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# CONNECTIONS

A BIENNIAL PUBLICATION OF THE WASHINGTON COALITION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT PROGRAMS



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## Feminist Theory and its Validity to Anti-Sexual Assault Work

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# AIN'T I A WOMAN?

By Sojourner Truth

Delivered 1851 at the Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio

Well, children, where there is so much racket there must be something out of kilter. I think that 'twixt the negroes of the South and the women at the North, all talking about rights, the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all this here talking about?

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man - when I could get it - and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?

Then they talk about this thing in the head; what's this they call it? [member of audience whispers, "intellect"] That's it, honey. What's that got to do with women's rights or negroes' rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half measure full?

Then that little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wasn't a woman! Where did your Christ come from? Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.

If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now they is asking to do it, the men better let them.

Obliged to you for hearing me, and now old Sojourner ain't got nothing more to say.



**Sojourner Truth**  
**CREATED/PUBLISHED**  
[1864(?)]

Copy photograph of original carte de visite in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Sojourner Truth Collection (MMC).

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## Director's Desk

*"Is feminism still valid?"* is the question that became the basis of this issue of Connections. As we began to contemplate that question it came became clear that the question has always been, *"Is feminism valid?"* First wave feminism, the women's suffrage movement 1860-1920, was viewed as a radical doctrine, focused on dividing the genders. It was thought to be a construct of white, middle class, heterosexual, educated women. Second wave feminism, the women's liberation movement 1960 - 1982, encountered exactly the same critique. As we head into the third wave of feminism, feminist circles continue struggle with the same issues. The question remains, *"Is feminism still valid?"* Yes, feminism is still valid. We may have come a long way baby, but until every women feels feminism is inclusive of her experience we still have a long way to go.

Lydia Guy  
Advocacy Education Director

# Feminist History of Rape

SUZANNE BROWN  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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*A nation is not conquered until the hearts of its women are on the ground. Then it is done, no matter how strong the weapons or how brave the warriors.*

— *Cheyenne Nation*

Rape is an expression of a violent culture that uses gender stereotyping, among other forms of oppression, to sanction and justify the brutalization of women, children and, increasingly, men. While the origins of sexual violence predate any statute or cultural collective, the manner by which social structures choose to intervene or ignore rape speaks volumes about larger norms.

Survivors of sexual violence testify again and again to the unique and devastating nature of rape. Their experiences and eloquence underscore the impact that sexual assault has on their lives.

*It wasn't an act of sex I went through, I felt like I was being murdered.*

*There was nobody to tell because I was afraid no one would believe me. So I kept quiet.*

*And then there is the pain. A breaking and entering when even the senses are torn apart. The act of rape on a eight year old body is the matter of the needle giving because the camel can't. The child gives, because the body can, and the mind of the violator can not.*

The origins of the word rape are found in the ancient Greek – to steal. The etymology of the word alone underscores the cultural assumptions locked within. Since recorded law until very recent history, the rape of women has been constructed as a property crime whose redress was directed to the husband or father of the victim.

In the Hamarabic code, women were seen as equally liable for acts of rape. Both the victim and perpetrator were subjected to death sentences. The appeals process was directed at husbands, only they could commute a death sentence for their wife.

Early Hebrew law also sentenced victim and rapist to death equally. However, there were concessions to time and place. If the assault occurred

within the city limits, the burden was placed on the woman to scream and demonstrate her lack of consent – the logic being that city residents would come and assist. Outside the city limits, where help was less likely to respond the punishment for the woman was eliminated and the perpetrator was forced to pay a bride price and marry his victim.

During the Middle Ages, Jewish women won the right to become litigants and pursue civil charges against perpetrators. In some limited circumstances, damages were even paid to victims themselves as opposed to husbands or fathers. This was the beginning of the conception of rape as a damage to the person, as opposed to the family estate.

During the reign of Henry II, women could file suit against their rapists, so long as they were not married to them. Women were referred to as the *prosecutrix* – a term occasionally still in use. Non-virgins were excluded from the ability to file suit. The standard of proof for this type of suit was blood, torn garments, and the vocality of the woman's objection in the aftermath. In this model, women were responsible for the prosecution and punishment of their rapists. It was also during the reign of Henry II that some of the first affirmative defenses were articulated: the woman was a concubine to the rapist, she consented, her accusations rose out of bitterness or jealousy, her family pressured her into making the accusation, or the defendant had an alibi.

It wasn't until Edward II that the canon of Western Law acknowledged that a non-virgin could be forcibly raped, but only by a non-spouse. Edwards's rule also had several other unique contributions to the legal construction of rape. It was under his reign that the concept of statutory rape was developed along with the differentiation of rape by degrees.

One of the most important changes was, however, the shift of rape as a crime against a person for which they have the responsibility to prosecute to the reality of

conceiving it as a crime against the state. For the first time in the West, the larger power structures of the community were charged with the prosecution of rape. While this represented an important step forward, that women still have no significant voice in criminal proceedings is another object to the larger process of justice. The implications of the criminal process on the safety, well being and long-term health of victims have been consistently underestimated.

Victims of sexual violence often characterize the investigative process necessary for the prosecution of sex crimes as the final act in a long series of violations. The invasive nature of the physical examinations, the rigor of the interview process, and the duration of time that transpires from allegation to trial wear down the resolve and stamina of even the most tenacious victims. The criminal process represents the ultimate polarization of rape: the public disclosure and examination of an intensely personal violation. While the representatives of law enforcement and prosecutorial agencies work tirelessly to ease the process of reporting rape, the reality will always remain: some victims, for very personal and important reasons, will never report their rape.

In the United States, the connection between rape, racism, and oppression is profound. In 1866 a brave group of African American women testified before congress about their sexual assaults during the Memphis Riots. They were, perhaps, the first women in this country to publicly speak out about rape. At that time, rape was a capitol offense only when Black man raped a White woman – the rape of a Black woman was not even considered a crime. It was their voices, and their courage that furthered the analysis and statutory construction of rape laws in this country.

Even with the introduction of Rape Shield laws, designed to mitigate the bias created by exploring

Continued onto next page

past sexual histories, victims are still suffering the moral judgement of juries. "In cases of sexual violence involving evidence of prior consenting sexual relationship, the victim's past will be scrutinized and judged in court, even with states with Rape Shield Laws. If women who have been used in prostitution, pornography and other areas of the sex industry bring action for redress of grievances, they rarely stand a chance for justice."

Although great strides have been made to facilitate the prosecution of rapists and increase reporting across this country, laws still exist that make exceptions for marital rape, define a lesser punishment for predators that commit incest, and make sentencing decisions without consulting victims.

*They finally told me they thought I was lying. They said I'd probably been having sex with my boyfriend and probably was afraid I was pregnant. They also theorized that my boyfriend had set me up for it. They wanted to know if he'd ever asked me to have relations with his friends.*

Extensive statutory definitions exist from state to state: Rape, Sexual Assault, Molestation, Incest, Sexual Abuse, Indecent Liberties, Communication with a Minor for Immoral Purposes and others. And while the history of these legal constructs is an important testament to the social conception of rape, for the victim / survivor of sexual violence, the definition is exceedingly simple: rape is coerced sex. The tools of coercion are varied: brute force, weapons, threats, dependence, poverty, isolation, and fear.

Rape is a part of a larger continuum of violence that finds its roots in the innocuous. Sexual violence can be seen as a continuum. All forms of sexual violence feed and draw strength from one another. Sexual violence can begin with emotional abuse, such as leers, comments and gestures. Sexual violence may also progress to more physical forms of abuse, such as molestation and rape.

Language that degrades and demeans whole groups of people allows for a conception of individuals that renders them less valuable than other individuals. These generalizations and stereotypes can serve as a rationalization for abuse and mistreatment. In the case of sexual assault, preconceptions regarding women of color, gays and lesbians have created biases that are very real barriers to reporting the violence and accessing necessary services.

Sexual violence occurs in environments that are harassing, threatening, and demeaning. Sexual violence is present when workers are sexually harassed. Sexual violence is present when women are raped and beaten for sport in movies. Sexual violence is present when women are demeaned and battered in pornography.

Words, pictures and attitudes create an environment in which sexual violence thrives. The media reflects and reinforces cultural values that make sexual violence acceptable. Media can also reinforce gender roles that encourage men and boys to be aggressive, and women and girls to be submissive. These early constructions of attitude and cultural belief create a foundation by which sexual violence can flourish.



Ending rape involves the integration of new policies and procedures that will facilitate both the pursuit of justice and the healing of victims. New, state-of-the-art programs such as blind reporting, Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner programs, Sexual Assault Response Teams, special assault teams, and the development of multi-disciplinary investigation protocols will assist jurisdictions in the prosecution of rapists and will help larger systems become more victim-centered.

The enhancement and refinement of Crime Victims Compensation Programs, and access to civil litigation will improve services to victims and their access to the legal system. Continuing, specialized education for law enforcement, prosecutors, defense bar representatives, and medical personnel will improve both outreach and resolution of rape claims.

*My pain I will always feel. But I Will Survive, and I hope you other victims do too. We are stronger than they thought.*

Collaboration between systems is an essential element of not only managing the crime of rape, but eliminating the culture that perpetuates it. The only humane and ethical approach ending rape focuses on the balance of prevention and intervention. This symbiotic relationship is based on a model of community collaboration.

*As a feminist, I carry the rape of all the women I've talked to over the past ten years personally with me. As a woman, I carry my own rape with me.*

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# Analysis of the Anti-Rape Movement

NORA BASHIR  
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Feminist theories are methods of creating and organizing knowledge that assume the socio-cultural construction of gender and the institutionalization of unequal power relations in society. Women's experiences and perspectives have been frequently excluded from traditional systems of knowledge, which tend to devalue them under "normative" male experience. By developing alternative conceptual frameworks for analyzing the circumstances of women's lives, feminist theory attempts to illuminate women's social position(s) and construct strategies for social, political, and personal change. Feminist theories have had such significant impact on research in sexual violence that they could constitute a paradigm shift.



If we use feminist theories as a framework through which to view sexual assault, we inherently examine the concepts of power, patriarchy and gender. Sexual violence is violence, not sex, and it is a public problem, not a private matter. With these theories, we are then able to explain in a much more detailed way the high incidence of sexual assault in our society. Feminist anti-rape movement literature, activism, and policy development on rape in the U.S. have increasingly concentrated on police procedures and legal definitions of rape. Although feminists drive to change the legal definition of rape, to increase the penalties for rape and to render the terms of a rape trial less prejudicial to the raped woman and have publicized rape's seriousness as a crime, these tactics have limited effectiveness for a politics of rape prevention.

Washington has a rich history of providing services to crime victims beginning in the 1970s. Community-based services for sexual assault victims began in 1973 in which women were engaged in the elimination of sexual violence.

Currently, a network of service providers operates throughout the state. Some are grassroots community-based programs founded on the philosophy that led to the development of the first sexual assault services. This philosophy centers on the need for the development and provision of services directed by and for sexual assault victims, and on the belief that sexual assault arises as an outcome of the systematic and culturally based inequality of men and women. The development of feminist self-help and service organizations, such as rape crisis centers, assumed a more reform-oriented stance and adopted relatively institutionalized structures and strategies for change.

Other services are provided through governmental organizations such as law enforcement agencies, county attorney offices and not-for-profit agencies, and are designed to enhance a victim's ability to be treated fairly and equitably by the criminal justice system. These programs strive to bring the rights of crime victims in balance with the priority the criminal justice system gives to the rights of those accused of a crime. The philosophical basis for these services is not grounded in feminist theory or in the belief that services must be developed and delivered by victims/survivors in order to be most effective. This difference in philosophy has resulted in the development of a diverse array of available services, and to disagreement between service providers as to how to best meet the needs of victims.

The formation of rape crisis centers and “Take Back the Night” marches are expressions of feminists insistence that government respond to male violence against women. Feminists also directly attack the notion that female victims of violence are in some measure to blame by virtue of provocative dress, behavior, or prior sexual experience. In the late 1970s they convinced policymakers that sexual harassment was a form of economic discrimination and that those who maintained workplaces were legally obligated to take action to prevent it. Some feminists have argued that material that objectifies women and equates violence against them with sexual pleasure is an invasion of their civil liberties. This interpretation represents a radical reformulation of traditional civil liberties arguments and a willingness on the part of some feminists to entertain reconsideration of the boundaries of protected speech.

Social change is complex and results from the interplay of many factors. Nowhere is this truer than in the women’s movement. Indeed diversity is a source of strength—a point made with renewed intensity in the 1980s by women of color. Their insistence that racism, classism, and sexism are multiple and interlocking forms of oppression has served to remind mainstream feminists that women speak in different voices from multiple historical, cultural, racial, economic, and sexual locations. The need to move beyond totalizing notions of “sisterhood,” recognizing the extent to which women have themselves been oppressors of other women, requires of mainstream feminism further transformation. There can be no mistaking black poet and feminist Audre Lorde’s meaning when she asked in her 1984 book, *Sister Outsider*, “What woman here is so enamored of her own oppression that she cannot see her footprint upon another woman’s face?” If feminism is to become genuinely egalitarian and multicultural, mainstream feminists who bear the greater responsibility for that transformation will have much to do.

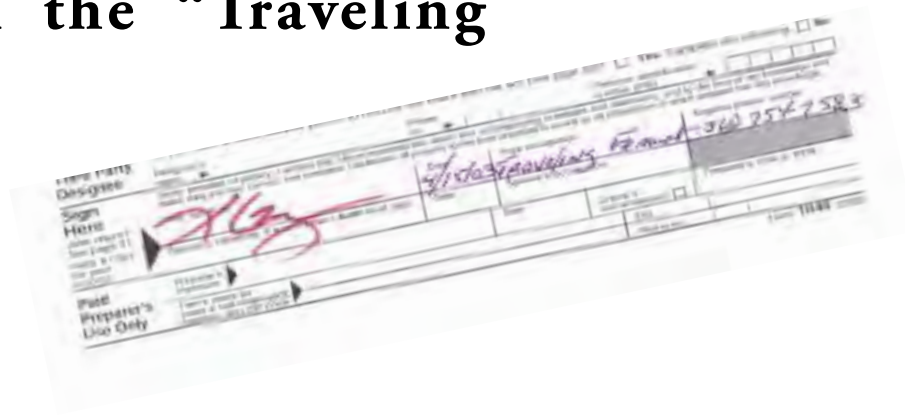
Meanwhile, the movement continues to expand even in the midst of antifeminist backlash as women continue to make the connection between the personal and the political as they confront in their own lives or the lives of others the trauma of rape, sexual harassment and other forms of sexual violence. They formed rape crisis centers so that rape victims could be treated by caring females; they agitated for more informed, sympathetic treatment on the part of hospital staff, the police, and the courts. Feminist anti-rape groups have received financial support from government agencies and private foundations to provide rape-prevention and treatment services in public schools and private universities. The widespread acceptance of the feminist analysis of rape as an act of violence and power rather than a strictly sexual act further attests to the impact of the feminist anti-rape movement.

Many current theories present rape as an inevitable material fact of life and assume that a rapist’s ability to physically overcome his target is the foundation of rape. Susan Brownmiller represents this view when she states in her influential 1975 book, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*, that “in terms of human anatomy the possibility of forcible intercourse undoubtedly exists. This single factor may have been sufficient to have caused the creation of a male ideology of rape. When men discovered that they could rape, they proceeded to do it (p.14)”

What kinds of feminist retheorizations of violence and coercion are possible? Feminist theories and their critical application offer a variety of bases from which to question and enlarge our values, our knowledge and our culture.



# Notes from the “Traveling Feminist”



LYDIA GUY  
ADVOCACY EDUCATION DIRECTOR  
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At this moment I am sitting on an airplane, my third of six flights this month, contemplating what it means to be a “traveling feminist.” I know in many ways it seems strange to contemplate such a thing, but I have my reasons. Most of which are related to the fact that I’ve been traveling a lot for work as well as doing a lot of training on feminist theory. Andrea Dworkin, a Feminist with a capital “F” has a line in her infamous speech, *I Want a Twenty-Four-Hour Truce*, in which she refers to herself as a traveling feminist

*...men come to me or to other feminists and say: “What you’re saying about men isn’t true. It isn’t true of me. I don’t feel that way. I’m opposed to all of this.” And I say: don’t tell me. Tell the pornographers. Tell the pimps. Tell the war makers. Tell the rape apologists and the rape celebrationists and the pro-rape ideologues. Tell the novelists who think that rape is wonderful. Tell Larry Flynt. Tell Hugh Hefner. There’s no point in telling me. I’m only a woman. There’s nothing I can do about it. These men presume to speak for you. They are in the public arena saying that they represent you. If they don’t, then you had better let them know.*

*Then there is the private world of misogyny: what you know about each other; what you say in private life; the exploitation that you see in the private sphere; the relationships called love, based on exploitation. It’s not enough to find some traveling feminist on the road and go up to her and say: “Gee, I hate it.”<sup>1</sup>*

This quote is what first brought this imagery to the forefront of my mind and prompted me to label myself so. Let me be clear though, I don’t imagine myself to be anywhere near as iconic as

Andrea. Her imagery merely inspired this train of thought. I was tempted to list traveling feminist as my occupation on my tax form this year, but didn't want to raise any unnecessary flags with the IRS. In actuality, my professional title is Advocacy Education Director for the Washington Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs. By definition, anyone hired into my position must possess basic knowledge of feminist rhetoric, history, theory and models. By nature I am one of those people who seeks to validate empirical knowledge through academic debate, discourse and dialogue. What you may be able to deduce from these facts is that I have probably spent far too much time contemplating what feminism means to me.

One of the tasks in my work plan covering the past two contract years has been to develop and present a curriculum on the philosophy underlying the current sexual assault service delivery system. At this point, I am feeling thoroughly submersed in feminist ideology. The curriculum developed has been provided to over one hundred people. Training participants have included:

Women and men, *predominantly women*

Advocates and therapists, *more advocates than therapists*

Rape crisis center staff and volunteers, *mostly staff*

Individuals working in urban and rural areas, *slightly more rural than urban*

Mainstream service providers as well service providers to historically marginalized populations, *overwhelmingly mainstream providers*

The one constant is that the topic has not failed to produce an emotional response in some portion of the participants at each training site. This response was somewhat unexpected. Examining the demographics of the training group one might assume these audiences would have been fairly comfortable with the tenants of feminism. In writing the curriculum we made a conscious effort to provide a balanced view of feminism, to critique its limitations as well as celebrate its



strengths. The feminists discussed spanned a century and ranged from Margaret Sanger to Rebecca Walker. There were even sections encouraging participants to develop their own definition of feminism as well as asking the question, “Is feminism relevant to your work?” In spite of this, someone, always, found the topic disturbing. Most of those who were upset seem to be most distressed about the idea of spending time dwelling in negativity. I found the concept of labeling the discussion of a difficult topic as negative quite intriguing. One of the basic tenants of rape crisis work is that people need to be able to speak their truth, and that society needs to acknowledge the pain and suffering caused by sexual violence. So, it never occurred to me that people attending core sexual assault service delivery training would be significantly concerned by emotionally difficult content.

In explaining feminism, I tend to start by talking about sexism. I then try to discuss sexism in larger philosophical framework by connecting it all forms of oppression. In my opinion any discussion of feminism that does not include a linkage to other oppressions is incomplete. And, in order to understand the concept of oppression you usually need to discuss the concepts of privilege, isms and prejudice in our society. None of which I would necessarily categorize as lighthearted conversation. However, I don't view these topics as negative but as enlightening. It has been my experience that in every society individuals are born into that society with different levels of inherent privilege. Exploring this propensity is important because it helps me understand the world in which we live. It helps provide an explanation as to why as a woman I earn 76 cents to every dollar a man earns or why people assume I've never taken (and passed) a calculus class. Comprehending how oppression works is very much to me like comprehending gravity, it lets me know why when I drop things they pretty much always fall to the ground.

In this recent exploration of feminism I have come to two conclusions:

1. I have a personal definition of feminism. “Feminism is a discipline that seeks to nullify the effects of sexism”
  2. As a society we still have a complex and uneasy relationship with the term, “Feminism”. For many, it began as and remains a radical doctrine. Borrowing from Shakespeare, I would most simply say, *“A feminist by any other name would still be called revolutionary”*.
- ...it just boils down to whether to you view revolution as positive or negative.

# A Twenty-Four Hour Truce: 10 years later

RYAN WARNER

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Twenty years ago, feminist scholar and academic Andrea Dworkin gave a speech at the Midwest Regional Conference of the National Organization for Changing Men in Saint Paul, Minnesota. At this conference Dworkin called for a 24-hour truce in which no women are raped. The original speech has been transcribed and published in numerous publications, and has become a manifesto for the feminist movement. [see reprint on page 17] As groundbreaking as this piece may have been, is it still relevant to the work done by sexual assault centers and their allies? I would submit to you that the conditions that promoted Andrea Dworkin's words in 1983 are still present today.

Many people who have read the speech have reacted to the anger of the speech; and described Dworkin's words towards men as divisive. Dworkin points this anger towards men because it is men who rape women. This is not to say that men are not also victims of sexual assault but predominantly men are the perpetrators of violence against women. Men and the power and control we exercise against women and children have created a war against women. Andrea Dworkin demands that men stand up, take accountability for that and organize against it. So what does this mean?

In the past men have gotten together in numerous forums and functions. We have gathered together and talked, read books, and gotten in touch with our inner manhood. Yet men still continue to profit from a fashion industry based on impossible gender models, men continue to wage wars worldwide that take the lives of thousands of innocent people, and men continue to rape women. Dworkin demands that men come out of their circles protected by patriarchy and speak up against sexism, rape, and violence against women.

During recent conversations about this essay I heard women say that the essay is too harsh towards men, and that the tone demonizes men. In my opinion, this response demonstrates the acculturated tendency of women to act as nurturers to men. As a man, I can tell you what we need is not to be coddled but to be called on the carpet, and expected to treat people with equality, dignity and respect. As long as men believe that it is their God given right to rape women, and refuse to combat sexism, the words of Andrea Dworkin will be true and rape will continue to exist.

Dworkin addresses equality by reminding us that it is a practice and an action. You cannot have equality between men and women when equality does not exist in the broader world. That is to say, it is not enough to proclaim that you are anti-sexist unless you fight to create a world that is anti-sexist. This has a great deal of relevance to the work we do. There is no way you can work to end sexual violence without also addressing racism, homophobia, classism, and the barriers faced by people with disabilities. Rape must be addressed both at the personal and systematic levels.

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When this speech was originally given, the Reagan administration's policies were dragging our country into some of the most conservative times in recent history. Dworkin referenced these policies throughout the article, and the "war mongers" who created them. As I am writing this article the United States is currently engaged in a war with Iraq. We cannot understand personal violence until we understand government violence. To understand the trauma caused by interpersonal violence we must also understand and fight against the effects of war. Dworkin drew these connections and they remain very relevant to the world we live in today

Dworkin's appeal for a twenty-four hour truce in which there is no rape is a call from the heart and indeed a very emotional demand. As we work in an uncertain world, for a society without rape, this demand is a clear call for action. Much is made about men's power in the world and in this respect men do have a lot of power: the power to stop rape. Men need to step up and stop sexual assault in both our homes and our communities. Men have created the rape culture, and men must be the ones to destroy it. For each day that men fail to work to end violence against women, more women and children die as a result of our inactions. Society cannot afford our inactions; men must act.

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LETTERS FROM A WAR ZONE  
WRITINGS 1976-1989



By Andrea Dworkin

Part III - **TAKE BACK THE DAY**

**I Want a Twenty-Four-Hour Truce During Which There Is No Rape**

*This was a speech given at the Midwest Regional Conference of the National Organization for Changing Men in the fall of 1983 in St Paul, Minnesota.*

I have thought a great deal about how a feminist, like myself, addresses an audience primarily of political men who say that they are antisexist. And I thought a lot about whether there should be a qualitative difference in the kind of speech I address to you. And then I found myself incapable of pretending that I really believe that that qualitative difference exists. I have watched the men's movement for many years. I am close with some of the people who participate in it. I can't come here as a friend even though I might very much want to. What I would like to do is to scream: and in that scream I would have the screams of the raped, and the sobs of the battered; and even worse, in the center of that scream I would have the deafening sound of women's silence, that silence into which we are born because we are women and in which most of us die.

And if there would be a plea or a question or a human address in that scream, it would be this: why are you so slow? Why are you so slow to understand the simplest things; not the complicated ideological things. You understand those. *The simple things*. The cliches. Simply that women are human to precisely the degree and quality that you are.

And also: that we do not have time. We women. We don't have forever. Some of us don't have another week or another day to take time for you to discuss whatever it is that will enable you to go out into those streets and do something. We are very close to death. All women are. And we are very close to rape and we are very close to beating. And we are inside a system of humiliation from which there is no escape for us. We use statistics not to try to quantify the injuries, but to convince the world that those injuries even exist. Those statistics are not abstractions. It is easy to say, "Ah, the statistics, somebody writes them up one way and somebody writes them up another way." That's true. But I hear about the rapes one by one by one by one by one, which is also how they happen. Those statistics are not abstract to me. Every three minutes a woman is being raped. Every eighteen seconds a woman is being beaten. There is nothing abstract about it. It is happening right now as I am speaking.

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And it is happening for a simple reason. There is nothing complex and difficult about the reason. Men are doing it, because of the kind of power that men have over women. That power is real, concrete, exercised from one body to another body, exercised by someone who feels he has a right to exercise it, exercised in public and exercised in private. It is the sum and substance of women's oppression.

It is not done 5000 miles away or 3000 miles away. It is done here and it is done now and it is done by the people in this room as well as by other contemporaries: our friends, our neighbors, people that we know. Women don't have to go to school to learn about power. We just have to be women, walking down the street or trying to get the housework done after having given one's body in marriage and then having no rights over it.

“If you want to look at what the system does to you, ..where you should start looking: the sexual politics of aggression and sexual politics of militarism.”

The power exercised by men day to day in life is power that is institutionalized. It is protected by law. It is protected by religion and religious practice. It is protected by universities, which are strongholds of male supremacy. It is protected by a police force. It is protected by those whom Shelley called “the unacknowledged legislators of the world”: the poets, the artists. Against that power, we have silence.

It is an extraordinary thing to try to understand and confront why it is that men believe—and men do believe—that they have the right to rape. Men may not believe it when asked. Everybody raise your hand who believes you have the right to rape. Not too many hands will go up. It's in life that men believe they have the right to force sex, which they don't call rape. And it is an extraordinary thing to try to understand that men really believe that they have the right to hit and to hurt. And it is an equally extraordinary thing to try to understand that men really believe that they have the right to buy a woman's body for the purpose of having sex: that that is a right. And it is very amazing to try to understand that men believe that the seven-billion-dollar-a-year industry that provides men with cunts is something that men have a right to.

That is the way the power of men is manifest in real life. That is what theory about male supremacy means. It means you can rape. It means you can hit. It means you can hurt. It means you can buy and sell women. It means that there is a class of people there to provide you with what you need. You stay richer than they are, so that they have to sell you sex. Not just on street corners, but in the workplace. That's another right that you can presume to have: sexual access to any woman in your environment, when you want. Now, the men's movement suggests that men don't want the kind of power I have just described. I've actually heard explicit whole sentences to that effect. And yet, everything is a reason not to do something about changing the fact that you do have that power.

Hiding behind guilt, that's my favorite. I love that one. Oh, it's horrible, yes, and I'm so sorry. You have the time to feel guilty. We don't have the time for you to feel guilty. Your guilt is a form of acquiescence in what continues to occur. Your guilt helps keep things the way they are.

I have heard in the last several years a great deal about the suffering of men over sexism. Of course, I have heard a great deal about the suffering of men all my life. Needless to say, I have read Hamlet. I have read King Lear. I am an educated woman. I know that men suffer. This is a new wrinkle. Implicit in the idea that this is a different kind of suffering is the claim, I think, that in part you are actually suffering because of something that you know happens to someone else. That would indeed be new.

But mostly your guilt, your suffering, reduces to: gee, we really feel so bad. Everything makes men feel so bad: what you do, what you don't do, what you want to do, what you don't want to do but are going to do anyway. I think most of your distress is: gee, we really feel so bad. And I'm sorry that you feel so bad—so uselessly and stupidly bad—because there is a way in which this really is your tragedy. And I don't mean because you can't cry. And I don't mean because there is no real intimacy in your lives. And I don't mean because the armor that you have to live with as men is stultifying; and I don't doubt that it is. But I don't mean any of that.

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I mean that there is a relationship between the way that women are raped and your socialization to rape and the war machine that grinds you up and spits you out: the war machine that you go through just like that woman went through Larry Flynt's meat grinder on the cover of *Hustler*. You damn well better believe that you're involved in this tragedy and that it's your tragedy too. Because you're turned into little soldier boys from the day that you are born and everything that you learn about how to avoid the humanity of women becomes part of the militarism of the country in which you live and the world in which you live. It is also part of the economy that you frequently claim to protest.

And the problem is that you think it's out there: and it's not out there. It's in you. The pimps and the warmongers speak for you. Rape and war are not so different. And what the pimps and the warmongers do is that they make you so proud of being men who can get it up and give it hard. And they take that acculturated sexuality and they put you in little uniforms and they send you out to kill and to die. Now, I am not going to suggest to you that I think that's more important than what you do to women, because I don't. But I think that if you want to look at what this system does to you, then that is where you should start looking: the sexual politics of aggression; the sexual politics of militarism. I think that men are very afraid of other men. That is something that you sometimes try to address in your small groups, as if if you changed your attitudes towards each other, you wouldn't be afraid of each other.

But as long as your sexuality has to do with aggression and your sense of entitlement to humanity has to do with being superior to other people, and there is so much contempt and hostility in your attitudes towards women and children, how could you not be afraid of each other? I think that you rightly perceive—without being willing to face it politically—that men are very dangerous: because you are.

The solution of the men's movement to make men less dangerous to each other by changing the way you touch and feel each other is not a solution. It's a recreational break.

These conferences are also concerned with homophobia. Homophobia is very important: it is very important to the way male supremacy works. In my opinion, the prohibitions against male homosexuality exist in order to protect male power. Do it to her. That is to say: as long as men rape, it is very important that men be directed to rape women. As long as sex is full of hostility and expresses both power over and contempt for the other person, it is very important that men not be declassified, stigmatized as female, used similarly. The power of men as a class depends on keeping men sexually inviolate and women sexually used by men. Homophobia helps maintain that class power: it also helps keep you as individuals safe from each other, safe from rape. If you want to do something about homophobia, you are going to have to do something about the fact that men rape, and that forced sex is not incidental to male sexuality but is in practice paradigmatic.

Some of you are very concerned about the rise of the Right in this country, as if that is something separate from the issues of feminism or the men's movement. There is a cartoon I saw that brought it all together nicely. It was a big picture of Ronald Reagan as a cowboy with a big hat and a gun. And it said: "A gun in every holster; a pregnant woman in every home. Make America a man again." Those are the politics of the Right.

If you are afraid of the ascendancy of fascism in this country—and you would be very foolish not to be right now—then you had better understand that the root issue here has to do with male supremacy and the control of women; sexual access to women; women as reproductive slaves; private ownership of women. That is the program of the Right. That is the morality they talk about. That is what they

mean. That is what they want. And the only opposition to them that matters is an opposition to men owning women.

What's involved in doing something about all of this? The men's movement seems to stay stuck on two points. The first is that men don't really feel very good about themselves. How could you? The second is that men come to me or to other feminists and say: "What you're saying about men isn't true. It isn't true of me. I don't feel that way. I'm opposed to all of this."

And I say: don't tell me. Tell the pornographers. Tell the pimps. Tell the warmakers. Tell the rape apologists and the rape celebrationists and the pro-rape ideologues. Tell the novelists who think that rape is wonderful. Tell Larry Flynt. Tell Hugh Hefner. There's no point in telling me. I'm only a woman. There's nothing I can do about it. These men presume to speak for you. They are in the public arena saying that they represent you. If they don't, then you had better let them know.

Then there is the private world of misogyny: what you know about each other; what you say in private life; the exploitation that you see in the private sphere; the relationships called love, based on exploitation. It's not enough to find some traveling feminist on the road and go up to her and say: "Gee, I hate it."

Say it to your friends who are doing it. And there are streets out there on which you can say these things loud and dear, so as to affect the actual institutions that maintain these abuses. You don't like pornography? I wish I could believe it's true. I will believe it when I see you on the streets. I will believe it when I see an organized political opposition. I will believe it when pimps go out of business because there are no more male consumers.

You want to organize men. You don't have to search for issues. The issues are part of the fabric



of your everyday lives.

I want to talk to you about equality, what equality is and what it means. It isn't just an idea. It's not some insipid word that ends up being bullshit. It doesn't have anything at all to do with all those statements like: "Oh, that happens to men too." I name an abuse and I hear: "Oh, it happens to men too." That is not the equality we are struggling for. We could change our strategy and say: well, okay, we want equality; we'll stick something up the ass of a man every three minutes.

You've never heard that from the feminist movement, because for us equality has real dignity and importance—it's not some dumb word that can be twisted and made to look stupid as if it had no real meaning.

As a way of practicing equality, some vague idea about giving up power is useless. Some men have vague thoughts about a future in which men are going to give up power or an individual man is going to give up some kind of privilege that he has. That is not what equality means either.

Equality is a practice. It is an action. It is a way of life. It is a social practice. It is an economic practice. It is a sexual practice. It can't exist in a vacuum. You can't have it in your home if, when the people leave the home, he is in a world of his supremacy based on the existence of his cock and she is in a world of humiliation and degradation because she is perceived to be inferior and because her sexuality is a curse.

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This is not to say that the attempt to practice equality in the home doesn't matter. It matters, but it is not enough. If you love equality, if you believe in it, if it is the way you want to live—not just men and women together in a home, but men and men together in a home and women and women together in a home—if equality is what you want and what you care about, then you have to fight for the institutions that will make it socially real. It is not just a matter of your attitude. You can't think it and make it exist.

You can't try sometimes, when it works to your advantage, and throw it out the rest of the time. Equality is a discipline. It is a way of life. It is a political necessity to create equality in institutions. And another thing about equality is that it cannot coexist with rape. It cannot. And it cannot coexist with pornography or with prostitution or with the economic degradation of women on any level, in any way. It cannot coexist, because implicit in all those things is the inferiority of women.

I want to see this men's movement make a commitment to ending rape because that is the only meaningful commitment to equality. It is astonishing that in all our worlds of feminism and antisexism we never talk seriously about ending rape. Ending it. Stopping it. No more. No more rape. In the back of our minds, are we holding on to its inevitability as the last preserve of the biological? Do we think that it is always going to exist no matter what we do? All of our political actions are lies if we don't make a commitment to ending the practice of rape. This commitment has to be political. It has to be serious. It has to be systematic. It has to be public. It can't be self-indulgent.

The things the men's movement has wanted are things worth having. Intimacy is worth having. Tenderness is worth having. Cooperation is worth having. A real emotional life is worth having. But you can't have them in a world with rape. Ending homophobia is worth doing. But you can't do it in a world with rape. Rape stands in the way of each

and every one of those things you say you want. And by rape you know what I mean. A judge does not have to walk into this room and say that according to statute such and such these are the elements of proof. We're talking about any kind of coerced sex, including sex coerced by poverty.

You can't have equality or tenderness or intimacy as long as there is rape, because rape means terror. It means that part of the population lives in a state of terror and pretends—to please and pacify you—that it doesn't. So there is no honesty. How can there be? Can you imagine what it is like to live as a woman day in and day out with the threat of rape? Or what it is like to live with the reality? I want to see you use those legendary bodies and that legendary strength and that legendary courage and the tenderness that you say you have in behalf of women; and that means against the rapists, against the pimps, and against the pornographers. It means something more than a personal renunciation. It means a systematic, political, active, public attack. And there has been very little of that.

I came here today because I don't believe that rape is inevitable or natural. If I did, I would have no reason to be here. If I did, my political practice would be different than it is. Have you ever wondered why we are not just in armed combat against you? It's not because there's a shortage of kitchen knives in this country. It is because we believe in your humanity, against all the evidence.

We do not want to do the work of helping you to believe in your humanity. We cannot do it anymore. We have always tried. We have been repaid with systematic exploitation and systematic abuse. You are going to have to do this yourselves from now on and you know it.

The shame of men in front of women is, I think, an appropriate response both to what men do do and to what men do not do. I think you should be ashamed. But what you do with that shame is

to use it as an excuse to keep doing what you want and to keep not doing anything else; and you've got to stop. You've got to stop. Your psychology doesn't matter. How much you hurt doesn't matter in the end any more than how much we hurt matters. If we sat around and only talked about how much rape hurt us, do you think there would have been one of the changes that you have seen in this country in the last fifteen years? There wouldn't have been.

It is true that we had to talk to each other. How else, after all, were we supposed to find out that each of us was not the only woman in the world not asking for it to whom rape or battery had ever happened? We couldn't read it in the newspapers, not then. We couldn't find a book about it. But you do know and now the question is what you are going to do; and so your shame and your guilt are very much beside the point. They don't matter to us at all, in any way. They're not good enough. They don't do anything.

As a feminist, I carry the rape of all the women I've talked to over the past ten years personally with me. As a woman, I carry my own rape with me. Do you remember pictures that you've seen of European cities during the plague, when there were wheelbarrows that would go along and people would just pick up corpses and throw them

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in? Well, that is what it is like knowing about rape. Piles and piles and piles of bodies that have whole lives and human names and human faces.

I speak for many feminists, not only myself, when I tell you that I am tired of what I know and sad beyond any words I have about what has already been done to women up to this point, now, up to 2:24 p.m. on this day, here in this place.

And I want one day of respite, one day off, one day in which no new bodies are piled up, one day in which no new agony is added to the old, and I am asking you to give it to me. And how could I ask you for less—it is so little. And how could you offer me less: it is so little. Even in wars, there are days of truce. Go and organize a truce. Stop your side for one day. I want a twenty-four-hour truce during which there is no rape.

I dare you to try it. I demand that you try it. I don't mind begging you to try it. What else could you possibly be here to do? What else could this movement possibly mean? What else could matter so much?

And on that day, that day of truce, that day when not one woman is raped, we will begin the real practice of equality, because we can't begin it before that day. Before that day it means nothing because it is nothing: it is not real; it is not true. But on that day it becomes real. And then, instead of rape we will for the first time in our lives—both men and women—begin to experience freedom. If you have a conception of freedom that includes the existence of rape, you are wrong. You cannot change what you say you want to change. For myself, I want to experience just one day of real freedom before I die. I leave you here to do that for me and for the women whom you say you love.

*“I Want a Twenty-Four Hour-Truce During Which There Is No Rape,” originally published under the title “Talking to Men About Rape,” in Out!, Vol. 2, No. 6, April 1984; then under the current title in Ms., No. 13, Fall 1984. Copyright © 1984 by Andrea Dworkin. All rights reserved.*

“Even in wars, there are days of truce. Go and organize a truce. Stop your side for one day. I want a twenty-four truce during which there is no rape... And on that day of truce, we will begin the real practice of equality...”



# Community Development to End the Oppression of Women Through Feminism

BY RACHEL STEWART  
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WASHINGTON COALITION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT PROGRAMS

I interviewed two people about the concept of feminism in present day sexual violence prevention through community development. Theryn B. Kigvamasud'Vashti, Community Organizer for the Black People's Project from Communities Against Rape and Abuse (CARA) in Seattle talked about her work in the African American community as well as the philosophy of CARA. Brian Pahl from Western Washington University discussed his work coordinating Western Men Against Violence and why feminism is an integral part of his work.

I asked them both if feminism still has a place in working to end sexual violence. They both replied in their own ways that feminism is still very much a part of what sexual violence prevention is all about, even though they each define and discuss feminism very differently. I learned a great deal from both of these individuals and enjoyed hearing about their work, their lives and their passion to end sexual violence in their communities.

When I initially asked Theryn about the validity of feminism in the anti-rape movement, she spoke of the overall importance of theory in doing her organizing. "You have to give time for analysis; to explore theory. You can lose your way without theory put into practice. If you only stay in theory and never practice what you are articulating, it is stifling. Very few people have the privilege to stay there."



In the community organizing that CARA does they speak less of feminism per se, and more of the oppression of women. This moves away from the history around the word feminism and the negative connotations that it holds for the communities they are part of and where they organize. It is important to "allow people to shape the perception of violence themselves."

Theryn views herself not just as an activist but also an educator. The women who created CARA spent one year having conversations about theories that would inform their initial efforts at organizing in communities that have experienced high rates of sexual assault and have been traditionally underserved by mainstream services. "[I]t is not sustainable to build a movement with no framework. That framework must be informed by theory. Thinkers contribute to the way we do things." These comments drove home the notion for me that no matter how busy we are, it is important to consider exploring the philosophy of how and why we do things.

She spoke of overall liberation for women. "To me, feminism is never just an experience that happens in a vacuum. It is always impacted by a consciousness of multiple identities and multiple oppressions."

Theryn shared a clever analogy with me that I really liked. She talked about visiting the optometrist to have your vision checked. The eye doc doesn't have you look through just one lens to evaluate your sight. Instead you look through multiple lenses and only then do you get clarity. For Theryn, organizing in her community against rape and abuse means constantly looking through multiple lenses to find clarity when it comes to people's experiences with oppression.

Every lens used in the eye exam contributes to the clarity. They are all important and necessary to get an accurate assessment of the state of one's vision.

Historically, the suffrage (voting rights) movement, the gay and lesbian movement and reproductive rights movement have marginalized people of color and poor people. These movements looked at the issue through only one predominant lens and in doing so contributed to the oppression of other people, whose "lenses" were excluded from the process.

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We are in danger of duplicating these same errors in the anti-sexual violence movement if we are not mindful of the lenses we are and are not using to see our work through. Since prevention standards in Washington State as defined by the Office of Crime Victims Advocacy are based on social change and community development, all people's experiences are critical to the discussions and actions we must take to end violence.

It is critical to include these lenses that view violence against people with disabilities, people of color, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, queer, gender queer, questioning and intersexed people, or any other traditionally marginalized groups in order to effectively work to end sexual violence. So, the concept that feminism today is about ending all oppression against women is an appropriate approach to community development sexual violence prevention work.

My interest in talking with Brian about feminism was sparked when I saw that he had included a feminism track in a symposium for Men Against Violence on Western's campus. It seemed the perfect opportunity to ask why he chose to include feminism and what that means for him and the Western Men Against Violence group. "What we do is based on a victim-centered/feminism perspective. [We focus on] consciousness raising about our own experiences. Men need to be put in an environment where they can question what they have heard from their families, the media, etc."

Brian was also very clear about his belief that feminism needs to be a part of his sexual violence prevention work with men. "What I learn from feminism is that what is presented as the truth isn't necessarily the reality for everybody." In his work, Brian utilizes the definition that "feminism is about creating gender equality."

Brian addresses how domestic violence, sexual violence and stalking are connected to sexism and the idea of masculinity. "If you are not tough enough as a man, you are a target." The Western Men Against Violence group is often called a bunch of "odd balls," "pussies" and "those guys" by other men on campus. This is a perfect example of how sexism and homophobia support our violent culture through our ideas about masculinity. This name-calling and intimidation illustrates the all too common attitude that if you are male and working to end violence against women you deviate from "normal" men. Even arguing what a "normal" or "real" "man" or "woman" is, contributes to our sexist and homophobic creation of only two specific and narrow genders, which we base completely upon the fictional concept of two biological sexes.

As an anti-violence educator Brian works to meet people where they are and to present the positive things that come out of feminism for men. "By living your life based on feminist ideals your relationship with yourself and with other men and women will improve. Your health will improve. You are more likely to go to the doctor/counseling. You are less likely to drink excessively or get into physical/verbal fights. Looking at masculinity through a feminist perspective says that (size and strength) isn't important. It says that there are other things that are important."

When I asked about the validity of feminism in present day anti-violence efforts, Brian replied "feminism has to be included in sexual violence prevention. More and more men are getting involved in men against violence organizations/groups. This seems to be a trend and given this rise in interest, feminism has to stay central to what we are doing. The criticism of women's groups on campus that say we aren't feminist enough is really important to hear. It needs to be okay to question traditional violence prevention tactics. It needs to be okay to have dialogue about different ways of doing violence prevention work."

Brian and the Western Men Against Violence group “approach men as potential allies and potential solvers of the problem.” This approach is informed by feminism and the notion of gender equality. “What really needs to happen is that people need to understand the emotional turmoil that people who experience injustice and discrimination go through. You can’t do it with statistics and intellectualism. I learn this via feminism, how important it is to listen and pay attention.”

While Brian and Theryn define feminism quite differently, they both spoke of multiple forms of oppression and how that contributes to the experiences of women and men in terms of violence and every day life. Some common themes in both conversations revolved around allowing people and communities to define violence for themselves as well as approaching violence prevention work in new ways and critically questioning how the work has traditionally been done.

“The women’s liberation movement is beginning to gain strength again because there are women who are talking about liberation for all women. We are examining sexism, racism, homophobia, classism, anti-Semitism, ageism, ableism and imperialism and we see everything as connected. It has been initiated by women of color and lesbians who were marginalized or rendered invisible by the white heterosexual leaders of earlier efforts.” The third wave of the movement, multi-racial and multi-issued, seeks the transformation of the world for us all. We know that we won’t get there until everyone gets there; that we must move forward in a great strong line, hand in hand, not just a few at a time.”<sup>1</sup>



My conversations with Theryn and Brian reinforced for me that feminism is very much alive and critical to ending sexual violence. Feminism today could arguably be about ending oppression and subsequent violence that all people face because of the institutionalization of sexism, heterosexism, racism, classism, ableism, etc.

Prevention is dependent upon changing the kinds of ideas that support a sexually violent culture. Prevention is about social change, changing the way we think about and treat each other and ourselves. Social change is about a common understanding that we want to end the violence and oppression for all people. You can call it gender equity, you can call it ending oppression of women, you don’t have to mention the word feminism, but remind yourself to question the lens (hopefully lenses) you are looking at your work through and what informs those lenses, what shape and guide them. Sexual violence prevention via community development is about finding and fostering our clarity around the underlying causes of violence, which means working simultaneously to end oppression.

Here are some authors that Theryn and Brian suggested when it comes to theorists, thinkers and activists whom they look to, to inform their work. Angela Davis, *Lesbian Ethics* by Sara Lucia Hoagland, Paolo Friere, Paul Kivel, Alan Berkowitz, Mary Washington, Chris Kilmartin, Loulou Hong and *When and Where I Enter* by Paula Giddings.

<sup>1</sup> Pharr, Suzanne. *Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism*. Berkeley, California: Chardon Press, 1997.

# What is Dirty Money?

An Interview with Gayle Stringer, Diane Moyer, Alisa Bierria, Mary Ellen Stone

BY TOBY CREMER  
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I asked this question to a variety of people from grassroots local programs to large statewide coalitions across the country. What money can we ethically accept to do our work? Are there any limits in the realms of government, corporate or private donations? Should we lobby for “sin taxes,” or take money from corporations whose advertising can be seen as exploitative?

The range of answers I received fell somewhere in the spectrum with “no money is bad if we do good things with it,” on one end to “money from certain sources would undermine the social change work we propose to do.” We all have to struggle to balance the practical need for resources with the philosophical ideals of our movement.

We all we need to make these determinations for ourselves and in concert with the other members of our organizations. The responses below are presented as food for thought in these discussions.

Gayle Stringer is the Prevention Services Director at the Washington Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs, and has worked in the sexual assault field for over twenty years for organizations of many sizes.

When I posed my line of questions about dirty money, Gayle posed a question in return: what does it mean to be “funded by the very thing you want to change? Corporate money is tainted by corporate practices.” We need to evaluate the degree to which those corporate practices match the values of our missions. If they don’t match, a justification might be the intention to “use the resources to make change.”

Taking the discussion up a level, Gayle says she feels that we undervalue our impact as individual agencies. “It’s like saying, ‘My vote doesn’t count.’” We tend to feel that if we refuse to take money from a source we don’t agree with, it doesn’t hurt anyone but ourselves. This “perception of the difference one can make influences people’s willingness to not” take the money.

We all need money, but the question is - what do you want your name to support? For example, should an organization for gay men accept money from an area employer that doesn’t offer domestic partner benefits, and then publicize the donation from that corporation?

Gayle suggests that every organization should have a set of criteria that are consistent with your mission with which to evaluate funding opportunities. We can then ask if each value (and our work as a whole) will be “enhanced or compromised by taking the money?” Without such a set of criteria, “it’s too risky...in a time of need, you’ll take it.”

The other piece is our capacity to challenge funders. Whether intentionally or not, accepting money from a funder changes our behavior. Why do corporations give money? Generally they do so to look good or for tax breaks - not very often just from the goodness of their hearts. Also, corporate giving can be a good tactic to silence criticism, both from the organization they've funded, and potentially from the rest of the movement.

### **Individual Contributions**

The Foundation Center says that corporations have many reasons for giving away money. "Corporations, unlike foundations and other charitable groups, do not exist to give away money. Their allegiance, instead, is to their customers, shareholders, employees and, most of all, to the bottom line." ([www.fdncenter.org/learn/faqs/motives.html](http://www.fdncenter.org/learn/faqs/motives.html))

We have to ask, "What is the global effect on the movement of money getting spread around by any corporation? How does that impact our ability to challenge?"

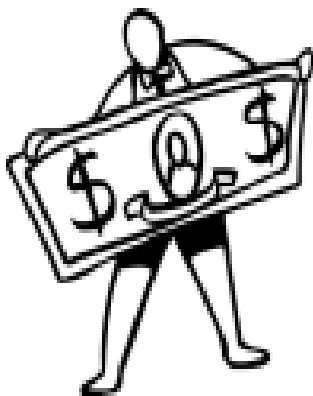
For example, given the relationship between sexual assault and alcohol, would you accept money from a company that makes alcohol? For those of us in the northwest- what if that's a small, politically progressive local microbrewery? Moving beyond donations of money, would you accept in-kind donations for a fundraising event?

Another example: You have, or seek to develop, relationship with a local tribe... would you use the casino as the location for an event?

### **Philanthropy As Publicity**

Diane Moyer, Policy Counsel at the Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape (PCAR) forwarded the following story to me before we talked. Jane Von Bergen wrote in the Philadelphia Enquirer that Philip Morris (a tobacco company with holdings including Kraft foods and many other divisions) spent \$25 million more in 2000 to buy media time to publicize its philanthropy than it did on the philanthropy itself (\$150 million versus \$125 million). Von Bergen adds, "and that doesn't count the money spent to produce the campaign." Philip Morris' philanthropy supports "soup kitchens, shelters for abused women, art museums, dance troupes, AIDS support groups and disaster relief." ("Some in philanthropy wary of ads that tout charity work" By Jane M. Von Bergen, Philadelphia Inquirer, May 4, 2001).

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"If you are taking money from the world to do righteous work, then that can be subversive, but we have to ask who we are selling out by taking the money, and know if we can reconcile that."

Alisa Bierria

## Local Funding

Alisa Bierria is Program Coordinator at CARA (Communities Against Rape and Abuse), a grassroots community organization in Seattle. Alisa says CARA has no formal position on funding - they “look at different opportunities” and make “decisions on a gut driven basis based on our progressive values.” She says Kim Klein’s recommendations have shaped their strategies. “Clean money’ is a myth.” For Alisa it comes down to one question, “Can you sleep at night with the funding choices you are making?”

After telling her about the case of Philip Morris, she says CARA would not take Philip Morris money. “We are accountable to our constituencies – poor people, people of color, people with disabilities, and young people – and, ironically, the Philip Morris Corporation has done its most harmful and deadly targeting to those very same constituencies.”

CARA’s decision-making structure shares the weight of those decisions throughout the organization. If staff doesn’t reach a consensus, then the decision goes to membership, including their grassroots Community Action Teams. For example, two politicians recently threatened CARA’s public funding for political reasons. CARA members struggled with how to respond to the politicians who had advocated these cuts. As citizens, some members wanted to hold the politicians accountable, but wanted to do so strategically without permanently jeopardizing the funding. Alisa says it is important at those times to hold on to values and priorities.

In addition to public funding, CARA’s funding comes from small grassroots donations, special events, and progressive foundations like A Territory Resource.

I asked Alisa what she thought about the possibility of “subverting” dirty money – or taking money from sources you don’t approve of, but using it to do your work. She replied, “if you’re

taking money from the world to do righteous work, then that can be subversive, but we have to ask who we’re selling out by taking the money, and know if we can reconcile that.”

Another hitch is that “there is a tendency amongst funders and folks who don’t know the issue, to simplify sexual assault by ‘objectifying survivors and demonizing perpetrators.’ How do we hold the attention of funders who want to give to a sexy issue without pimping the issue of rape?”

## More on Corporate Money

After talking with Alisa, I had the chance to follow up with Diane Moyer from PCAR, who had sent me the article about Philip Morris. I asked about PCAR’s policy on “dirty money.”

“The Coalition does not currently have an official policy,” Diane said. “Our goal is to develop a gift acceptance policy. Recently, however, the Executive Director asked for the Board’s approval on the possibility of either securing or accepting ‘tobacco’ money and the Board responded in the affirmative. The Board indicated that it would be amenable to accepting money from organizations barring a clear conflict of interest with the mission of the organization, which is ‘to eliminate all forms of sexual violence and to advocate for the rights and needs of victims of sexual assault.’”

“Although I am not clear about what constitutes ‘clean’ money,” Diane offers, “I am clear that money derived from sexual exploitation is ‘dirty’ money and is clearly antithetical to our mission.

“Finally, the issue of accepting funding from organizations that may impinge upon the credibility of our stakeholders has only recently been considered. I am interested to know how others have struggled with or resolved this issue.

“I do not believe that the anti-sexual violence

movement has historically been confronted with having to decide whether or not to accept funding from the corporate sector. The future should be interesting, and hopefully solvent for social service agencies that deal with the not always palatable issue of sexual violence.” Mary Ellen Stone is the Executive Director of the King County Sexual Assault Resource Center in Renton, Washington. She says, “We make entirely too much of the idea of clean money. As long as we have the freedom to do what we want to do with it, [we should] take it from any source.”

KCSARC is willing to take money from any source- local, state government or private sector. Mary Ellen says, “To exclude anyone excludes them from the opportunity and responsibility to help. Individuals need a way to contribute to the issue, and we give them a way. We’re doing great work, this is an opportunity to be a part of that.” By giving money, the donor has stake in agency.

Mary Ellen feels that it is not appropriate to let funding dictate your mission or programs. She questions the role of a donor in directing services. Donations can be targeted to one specific existing program, but it shouldn’t lead you to create a new program that you had not incorporated into your planning.



She also would be “hesitant to accept [funding] from a source that would cause confusion in the public mind. Acceptance doesn’t imply endorsement.”

In closing, Mary Ellen emphasized that she feels that, “We as women working in sexual assault give money a lot of power. We are ambivalent about the role of money. Discomfort with money leads to discussions like this. We need money to do the work, and we spend a lot of time trying to do the right thing as opposed to focusing on services and social change.”

### **How Do We Know What “Clean” Is?**

Grace Call is the Executive Director of the Utah Coalition Against Sexual Assault (UCASA). She sent me the following thoughts by email.

“It seems to me that we may never know whether money we receive is ‘clean’. If we agree that rape and sexual violence are crimes committed by people who are typically never apprehended, nor held accountable for their crimes, we really don’t know what violence the person sitting next to us has, or will, commit.

“If we also agree that the faces of survivors, or victims, are not recognizable and that sexual violence knows no socioeconomic boundaries, who are we to say that the person from Philip Morris or Playboy isn’t the same person on the crisis line two weeks earlier. Sexual assault survivors are not a uniform group, and who are we to demand that they be? Should a person who has been raped feel that they could contribute money to our movement without having to defend their occupation?

“Ultimately, the question of whose money to accept is one I believe we can never happily resolve. Is it not possible that one or more of us have accepted a check from someone who works for the financial company now settling hundreds of claims of sexual harassment?

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# A Place of Our Own

ANNE PHILLIPS  
COORDINATOR OF VOLUNTEER ADVOCATES  
ABUSED DEAF WOMEN'S ADVOCACY SERVICES (ADWAS)

Feminism is the fundamental belief that all shall be systematically equal. That we shall live in an egalitarian society that respects all peoples economically, socially, spiritually, emotionally and physically.

However, a necessary debate has been, who have been the leaders and voice for the feminist movement? Primarily the movement has been a European-American, Christian Dom, hearing, middle-class women led movement. European-Americans have been called on their exclusion. Some examples are when Alice Walker in 1984 proposed changing the terminology to the "Womanist" movement, to include all people. Her daughter Rebecca Walker has been a leader in the "third wave" feminist movement naming how limited and oppressive the initial movement was. I am not discounting the European-American women's movement. I am naming the unintentional perpetuation of exclusion of all people. Exclusion, discounting, minimizing are all behaviors we tell men are abusive.

The debate needs to remain. Why? Violence is alive and strong. Violence is a symptom of oppression

Every two minutes, someone somewhere in America is raped. Every two seconds a women is hit. In our work at ADWAS we find that Deaf, Deaf-Blind women tend to stay longer and the abuse tends to be more extensive than hearing women, because of the systematic barriers for Deaf, Deaf-Blind women to receive support and information. All abuse is unacceptable. Women in the sex industry, women of color, women born in another country, women with disabilities are still primarily ignored. Overall, rape has the highest annual victim cost of any crime. The annual victim costs are \$127 billion.

Violence is happening. The United States has the highest rate of reported violence than anywhere else in the world. We can call the movement to live systematically equal whatever we want, but until the movement is truly working for all and until we live in a world that sustains all, we will have violence.

"ADWAS philosophy guiding all its work  
is to honor the language and culture of  
Deaf and Deaf-Blind people. We believe it  
is very empowering for victims/survivors to  
see their own people in control of  
ADWAS"



# Offender Treatment perspective...

## Bringing My Work Home

MICHAEL O'CONNELL

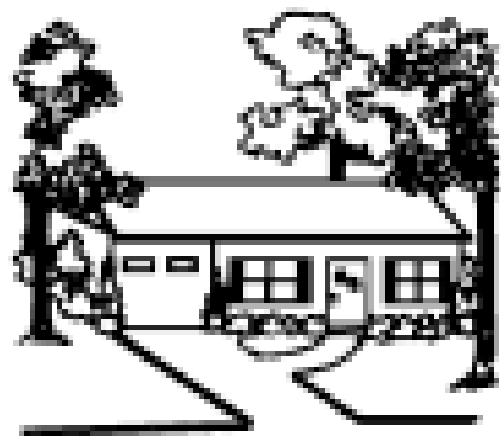
I have an interesting tale to tell about how I brought my work home earlier this year. My next-door neighbor told me she had learned from another neighbor there were a Level 2 and a Level 3 sex offender living in the neighborhood. In Washington, the registration and community notification system uses a three-level system, using an actuarial risk assessment measure. The lowest risk offenders, according to this instrument, are Level 1's. The highest risks are Level 3's. Seattle Police had printed up flyers about these two men and given them to the block watch captain. Since both of these offenders had molested kids, the block watch captain distributed them to neighbors on his block that had children.

My next-door neighbor knew about my work, in part, because she too is a therapist. Many years ago she had worked with two families where I had treated an incest offender. She told me other neighbors were confused and upset about the prospect of having high-risk child molesters living in their neighborhood. She'd wondered if I would be willing to help out.

I talked with several of the neighbors by phone and we scheduled a Saturday morning meeting in the living room of a house across the street where these two offenders lived. In the meantime, I had left many phone messages with the community corrections officer (that's what we call probation officers in this state) of the one man who was still under supervision with the Department of Corrections. It is my impression the probation officer didn't quite know what to do with my telephone request. When I was finally able to reach her and explain my role, she agreed to pass my name and phone number on to the man she supervised.

At the Saturday morning meeting of the neighbors, the only specific information I had about the two offenders was the information on the Seattle Police Department flier. I learned one fellow had convictions in 1981 and again in 1991 for molesting boys. The other man had been convicted of molesting two girls. He also had some property and assault convictions. They had both participated in and completed the inpatient (prison based) sex offender treatment program and the follow-up, community-based program operated by the state Department of Corrections. So, I was able to tell my neighbors what that meant: what these two men should have learned and what they should be doing if they were following through on the sorts of risk reduction strategies they had been encouraged to implement.

This meeting of the neighbors felt like a pretty constructive affair. People were able to discuss and compare their initial fears when they heard the news that two relatively high-risk child molesters were living in their neighborhood.



Continued onto next page

Everyone reported they felt better for having the opportunity to learn some more about these two men, put the information in some context and to be able to share their experiences with their neighbors.

After the meeting I was told that one of the most helpful things about the discussion was how I introduced myself and began the meeting. I explained I had been working in the field of evaluating and treating sex offenders for over 20 years and had seen some significant changes in the way that people responded to news of child molestation. I remember when the standard response was denial: he's a nice man and couldn't have done such a thing. Or, if he did, I'm sure it was an aberration and something that would not be repeated. Denial also occurs by believing that such problems could not happen in this family, in this neighborhood, or in this church community.

I then noted that in recent years, there has been a very different public atmosphere around matters of sex offending and child abuse. The current reaction seems to be to get up in arms, become angry with sex offenders and anyone who would allow them to be in the community, and sometimes employ mob-like tactics to drive them out of town. I think these two disparate responses have something in common. Thinking about and talking about sexual deviancy and child abuse are profoundly uncomfortable, unpleasant topics. We are tempted to try to find some way to try to put it out of our mind. We search for a way to deal with it so that it is not hanging around in our consciousness, causing us distress. Both denial and anger are ways of forestalling the discussion and dismissing the issue. Then we don't have to think about this uncomfortable topic.

I told my neighbors we were doing something very different. Here we were, sitting around thinking about and talking about a profoundly uncomfortable subject. I applauded them for their willingness to do so and I said I thought it was probably a more constructive approach in the long run. However, it does require some fortitude.

My next-door neighbor (the other therapist) then raised the issue of how to talk to one's children about child molesters in the neighborhood. She pointed out that this was an awkward thing to do, even for someone who had talked to many (other people's) children about this. And she noted it would be easier have this discussion if it was not the first time the child had talked with his or her parent about sex or safety.

After this meeting with the neighbors, the block watch captain marched across the street to the home where the two offenders lived and knocked on the door. He knew the owner of the house, an older man who had been living in the neighborhood for more than 30 years. The block watch captain talked to the men in the home, told them about the recent neighborhood meeting and the police department notification, and said we had hoped there would be an opportunity for a meeting that would include them.

One of the two men phoned me, as his probation officer had given him my number, as I had requested. We had a conversation and the following day I went over to meet with him, the other offender and the others who lived in the house. Initially they were very concerned for their safety. They had just learned that there had been a community notification and fliers distributed in the neighborhood with information about them, including their photographs. I told them who I was and the kind of work I did. I also told them about the atmosphere of the neighborhood meeting. One of the neighbors had said she hoped she would be able to feel comfortable waving hello to these two men, as opposed to fearing them and averting her eyes when their paths crossed.

The two offenders had relatively encouraging stories to tell. It was my impression they had learned a good deal and benefited from their participation in specialized treatment. They understood and accepted their need to limit

access to children. They both said they were willing to go to some lengths to avoid reoffense. The one fellow, the one who had two convictions, talked about what he regarded as the most important lessons he had learned in treatment. He talked about how he had long believed that he had not done any harm to his victims. They had appeared to be cooperative, they had not suffered any physical injuries, and the offenses all took place within the context of what he saw as a caring relationship. He said in treatment he had met other men who talked about their own childhood victimization. One of his therapists in the prison-based program was a former director of a rape relief agency.

He learned, to his horror he said, that he had likely caused significant emotional damage to his victims. He talked about this with a great deal of emotion and in a way that struck me as genuine.

With this information, I again talked to the neighbors and we decided that we'd like to have the meeting we had discussed, to include the two offenders and their housemates. Finding a location turned out to be surprisingly easy. The older man, in whose the house these two offenders lived, suggested a nearby church. This church's community room is used for the neighborhood-voting precinct. The church's pastor was very accommodating and eager to help. He pointed out that his church hosted 12-step groups and saw this as another way in which the church could connect with its surrounding community.

The following Saturday morning we met in the church's community room. The minister hosted and provided coffee. Some of the neighbors brought snacks. We had a very constructive two-hour meeting. The two offenders talked about their histories, including their offenses. They talked about what they were doing to prevent reoffense. They encour-

aged the neighbors to say something, to them or the authorities, if something seemed out of line. They opened themselves up to questions from the neighbors. By the end, the neighbors were asking what they could do to help these men succeed. After all, someone said, if these men succeeded, including not reoffending, that would be a success for everyone. The two offenders said they had gotten more encouragement from this meeting than they could have imagined. In fact, they talked of having some sleepless nights after learning about the initial neighborhood meeting that had occurred without their knowledge.

Both men talked about difficulties they'd had getting and keeping jobs. One man had a recent interview that looked encouraging. He was going to be working, it appeared, for a check cashing business. The other man talked about having been trained to work with computers while in prison. He hoped to complete a Microsoft certification course in the near future and to perhaps operate his own small computer business. At the end of the meeting, a couple of neighbors talked to this man about his doing some work on their home computers. This was after it was understood that any contact these men had with children would only be under situations that were supervised by people who

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## **Bringing My Work Home** continued from page 33

knew about their offense histories.

This situation seems to turn out about as well as anyone could have hoped. Fear and mistrust on all sides was replaced by sharing of information, agreement about appropriate safety measures, and a positive experience talking about and resolving some very difficult, anxiety-provoking subjects. This was made somewhat easier by the fact that these two men had participated in and apparently gained substantial benefit from a good treatment program and follow up services. And they appeared pretty committed to doing what they could and should do to reduce the likelihood of future offenses.

It certainly helped to have a certified sex offender treatment provider living in the neighborhood. I had immediate street credibility among the neighbors. I was one of them. I was not somebody who was trying to convince them to accept, into their midst, two scary, dangerous guys. But most important, this succeeded because all concerned were able to overcome their initial fears and talk about some very difficult subjects.

This is, after all, what good treatment is about. It is difficult to talk about sexual deviancy. It is embarrassing and scary. Offenders, their families, neighbors and friends would all rather think about something else. Good treatment involves helping people think constructively about this subject. So, apparently, does effective transition to the community and neighborhood support.

I'm not saying this was an amazing occurrence or a great triumph. But I'm pretty sure it was a good thing. And it would be a good thing if it could happen more often.

## **What is Dirty Money?** continued from page 31

“Because information is more accessible about a particular company or corporation, does that really make them any worse than the Enrons of America five years ago? How will I know if money from a foundation is really ‘clean’? And clean to whom? Because UCASA accepts a donation from a foundation we later discover to be at the heart of the nuclear waste dumping campaign on some of Utah’s reservations, is the money ‘clean’ or ‘dirty’?”

“The only voices we can consider are our clients, and those affected by sexual violence. With this in mind, some of us arguing not to use specific money are survivors who developed addictions to nicotine who prefer that Philip Morris money not be used—consider this voice. Some of us arguing to use any money have never been sexually assaulted, but have friends who have and dance at the Million Dollar club because they feel powerful—consider this voice. This movement is about considerations—so, perhaps, even considering these ramblings.”

### **In Closing**

There really is a wide range of opinion on the topic of what constitutes “dirty” or “clean” money. Ultimately, we must all decide for ourselves what is appropriate funding for our work. It is our hope that this article has given some food for thought to the discussion, and that we will all take the opportunity to consider where we stand on this issue.

# Feminist Jurisprudence: An Overview

Cornell Law School, New York

Feminist jurisprudence is a philosophy of law based on the political, economic, and social equality of sexes. As a field of legal scholarship, feminist jurisprudence began in 1960s. It now holds a significant place in U.S. law and legal thought and influences many debates on sexual and domestic violence, inequality in the workplace, and gender based discrimination. Through various approaches, feminists have identified gendered

components and gendered implications of seemingly neutral laws and practices. Laws affecting employment, divorce, reproductive rights, rape, domestic violence, and sexual harassment have all benefited from the analysis and insight of feminist jurisprudence.



Feminists believe that history was written from a male point of view and does not reflect women's role in making history and structuring society. Male-written history has created a bias in the concepts of human nature, gender potential, and social arrangements. The language, logic, and structure of the law are male created and reinforce male values. By presenting male's characteristics as a "norm" and females characteristics as deviation from the "norm" the prevailing conceptions of law reinforce and perpetuate patriarchal power. Feminists challenge the belief that the biological make-up of men and women is so different that certain behavior can be attributed on the basis of sex. Gender, feminists say, is created socially, not biologically. Sex determines such matters as physical appearance and reproductive capacity, but not psychological, moral, or social traits.

Though feminists share common commitments to equality between men and women, feminist jurisprudence is not uniform. There are three major schools of thought within feminist jurisprudence. Traditional, or liberal, feminism asserts that women are just as rational as men and therefore should have equal opportunity to make their own choices. Liberal feminists challenge the assumption of male authority and seek to erase gender-based distinctions recognized by law thus enabling women to compete in the marketplace.

Another school of feminist legal thought, cultural feminists, focuses on the differences between men and women and celebrates those differences. Following the research of psychologist Carol Gilligan, this group of thinkers asserts that women emphasize the importance of relationships, contexts, and reconciliation of conflicting interpersonal positions, whereas men emphasize abstract principles of rights and logic. The goal of this school is to give equal recognition to women's moral voice of caring and communal values.

Like the liberal feminist school of thought, radical or dominant feminism focuses on inequality. It asserts that men, as a class, have dominated women as a class, creating gender inequality. For radical feminists gender is a question of power. Radical feminists urge us to abandon traditional approaches that take maleness as their reference point. They argue that sexual equality must be constructed on the basis of woman's difference from man and not be a mere accommodation of that difference.

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# Book Review



## The Structure of Women's Nonprofit Organizations, by Rebecca L. Bordt.

### Four Organizational Types of Women's Nonprofit Organizations

**Bureaucratic (19%)**- high in formal structure, placing emphasis on material incentives, with many different job titles, a wide range of economic and educational diversity among personnel, and clear lines of decision-making authority.

**Collective (8%)**- less formal structure, fewer job titles, more emphasis on normative incentives (social change, personal empowerment, sense of purpose), decisions often made by the group, personnel spend time together outside of work.

**Professional Organization (27%)**- generally dominated by professionals (for example, from the health, mental health or legal fields) these organizations have little formal structure (the structures of the shared profession generally guide the work), low material and normative incentives, a moderate amount of job titles and economic/educational diversity.

**Pragmatic Collective (45%)**- generally very small (two or three staff), these organizations have a small amount of structure because they are so small. The emphasis on material incentives was moderate, and the emphasis on normative incentives was low.

This book looks at the structure of 95 women's nonprofit organizations (NPO's) in New York City. The author proposes four general types of organizational structures (see inset) and also attempts to decipher the question, "Why do women's nonprofits look the way they do?"

In the 1960's and 70's, second wave feminist organizations spent a great deal of time discussing structure, and critiquing the dominant structure—"Bureaucracy embodies a masculine ethic that fails to reflect and is antithetical to female experience and values." (Bordt, 10) Collectivism, on the other hand, was based on egalitarian ideals, rotating leadership, empowerment, and group decision-making.

Therefore, when looking at organizations in the 1990's, Bordt is surprised to discover that "organizations with a feminist ideology are much more likely to adopt bureaucratic structures over collectivist ones." (Bordt, 61) When the author pulled apart the types of feminism espoused (liberal, radical and general) she found that the liberal and radical feminist organizations were all bureaucratic in structure.

Bordt found younger organizations tended to be closer to collectives in structure but did not tend to identify as feminist, and older organizations were more likely to identify as feminist, but also tended to be bureaucratic. Bordt concludes that the age of an organization is a much more reliable predictor of structure than ideology.

The author also found that most of the women's organizations of all types were not having conversations about structure. Some of the older organizations in this study had had discussions about organizational structure in the beginning, but did not currently continue the conversations. The younger organizations generally indicated that they had not even considered structure, and just went with what seemed to work.

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# Legal Department Update

CATHERINE CARROLL  
STAFF ATTORNEY  
WASHINGTON COALITION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT PROGRAMS



## Training Events

The Legal Department has been very busy over the past few months. From January until April we sponsored three statewide training events – all of which were very successful. In January we sponsored a Sexual Assault Civil Legal Training primarily for civil attorneys. Sherina presented on Sensitivity in Serving Sexual Assault Survivors. About sixty people attended. The training focused on how to meet the civil legal needs of sexual assault survivors. In March we sponsored Sexual Assault Criminal Training, attended by approximately sixty-five prosecutors and law enforcement officers. The training was very successful – with many law enforcement officers appreciating the challenges associated with prosecuting sexual assault cases. It also provided prosecutors with an opportunity to share trial/charging strategies with prosecutors from different counties. In April we sponsored a Sexual Assault Training for Legal Advocates. We had a range of topics including a presentation on Childhood Sexual Abuse Litigation from our Keynote Speaker, Jo-Hanna Read, of Endriss & Read, LLP who is an expert in the field. Also, Catherine presented on Confidentiality, Privilege and Protecting a Sexual Assault Survivor’s Right to Privacy. We had about seventy advocates attend and had quite a participatory and engaged event.

In addition to all the work we have done regarding the training events, the Legal Department has also put together three important Resource Guides. The Legal Department has created a Civil Resource Guide; that provides resource information about the civil legal needs of sexual assault survivors, including substantive law on issues ranging from protection orders to tort litigation. We have also created a Criminal Resource Guide; that provides relevant and up-to-date information about criminal issues in relation to sexual assault – subjects included, are DNA Evidence, Jury Selection and Victim Impact. Lastly the Legal Department created a Legal Advocate Resource Guide which is very comprehensive and mainly designed to provide a wide range of information to sexual assault legal advocates, including civil and criminal issues on topics ranging from Immigration Law to Juvenile Law to Full Faith & Credit; relevant sexual assault statutes and general advocacy information.

## On the Horizon

To supplement the Resource Guides, the Legal Department will also be drafting two updates to each guide so that relevant information is distributed as it becomes available. The second update will be focused on legislative changes specific to the areas of criminal law, civil law and any other statutes relevant to working with survivors of sexual assault.

Over the next few months the Legal Department will be drafting a brochure in Spanish & English directed at sexual assault survivors about their rights as a victim of sexual assault. We will also be working with other project staff to develop a legal rights brochure for survivors of sexual assault with disabilities.

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## **Legal Program Update** continued from page 39

Additionally, Sherina presented on Serving Elder Sexual Assault Victims at our annual WCSAP conference and Catherine will be presenting on Victim Impact at the Washington Association of Prosecuting Attorneys upcoming training in May.

Also in May, in partnership with the National Judicial Education Program, Washington State has been chosen as one of four states in the country to develop training curriculum on sexual violence for judges and probation officers (community supervision), to be presented at the Judicial Conference in September. Catherine will be participating in this project on a team with two judges and the Executive Director of the Supreme Court Gender & Justice Commission.

### **Questions?**

The Legal Department encourages you to seek them out with any legal-type questions. Sherina and Catherine have many years of direct service experience and would like to be a resource for you. If they do not know the answer immediately to your question(s) they will find out. You may contact Sherina, the Legal Services Coordinator at [sherina@wcsap.org](mailto:sherina@wcsap.org) or Catherine, the Staff Attorney at [Catherine@wcsap.org](mailto:Catherine@wcsap.org).

## **Book Review** continued from page 38

What seemed to work was neither bureaucracy or collectivism, but rather hybrid structures between the two extremes. The author found that pragmatic collectives tended to be made up of and/or serve primarily minority populations, and did not generally identify as feminist. Their tendency toward collective structure seemed to be related to their small size, as it is less useful to have a hierarchy among two or three people. Bordt considers the distance to feminist ideology to be due to the identification of feminism with white, middle class women, having less historic relevance the minority populations that make up or are served by most of the pragmatic collectives.

Professional organizations described organizations made up of health, mental health, legal or other professionals, who came together to address a specific concern (sexual assault or domestic violence response in a hospital, for example). The more collectivist aspects of the structure (group decision making, staff socializing outside work, little differentiation in job titles/economics/education) seem to be related to fact that the member of the organizations generally share the same profession, and the structure of that profession affects the way work is done, without detailed procedure manuals or policies being in place.

TOBY CREMER  
AGENCY OPERATIONS COORDINATOR  
WASHINGTON COALITION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT  
PROGRAMS



# Governor Signs 3 Important Trafficking Bills

TOBY CREMER  
AGENCY OPERATIONS COORDINATOR  
WASHINGTON COALITION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT PROGRAMS

On May 14<sup>th</sup>, Washington State Governor Gary Locke signed three important pieces of legislation into law. House bills 1090, 1175 and 1826 were the result of recommendations stemming from the state's Task Force on Trafficking in Persons.



House bill 1090 extends the important work of the Task Force. During the 2002 legislative session a consortium of activists passed SSB 6407, which required a task force of government agencies and non-governmental organizations to:

- Measure and evaluate the progress of the state in trafficking prevention activities;
- Identify available federal, state, and local programs that provide services to victims of trafficking that include, but are not limited to health care, human services, housing, education, legal assistance, job training or preparation, interpreting services, English as a second language classes, and victim's compensation; and
- Make recommendations on methods to provide a coordinated system of support and assistance to persons who are victims of trafficking.

HB 1175 creates a state crime of trafficking in persons in the first and second degrees - both class A felonies. Trafficking in the first has the same seriousness level as Murder 2; second degree trafficking is on the same seriousness level as Rape 1 and Rape of a Child 1. These seriousness levels come into play during sentencing. Additionally, the legislation allows for trafficking involving a person under the age of 14 to be an aggravating factor in determining the sentence. HB 1175 also includes trafficking in the existing Criminal Profiteering Act. Finally, 1175 subjects a convicted trafficker to civil penalties.

HB 1826 requires international match making organizations to notify foreign recruits that they can access personal information about the person who hired the organization, and also requires that organizations supply the information when requested. The information includes,

“Current marital status, the number of previous marriages, annulments, and dissolutions for the person, whether any previous marriages occurred as a result of receiving services from an international making organization; any founded allegations of child abuse or neglect; and whether there are any existing anti-harassment protection orders, domestic violence protection orders, and domestic violence no-contact orders against the person.” (From the House Bill Report)

“The Coalition was proud to participate in the work of the task force and proud to support these bills,” says Suzanne Brown, WCSAP's Director. “We also recognize the leadership of Representative Veloria and her constituents in terms of making the bills possible.”

# Op-Ed: Assault Allegations Should be Met with Independent Queries

SHERINA JAMES

LEGAL SERVICES COORDINATOR

WASHINGTON COALITION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT PROGRAMS

What can be done when those who are supposed to keep us safe are harming us? In the aftermath of the murder of Crystal Brame in Pierce County, women are left to wonder how they can seek out safety when assault and abuse go uninvestigated at the highest level in our police force.

As a state and a community, we are shocked and horrified at the facts that have come to light as a result of the murder of Crystal and the suicide of her husband, former Tacoma police Chief David Brame.

Concerned citizens are trying to mobilize their efforts to prevent such a tragedy from occurring again. We need to think about the circumstances that brought us here in the first place.

Time and time again, victims of sexual assault and domestic violence seek help, tell of their experiences, and are then ignored. Why do we as a society continue to question in disbelief and blame the victim when sexual assault and domestic violence are brought to light?

Researchers (Berliner, Fine and Moore, 2001) have found that sexual victimization is a common experience for women in Washington state, with more than a third of them reporting that at some time in their lives they have been victims of rape, attempted rape, forced sexual contact or child sexual abuse.

Why wasn't the woman who says Brame raped her believed when she came forward in 1988?

Now we in the Washington Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs are asking questions, but those questions need to go beyond finding out who had knowledge of the allegations of Brame's violent history. We also need to hold institutions of authority — such as law enforcement and the military — accountable when they use job titles, positions of power or training and resources to abuse, hurt and or manipulate others.

Recent developments indicate that Crystal Brame sought assistance to remove herself from the abuse and from an abuser, as many women do.

In this case, her abuser was in a position of power in the city. He had been given the authority by the city of Tacoma to enforce the law. As a victim of abuse inflicted by the police chief, where could she turn? Unless the institutions of power in our communities believe and support victims of sexual and domestic violence, and seek to provide a community free of such violence, there will be other tragedies like this one.

As advocates for sexual assault victims, Washington Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs argues that perhaps there is no safe place for those assaulted by people in such closed societies as the police and military. Therefore, we must create one.

An independent supervisory body should be established to make sure that sexual-assault complaints against law enforcement personnel are fully investigated and that victims receive the full support and protections they are entitled to by law, no matter what the occupation of the alleged abuser is.

Sexual assault and domestic violence occur at all socio-economic levels, in all communities and to all groups of people. Training for law enforcement and government officials on these issues may be an answer, but ultimately the public must demand permanent changes in city policies and procedures.

We can no longer expect the police to police themselves, and we all must hold them accountable for their actions or lack thereof.

We must be able to keep our communities safe from sexual and domestic violence. To do so requires that all offenders be held accountable, no matter what.

*Op-Editorial originally reprinted in the Spokesman Review on May 22, 2003 with Suzanne Brown as the writer, we regret the error.*

## MEET OUR STAFF!!



*Back row (left to right): Christi Hurt, Associate Director; Bonnie Ruddell, Staff Accountant; Toby Cremer, Agency Operations Coordinator; Evelyn Larsen, Training & Events Coordinator; Ryan Warner, Prevention Services Coordinator; Catherine Carroll, Staff Attorney. Middle row (standing) left to right, Shanette Green, Prevention Services Program Assistant; Gayle Stringer, Prevention Services Director; Tara Cardinal, Library Assistant. Front row (kneeling) left to right Suzanne Brown, Executive Director; Rachel Stewart, Prevention Services Coordinator; Lydia Guy, Advocacy Education Director; Nora Bashir, Advocacy Education Coordinator; Sherina James, Legal Services Coordinator.*

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