreal massacre shocks men into action," by Margaret Mironowicz, Record staff, page B1.
- Dec 29 "Montreal slayings seen as random violent acts," Toronto (CP), front page.



Notes



CHAPTER 1

- 1 Please see the Appendix for the conventions used in citing the news articles which comprise, save for Lépine's suicide letter, the entire corpus of materials on which this study is based. Also, according to the Publisher's Note in *The Montreal Massacre* (Malette and Chalouh 1991: [9]), "the reaction in Quebec, and specifically in the French-language media, is of great interest because it differs from reaction in the English-language media." We would be interested to see if such differences are reproduced by an analysis of the French-language media (by a knowledgeable French-speaking colleague) corresponding to the categorizational analysis we attempt here.
- 2 This claim may strike readers as controversial insofar as a common complaint on the part of feminists was that, to quote again the Publisher's Note in the principal source on the massacre, "while the mainstream media scrambled to ignore or downplay the significance of the victims being women, the analysis of feminists was ignored or ridiculed or rejected with hostility" (Malette and Chalouh 1991: [9]). The complaint is repeated by Mahood (1996: 367), and similar claims are made by Bart and Moran (1993: xiii) and Meyers (1997: 11). We consider them in more detail in note 2 of chapter 5. It should be added that the author of the aforesaid Publisher's Note is prepared to allow that "the English-language media, perhaps because of its relative distance from the event, allowed more information to filter through to the public"; nevertheless, "it too lacked the courage to step out of its role as the reflector of an essentially misogynist and patriarchal point of view" (Malette and Chalouh 1991: [9]).
- 3 A further argument for this position is that any theory of the media presupposes a knowledge of how the media work. But for us, what is readily observable is that members consume the media—in our case, read the papers—without benefit of instruction in any theory of the media. Somehow or other, both news producer and news reader are able to "make" the news with just the everyday, common-sense knowledge available to them. The news reader in particular is, and must be, able to "find" the news anew each day, with just the newspaper at hand, and with whatever everyday knowledge of the world s/he brings to the task (Hester and Eglin 1997c: 35–38). If members have methods for "seeing" the news in the print, then presumably these methods are available for recovery, inspection, and analysis by members who, for the purpose of doing ethnomethodological studies, put on the special theoretical attitude of the scientist. To adopt the *theoretical attitude* of the inquiring

scientist in order to make the everyday world as seen through the *natural attitude* strange—and thus available for analysis—is not, however, the same as working from, or towards, any particular *theory* of the social world, including a theory of the media. For the point of ethnomethodological studies is to recover the relevancies that the *members* bring to their everyday activities, and not to substitute for them the theory-driven relevancies of the professional sociological inquirer.

- 4 Early summary accounts are provided by Speier (1970, 1973). See also the very useful summary in Appendix One of Jayyusi (1984).



CHAPTER 2

- 1 We examine this study of Sacks's in more detail in chapter 4, where it is the model for our inquiry into the rationality of Marc Lépine's course of action.



CHAPTER 3

- 1 The incongruity between setting and action is one of the bases for the “contrast structures” that Dorothy Smith identifies in her classic analysis of “Angela’s” story of how “K” was becoming mentally ill (Smith 1978).
- 2 For the details of the subsequent story see Rathjen and Montpetit (1999).
- 3 Appeals by media commentators to such formulations of social context as “the society in which we live,” as a way of accounting for the Montreal Massacre, are examined for their membership categorization-analytic features in chapter 6 (see also Hester and Eglin 1997e).
- 4 This may be slightly unfair to Victor Malarek, the *Globe and Mail's* principal reporter of the story, who tried to get the police to release the “suicide letter” but to no avail, and who wrote a “final” story asking questions he claimed were going unanswered by the police (Dec 13 [1]). Moreover, these questions do go to the matter of the extent to which Marc Lépine had planned the murders. Nevertheless, beyond printing this article the newspaper did not pursue the political question.



CHAPTER 4

- 1 Two notable exceptions here, in the ethnomethodological tradition, which *does* recommend serious attention to naturally occurring accounts of (deviant) action, are Wieder (1974) and Zimmerman and Wieder (1977). In addition, it is quite apparent that the symbolic interactionist studies mentioned above are “reworkable” in the terms of membership categorization analysis, though this will not solve the decontextualized character of the accounts contained in them.
- 2 Just to be clear, in adopting Sacks's model of analysis for use here, we are not importing the substantive topic on which he developed his model. That is, we are not suggesting for a moment that Marc Lépine was engaged in a “search for help” and had found “no-one to turn to.”
- 3 Consider the strategic reasoning reported in “Palestine bombers were disguised as [ultra-orthodox] Jews... in white shirts and black jackets” (*The Record*, Aug 1, 1997, A7) in light of the following remarks by Jayyusi (1984: 69, 70): “In as much as political beliefs, religious affiliations and the like are revelatory matters, they are thus also matters for concealment.... In making publicly and routinely available at a glance what is not conventionally thus available [here, “religious person”] one may be thereby providing for a strong relationship to the revealed category incumbency. It may display and provide for an unequivocal, overriding category incumbency

- 4 See Jefferson (1984) for an insightful analysis of some sequential organizational features of news receipt.
- 5 The political effectiveness of *any* form of sociological inquiry is questionable in this regard.



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