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The Evaluation of Organizational Structure in the Rape Crisis Movement in Minnesota from 1970-1990

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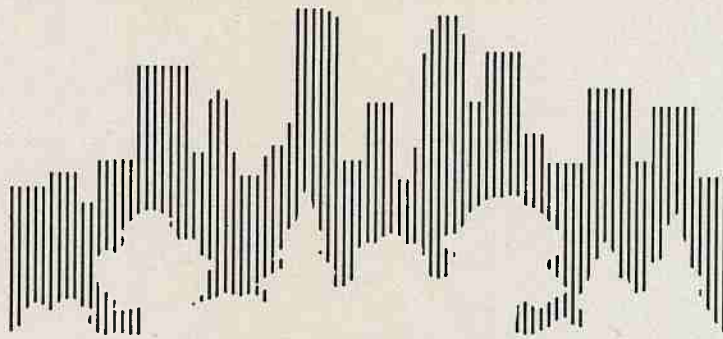
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MASTERS IN SOCIAL WORK THESIS

Cheryl A. Champion

The Evaluation of Organizational Structure in the Rape Crisis Movement in Minnesota from 1970-1990

1994

The Evolution of Organizational Structure in the Rape Crisis Movement

In Minnesota from 1970-1990

by

Cheryl Ann Champion

Augsburg College 1994

A Thesis

submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Augsburg College

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Abstract of Thesis

Title : The Evolution of Organizational Structure in the Rape Crisis Movement
    In Minnesota from 1970-1990

Study Focus: Historical Research

Student's Name: Cheryl A. Champion

Date: May 1994

This study documents the changes in the organizational structure of the rape crisis
centers (RCC) in Minnesota. It compares the organizational types of similar alternative
agencies with those organizational types that emerged in RCC. It considers a
framework that predicts at what period in the natural history of a social movement
changes in organizational structure and personnel occur. It determines how the
evolution of RCC reflects this framework. Finally, it assesses the relationship between
feminist ideology and organizational functioning. Several findings emerge from this
study. Over time, RCC evolved from grassroot collectives into programs of the
Minnesota Department of Corrections. Many RCC have retained remnants of their
feminist ideology in their structure. RCC accomplished many of their goals in terms of
services to victims, legislative revisions, and public awareness. However, RCC failed
to accomplish their original goal of changing the sexist society that fostered such
sexual violence and aggression .

Acknowledgments:

To the individuals that I encountered in my 20 years of work in the rape crisis movement. They had the courage to face their wounding and become survivors. They were insightful, furious, and passionate in finding approaches to make peace with a world that would never be the same for them. They were kind enough to let me be a witness to their courageous process. In many ways they assisted me with my own healing.

To the individuals that I worked and struggled with during those same 20 years, many of whom were left bereft and damaged by the work. This paper represents my attempts to understand and appreciate the damage that was done. The price many of us had to pay for the success of the movement was excruciating. Sometimes the personal was too political.

To the individuals at Augsburg College who assisted me through the process of formulating this thesis. Many people served as midwives to this project. Their support and nurturance was vital. They reminded me to breathe during the process.

To the individuals in my personal life who supported me through moments of panic and frustration. They offered encouragement, assistance with my faulty computer skills,chocolate, wit and humor.

Dedication:

Although rape crisis centers abound in the United States today, the original goal of the rape crisis movement, the transformation of the social context of a sexist society that values and appreciates men more than women, was never attained. The rape crisis movement still has work ahead of it, it has a revolution to finish. This paper is dedicated to social change agents in the hope that the next group of activists can learn from the last about the compromises between ideology and bureaucracy.

" The worst thing about being a woman is we get raped and killed. Women can get killed by their prettiness. " - girl, age 10, Mounds View, Mn.

" The best thing about being a man is that I can do what I want, be as rude and disgusting as I want, and no one says anything. " - boy, age 16, Grey Eagle, Mn.

" The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. " - from the poem by Audre Lorde, <u>Sister Outsider,</u> 1985.

*quotes from the book Transforming A Rape Culture

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Chapter One : Introduction

"An idea becomes a movement,

The movement becomes an organization,

The organization becomes an institution,

And therein lies the death of the idea."

- RCC Worker

Rape crisis centers are alternative organizations that are unique and important for the social work community to study, because they have attempted to combine both the goals of service provision and social change (Amir, 1979). Rape crisis centers are one of the few alternative organizations created by the social movements of the 1960's that have managed to survive into the 1990's, and actually expand and thrive (Collins, 1989). The history of the growth and development of rape crisis centers is one with a grassroots and feminist ideological stance that provides information on egalitarian work structures, female work environments, and alternative organizational survival (Ahrens, 1980).

The rape crisis movement was a radical feminist social issue that emerged in the early 1970's (Freeman, 1975). Radical, because it sought to dismantle the existing social order that perceived women as less important than men. Feminist, because the movement was conceived by women whose primary concerns focused on women's experiences (Brunch, 1981). The early rape crisis movement had two primary goals (Collins, 1989). One goal was to change the society that permitted and encouraged the oppression of women and sexual violence against women. A second goal was to provide safe space where victims would be believed and supported without blame, and where, through the process of mutual aid and self-help from other women, they would be strengthened individually and collectively. Early activists perceived themselves as

creating an alternative system that would exist outside the patriarchal institutions through a combination of cooperation and confrontation (Collins and Wahlen, 1989).

Collins and Wahlen (1989) document that although there had been only a dozen RCC in the U.S. in 1975, there were thousands by 1985. Collins asserts that this growth influenced RCC to become part of the more traditional service agency industry, which did not share their feminist ideology. Rape crisis centers struggled to balance their organizational expansion and need for efficiency with their original approach of collectivism and idealism. This trend is commented upon by two theorists of the women's movement.

> " Years ago, women were not the clients that they are in programs today, but rather participants in the struggle, due to the importance traditionally placed on collectivity and self-help. The contributions of the women's movement involve not only content, but process as well. Self-help validates non-hierarchical,non-professional service models as the most effective form of assistance. Theoretically, as women experience egalitarian service models, more and women are offered a vision of how people should treat one another, and new political possibilities emerge" (Schrecter, 1982, p. 318).

> "Self-help and peer support were seen as more effective in fulfilling the needs of women victims than rigid bureaucratic structures. Today, little room remains for the less formal, more supportive sharing that was the original goal. Rape crisis centers seem to be undergoing a transformation throughout the United States from feminist, non-hierarchic, community based organizations to institutionalized social service agencies" (Ahrens, 1980, p. 41).

These issues (collectivism, egalitarianism, self - help and peer support) are central to the evolution of rape crisis movements and the history of the women's movement. Ware (1970) points out that the first split in the women's liberation movement came in 1968, regarding organizational structure.

> " It was the issue of equality that caused the break. In effect, the directors of NOW had become ' the men ' of the movement, acting as always, to define,

control and oppress those beneath them. NOW wished only to obtain for women the same things that men had. To NOW, power and its manipulative use in society were apparently unobjectionable as long as women shared in it (Ti-Grace Atkinson,spoke the thoughts of many emerging radical feminists," We want to destroy the positions of power, not get into them.") From this split came a new organization called the Feminists, which used a rotating officership, with both routine and creative work rotated among everyone in the organization. Those with special talents were called resource people, and their work was done for the good of the group, and with the approval of the group.By the early 1970's, the mainstream of the women's liberation movement was using job rotation because the equality issue was so crucial to feminists " (Ware,1970, p. 24).

Unfortunately the ideals of equality and democracy are often difficult to put into practice." The classic dilemma of social movement organizations is the fact that a tightly organized structure is needed to change society and its institutions, but this conflicts directly with the participatory style necessary to maintain membership and support the democratic nature of the movements goals "(Freeman, 1975, p. 100). Ahrens, (1980) agrees that as an organization becomes more established, bureaucratic structure emerges,and accommodations are made to society, causing hierarchical stratification to become more accepted. As the complexity of the work increases, the process by which everyday tasks are fulfilled tends to undermine the democratic goals upon which collectives are founded. The difficulty, according to Ahrens , is that there is very little support for collective accountability available in the larger social responsible for decision making. " The idea of collective management is foreign to westernorganizational theory. In addition, the characteristics inherent in thestructure of collectives, such as continuous emotional face to face incounters between members,unacknowledged skill differentials between members, the increased influence of some members over time, make the smooth daily operation of collectives difficult. (Ahrens, 1980, p. 43).

Research Question

The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of how organizational structure evolved over time in RCC in Minnesota from 1970-1990. What enabled the survival of these feminist based alternative organizations, where so many other alternative organizations failed? What influences did their feminist ideology and grassroots history have on their structure? What was the impact of community acceptance upon organizational growth? What changes did RCC have to make in order to survive? What do the structures look like today?

There is a gap in information about women's agencies, feminist management and alternative organizations in the literature. RCC have the most longevity and mainstream acceptance of these alternative organizations. This study will look at how their activist roots and feminist ideology have been affected, and which collectivist principles and structures have been retained.

Conceptualization

In order to explore the evolution of structure, goals and dynamics in RCC, some key concepts will need to be defined. First, *institutionalization*, will be understood as the establishment of uniform, objective, and familiar structures, patterns and relationships; that facilitate the operation and delivery of services to a large population of clients. Second, *organizational structure* will be understood as a systemized, formal arrangement of units or divisions of labor needed to accomplish goals. Third, *professionalism*, will be understood as a discipline with a systemized body of knowledge, a code of ethics and an organization to oversee structure, training and licensing.

The kinds of organizational structures to be compared are :

Alternative Organizations, characterized by Zald (1970) as:

1. having goals of changing society and its members, as well as providing services

2. using purposive incentives to recruit and maintain staff

3. finding roots in social movements like the environment or civil rights

4. having a limited resource base

5. lacking social legitimacy and facing a hostile external environment

Bureaucratic Organizations, characterized by Weber (1946) as :

1. having distinct hierarchies with vertical lines of authority from the top down

2. having a division of labor based on specialized skills and routine

3. relying on extensive written rules, procedures and policies

4. requiring close supervision with little autonomy for individual workers

5. having centralized coordination, control and decision making

6. being managed by career professionals who are trained experts

7. providing salary and status based on skill differentials

Collective Organizations, characterized by O'Sullivan (1982) as:

1. having a horizontal division of labor and administration among personnel

2. valuing equal ownership, voice, vote and opportunity -

3. making organizational decisions with all staff in a face to face context

4. allowing authority to be held by the collective not an individual

5. rotating tasks and jobs, allowing diffusion and demystification of knowledge

6. making minimal use of rules,very little stratification

7. using purposive and solidarity incentives to build moral commitment to the
   organization

Feminist organizations, characterized by Remington (1992) as:

1. being committed to work that is by, for and about women

2. using political activism as a model for involvement and participation

3. opposing the patriarchal social order of sexism that values men more than women an analysis of women as an oppressed class and advocating for change in that position

4. using volunteers as flexible, innovative staff at all levels

5. providing consciousness - raising as the practice for perceiving the dissonance and shared experience of all women

6. advocating for the empowerment perspective as the mediating strength and liberating energy to assist all individuals in realizing their full potential

7. operating under " the personal is political " process, in response to the male public world of knowledge, perceiving the female internal world as a form of new intuitive knowledge. Affirming what appears irrational and invalid to the world at large

8. affirming diversity and solidarity, that building sisterhood is done by making available the unique experiences and individual strengths of all, to the common interests of the collective

Social Change Organizations, characterized by Couto (1992) as:

1. motivated by ideology, a body of systematically related beliefs held by the group, that articulates a controversial opinion and acts as a rationale for behavior and shared goals

2. providing solidarity through organizing and functioning as a primary group in a hostile environment

3. influencing the environment to change or adapt to the movement's set of

principles or working philosophy

4. being grassroots in terms of formation from primary, existing peer groups

5. being self - help in terms of building self esteem and confidence among peers

6. reform groups that are liberal in wanting to negotiate with the status quo and finding a strategy to become incorporated. (Attributing the roots of women's oppression to a lack of equal civil rights and educational opportunities. Seeking to create services to fill the gaps left by traditional institutions which ignore women's needs.)

7. radical groups that are activists motivated to restructure and change the system. (Oppression of women is fundamental and needs to be attacked directly. Creating an alternative social service system which meets women's needs in ways distinct from the sexist practices prevalent in the mainstream.)

Summation

The effects of institutionalization on the rape crisis movement are examined through a historical analysis of the RCC in Minnesota from 1970 - 1990. Objective documentation regarding how rape crisis centers have changed and what structures have emerged has been lacking in the literature. This study will determine if there is a lessened emphasis on the original radical social change goals in the rape crisis movement. This study will address the issue of balancing utopian goals and ideals with the realities of securing community support and funding. This study will also look at how the increased requirements for professionalism, routine and structure needed for survival have changed the charismatic feminist impulse which created the rape crisis movement.

Chapter Two : Review of the Literature

In reviewing the literature there is a slim body of work on organizational structure in RCC. However, there is a body of work in the literature about collectives, alternative organizations and women's organizations, and some of the key characteristics that make up these organizations (as well as RCC) such as: volunteers, grass roots organizing, empowerment, self-help groups, professionalism and bureaucracies. Much of the work is within the same 20 year span of 1970-1990. Several recurring themes surface in the articles that will prove useful in the analyses to be done in this study.

A. Rape Crisis Centers (RCC)

In examining the literature about the structure of RCC, early work from the 1970's, when RCC were new, made attempts to analyze the salient characteristics of the centers. In 1979, Amir and Amir classified most RCC as free voluntary storefront organizations who shared a common mission of caring for rape victims, changing the procedures of other agencies providing services to rape victims, reforming rape legislation and the public attitude about rape. In the early years, Amir and Amir found that the rape crisis movement was successful in transforming rape from a criminal act into 1) a personal health crisis which befell individual women and 2) a sociopolitical phenomena, the fear of rape, which was experienced by all women. These two aspects were captured in the ideology of each center.

Amir and Amir found that early RCC were shaped by the following influences:
a). the role of social reformers and public educators; the RCC believed that the rage and anger of the victim could be translated into social action for change, through education of the public and legislative changes.

b). the role of victim advocates; the RCC believed victims came first, and that with peer help and support from other women (advocacy), the victims were better served than in traditional institutions.

c). the role of professional trainers; the RCC believed the best approach was to take their expertise to the already existing providers, (police, medical, legal and social service personnel) and train them to deal with victims in a more humane manner.

Amir and Amir believe the organizational structure of RCC are shaped by their ideologies. "In service organizations based on social critique and change in the environment, the ideological aspect of the organization's life is constantly evoked and plays an important role in its structure, internal process and relations with the outside environment" (Amir and Amir, p. 248). The Amir's believe the feminist movement, as well as several other cultural and social movements of the times, contributed the following perspectives to the organization, administration and functioning of RCC.

1. RCC were anti-bureaucratic, as a solution to the alienation that clients felt in dealing with other service organizations.

2. RCC were based on collective action, using the women's common shared experiences.

3. RCC were self-help movements, based on the critique that most existing services promoted their own self interest rather than the clients.

4. RCC were community based, allowing the neighborhoods or the clients the right to define their own needs.

5. RCC were egalitarian and voluntary, signifying the emergence of para - professionals in response to the perceived ignorance and arrogance of experts.

6. RCC were grassroots, as a revolt against the establishment's control of resources

Amir and Amir (1979) believe this anti-bureaucratic orientation transformed RCC into new service settings that reflected radical social change goals for victims, as well as for organizational functioning. Some of the key organizational elements included the values of idealism, commitment, altruism, collectivism and social morality. Amir and Amir found that the mission statements of RCC tended to reflect the following :

1. Ideology, the acceptance of common, shared premises and goals.

2. Solidarity and commitment, the need to organize and function as a primary group within a hostile, adverse environment.

3. Charismatic leadership, modeled by dedication, innovation and initiative.

4. Collective power, a division in labor and administration among all members.

5. Volunteerism, women were recruited and trained as para-professionals.

6. Community support, at the initial stage, from some existing organization.

In order for highly ideological organizations like RCC to function, Amir and Amir believe they must maintain solidarity among members through identification, acceptance and agreement with the premises and goals of the movement. Disagreements can cause rifts among individuals and groups, affect operations, resources and credibility, and lead to splits, departures and dissolution. The multiplicity of goals and ideological elements becomes a source for constant tension and criticism. Amir and Amir found that potential for conflict within RCC concerned the following:

1. Struggles to maintain a balance between political action and services to victims.

2. The polemic between being a women's collective or an agency type of center.

3. The role of men, lesbians, women of color and other diverse groups.

4. Boundaries and issues with the host agency or organization.

5. Environment, influencing the community to accept rape as a serious issue.

6. Resources such as salary and compensation for time .

7. Efforts and concentration shifting from individual victims to special

groups of victims (specialized services requiring professionals).

O'Sullivan , another individual who chronicled the formation of RCC, agrees with

Amir and Amir that in the early years of the 1970's when RCC were fewer than a

dozen, they reflected the principles of the women's liberation movement. They were

collectives characterized by a distrust of professionals and a belief in peer support. In

the growth years of the 1980's as more RCC were formed, an ideological shift from

radical feminist to more liberal reformist strategies occurred (O'Sullivan, 1978). This

growth increased opportunities for RCC to influence social change through community

contacts and political tactics. However, the ensuing competition for resources,

volunteers, and clients, caused programs to attack each other's legitimacy.

O'Sullivan asserts that areas for dispute included :

1. Rather attempts at statutory and procedural changes in public policy were more

successful if done in the form of testimony and presentation to public bodies, or as

protests and civil disobedience actions. (O'Sullivan , 1978)

2. The structure within RCC was a continual source of debate.

a). Originally shaped by the organizational experience of the members,

early centers assumed the desirability of feminist collectives. As RCC proliferated,

professionals and community leaders became involved and implemented more

conventional structures. Collectives seemed to be poorly suited to meet the high level

of demand for services, these demands tended to increase the pressure for internal differentiation.

b). RCC first tried standing committees, smaller more focused issue groups, that facilitated communication and effectiveness. Over time, RCC tried more formal decision making structures, such as steering committees, as a non-hierarchical vehicle to locate responsibility, develop accountability, and improve communications. Individuals could move on and off the steering committee, and the committee's decisions were still subject to the review and approval of all members.

c). The appearance of Boards and Officers signaled the institutionalization of RCC. This allowed the skills and resources of certain people to be available for limited amounts of time. With this change came the addition of salaried staff who facilitated communication between boards and volunteers, giving continuity to policy and procedures. The presence of staff can give RCC a clearer identity, allowing community members or other agencies to develop contact with one known person rather than any available volunteer. All of this change in structure may make organizational functioning better, but it also reveals that the focus is on the needs of the organization and the system, rather than the needs of the members and the victims (O'Sullivan, 1977).

3. Membership patterns. Over time, adjustments were needed to include new categoriesof members, such as child victims, men, lesbians, women of color, etc. Although solidarity was a hallmark of the original RCC, it was based on premise that all women's lives contained similarities, such as the potential for victimization. Integrating these new groups caused lapses in concentration on the delivery of service to victims, as ideology adapted to the new pressures of diversity (O'Sullivan, 1978).

4. The use of volunteers. The original knowledge base in RCC was an oral tradition, never written down by harried staff too busy to reflect on its development, it was available to anyone who spent enough time at the RCC. The need for standardization of operating procedures, and an easier method of adapting to and including new personalities, created volunteer corps with limited roles. Volunteer recruitment became formalized with screening, training, supervision and contracts. The possibilities for personal growth and development that existed in the past went unrealized. As opportunities for inclusion in other activities at the center ceased, the turnover rate of volunteers grew (O'Sullivan, 1977).

5. Funding. Allocations for RCC had always been soft money, time limited government grants as opposed to permanent entitlement funding. This necessitates concentrated time and effort to fundraise from churches, corporations, foundations and private donors. To achieve stability some centers located in other agencies. This led to choices about ongoing philosophical conflicts vs. ongoing poverty. Incorporation into other agencies often meant the RCC ability to address the underlying social issues which contribute to the prevalence of sexual violence, or its capability to identify and challenge procedures which increase a victim's anguish were stunted (O'Sullivan, 1978) .

" In the study of the institutionalization of a social movement, like RCC, the influence of ideology upon organizational functioning emerges, particularly when the original goals are not mere reforms of existing social institutions, but the more radical transformation of power relationships and social values. Some of the areas where this is most obvious are; the use of volunteer staff vs. paid staff, a collective structure vs. a hierarchical structure, an approach of social change vs. social acceptance, generalization of services vs. specialization of services, and increased inclusivity of the

membership vs. maintaining the solidarity of the membership " (O'Sullivan, 1978, p. 64).

B. Collectives and Alternative Organizations

Most of the writing about organizational structure addresses mainstream work environments. However, there is some consideration given to alternative work environments such as collective work environments. Rothschild-Whitt (1982) lists the characteristics of collectives as being small, with less than 20 members, where decisions are made by the whole group, and work is shared and interchangeable among members. There is little or no social stratification, and individual skill differentials are mediated by the rotation of roles, tasks and knowledge among all members. There is a minimum use of rules. Authority lies in the collective, not the individual. Collectives use personal or moralistic appeals to provide control and rely on moral rather than material incentives.

In the early formative stages, collectives are characterized by continual face to face encounters between members who develop social relationships that are holistic and affective. New members are recruited on the basis of friendship and social political orientation. During this stage, many members felt as if a "new family" had been established. Strong affiliation and emotion often sustained group members through struggles.

However, Rothschild-Whitt found that over time, with increased demands for production, issues arose which were harder to mediate. The amount of time spent in meetings to maintain the organization became burdensome. The high value placed on participation and consensus took time away from task oriented activities. Considerable energy had to be put into motivation and morale. Homogeneity became a value and

recruitment was based on a friendship network that encouraged similar backgrounds. Social and economic class differences became obstacles in recruiting new members. "The emotional intensity of any conflict was worse in collectives because of the daily face to face encounters and the friendship networks. Individual differences in traits like verbal skills, looks, commitment, fairness, or work style tended to increase the personal friction. Eliminating the hierarchy eliminates the buffer zone that otherwise protects workers from one another. Evaluations, rewards, or individual advancement become a crisis for the entire collective " (Rothschild-Whitt, p.28).

Rothschild-Whitt (1979) found that collectives tended to resolve these issues through their transitional abilities. Often this transitional ability was based on ideological considerations. Sometimes a decision was made to limit the number of members or size of the collective, creating sister organizations. Some collectives chose to shut down the organization rather than change, seeing themselves as an experiment or idea whose time had not arrived. Others found a supportive liberal professional base in the community to turn over the more perfunctory tasks or demands, so that they could continue grappling with the more important philosophical issues. Opposition from the outside tended to solidify and justify their existence, many did not want to give up that role. This seemed to be the best approach to survival. " The closer a collective stayed to the social movement that spawned it, the less goal displacement took place" (Rothschild-Whitt, p.233).

Writing about the politics of the women's liberation movement Freeman (1975) expands on how organizations are shaped by a hostile outside environment. A lack of social legitimacy and limited resources force movements to rely on the number and commitment of its supporters. "The major incentive is purposive, the promise that a desired social goal will someday, somehow, be reached. Because it is remote, and

delayed satisfaction not sufficient, peculiar kinds of reinforcement become important, the opportunity to be part of a group that shares ones values and will validate ones own deviant perspective of the world. One can belong to any social group by appropriate adaptive behavior, it is the reinforcement of self that is valued " (Freeman, p. 101). This unusual style of recruitment and belonging, in terms of the characteristics that seemed prerequisite for participating in the women's movement, " .. seemed to concern one's background, personality or allocation of time. It did not include ones competence, talents or potential contributions. The first seemed more like criteria for determining a friendship, unlike the second, which were traits for determining effective political leadership " (Freeman, 123)

One other study on alternative organizations warrants consideration since the researcher was concerned about how alternative organizations survive. Hopkins (1983) concluded there are two different models of organizational development that alternative organizations can take which affect their success rate. One model involved consistent growth and stability of the organization with the objective to become part of the established social service delivery network. "Agencies studied under this model were most notable for their adaptation to the environment, as well as goal attainment in the provision of services. They innovated throughout their history, both to meet the changing needs of their existing clientele and to provide new services which could attract a new base of clientele. To this end , political and ideological concerns were set aside if they threatened the active support and involvement of the community " (Hopkins, p489). The second model was one of mere survival. "Agencies were marked by equal attention to goal attainment and integration of ideology, with much less concern for adaptation to the environment. The commitment to services, as well as the power relations and status differentials among staff, affected the structure of the agency. They remained impervious to the environment" (Hopkins, p489) . Hopkins

notes that the agencies studied in the first model were structured as clear hierarchies with a board of directors, whereas agencies in the second model were collective in form, relying on staff meetings to be the source of organizational policy.

In the writings about alternative organizations, especially collectives, it is apparent that they need to remain small in size and membership to be successful. Solidarity is maintained through similarity in background and agreement in ideology, homogeneity. The resolution of the conflicts that arise over growth can only be done through a) splitting of the groups into manageable working sizes to maintain the ideology or b) merging of the group with a larger entity and the loss of the ideology.

C. Women's Organizations

The general issue addressed in this study is the institutionalization and increased professionalism of RCC over time. Galper in 1980, noted in a discussion of radical social work, that any professional efforts to link solutions with large social transformations results in only minimal benefits to clients, and strengthens the hold of existing institutions. Brunch (1981), a feminist theorist, distinguished between reformism and radicalism. "Reformism is the position that women's liberation is achieved by progressive institutional changes that ultimately will buy women equality within the social economic and political order. Radicalism is the position that freedom for oppressed groups comes only through the restructuring of the ideology and the institutions of society" (Brunch, p. 25).

In writing about management in women's organizations, Schwartz (1988) finds that women seem to combine traditional styles with feminist principles creating an approach characterized by the following innovations:

     1. Every staff member's contribution is valued.

2. Funders do not control goals because they control the money.

3. Staff has maximum access to information and decision making, providing a collective check and balance on the accumulation of power.

4. Limits placed on salary and power disparities through mediated titles and job descriptions.

5. Diversity among the board, staff and consumers reflecting all ages, lifestyles, and income.

6. The challenge of inequities in whatever system the organization is involved with.

7. Services framed in the context of wellness and prevention.

8. A commitment to un-learn attitudes of powerlessness inherent in traditional workplace. Creating mechanisms for direct involvement of staff in decision

In looking for the hallmarks of feminist management , another study was done of women's groups in Minnesota during 1970-90. The common development of a women's culture during these years created a consciousness among these organizations of being engaged in a struggle for the benefit of women as a distinct social group. In a study of 38 women's organizations, Remington (1991) identified 5 salient characteristics :

1. The issue of Power. The organizations were created and controlled by women.

2. The issue of Victim Status. The services were designed for an oppressed class, women.

3. The issue of the work being Personal. It incorporated some desire for change regarding the status of women.

4. The issue of Solidarity. The groups considered themselves separate and in opposition to the mainstream.

5. The issue of Organizational Structure. The preference was decidedly feminist.

Remington's research analyzed the organization's changes in ideology through the five principles above as the organizations changed over time. During the early years, (1970's), she found the organization's members believed:

1. That when oppressed people were empowered they would handle power in a benign manner.

2. That a system of exclusion and victimization were key elements in shaping women and their response to issues.

3. That personal experience was the highest authority and virtue; that the female interpersonal world was more important than the male public world.

4. That there was a female unity, all women spoke with the same voice , from the same experience and the same pain.

5. That the ideal feminist organizational structure was collective and horizontal, with goals were reached as highly as the goals themselves.

The middle years, (1980's), brought success for many of the women's organizations Remington studied. Along with the success came an accompanying stress.

1. Success brought public acceptance as society adopted some of their goals. All this public influence conflicted with their perception of themselves as powerless.

2. The continual connection through victim status never allowed individuals to move on to other levels of connection. Recovery or growth meant exclusion from the group.

3. Personal experience was valued more than other ways of knowing. Workers were selected on the basis of personal experience rather than objective

qualifications. The transfer of personal and emotional experience into organizational life encouraged bonding, intimacy and community; but discouraged standards of accountability.

4. Growth brought more diverse groups into the membership, women with different sexual orientations, class, ethnicity, age. The stress of accommodating new viewpoints illustrated that not all women spoke about their experience in the same voice.

5. Collective organizational structure was problematic, The amount of time involved in processing every decision became burdensom. The funding mainstream did not understand who was ultimately responsibile for running the organization. In addition, the invisible structure of covert power in collectives began to interfere in their smooth operation. Women, traditionally accustomed to exercising power behind the scenes with a "sneer, glance   or cold shoulder", often changed or influenced decisions for reasons not in best   interest of organization" (Remington, p. 54).

Remington found that in later years, (1990's), those organizations that survived attempted to reconcile politics and productivity by functioning hierarchically , but with a collective mindset. " This resulted in an intricate set of often contradictory and confusing rules and procedures. Nevertheless, the women's groups tried to live with the tension, trying to accommodate two opposing systems in order to hold onto their original values" (Remington, p 89). Using the same five principles, she found that:

1. With increased power organizations became answerable to the system. The paradox of working within the mainstream was that it afforded groups more credibility and resources to make changes; but as recipients of privilege and support, the need or urge to change the system diminished.

2. Victimization had been an innovative philosophy, but as it was adopted by the mainstream, organizations lost their radical identity as a culture of victims. Increasingly friendly and professional relationships within the mainstream removed some of the stresses that had previously caused women's organizations to challenge existing values and structures. With increased financial stability and salaries, women's organizations grew empowered in self esteem, confidence, ability and experience.

3. Personal productivity began to take precedence over personal process. Performance expectations and accountability were incorporated into the operation. Those women's organizations that failed to survive into the 90's were brought down by poor boundaries, excessive emotional strife, fear of critical dialogue, unchallenged assumptions and no renewal of philosophical tenants.

4. Solidarity in the 70's took the form of "isms" ; racism, classism, sexism. In the 80's there was an attempt at multi-cultural inclusivity. By the 90's a separation into specialized products, services and group membership was succeeding.

In her closing remarks, Remington mourns the loss of "..the kind of women's organization that was the norm in the 70's - radical, hostile to the mainstream, dedicated to social change, small, informal, minimally funded and fueled by idealistic dreams and a feeling of open ended possibility. The closing of so many of the older women's organizations raises the possibility that, without intervention, 10 to 15 years may be the likely lifespan of such groups. If we believe it is important for work by, for and about women to go on, then it is imperative to examine the factors that lead to the demise and change of so many first generation organizations" (Remmington, p. 62).

D. Volunteers, Grassroots Organizing and Empowerment

The essence of most RCC is the volunteer base. In the literature about traditional organizational structure the concept of volunteers is a difficult one to conceptualize. Max Weber (1946) believed that people were motivated by money. The idea of insuring the loyalty of volunteers based on a neutral reward system like organizational goals or mission puzzled him. This discrepancy between Weber's theory and the practice of using volunteers can best be explained by normative values that promise a larger social good.

Most human service agencies have developed a " balance of exchange " when including volunteers in their staffs. Volunteers work towards the common agency goals in one of two ways; 1) by performing complementary tasks to augment the professional services, time consuming advocacy tasks that require long periods of waiting that would waste the time and skills of paid professionals, or 2) by performing supplementary tasks in addition to professional services. These tasks extend the services agencies can provide and add a spontaneous dimension to the service through face to face contacts.(Gidron, 1987). This theory corresponds to the values and ideals of equality and democracy inherent in the formation of RCC. A different type of organizational structure is required, one with dual authority, where volunteer coordinators provide a linkage for case management and accountability by volunteers to the goals, while still allowing a vast amount of independence within the agency for this special category of workers. The unique contribution by volunteers has to be balanced by policy and performance standards, training programs, evaluation, recruitment and screening are required. The need for volunteers is a reflection of the poor funding and value placed on women's programs. One undesirable consequence as RCC mature, is that volunteers become too expensive in terms of time. Because of the

internal friction caused by constant inclusion of new members who need to be indoctrinated, and the continuous turnover rate in volunteers, many RCC move towards employing professional advocates.

Since the 1970's the notion of empowerment has appeared with increasing frequency in the discussion of grassroots networking organizations. This incorporation of citizen activism within the social and political environment caused Kieffer (1984) to survey 15 organizations. He found that members liked being involved in an organization of peers and discovered a sense of strength in numbers for facing oppression. Grassroots organizations function like self-help groups by nurturing maturity and skills through the provision of an environment in which risks can be taken, frustrations can be shared , fears can be allayed, and support can be reinforced. Grassroots organizations differ from self help groups because the emphasis is on external causes and political dynamics. Rather than increasing emotional support to adapt to the environment like self help groups, grassroots groups strive to articulate reasons for change in the environment.

" Conflict and growth are essential to sustain the grassroots organization. One must feel the conflict to respond. The creative tension makes empowerment happen. The praxis is one of circular confrontation, the relationship of experience and reflection, that evokes new understandings. Empowerment is not a commodity, it is a transformational process. The core of empowerment is learning, experiencing and building skills. Grassroots organizations can best serve as a locus of support and learning, nurturing through the effects of collective group effort, the progress of individuals" (Kieffer, p. 23). In the midst of apathy and hopelessness, Kieffer finds grassroots groups help individuals to emerge as citizen activists, to counteract the impotence of disenfranchisement. " The provocation of empowerment is the

consequence of a personal sense of rage and a community of peers that provide attachment and support through out the experience of confrontation and conflict" (Kieffer, p. 31).

The importance of volunteer involvement in grass roots organizing, such as the formation of the early RCC is the empowerment of individual women to become world builders and social change agents. This supports Freire's philosophy that empowerment moves individuals from being objects acted upon by the environment to subjects acting upon the environment. Individuals become creators in the world, constructing their own social reality.

E. Self - Help Groups

Another organizational style that emerged in the 70's was the self-help group. "Recent critics have regarded self - help groups as a deviation from social change to individual change, a substitution of individual psychological change for radical systems change. Self - help groups are seen as providing a response to the symptoms of oppression and victimization, not a response to the underlying problems of unequal and unjust distribution of resources and power in society. They have a tendency to blame the victim rather than the victim's circumstances" (Riessman, 1992).

However, Riesmann (1992), takes the opposite view. He sees self - help groups as part of a continuum of organizations that have fueled the disability movement, the women's movement, the drug recovery movement, and the gay rights movement. He believes self - help groups place an emphasis on the potential inner strength of the individual when imbedded in a community of peers. "Self-help groups may be a useful detour or retreat when issues like the economy, the environment or sexism seem too big. They reduce the complexity of the issues and allow the individual to reflect on the self.

Consciousness-raising establishes a shared sense of identity . In the self - help phase; a group looks inward to develop resources, methods of coping, a broader identity, and inner strength. The next phase needs to be advocacy; a moving outward, a demand for environmental change. This is an evolutionary step in the transfer of skills and group energy to address larger social issues" (Riessman, p. 36).

Riessman believes self - help groups reflect the same populist themes mentioned earlier in describing RCC formation. Cooperation, collective action, empowerment, emphasis on the personal, the value of local community control, anti-elitism, anti-professionalism, and an opposition to bureaucracy. The strength of these self - help groups is when "the personal becomes political", when the individual capacity to deal with unchanged circumstances is transformed into collective social action (evidenced by the rise of MADD, anti-smoking campaigns and civil rights). Problems arise when a) politics and ideology foster differences about the methods or paths to pursue, b) when experts and professionals attempt to influence the reforms, c) when one individual's energy or personality distracts attention from group or its goals.

According to Okum (1992) , radicals have too little patience with personal transformation; they want to move right into social action. Conservatives have too much tolerance for personal transformation, it fits with their ideals of individual responsibility for one's destiny. "Radicals ask you to give up your entire system of psychological support, to isolate yourself from friends and family, to live with uncertainty and risks in challenging the social order. Radicals do not acknowledge the connections and stresses between personal needs and political realities. Emotional well being is in the self interest too. Eventually, when asked to chose between the self and the movement, few people have the character traits of a martyr. Social change movements need to make room for validation and support. If the vision is the end of

victimization, a focus on 'the fight' exclusionary of 'the life' is detrimental. A vision of the world where victory actually happens is needed. A celebration of the small gains " (Okum, p. 46).

This philosophical discussion on the introvert/extrovert nature of self-help groups directly impacts the discussion of RCC. The polemic of RCC remaining support groups for victims or social change agencies for survivors is an ongoing one in the transitional changes in organizational change within RCC.

F. Professionalism and Bureaucracies

Max Weber (1946) characterized hierarchical structures as having clear lines of authority, a division of labor based on specialization, written rules, selection of workers based on technical skills, and power limited by policy. This style developed with the onset of the industrial age to eliminate the kinship tradition of management, and create a more formal, competent specialized set of mangers. However, York (1986) in his critique of hierarchical bureaucracies, believes that rules become ends instead of means. Rigidity overtakes the system, and the system stops searching for alternatives. Individuals become identified with their work unit and lose track of organizational goals. Bureaucracies are a good system for routine tasks, but not for dynamic processes. They don't respond well to need for change. York believes bureaucracies allow for control, centralization and coordination of large numbers of workers in one location. They cope well with increases in the division and specialization of labor. Those in power can protect their monopoly through institutional forms of control, licensure and vendorship. Authority comes from above in vertical lines. York's negative view of bureaucracies hinges on the breakdown of jobs into smaller and smaller components, creating a destruction of the generalized

body of knowledge. In addition, specialization necessitates supervision. Technical specialization means a loss of power over work, a loss of pace and control.

Relating the information above to RCC, initially, they were formed with the belief that the best way to deliver human services is in horizontal patterns of authority, with minimal specialization, maximum input on policy decisions, minimal established power in any one position. Bureaucracies are said to rule out the expression of personal feelings, a traditional female quality that most RCC are anxious to retain. However as RCC became more successful, the issue of professionalism and bureaucracies became harder to ignore. Professionalism is defined by Wilson (1981), as a systemized body of knowledge, with a code of ethics, and a professional organization to control membership, set standards and oversee training. Some professionalism was required in an attempt to force acceptance and retain for RCC the exclusive domain to work with victims. O'Sullivan (1978) found that RCC that switched to professional staff tended to have more ties to community, more centralized decision making, and more organizational contacts. However these varied levels of responsibilities, training and education created unspoken barriers to meaningful integration of varied social and economic backgrounds among staff. Moving up the hierarchy meant moving away from the discipline or paradigm. As more specialized care was created for classes of victims, (Multiple Personality Disorders, Ritualistic Abuse, Date Rape), higher levels of role discrepancy occurred for staff.

Competition for resources encouraged the success of some groups at the expense of others. Survival level wages and program budgets discouraged longevity and support for RCC work. Staff often complained about having no time, energy or resources left over for their own needs. There were limited rewards to a career in RCC, with ceilings on social mobility, geographic mobility and job mobility. RCC became career ghettos

involving strained work conditions. In the past these hardships had built community, but now these conflicts discouraged attachments and undermined any potential networks for support and cohesiveness. As the work with sexual violence moved towards bureaucratization and professionalism, more outsiders with credentials and specialties took more and more resources away from the RCC to establish specialized treatment programs and practices settings. "This focus on professionalism and bureaucracy forced a transition in RCC from radical feminist activism to professionalized social services" (O'Sullivan, p. 37).

Chapter Three : Research Methodology

The effects of institutionalization on the Rape Crisis Movement are examined through a historical analysis of RCC in Minnesota from 1970 - 1990. Objective documentation regarding how RCC have changed and what structures have emerged is lacking in the literature. This study will address the issue of balancing utopian goals and ideals with the realities of securing community support and funding. This study will also look at how the increased requirements for professionalism, routine and structure needed for survival have changed the charismatic feminist impulse which created the Rape Crisis Movement. In order to answer these questions a qualitative historical methodology was chosen.

Data Collection

Three sources of data were used to construct the historical changes in Minnesota's RCC. Individual RCC in Minnesota were surveyed, and so were some of the larger coordinating bodies that serve Minnesota RCC. Factual records and documents that could provide evidence of changes in organizational structure, changes in personnel and changes in funding were located. In addition, individuals who were involved in the Rape Crisis Movement over this period were interviewed for their memories of the effects some of the changes had on the functioning of the RCC.

1). The researcher prepared a survey form for seven of the RCC with the most longevity in Minnesota during the period being studied. There were five responses completed. This survey form asked for information about organizational structure, membership, funding and staffing patterns. For the sake of confidentiality, none of the RCC will be identified.

2). The researcher prepared a qualitative interview format to solicit reflections from 20 women who were involved in the Rape Crisis Movement in Minnesota during the period being studied. There were eleven responses completed. These individuals held a variety of positions in RCC and other affiliated organizations throughout the period. Individuals within the metro area of the Twin Cities were interviewed in person. Individuals outside the Twin Cities were interviewed by telephone because the time available to complete the study placed limits on traveling such geographic distance. For the sake of confidentiality none of the individuals were identified. Their reflections on the changes and adjustments, accomplishments and challenges to the Rape Crisis Movement over the same twenty year period added to the study in what Hopkins (1992) describes as the empowerment paradigm. " This type of research allows for participation by the subjects, as collaborators and stakeholders, to interpret and reflect upon " how wisely and how gracefully " they have come to know the facts and knowledge we are studying. It is tied to the strengths perspective which emphasizes description, multiple perspectives, and authentication of voices that are often ignored" (Holmes, p. 159).

3). The researcher did an archival search of the existing historical documents. All of the material was a matter of public record and available to the researcher upon request. By using the public records and documents available in the Minnesota Legislative Law Library and the Minnesota Historical Society; many of the organizational newsletters, by-laws and mission statements, legislative policies, funding and financial information, and newspaper clippings were located. Archival material from the Minnesota Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs and the Minnesota Department of Corrections, Victim Services Unit yielded newsletters, reports about various workshops and conferences that occurred, and Biennial Reports to the Minnesota Legislature. All of this was used in establishing a chronological timeline of events.

Gaps in the documents and material saved or catalogued caused problems that will be discussed in the conclusion.

Data Analysis

The amount of material gathered about the rape crisis movement in Minnesota was extensive. The information was coded in order to limit it to data that reflected the life and flow of the organizations. This is a recent 20 year period of history that was studied, but the data was organized according to the early (70's), middle (80's), and later (90's) years of existence. By marking the content as (legislative reforms), (resources developed), (pertinent issues) and (important themes) within the particular time periods, an emerging picture, as well as a linear narrative of the evolutionary history of RCC was created. The particular debates that emerged involved dilemmas over 1) focusing on the goal of social service delivery vs. social action, 2) differences in ideology, reform or radical, 3) organizational structure, a collective vs. a hierarchy, and 4) the issues of institutionalization, professionalism vs. volunteerism.

Theoretical Framework

Once the data was organized, a systematic format was needed to interpret it. Although the literature on organizational change in RCC is slim, articles on change in other social movements offer useful paradigms for analysis. The framework presented by Fuller (1940) for understanding the natural history of social change movements will be used to enhance the analysis. He posits a series of predictable patterns of adjustment as an issue is accepted by general society and moves into the bureaucracy of existing institutions. This phenomena is similar in many social change movements; especially

those which include advocacy, that require social reform, and that lack public recognition or funding.

Fuller's theory of the natural history of social problems has three parts :

1) Awareness - the emergence at the local level that particular values or individuals are threatened. Before a social problem can be identified , there must be an emerging consciousness in people at the local level. This often takes the form of random behavior at first. As the conflict between social values and norms is expressed, the problem is further identified.

2) Policy Determination - solutions based on broad means and ends are conceived by the public in terms of "doing something about it". Then specific interest or pressure groups develop around the issue. Finally specialists and administrators step in to focus the problem solving.

3) Reform - all policy has been debated and the last stage of the institutionalization of the social problem is implemented. This is represented by legislation, publicly authorized policy enforcing agencies and experts to deal with the issue. Such reforms are still subject to censorship, veto, or referendum by the public who first recognized the problem.

More important to this study is the refinement by Fuller of twelve steps, which identify when changes in organizational structure and personnel take place.

1. awareness and recognition of the problem

2. discussion of its seriousness

3. attempts at reform (initial social action)

4. suggestions for more careful study (surveys, needs assessments)

5. change in personnel and structure

6. emphasis on broad basic factors and causes

7. dealing with individual cases

8. change in personnel and structure

9. programs inductively arrived at

10. refinements of technique (study and treatment)

11. refinements of concepts (research)

12. change in personnel and structure

This framework will be used to further delineate the evolution and change of organizational structure in Minnesota RCC.

Methods

Historical research describes the underlying cause and effect of events. It attempts to establish through scientific method, a rational explanation for the cause of events based upon the historical data, and a logical interpretation of the effect of the events upon individuals, organizations or society. Leedy (1974) believes historical research deals with the *meaning* of events. It is not just an accumulation of facts, but an interpretation of facts. Historical research looks for patterns in events. It finds a supported rationale to explain why events happen. Valid primary data from records and documents are interpreted for meaning and relationship from the view of the researcher and the literature.

The use of empowerment as a method in research reflects a feminist style of understanding. A premise of this study is the evolutionary change in organizational structures that occurred in RCC may help future social activists clarify their roles and involvement at various moments in the evolutionary process of other social

movements affecting women. " Feminist research is a way of interpreting social issues based on women's experiences. It is committed to social justice for women. It is constructed from a female perspective of reality. It's intention is to analyze actions and events from a women's point of view" (Krane, 1991, p. 56). Feminist research according to Lather (1986), is committed to critiquing the status quo and building a more just society."Submitting data to the research process enables individuals to change by encountering a deeper understanding of events through a negotiated, reflective interpretation of meaning. The degree to which the research process will orient, focus and energize participants towards understanding reality in order to transform it, can be called catalytic validity. This recognition of the reality altering impact of research, produces knowledge that will advance the struggle toward a more equitable world" (Lather, p. 272).

Narrative - The Formative Years (1970-1975)

Stage One is Awareness in Fuller's theory of the natural history of social movements.
The emergence at the local level that particular values or individuals are threatened.
Before a social problem can be identified, there must be an emerging consciousness in
the people at a local level. At first, this takes the form of random behavior. Then as the
conflict between social values and norms is further expressed, the problem is further
identified.

Step One: Awareness and Recognition

In terms of the formation of RCC, the awareness and recognition of the problem was
enmeshed with other issues of the time. The late 1960's and early 1970's was an era of
documented social and political upheaval, a revolution in consciousness, as people
were fond of saying. Changes in thought and attitude from the fringes of society were
beginning to influence the academic, public and political environment.
Industrialization was on the way out, changing how people lived and worked. The
Madison Avenue advertising dream of the 50's, captive communities of consumers in
the suburbs, dad off to work in the morning, mom and the kids at home in the lap of
leisure created by machines was a failure. The inner city ethnic neighborhoods and
rural farming communities had been abandoned and led to the loss of family and
community roots. The Brave New World was full of environmental pollution, over-
population, the threat of global nuclear war and annihilation, drugs, crime and poverty.
The new generation was speaking in tones of abandonment, alienation and loss of
connection. Much of what had been promised never materialized for certain classes of
people. The air was full of demands for civil rights for blacks, farm workers, students,

animals and institutionalized populations. Everyone defined themselves in opposition to the status quo.

The sexual revolution, brought about through the advent of birth control made available to women on demand, gave many younger women the opportunity to escape their mothers world of " kuchen and kinder ". They were able to leave behind the isolation of the private world of home life, to enter the public world of higher education, a career and political involvement.However, it had been a man's world for a very long time, and often women were not welcomed into these arenas to do more than traditional secretarial and clerical chores. Women's involvement in policy meetings, media events or strategy planning was limited. Told that they were naive, charged with not knowing enough about the public world, ignored and not listened to, many women became disenchanted with the political movements of the time. Social movements of the time, did not offer much advantage either. Escaping back to traditional rural values within a communal living situation, was labor intensive for women. Establishing a life without running water or electricity, growing your own food and making your own clothes, natural childbirth and child rearing without adequate medical care, were all situations relegated to the women. The sexual revolution did not bring the freedom it promised either. It made women more available for men sexually. With the risk of pregnancy eliminated, men were free to indulge in all the Playboy fantasies, without any responsibility for birth control. There was very little debate about what the control of reproduction and their own bodies could mean to women. As theorists in the women's liberation movement began to be published (Betty Freidan, Kate Millett, Germaine Greer, Robin Morgan), a public debate emerged concerning family, economic, social and political roles for women. Ms. Magazine's second edition promoted a discussion about sexuality and sexual behavior. A large part of the magazine was devoted to Susan Brownmiller's new book, Against Our Will - Men,

<u>Women and Rape</u>. For the first time, some of the personal issues surrounding sexuality were named and identified in the context of women's reality.

In Minnesota there was growing response to all of these social movements. Minnesota's background of farmer and labor liberal politics put it in the forefront of many of the civil rights and anti-war movements. In addition, the large metropolitan area, with international trading and finance, 13 colleges and universities, brought many well educated and well traveled women into Minnesota. Women's organizations like the League of Women Voters, AAUW and the Junior League placed some very savvy women members in the public arena. Young women who came to the city for an education or a career were moving around the city and living in new neighborhoods. University women were free to live in coed dorms and off campus. In many of these dwellings, small quiet conversations, between women, began the consciousness raising of a generation of feminists in Minnesota.

A group of 3 women in Minneapolis, discussing the fear following the rape of a young woman in their neighborhood, used their anger to begin organizing a response. Eventually, these women started a rape crisis center out of a storefront in the Uptown area of Minneapolis. Staffed entirely by volunteers it attempted to provide coverage around the clock. However, police and hospitals were less than excited about this interference from untrained citizens in what they regarded as their arena. At first, the women involved were constantly changing, some found the work overwhelming, some were caught up in too many other responsibilities to be available 24 hours, some had families who feared for their safety as they became more involved in the work. Money was constantly a problem, and often the bills were paid with someone's grocery or rent money.

Eventually another storefront social service operation offered to sponsor the program. Through the financial assistance of 7 local churches and synagogues, this agency was providing a foodshelf, a clothes closet, counseling and medical assistance to inner city residents. The RCC wanted to retain their right to define their operation and actions, and so refused to sign a contract with the managing Board, and merely rented space from the agency, rather than becoming one of its programs.

As time went on, the need for more permanent "staff" arose, individuals who could address problems in the daily operations, while volunteers continued the victim contact, created a group of resource people. Initially these resource people were paid minimum wage, $2.25 or $3.00 an hour, through CETA grant money.

> "One day the office manager announced she was leaving her husband and moving out of town, and the next day I was promoted from the volunteer corps to running the office. I had no experience other than the fact that I had been showing up almost every day of the week, and from what I had observed, could answer most of the questions. None of us had ever really had a job in the real world and so we made it up as we went along. " -RCC Worker

Eventually the RCC budget grew to about $18,000. Posters, flyers and handbills littered the neighborhood restaurants, laundromats and bulletin boards as a way to advertise services. Recruitment of new members occurred through scheduled informational meetings about sexual assault. Often these meetings turned into consciousness-raising groups that lasted way into the night.

"Most of those early relationships were so blindingly beautiful" - RCC worker

In this same time period a group of neighborhood women in St. Paul were talking about forming a committee to look into providing services for rape victims. The women finally decided to work with the City Attorney in St. Paul to establish their

center. In Duluth the women at the University began discussion groups about the issues of sexual assault raised by Brownmiller's book. Eventually this would lead to establishment of RCC through the University.

Locally and nationally, articles about rape began to appear. Mainstream "ladies magazines" of the era began to name rape as an epidemic crime against women. The free alternative press classified rape as a gender war (Thousand Flowers Newspaper, West Bank, Mpls, 1975). For the first time women had a voice in describing rape as something other than a misunderstanding about unwanted sexual encounters. As women began to move about the world with more freedom, they were less willing to buy into the argument about protecting themselves by not being in the wrong place at the wrong time. Hitchhiking , bike riding and walking were common modes of transportation for university women. At food coops, day care centers, women's reproductive health centers, university classrooms, church groups and neighborhood block clubs, the topic of rape was being debated. If women's stories of their experiences were to be believed, the act of rape and sexual assault was occurring at much higher rates than was actually being reported.

As a result of all this discussion, many local civic groups pushed for someone to do a study and investigate the real story. The Minnesota Chapter of NOW put together a Task Force On Rape. Their study was released in 1974. It became the first in depth investigation into rape in the state. Most importantly it was done from the perspective of women, it was not a criminology study, not a psychology study. It documented 100 rapes in 1962, and found that reporting had risen to 500 by 1972 because of services provided by the three existing RCC in Minnesota. They found a total of 6 resource or referral sources for rape victims in the Twin Cities and 2 in outstate Minnesota. The report also spoke about the effects of rape upon women, and published two articles;

The Importance of the Rape Response Person and A Guide to Patterns of Response in the Rape Victim. This anonymous task force of women created the information needed to respond to the public pressure for a solution to this epidemic in women's lives.

Step Two : Discussion of the Problems Seriousness

In 1974, because of growing community awareness of the extent and ramifications of sexual assault, and testimony given by Mn NOW and other women's groups, the Minnesota Legislature mandated the Commissioner of Corrections to establish a community based statewide program to provide services to victims of sexual assault. A Task Force was appointed by the Commissioner to design a statewide sexual assault program. The original members appointed were the exceptional women in public service , individuals who had made a reputation as perhaps the only female professional in her field of law enforcement officer, attorney, city council member or corrections agent. The camaraderie created for these particular women as they joined together to work on this issue would last a lifetime. As their careers grew, the friendships and working relationships created on this Sexual Assault Task Force, guarantied they would remain more than just colleagues. As new political projects arose through the years, they called upon each other and began a resource network of female associates and peers.

> "I have such a fondness for those days. I will never recover those times. We were all working at something we truly believed in. It was a lifestyle, we overworked, leaving the RCC at 3 am sometimes, but it was the most fluid time in my life. It was awful work, but energizing work. And there were such powerful connections to other women. It was shocking when I left the RCC and entered real life. The constant contact with men in graduate school, work and life. I lost all respect for men working at the RCC. Now I make exceptions for the gender, like the men in my personal life, or family. I have also lost all that

support for my feminist ideals. With the backlash, I don't say as much or confront, I mostly withdraw from conflicts." - RCC worker

Comparison of Organizational Types

Using the five organizational types listed in the Research Question section, the RCC at the formation stage fit the *Alternative, Collective and Feminist organizational* styles. Survey forms returned by early RCC and historical data from this era indicate that :

1. formation was based on social issues, using political activism as a model for involvement

2. purposive and solidarity incentives were used to build commitment to the organization

3. a limited resource base was characteristic of the economic instability

4. a minimal use of rules and authority structured the organization horizontally, with inclusion of all members in decisions and tasks

5. reliance upon volunteers to provide most of the work

6. using the feminist praxis of "the personal is political" for consciousness raising and the formation of ideology

7. being organizations founded by , for and about women

The Early Years 1975 - 1980

Stage Two is Policy Determination in Fuller's theory of the natural history of social movements. Solutions based on broad means and ends are conceived of by the public in an effort to do something about the problem. Then specific interest groups and pressure groups develop around the issue. Finally specialists and administrators step in to focus the problem solving.

Step Three : Attempts at Reform and Initial Social Action
Step Four: Suggestions for More Careful Study, Surveys and Needs Assessments

" The Governors Commission on Crime Prevention and Control in August 1975 awarded a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) grant to the Department of Corrections which established the Minnesota Program for Victims of Sexual Assault (MPVSA) to implement this project. Its primary concern was to deliver comprehensive services to victims of sexual assault through a coordinated statewide network. The program's initial objectives were to establish a statewide referral system, provide direct victim service, schedule training programs for other professionals, increase public awareness of the problem, and provide a statewide information and resource center. During the early years the MPVSA assisted in the development of local community based programs in various communities" (Biennial Report , 1981).

" Upon expiration of the LEAA grant in 1978 , the MPVSA was assumed by the Minnesota Department of Corrections, and incorporated into its biennial budget. However there was no money for local programming. Recognizing this need , the 1979 Minnesota Legislature appropriated $500,000 for the commissioner to award to cities , counties, and private non profit agencies to provide services to victims of sexual

assault. This grant program was designed to fulfill the original legislative intent that the services to victims be community based to meet the specific needs within differing communities. The grants were for direct crisis intervention for victims by volunteers, the referral of victims to existing agencies, training programs for existing service providers, or coordination of services between agencies or public education. Proposals were reviewed by a committee appointed by the Commissioner. They evaluated the proposals based on the abilities of the grantee, the nature of the services, the competence of the personnel, reasonable budgets, and relationships with other agencies" (Biennial Report, 1981). Grants were to be dispersed statewide, no county was to receive more than 15% of the total funds. During 1980, the last fiscal year of this epoch, $236,260 was disbursed to 23 programs for local services. Grants ranged from $2200 to $22,300. (see Appendix)

Meanwhile out on the street, the number of RCC in Minnesota grew from 3 - 23, and were being pressured to find sponsoring agencies and community support in order to receive state funding. This implied staff, salaries, structure and coordination. There seemed to be two different ideologies at work. One was pushing for reform of existing policies and incorporation into the bureaucracy. The other was responding to the call for social action through grassroots organizing and social change. As the RCC became more established, the solidarity of their mission was being tested by including women on the fringe like lesbians, women of color, disabled and older women. In this way RCC were being tested to see which would be conservators and maintainers of status quo and which would be creators and implementors of new approaches.

> "One of the beautiful things about the women's movement is that our experience has always been negated by the dominant culture, so we are better at paradigm shifting , we are less resistant to switching approaches when the need arises. " - RCC worker

" Symptomatic of this time was the loyalty and the dedication of some RCC to keeping radicals, diplomats, politicians and media stars open on the staff. These roles were useful in addressing the multiplicity of demands. There were not enough people to do the work. It was not so much a case of rotating jobs, as it was the case of policy being made by those who were there or showed up. Public speaking, victim advocacy, decisions and policy were made up on the spot, over the phone, or the next morning during coffee. We were still not calling this a job, it was a very exciting, very cutting edge kind of lifestyle."
- RCC worker

" We struggled to keep the dialogue going, building sisterhood, while still survivors. The ideology was still strong. We were still dealing with individual cases. RCC workers were the experts because their individual experience told them what to do. " - RCC worker

" Of course we alienated a lot of people. One county worker said to me, what makes you think you are the only group who cares about people's pain? All this learned helplessness was brought into the original system, and then we couldn't integrate any of the strengths brought in by the new members. This same county worker also reminded me that there were no extra points for being martyrs. We really thought we were sacrificing ourselves to the cause!" - RCC worker

This debate between reformism or radicalism caused many things to happen all at once. Those that chose to work from the reform approach were able to accomplish the following :

1. Conduct, rather than aberrant psychological behavior, and protection of children under a special law that recognized their vulnerability, the Maltreatment of Minors

2. Conducting a statewide needs assessment of services for victims;conducting a statewide survey of professional organizations to assess existing.knowledge and training needs of the public. (There was even a booth at the State Fair)

3. The Minnesota Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs is formed in 1978 to create a statewide voice for influence

4. The National Coalition Against Sexual Assault is formed in 1979 through the efforts of key Mn RCC workers. Working with other national RCC workers at a National Organization for Victims Conference, they form a splinter group to work

on specific sexual assault issues.

Those that chose to work from the fringe in a radical approach did the following :

1. At The Foot Of the Mountain Feminist Theater did a play titled " Raped: A

   Woman's Point of View " that created dialogue among the community.

2. The use of art and other alterative methods to communicate the message took

   hold. There was a splinter in the Hennepin County Attorney's office, in the

   program originally set up to assist victims through the court process, especially

   children. One staff left to work with Illusion Theater company to produce series

   of plays on the prevention of sexual assault with children.

3. Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) formed, to do what those

   within sponsoring agencies could not, radical political action. Covering

   pornographic bookstore windows in lipstick. Painting over sexist advertising

   billboards in the middle of the night. Photographing men at pornographic

   bookstores and theatres Confronting public values by protesting at the Miss

   Minnesota pageant. Reclaiming public space for women's safety by organizing

   Take Back The Night Marches.

Step Five : Change in Personnel and Structure

> " Low budgets and salaries perpetuated the feelings of victimization, everything
> was an enlarged wrong; paid staff vs volunteers,recycled paper and over use of
> the xerox machine, letting men on the premises or letting them use the
> bathroom at commitee meetings, the processing of issues was
> exhausting."-RCC worker

> " What was needed was an expert leader, someone who had a life outside of
> the movement. Someone who could model for people that we were there for
> the victims not for ourselves.. These women volunteering did not really know
> anything about working in an abusive setting,like a corporation.We allowed
> dogs children, babies, lots of non traditional things on site that would not have
> been allowed in other settings." - RCC worker

" I can't begin to count the number of volunteers, staff and directors we went through. Over issues like sexual preference, nail polish, racism or bearing children. Before, the oppressor had been men, now the oppressor was us. Long before the term political correctness was ever thought about, the separatism in feminism was making it hard for some of us to survive. This is what happens, you can't make the transformation to structure and organization, when everyone is still acting out of their powerlessness. " - RCC worker

The era of complete horizontal or consensus management ends in RCC. No longer is every member a part of the circle. There is now a kind of series of inner and outer circles, a form of spiraling in the design of power and influence. (see Apendix) Sometimes this was essential to assist in the smooth day to day operation of the RCC. It was a method for dividing duties and responsibilities. One individual could stay on the phones, while another drove around town doing advocacy , freeing up a third to do administrative work, and then a fourth to do speaking or training. As long as everyone found a time and space to meet and share information, no one felt too cut off.

But as time went on some RCC became so busy and had so many staff, communication about events was designated to the daily log book. Individuals had to read the log book at the beginning of each shift to catch up. This destroyed the marvelous one on one, face to face encounters that had fostered the fervent sense of duty and belonging, the solidarity. As time went on , formalized staff meetings during the day excluded the night shift people or the part time people. The dreaded memo surfaced as a communication device. Some individuals were privy to information that others were not. Stratification and status were confered upon those who had the most access. The methods and timing of sharing information were changing, but many women chose to personalize this change. Blaming and accusations about power, secrecy, influence and style , began to take on the petty demeanor of hairstyle and the more serious demeanor of class or race. Some RCC frustrated with the trifling arguements began to think

about paid staff positions and volunteer positions, as a method of seperating the professionals in the field from the fanatics in the field.

Comparison of Organizational Types

Using the five organizational types listed in the Research Question , the RCC in the early years reflect the *Social Change Organizational* style. Though still of the *Feminist* style, the *Collective and Alternative* style of organizational structure is fading. Survey forms returned and historical data from that era indicate that RCC were :

1. still motivated by ideology

2. providing solidarity by functioning in a hostile environment and working to influence the community

3. grassroots and self-help in terms of primary peer groups that build self esteem and self confidence

4. struggling with the decision to identify as radicals or reformists in terms of ideology

The Middle Years 1980 -1985

Stage Three is Reform in Fuller's theory of the natural history of social movements.
All policy has been debated . The last stage of institutionalization of the social
problem is implemented. This is represented by legislation , publicly authorized policy
enforcing agencies and experts to deal with the issue. Such reforms are still subject to
censorship, veto or referendum by the public who first recognized the problem.

The number of RCC stabilize at 23 - 27 during these years. Budgets grow to $710,000
across the state. Many of the RCC leave their sponsoring agencies and become their
own entities. Eighteen of the RCC become private non profit 501.c.3 corporations in
order to secure funds. Although volunteers continue to be an integral part of the RCC
operation, there are now designated paid positions, with complex titles, that are
responsible for the daily operations. Most collective RCC have folded or are in the last
stages of closing their doors. Those members with the old collective heart split off to
work from the fringe on new issues. Boards of Directors, Steering Committees, and
Staff manage the RCC in a hierarchical vertical pattern of authority now. (see
Appendix) Professional standards of accountability become important as the list of
management training seminars for RCC in the timeline indicates (see Appendix) .
Titles like "Finding Empowerment in the Workplace" and "Staff Ownership, Volunteer
Management" seem like attempts to arbitrate disputes.

" All those meetings and committees, for the coalition, long range planning,
strategy. They eat up your efficiency and ability to deliver services. The corporate
model is not a human model. It is not a good one for this kind of work. " - RCC worker

The first attempts at accurate record keeping through grant reports to the Minnesota
Department of Corrections from the RCC results in the first of several Biennial

Reports to the Minnesota legislature. Now there are measurable statistics and records. (see Appendix) MPVSA began publishing the NETWORKER, a quarterly magazine, in order to keep everyone appraised of the all the upcoming workshops and conferences. Large numbers of individuals receive outreach from the RCC. There are 7,000 - 17, 000 human service professionals trained and 35,000 - 97,000 members of the public community are educated in five years. The early work by NOW's Task Force in 1974 had found less than a dozen services and resources for victims, by 1985 there were more than 100. In 1975 the three existing RCC had raised the number of reported rapes to almost 500. By 1985, rapes were being reported across the state in numbers ranging from 2100 - 3500. In addition, the rapes were now being typed as sexual assaults against women old and young, children and men. By the end of 1985 reports of assaults against children would comprise 50% of all the reports each year, and reports of male victims would level off at 10% of the total. (see Appendix)

Step Six : Emphasis on Broad Basic Factors and Causes

In studying the timeline, and its content areas, the fast pace of the development of resources and legislative reforms were reshaping the approach, understanding and solutions to the problem of rape and sexual assault . The emphasis was on the basic causes and influences, controlling these factors seemed to be the answer.

The large number of resources developed during this time period were opening new frontiers. (Materials on child victims, male victims, disabled victims, acquaintance rape, victims of marital rape, prevention and protection materials, incest, coping skills for families and significant others.) In addition, public service announcements on radio and TV, billboards and bus advertisements went up around the state. A Rape Awareness Week declared by the Governor got an enormous amount of public

reaction. Special committees and task forces were convened to study the new issues as they arose; marital rape, sexual harassment, sexual exploitation of clients by the clergy and other professionals. All of these resources were useful in assisting RCC and their supporters to influence the legislature to make reforms.

During this period a number of changes in the law were made; a law was passed to make rape within a marriage prosecutable, the mandatory reporting of the abuse of categories of vulnerable adults was passed, the Intra Familial Sexual Abuse Law gave the crime of incest special standing, Multi-Disciplinary Child Abuse Teams were mandated in every county across the state, sexual harassment was added as a category of protection to the Minnesota Human Rights Law. The Crime Victims Bill of Rights was passed allowing for compensation, data privacy and confidentiality for victims / and victim impact statements to be submitted at sentencing and upon release hearings for offenders. The first laws protecting the confidential nature of the work between victims and RCC volunteers created a new sense of professionalism among rape crisis workers. Rape Trauma Syndrome and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder were both upheld as legitimate psychological victim responses to a sexual assault in a challenge to the Mn State Supreme Court.

" All this work on legislation was successful , but " rule driven ", what we really needed was prevention, education and change in the society at large. " - RCC worker

Some groups were working from the fringe again to do this kind of change. WAVAW was increasing the number of TBN marches to five cities in Minnesota. Illusion Theatre had licensed their prevention and protection programming, which now included educational plays for all age groups. At The Foot of the Mountain Theatre continued to produce plays that provided a feminist look at issues, their plays tour the

state and become films. Two national activists, Andrea Dworkin and Katherine McKinnon come to the U of M Law School to teach a class on Legislating Against Pornography. Out of this class, a group of women form the Pornography Resource Center, to begin the process of legislating against pornography as a violation of women's civil rights. (This brings national attention to the state of Minnesota.)

Step Seven : Dealing with Individual Cases

RCC had gained recognition as the professionals and specialists in the field of sexual violence, but at a price. Now RCC were being utilized to address every new area of victimization in the field as they were being discovered. RCC found they needed the existing knowledge of other groups of professionals. This added a new dimension to the field, no longer did RCC have all the answers and information. Sharing and integrating this new information was risky. Other professional groups could begin competing with RCC for the money, as well as the interest of the public and the media for information.

The number of workshops and conferences on special issues and special populations contained in the timeline, indicate there were now all kinds of special populations of victims. (Including sub-groups like children, males, minority or ethnic groups, homosexuals, the disabled, the elderly, prison inmates, and adolescents.) In addition, there were all kinds of special issues that connected to victimization that needed to be studied. (Including chemical dependency, family violence, assertiveness, self defense, prostitution, pornography, sexuality, treatment and counseling techniques for victims, as well as for perpetrators and repeat offenders.)

" The repercussions of this new psychological knowledge base about treatment and research, was a change in focus to pathologizing the victims and

perpetrators. We lost our social critique. Social change came off the agenda. We were embracing of clinical judgment and social intervention, instead of social action. Sexual violence as a social problem that some people experience as a stressor, rather than life altering event was not going to be helpful in changing the environment, only in changing peoples reactions and adjustments to it. " - RCC worker

One of the watershed events in this era was WCCO's Project Abuse. It was a week long event on television and radio, that addressed the issue of sexual abuse of children. There were interviews, special reports, programming and newscasts devoted to the subject. A 24 hour crisis line with an 800 number was set up at the corporate office and staffed by RCC workers. By the end of the week in excess of 80,000 calls had been logged. Project Abuse focused attention on one aspect of sexual violence that created a maelstrom of activity and theoretical dispute.

" It took an arena where women had traditional influence, the nurturance and protection of children and turned it into an industry. It took the issue of sexual violence away from men and women, the gender inequity wars, and focused it on children. All the funding money went into prevention and protection of children. Also, it took something real and turned it into something to be debated. The reliability of victims was called into question. After all, lots of men stood to lose their reputations and livelihood if this was true. Surely all these children could not be believed. They were lying just as women were lying about the extent of sexual violence in society. " -RCC worker

Step Eight : Changes in Personnel and Structure

" We were struggling to maintain our hold on the field, we were no longer recruiting members from our social networks, but from our professional networks. We were struggling to maintain our solidarity. Our diversity had only been in the vary narrowest terms of the ideology. This expansion into all the other forms of violence was zapping our strength. We had pushed the metaphor of victimization into all kinds of arenas. " - RCC worker

" The enmeshment of the movement was extreme. There was so much fighting over turf and money and who was in the spotlight being interviewed. Some people chose to drop out. The power struggles were too disenchanting after the golden years of harmony. Those of us who chose to branch out and went on to work with special issues, expected there would be an assumption of good faith. We thought we would be viewed as a friend on the inside. But now that

we were in the bureaucracy, we were seen as a constant threat, a form of competition." - RCC worker

Indications from the surveys and the historical record show that the membership in RCC had to make considerable adjustments. Some chose to leave and go back to the trenches, starting new alternative organizations that would address social change from a radical standpoint. Others, looking for personal opportunity and growth, moved on to become part of the professional service delivery system that was developing around sexual violence. The rest stayed in the RCC fighting out the reform battles. One of the indicators that reflects the turmoil is the themes of the annual conferences of MCASA and NCASA, which functioned as the professional organizations representing RCC.

1980	MCASA	Services to Victims
	NCASA	Sexism and Rape : Two Sides of Same Coin
1981	MCASA	Services to Special Populations
	NCASA	Violence Against Women : Consolidating Our Gains
1982	MCASA	Beyond Being Victims
	NCASA	Beyond the Bandaid : Creating Social Change
1983	MCASA	Pride in Our Culture
	NCASA	Survival, Resistance, Outreach : Surviving the 80's
1984	MCASA	Empowerment in the Sexual Assault Movement
	NCASA	Violence : Veiling the Human Spirit

Comparison of Organizational Types

Using the five organizational types listed in the research question, it is clear that *collectives, alternatives and social change* types are finished. At this point in time, a blend of *feminist and bureaucratic* style seem to have emerged.

1. an ongoing struggle about being women centered and focused, while still trying to incorporate all the ensuing diversity, is prevalent in philosophical discussions

2. hierarchical vertical lines of authority and centralized control are now standard in most RCC

3. the beginning of career professionals with specialized skills, a division of labor, salaries and status emerges

4. while volunteers are still involved, the solidarity is threatened, consciousness-raising and the value of personal experience as a praxis is abandoned for a more clinical and diagnostic intervention approach.

The Later Years 1985 - 1990

We are still in Stage Three - Reform of Fuller's theory of the natural history of social movements. Institutionalization is complete, as evidenced by the amount of legislation, policy, experts and professional agencies. According to Fuller, it is important to remember that at any time, these reforms are subject change by the public, who first recognized the social problem. (This will be illustrated near the end of this era)

Step Nine : Programs Inductively Arrived At *

* (Fuller is implying that RCC programs are functioning and developing on premises that may not necessarily support their existence. The ideological premises of those who started the RCC, may not be appropriate propositions for supporting the whole bureaucracy.
    Inductive reasoning is any form of reasoning in which the conclusion, though supported by the premise, does not necessarily follow. Estimating the validity of the parts, as evidence for the existence or validity of the whole, may be faulty.)

Institutionalization of the Rape Crisis Movement has been arrived at. It can now be called a profession or a career for many people in Minnesota. During this time period the number of RCC increases to 36 with 138 staff. The Minnesota Department of Corrections (DOC) changes its name from MPVSA to the Victim Services Unit and now has 27 staff. Budgets are just over the million dollar mark. Some RCC have found methods of supporting themselves that eliminate the need for DOC funding altogether, allowing them to be their own authority. All alternative feminist organizations have folded, collective or otherwise. The field is characterized by bureaucratic hierarchies. Specialists and professionals in the field of sexual violence abound, many of the them outside of the RCC. Reports of victims range from 4800 - 9200 during this period. The numbers of professionals trained begins to level off, falling form 20,000 to 13,000. (No doubt because the field is saturated with all kinds of other experts available to provide consultation and training). The amount of community education continues to

climb, from 91,000 - 140,000. (see Appendix) This is due in part to the emphasis on legislatively mandated violence prevention education in the schools.

One of the events that marks this era is the celebration of the 10 Year Anniversary of the MPVSA. The celebration in Minneapolis draws 1700 people, is hosted by Oprah Winfrey, and features Gloria Steinhem and many other feminist celebrities. The theme is "A Decade of Light", and a booklet commemorating all the highlights is published. This is an important event to mention because only institutionalized bureaucracies like corporations and institutions can afford to hold these kind of recognition events.

> " The increasing budgets, media attention and willingness of foundations to fund programs became a signal to many other groups to infringe and intrude upon our territory. Organizations like MCASA set limits on membership, voting and non voting, to protect their interests. NCASA hired a professional lobbyist to protect their interests in Washington. RCC began to stack their boards, slant the hiring and firing process for staff in order to keep control. Rape and sexual assault had become a growth industry. The grassroots model was harder to maintain in the bureaucratic system. Even our little neighborhood RCC was now serving three metropolitan counties. " - RCC worker

Because of the success of RCC, many of the individuals involved with emerging issues, try to create similar inductively arrived at programs. Some even have the same small collective, alternative, social change organizational style to start with. Eventually these new programs succumb to the same ideological debates and fold or evolve into social service delivery systems too.

1. The Pornography Resource Center, started by a collective of activist women from the original U of M Law School class, converts to a hierarchy with a Board of Directors. They change their name to Organizing Against Pornography. However, the need to involve legal experts in the organization to fight the sex industry in court is too

expensive. Volunteers without these skills loose their interest and identification. Any radical public disobedience actions that require bail or defense for volunteers drains the budget, and distracts from the writing of legal case plans. Unable to finance the lengthy court battles, the organization eventually folds. (Some of the pornographers are shut down by the IRS for tax reasons, some are forced out of business by new zoning laws)

2. Take Back The Night (TBN) marches have become annual events sponsored by the MCASA. The old radical members of WAVAW have stopped organizing the marches. At an earlier time in history they had been statewide in five major cities, with 5000-7000 people attending. They were wild and theatrical, with chanting and drumming, midnight marches through town that reclaimed public space for women's safety. Now TBN has become a day long workshop and a small candlelight vigil at dusk, fewer than 2000 people gather or march now. (Minneapolis Star Tribune, 1980 and 1991)

3. PRIDE and WHISPER,(see Appendix), once strong and defiant advocates for the protection of women in the sex industry, had attempted to redefine the laws governing prostitution. They wanted to decriminalize prostitution, introduce medical coverage and other benefits, such as workers compensation and retirement, and enforce mandatory health checks for customers. By the end of this era, they function as a social service delivery system, providing food, shelter, medical care and support groups for women considering leaving prostitution.

4. The Task Force on Sexual Exploitation of Clients by Professionals successfully lobbies for a law to make the abuse of such power and authority relationships with clients a crime. They force professional organizations to sanction their members. The

treatment and intervention with such professionals turns into a boom industry that profits many outside the RCC.

5. Men join the movement, and attempt to create their own social change organizations. Men Stopping Rape, BrotherPeace, and The Men's Center begin as small collectives of politically active men. Soon they grow into large organizations, with newsletters, workshops and conferences. Success causes debate among the membership, some members leave and the groups organize into non profits with Boards of Directors and budgets.

6. As result of WCCO's Project Abuse, and other media attention focused on child sexual abuse, much of the importance placed on the issue of rape among adult women is pushed into the background. Children as a particular class of victims captured more attention. There is funding available from Public Health, Juvenile Justice, Education and Public Safety budgets.

. New legislation draws everyone into working on the issue by rewriting the Child Abuse Reporting Law, and adding refinements to the reporting, prosecution, intervention, treatment and prevention issues.

. Guardian Ad Litem programs were created across the state to protect the child's interest in court, particularly because allegations of child abuse and unreliable child witnesses were appearing in every divorce case.

. The Children's Trust Fund was instituted, taxing birth certificates and using the money to fund community prevention programs across the state.

. Project Impact, was designed to draw in all the possible interest groups and policy makers across the state to address child abuse issues in a multi-disciplinary collaborative effort. Lack of cooperation and issues of turf surfaced and enormous emotional disputes erupted throughout the two year history of this project. It ended

with very bad relations between all the involved special interest groups. It resulted in a division of effort, funding and influence with no consolidated approach ever being developed.

. The final chapter in this "children's crusade" was a commissioned study by the Mn Attorney Generals office looking into Family Incest. The study recommended the decriminalization of incest, and the intervention and treatment of incest based on the model in alcohol and chemical dependency developed in Mn. However the chemical dependency model of family dysfunction was in direct conflict with the RCC model. RCC had defined incest as the result of misogyny , the patriarchal family being a smaller model of the larger sexist society. An enormous debate ensued. (Not only sexism but classism was involved. Incest offenders from middle and upper class families were resisting correctional solutions, the idea of counseling and treatment with an EAP provider was much more palatable. It had worked with alcoholism and drug use on the job, so extending the metaphor to incest was an inductive attempt) RCC rallied much indignant testimony and eventually the Atty General's office rescinded its recommendations. But it was the first attempt by the public to change such reforms through repeal.

Inductively arrived at programs, with their lack of ideology, solidarity, empowerment , and collective sense were doomed to failure, or a similar evolutionary change in organizational structure, just like RCC. The number of management training seminars for RCC increased and now included the board and the funders in these training sessions. (see Appendix)

STEP TEN : Refinement of Technique (study and treatment)

RCC began to produce their materials and programming in several languages, South East Asian dialects and Spanish, to meet the needs of these populations. They also developed TDY 800 numbers, braille and large print education materials. Films and prevention resources were produced in sign language, for the visually and hearing impaired populations. This outreach to special populations called for cross training and recruitment of staff with special skills.

In addition a number of programs within the minority and ethnic communities in Minnesota were established. (Native American programs on the Reservations and in urban areas, Hispanic and Migrant programs, Black and Asian) Programs for people with disabilities, elderly and homosexual victims were revolutionary, but required staff with expertise and loyalties to other oppressed groups besides women. Solidarity and commitment to the original ideology and philosophical intent of RCC became harder to maintain, the integration of new issues distracted from the intent to deliver only rape and sexual assault services. Other kinds of oppression created different forms of violence not originally conceptualized.

" There was a resurgence in homophobia, racism, sexism...inclusivity brought in new people from different backgrounds who did not share our ideology. They had their own agendas and issues which were more important to them than feminism and sexism. They wanted to focus on homphobia, racism, disabilities, a million different special issues. It was a lot bigger personal and political community. Old timers were shouted down at meetings, and gave up talking, there was no chance for regrouping and rethinking the ideological paradigms. No one had time to process or wait for peoples consciousness to be raised anymore. It was just one workshop after another, incorporating more terminology , more technique, it was a tower of babel. " - RCC worker

The appendix lists a plethora of workshops and conferences offered during this era. Some of the subjects are so marginally related to the issue of sexual violence it seems like a list of college courses. There are so many it seems as if everyone was busy attending educational workshops instead of delivering services.

RCC also created a whole new category of sexual assault, date rape, which extended the metaphor of acquaintance rape. There was a need for refinement in technique, in order to teach sexual values and norms to a younger population on campus and in high schools. This generation of students had missed the philosophy, ideology and social movements of the 60's and 70's. Women's Liberation, sexism, the sexual revolution were unknown and unimportant to the youth culture of the 80's.

STEP ELEVEN : Refinements of Concepts (research)

During this time period, several conferences were held across the country, that offered an opportunity for workers in the field to listen to researchers on the subject of sexual violence. Issues of family and sexual violence, gender proclivity towards violence, the effectiveness of treatment and prevention approaches, physiological approaches to violence and the cultural differences in violence were all debated. New professional journals devoted entirely to sexual violence and sexual coercion were founded . Studies on pornography, violence prevention and protection, program evaluation, and funding resources were now available by subscription. Careers were being made in academia based on this research. RCC became involved with IRB and researchers about the content, impact and outcome of research.

In addition, the themes from national conferences during this time reflect these debates:

1985 MCASA   A Time of Change and Opportunity
     NCASA   Our Roots: The Foundation for the Future

1986 MCASA   Our Commitment to the Future
     NCASA   Spiraling Outward: Healing, Power and Change

Both conferences now have a new track of workshops to offer, outside experts are invited to come and share information on current research.

STEP TWELVE: Change in personnel and structure

> " It was like Communist China. Up against the wall. Not very sisterly or feminist. It was internal and cut throat , just like all the other corporate takeovers in the 80's." - RCC worker

The year 1987 is crucial in terms of change in personnel and structure for RCC. A huge organizational coup occurs at the state level in DOC. MPVSA staff oust the original founding mother of the program who have served for 17 years as director. This revolt against the old guard crosses the state, a total of 13 directors and 23 old line staff are purged. These firings result in mass resignations among the volunteer corps. In some RCC the buildings and records are destroyed, burned or mysteriously disappear. Lawsuits and settlements about the published materials, licensed programs, and research done on client populations, affect many individuals reputations.

> " We've gone from naming the problem to name calling. In the 70's we spoke out and told a secret, we named the sexual victimization going on in the society. It was risky and dangerous; we put our lives, our careers, our family stability on the line to talk about our victimization. In the 90's everyone is a victim, it is powerful and honorable to speak from the victim standpoint. In the past being outsiders gave us our definition and our reality. If we aren't outsiders anymore, I don't know how we define ourselves. If everyone is a victim, who are we? " - RCC worker

" The last committee I sat on didn't want to hear from me. We don't honor our elders in this movement. Can a social movement have elders? Or to be successful does it always have to be staffed by angry young rebels? It doesn't take much to be a matriarch in this field, at 40 or 50 years of age, you're there. There is no interest in passing on knowledge about what worked, what has been tried, what was valid, what failed. It is kind of sad, and a waste of energy, always reinventing the wheel, instead of building on the hard work already done. " - RCC worker

In 1987 a new crop of managers, therapists, human resource experts and bureaucrats emerged. The statistics and reports were no longer filed and kept. Access to information by the public to the internal workings at the DOC became limited. A bigger bureaucracy was established with the rewriting of the Mn statutes in 1990 reorganizing programs under Crime Victims. (see Appendix)

Comparison of Organizational Types

A true *bureaucratic organization* had been defined by the end of the 20 year era. It is characterized by :

1. distinct hierarchies and vertical lines of authority from the top down

2. distinct division of labor based on specialized skills and routine. The recruitment and job descriptions of RCC staff are based on specialized skills not generalized knowledge of the field.

3. extensive written rules, policies, procedures. Training manuals, supervision policies, grievance procedures, standard operating procedures are all formalized.

4. close supervision with little autonomy for workers or volunteers. Innovative or creative work styles and approaches are a liability issue for large bureaucracies.

5. centralized coordination, control and decision making from the top down, starting at the DOC

6. management by career professionals and trained experts.

7. salary and status based on skill differentials.

While RCC try to maintain a feminist flavor with advisory boards, committees or task forces of community citizens to provide input, there are strict limits on the experience and extent of involvement for these volunteers. RCC have the ability to influence the legislature, and create new territories of authority. (An example is the recent Governors Community Violence Prevention Mandate.)

> " It was hard to believe in the old days that RCC would ever be able to offer the decent salaries and program budgets we have now. All these bright committed women that started things as volunteers...now are represented by credentialed experts in management and personnel , specialists in diagnosis and treatment. There is still room for everyone, we have lots of interns and volunteers. But, social change is not the agenda we are embracing. Change on such a big environmental scale gets you too overextended in the community. Social intervention with individuals and groups may be slower, but it is surer. We speak a different language now, we're not all revolutionaries, but there is a commonality. Is all this antagonism about having lost our focus really necessary? " - RCC worker

Chapter Five : Summary and Conclusions

Limitations

With more time, the researcher might have been able to obtain a better response rate in terms of interviews with key informants and surveys of RCC programs. The original research called for twenty individual interviews, but there was only time for eleven. Likewise, the original research asked for responses from seven of the longest existing RCC, but only five were received. Some of the data requested required a lot of historical information which could not be compiled by the RCC in such a short time period.

The lack of clear historical records was another limitation. Data collection was hampered by the lack of information saved or catalogued by organizations. The researcher's involvement in the Rape Crisis Movement over this same time period grants her personal knowledge of the materials that were developed. The failure to collect this important historical data in one centralized area is a loss to researchers. Several of the key informants, whose long term history with the movement was terminated during the "coup years" of 1987, were very disheartened. They had boxes of personal records and historical items which they collected over the years. When no one seemed interested in retaining them, they became lost over time. In addition, a lot of individual RCC programs went through transitions, and the records and documents were lost when the program folded. Records and archival material were lost at many RCC with changes in personnel, when old members left the movement or when new members failed to appreciate the historical value of documents.

In the researcher's opinion , this study is reliable in terms of the data collected and what can be constructed. There may be changes or alterations based upon other data

that has not surfaced. However, several important summary documents, such as
Biennial Reports to the Legislature and the Ten Year Anniversary Booklet (A Decade
of Light) were used to compile statistics and information for the timeline.

The researcher has been pursuing writing a grant with a staff person from the
Minnesota Historical Society to fund the collection of all these materials. With
funding, individuals and programs could be contacted across the state and a more
accurate record could be collected. The remaining evidence of this period in
Minnesota women's history and alternative organizational history could be preserved
for future study.

Design limitations to this study that should be considered are :

1. Can the study's conclusions be generalized to fit the evolution of other alternative
organizations, other women's organizations or other RCC in the country?

2. The attempt to cover such a broad period of history for all the RCC was difficult. It
might be interesting to study the organizational evolution in one of the seven RCC
with the most longevity as an individual case study.

3. Another flaw might be the selection of theoretical frameworks. The researcher
chose one that fit her memory of what happened in the evolution of RCC in
Minnesota. Another framework might or might not give similar conclusions.

4. Also the theoretical framework was chosen after the data had been collected. Three
different frameworks were found in the literature. It might have changed the design of
the survey instruments and the questionaires if the framework had been selected first.

5. One of the design limitations is the pre-existing knowledge on the part of researcher about who key informants might be. Locating these individuals and their willingness to share candidly, might not be available to someone other than the researcher. Individuals chosen by this researcher were broad in terms of their time of involvement and the manner in which they left the Rape Crisis Movement. There were many other individuals involved in the establishment, growth and change of RCC. A different group of individuals who left at different times, for different reasons, might have adjusted the outcome.

Implications

Two themes seem to emerge from this study, both concerning the dialectic between radicalism and reformism as defined by Brunch earlier. " Reformism is the position that change is achieved by progressive institutional changes that ultimately will buy equality within the social, economic and political order. Radicalism is the position that freedom for oppressed groups comes only through the restructuring of the ideology and institutions of society " (Brunch, p. 48).

A. The first theme would be characterized as a difference in approach, empowerment vs. pathology.

In the early years of the Rape Crisis Movement, the empowerment approach was prevalent. Women didn't just view themselves as having problems, they solved them. They were not just consumers of services or providers of services. In the beginning, women were able to conceptualize their issue, rape and sexual assault, in terms of building a community for themselves. This community building approach to empowerment is defined as " activities engaged in by a group of people on their own initiative in order to increase the social cohesiveness of unrelated persons and enhance

opportunities to address injustices" (Keiffer, p.31). The underlying developmental themes to empowerment as portrayed by Keiffer are:

1. the perception of dissonance, that the goals of the sub group differ from the main group

2. the feeling of confrontation, that action on the part of the sub group is required in order to get a response from the larger group

3. the experience of conflict, in order to maintain their emergence in the issue, it is essential that the sub group continue to experience conflict

4. the internal tension between members of the subgroup creates the definition, debate and resolution of issues

These four things are required to build community and assist oppressed people with their own empowerment. They sustain the social movement, build ideology and create change.

> "You have got to live it, do it. You can't read an instruction book or one of these training manuals. You need to go through the steps, developing your anger. It's important for people to go through the process of consciousness-raising. In order to get something done, you need to experience all the sacrifices, all the agony. People can't learn the things I've learned growing up in the rape crisis movement and the women's movement through workshops, classes or courses. You have to experience the pain yourself, or it isn't really empowerment, it's just rhetoric. " - RCC worker

In contrast most programming for minority groups, as conceptualized today, focuses on their deviance or difference. Their other-ness is defined as suffering, incompetence, and defeat. Biklen (1988) calls this the 'the myth of clinical judgment'. " Portraying an oppressed group as "victims" is risky because it creates a system of social processing and control, the need for treatment and adaptive support. It transforms the individual from a socially valued individual to a clinical subject, patient or client. This occurs through diagnosis, classification, labeling and treatment settings that emphasize the

individual as limited in some way. Treatment communicates difference, which require

professional specialists or experts. Furthermore, economic practices in institutions

guarantees that clinical judgment will fashion itself to the imperative of funding

patterns. Economics plays a huge role in disenfranchising individuals. Social justice

through the benevolence of a sensitive society who will continue to provide services is

a faulty belief that has left many oppressed groups high and dry in a recession"

(Biklen, p. 15).

> " We have limited our thinking regarding preventive interventions to sexual
> assault. The promotion of healthy sexual attitudes and the reduction of
> emotional vulnerability in women is not the answer. This emphasis on areas of
> proactive socialization and cognitive capabilities, like problem solving skills,
> assertiveness training, enhanced self esteem, coping skills and self defense is
> the response of a captive population adjusting to their situation. We should be
> encouraging a political and social re-definition of the reality that allows sexual
> violence against women" - RCC worker

B. The second theme would be characterized as a difference in ideology, social change

vs. social service.

In alternative organizations such as RCC, it is important to continue the discussion of

the goals and ideology in every organizational change. The common ideology of RCC

explained rape as a result of the sexist nature of the world, and the expectation was

that RCC would go beyond providing services to victims, to changing the social norms.

However, the result of RCC becoming incorporated into the mainstream, was a loss of

independence in terms of their ability to challenge the status quo. This caused

dissension, resignations, factions and unrest among members of the RCC who believed

the capacity to address the underlying social issues which contributed to the

prevalence of sexual violence was essential to the mission. In the 1988 study by

Schwartz, she confirmed the importance of obtaining staff consensus in alternative

organizations before initiating new services or programs. It was crucial to apply the

same principles and philosophy to every expansion of service or growth in staff. "
Remaining committed to the original goals and a willingness to re-evaluate the
ideology, were critical to finding innovative ways of providing services and managing
organizations, that would allow the organization to remain consistent with the original
mission and vision " (Schwartz, p. 14).

This study of Minnesota RCC shows that, as RCC became programs under the DOC,
they changed in the following ways:

1. As the need to lobby the legislature for increased funding grew, so did the focus on
the delivery of victim services. Most legislators identified with professional services to
victims rather than feminist radicalism and social change.

2. A stratification between volunteers and staff occurred. The emphasis on
professionalism meant the collective network of volunteers needs to be replaced by
experts. The egalitarian women helping women model was minimized. The pressure
for governmental funding increased the need to establish the professional
qualifications of staff members, in order to be seen as better able to compete with
mental health or social service workers to deliver services to victims. This addition of
credentialed, certified professionals, led to the passage of the Confidentiality Statute in
1982, an act that granted privileged communication to certified sexual assault
counselors in their contacts with victims. To fall within this protected category,
volunteers were required to be trained and certified para-professionals.

3. To meet the requirements of traditional funding sources, programs also adopted
standard hierarchical organizational structures with governing boards who hired
executive directors. The collective model in RCC gradually evolved to a stratified
professional counselor-client approach.

4. RCC struggled to maintain their diversity. Professionalism and mainstream funding were leading to homogenized programs, with staff and counselors consisting of highly educated, white, middle class women. It was difficult to balance differences in age, sexual identity, physical capabilities or race and still meet the stringent needs for accreditation. As RCC aged, many of the older members who helped found them left. As the median age of the staff lessened so did their understanding, experience of, and commitment to feminism and the original priorities of RCC.

5. As competition for resources increased, in order to capitalize on new funding sources, the services were expanded to children and other special categories of sexual assault victims, and general crime victims, such as robbery and family survivors of homicides. The feminist analysis seemed even less pertinent, as did the radical call for the end to patriarchy.

To recognize this transition from radical feminist to professionalized social services is not to criticize the services provided. Because of RCC advocacy efforts, state statutes have been reformed, other agency professionals are more likely to be trained, and some of the unresponsive community conditions that victims formerly confronted have been changed. Most RCC are now able to provide comprehensive services, which include 24 hour crisis response, victim accompaniment by advocates to services, emotional support and counseling for victims and significant others, information and referral to resources, prevention programing and community education, and training for professionals. Another important change is that society as whole has a greater awareness of sexual violence as a major social problem. "To critique a system that has accomplished so much so quickly may seem impatient. However it is all too easy to be encouraged by these signs of progress in system responsiveness to victims and to be

deflected from the original vision of a rape free society. An assessment of the current rape crisis movement provokes concern that the increasing professionalism and institutionalization may lessen rather than expand social change efforts" (Collins and Whalen, p.63). Without radical goals as a framework for their ideology, the efforts of RCC only perpetuate the existing patriarchal order. (An example is the increased emphasis on prevention, particularly the female's role, rather than an increased focus on the cultural causes of rape.)

" In a rape culture both men and women assume that sexual violence is a fact of life. Inevitable as death and taxes. But is it biological or cultural? If it is cultural then it is an expression of values and attitudes that can be changed. Men rape because they can. Sexual violence is sanctioned and taught in our culture. There is something larger here than the individual pathology of the rapist. It is in our culture, our laws, our language, our customs. It is a social bias against women carried to the extreme of gender-cide. The battle to eradicate sexual violence will not be won by information. Its true ignorance can foster hatred, but information and education will not undo it. We have moved rape from a social problem to an individual problem. We have created another treatment industry, a prevention and education industry. Women are not raped because someone did not know a fact, a statistic, a definition, a self defense move. The reality of rape is that it is the final expression of sexism, a perfectly designed weapon for our rape culture. " - RCC worker

Although changes have occurred in socialization practices, boys are still socialized in ways that researchers and clinicians suggest contribute to sexual violence against females (Malmuth, 1988, Burgess, 1982, Buchwald, 1993). The prevalence of generalized misogyny and the cultural acceptance of male aggression, creates an environment in which violence against women is regarded ambivalently. (An example is the lack of success of the pornography and prostitution reform movements as opposed to the success of the violence prevention or war on drugs initiatives.) Violence against women, and rape in particular, occurs as frequently as it ever did (Bureau of Justice Statistics, FBI).

Implications for Social Work Practice

Social workers employed or involved in RCC may be able to facilitate a re-examination of the goals and strategies that guide RCC. Social workers have considerable experience in struggling with balancing the issues of professionalism and its impact on social change goals. Social workers have traditionally struggled with being social change agents within the system.Compton and Galloway (1984) addressed the role of professional values and culture in " enabling the social work professional to stand outside bureaucratic expectations, and act as the basis for change" (Compton and Galloway, p 197). Freeman (1975) argues that "once institutionalization of a radical social movement has occurred , successful change efforts will only occur with the emergence of a renewed broad base of supporters. A radical flank outside the institution is essential not only to press the institution for change, but also to make the institution appear respectable by contrast" (Freeman, p. 137).

Social workers have a role in facilitating the creation of grassroots organizations to exert continued pressure for radical social change. Collins and Whalen (1988) would argue for the re-examination of the fundamental goals and ideology of the rape crisis movement. If an end to sexual terrorism against women is to occur, as was the goal for the early RCC, then current RCC must address the root causes of sexual aggression. " The undermining of patriarchal power over women in all spheres should be the goal of all strategies and decisions, organizational staffing and center design. Radical feminist social work practice could facilitate a rearticulation of the social change goals and the development of strategies " (Collins and Wahlen, p. 63).

Recommendations for Further Study

This study yielded information that was helpful in beginning to understand the effects

of organizational structure upon organizational functioning and ideology. However,

other possible areas of interest for further research might be the following:

1. A comparison of the evolutionary organizational changes in several kinds of

   alternative women's organizations, like RCC and Battered Women's Shelters.

2. A comparison of different theories concerning organizational change in alternative

   or advocacy organizations.

3. An investigation into the traits or characteristics that enable alternative

   organizations to sustain themselves and survive.

4. An investigation into why the mainstream is so anathema to alternative

   organizations and their style.

5. A case study of the individuals who have spent their lives in political activism and

social change work. This could provide some indication of the role and responsibility

of "staff" at various developmental stages of social problems. It is the researcher's

opinion that many radical individuals have made a career of working from the fringes

to identify issues that are not being addressed by the larger society. As they bring

attention to these social issues and move them into the mainstream for consideration,

their leadership is replaced by more status quo individuals. It is typical for these

radical individuals not to be included in the solutions that resolve the issues, and so

they often move back out to the fringes, and begin to identify the next step or the next

issue.

Appendix

Minnesota Rape Crisis Centers
Changes in Organizational Structure

1970 – 1975

Victims

Resource People

RCC Volunteers

1975 – 1980

Victims
Volunteers
Paid Staff
Sponsoring Agencies
Committees
Task Forces

1980 – 1985

Board of Directors ← Funders

Executive Director

Staff

Advocate Staff

Clerical
Support
Staff

Counseling

Volunteers

Public Education

Victims

Professional Training
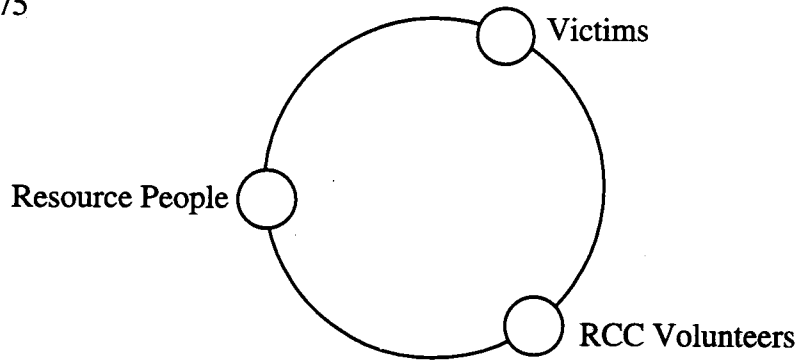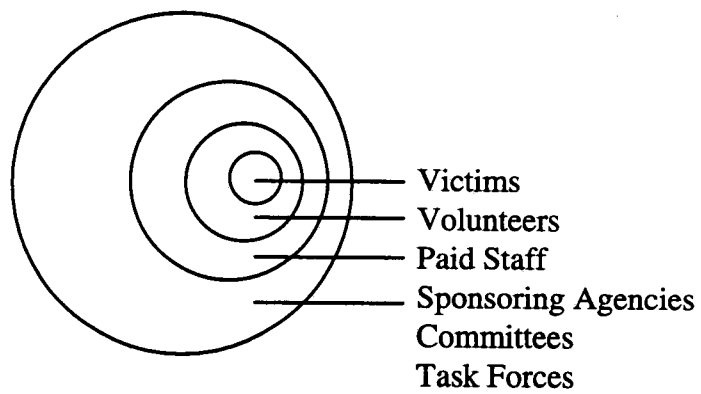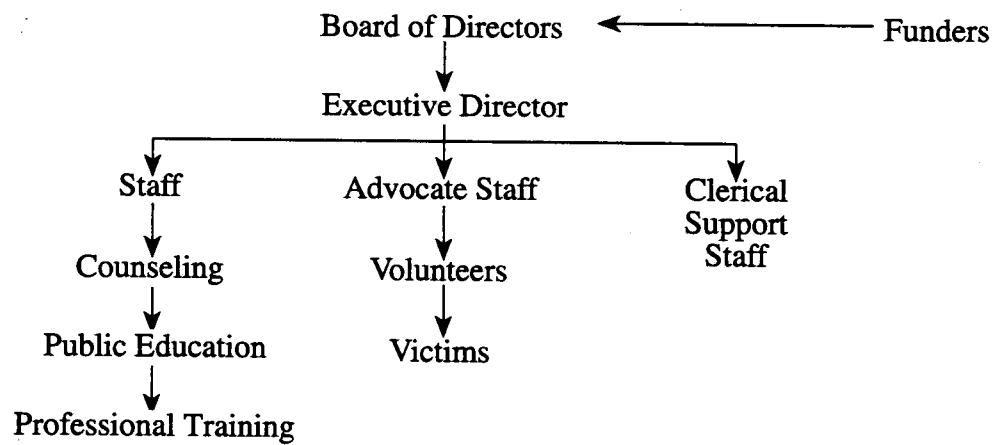
Minnesota Rape Crisis Centers
Changes in Funding Patterns Over Time

1970 – 1975	Private Donations Sponsoring Agencies Churches	$81,000
1975 – 1980	Law Enforcement Administrative Assistance funds channeled through the State of Minnesota Other *	$400,575 $100,000
1980 – 1985	Minnesota Program for Victims of Sexual Assault funds channeled through Dept. of Corrections Other *	$500,000 $215,000
1985 – 1990	Minnesota Victim Services Unit funds channeled through Dept. of Corrections Other *	$700,000 $334,000

*Other: Includes the individual rape crisis center's attempts to augment the funds from the Department of Corrections: resources such as Local or County government, other Federal money, United Way, School Districts, Foundations, Corporations, sale of materials, film and video rentals, fund-raisers, churches and local civic organizations, private donations and memberships.

Minnesota's Rape Crisis Centers
Changes in Staffing Patterns Over Time

1970-1975   Iindividual programs run as collectives, all volunteers

1975-1980   Individual programs run as collectives, all volunteers
             Some committees, task forces or working groups
             few individuals designated office workers or coordinators
             Some paid minimum wage $3.00/hour

1980   23 RCC had 41 staff (includes Ft / Pt)
             DOC office had 3 staff
             90,000 hours contributed by volunteers in RCC
             Designated Coordinators or Director positions that are salaried
             Staff titles like Assistant, Advocate, Office or Secretary
             Some Boards of Directors, Task Force Members, Committees
             for governance

1982   26 RCC had 49 staff
             115,000 hours contributed by volunteers in RCC
             Designated positions and titles continue
   Boards of Directors selected
             Non Profit Status (501.c.3) sought for fundraising
             Many RCC leave sponsoring agencies, become independent

1984   27 RCC had 59 staff
             DOC had 5 staff
             200,000 hours contributed by volunteers in RCC
             Designated positions and titles begin to include Volunteer
             Coordinator,
             Legal Advocate, Medical Advocate, Counselor, Education and
             PublicSpeaking, Prevention Specialist, Child Abuse Specialist
             Some RCC members split and form other groups to work on special
             issues or missions; children, pornography, prostitution, social change
             Most RCC are non profit, Board of Director, hierarchical
             Collective managed RCC's struggling to survive

1985-1990   33-38 RCC had 80-138 staff
             DOC had 8-12 staff, institutes Advisory Committees
             200,000 - 340,000 hours contributed by volunteers in RCC
             Designated positions, titles, Boards and hierarchies prevail
             Most alternative feminist organizations fold
             Credentialed specialists and professionals abound, many outside
             of the rape crisis movement

Minnesota Rape Crisis Centers
Programs Developed Over Time

1970 – 1975	3	1976 – 1980	23	1981 – 1985	27	1986 – 1990	36
		1976	4	1981	23	1986	33
		1977	9	1982	26	1987	33
		1978	16	1983	26	1988	34
		1979	23	1984	27	1989	34
		1980	23	1985	27	1990	36
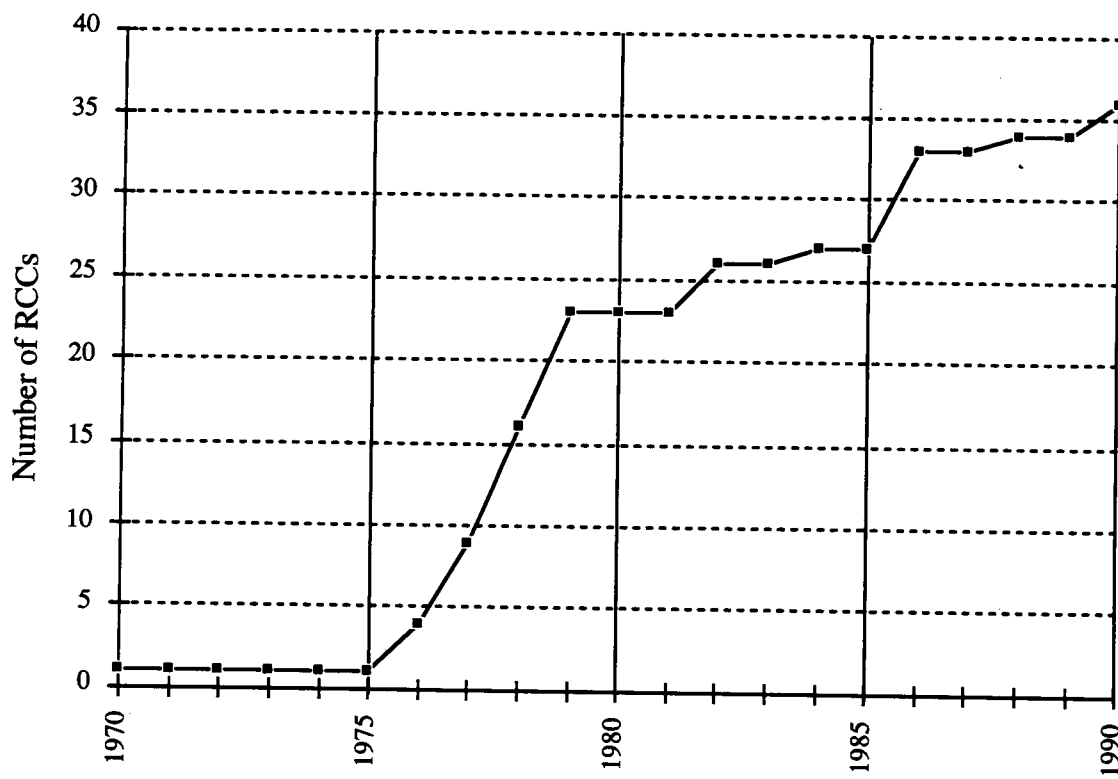
Minnesota Rape Crisis Centers
Services Provided Over Time

(Statistics from 1975 – 1980 were not collated and saved in meaningful way. Probably due to the stress of early survival of RCCs.)

Year	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990
Number of Programs	23	26	27	33	34	36
Victims Served	2103	2998	3509	4844	5766	9240
% children	31	40	46	50	60	50
% male	6	8	10	10	12	10
% minority	5	9	10	14	18	15
Professionals Trained	7026	9680	17,308	19,627	13,658	13,908
Presentations	275	456	803	766	659	676
Community Education	34,805	61,118	97,903	91,068	87,096	139,446
Presentations	874	1998	2546	2474	2823	4010

Minnesota Rape Crisis Centers
TIME LINE   1970 - 1990

Reflects : legislation passed (L), resources developed (R), issues (I), and themes (T)

1971   Three of the first rape crisis centers in the country and the state are founded
       by individual groups of women in Mpls, St. Paul and Duluth.

1974   Mn NOW Chapter's Task Force on Rape releases their study
              First articles on " The Rape Support Person" and
              "Guide to Patterns of Response to Rape"

1975   (L)   Mn Criminal Sexual Conduct Law is passed
              Mandatory Maltreatment of Minors Law is passed
       (R)   Statewide Needs Assessment is conducted
              LEAA funding starts being administered through the state
       (I)   General presentations are given to Public Health, County Attorneys,
              Future Homemakers, Mrs. Jay-Cee's, American Legion, Probation
              Officers

1976   (R)   Slide show "Rape: A Crime of Violence" is produced
              Manual Sexual Assault: A Statewide Problem is written
       (I)   General Presentations are given to various groups of human service
              professionals and women's groups in the metro area

1977   (R)   Billboards and bus ads in Twin Cities
              At the Foot of The Mountain Feminist Theatre produces
              "Raped: A Woman's Point of View"
       (I)   General Presentations are given to human services and the public in
              regional areas of Mn
              ,Booth at Mn State Fair

1978   (L)   LEAA funding ends, Mn Legislature creates Mn Program for Victims
              of Sexual Assault, and appropriates $ to the Dept. of Corrections
       (R)   Illusion Theatre presents "TOUCH" , prevention play for young
              children
              Mn Coalition Against Sexual Assault is formed
              General presentations are given to Colleges, Judges, Urban League,
               Mn Education Association, Planned Parenthood

1979   (R)   Manual Incest: Confronting the Silent Crime is written
              National Coalition Against Sexual Assault is formed, through efforts
              of Mn women, who continue to serve throughout its history

Women Against Violence Against Women sponsor "Take Back the Night"March in Mpls, garners 5000 participants

(I) Presentations on Incest given to the U of M Human Sexuality Program,Physicians, Attorneys, and Sheriffs

1980 (L) Vulnerable Adults Mandatory Reporting Law passed
Marital Rape Law passed

(R) National Clearinghouse on Marital Rape formed
Coalition Against Sexual Harassment formed
MN Exchange newsletter started
Red Flag, Green Flag prevention program in Fargo-Morehead starts
Sexual Assault Against Men - It Does Happen brochure written by Gay Community Services in Mpls
Sexual Assault of the Disabled manual written
Children Need Protecting Too brochure is written
Women Against Violence Against Women holds "Take Back the Night"March, garners 7000 participants

(I) Presentations on Child Sexual Abuse are given to Employee Assistance Counselors and other audiences statewide
Program for Male Victims is founded

(T) Management Training Seminar is given to Rape Crisis Centers
MCASA Inservice is held for RCC, focus on "Services to Victims"
NCASA conference theme " Sexism & Rape - Two Sides of Same Coin"
National Victims Conference on Battered Women, Child Abuse & Sexual Assault

1981 (L) Victim Privacy from the Press in the Courtroom Law is passed
Intra familial Sexual Abuse Law passed (Incest)
Multidisciplinary Child Abuse Teams formed in Mn

(R) Rape Awareness Week, theme is "Violence Hurts Everyone!"
Illusion Theater presents "No Easy Answers", prevention project for teens
At the Foot of The Mountain Feminist Theatre presents "JUNKIE!" a play on women and addictions, later becomes a film
Women Against Violence Against Women has three "Take Back the Night" marches in Mpls, Duluth and Winona

(I) General Presentations to law enforcement and schools
Workshops on Assertiveness, Chemical Dependancy, Family Violence
Specific training on Sexual Violence for workers in Mn Correctional Facilities
Black Community Perspectives on Sexual Assault workshop
American Indian Perspectives on Sexual Assault workshop

(T) Management training seminar for Rape Crisis Centers

MCASA Inservice for RCC, focus on "Services to Special Populations"
NCASA conference, "Violence Against Women: Consolidating Our Gains"

1982 (L)   Protection of Confidentiality of Rape Crisis Volunteer Counselors Law
Incest Statute of Limitations extended to 7 years
Sexual Harassment is added to Human Rights Law
Rape Trauma Syndrome and PTSD are upheld in court

(R)   Same Sex Assault Brochures written
Child Sexual Abuse-It Is Happening brochures written
How To Talk To Your Child About Sexual Abuse brochures written
Questions About Going To Court adults brochures
Kids Go To Court Too brochures
Treating Incest In Rural Families manual
Slide show produced on "Sexual Assault: A Rural Perspective"
Manual for Clergy and Churches on Sexual Violence produced
My Personal Safety Coloring Book

(I)   Presentations to churches, disabled populations, refugees, seniors and human service workers
Hispanic Perspective on Sexual Violence workshop
Rural Perspective on Sexual Violence workshop
Workshops on MR Victims, Disabled Victims, Sex Offender TX, Repeat Offenders, Adolescent Prostitution

(T)   Management Training Seminar for RCC
MCASA Inservices for RCC, theme was "Beyond Being Victims"
NCASA Conference, theme was "Beyond the Bandaid "

1983 (L)   Crime Victim Bill of Rights passed, allows for victim impact statement
and notifies victim of perpetrators release from prison

(R)   Public Service Announcements produced for radio and TV
Illusion Theatre licenses their prevention program, makes film and video
Acquaintance Rape written

(I)   Conference on The Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse Offenders
Conference for Ethnic Minority Service Providers
Workshop on Relationship between Chemical Dependancy and Sexual Violence

(T)   MCASA Inservice for RCC's, theme was " Surviving the 80's "
NCASA Conference , theme was "Survival, Resistance, Outreach"

1984 (R)   WCCO "Project Abuse"
Pornography Resource Center founded, later changes name to

Organizing Against Pornography
Illusion Theatre presents "For Adults Only" , prevention project
"Take Back the Night" Marches in Mpls, St. Cloud, Duluth, Winona
Three In Every Classroom: Victims of Incest published
If She Is Raped - For The Man In Her Life published

(I)   Task Force on Sexual Exploitation by Therapists & Counselors
Conference on Pornography Research held
Marital Rape Conference
Adolescent Offenders Conferee
Asian Perspective on Sexual Violence workshop
Inservices for RCC's :

        Empowerment in the Workplace
        Staff Ownership:Volunteer Management
        Beyond Therapy - Process Therapy
        Women and Addictions
        Gay and Lesbian Victims
        Child Witness Controversy
        The After Effects of Sexual Abuse on Children
        Clinical Counseling Issues with Survivors of Sexual Abuse
        Shame in Clinical Work
        Working with Resistant Clients
        Group vs Individual Counseling
        Therapy with Children
        PTSD: Treatment and Recovery

(T)   MCASA Inservice for RCC's, theme was "Pride In Our Culture:
        Empowerment in the Sexual Assault Movement"
NCASA Conference, theme was "Violence : Veiling the Human
        Spirit"

1985 (L)   Child Abuse Reporting Law for Professional Therapists and Clergy
Child Abuse Act (refining existing laws)
Sexual Exploitation by Counselors and Therapists enacted

(R)   PRIDE formed , People Meeting in Determined Effort to Affect
Changes In Prostitution
Spanish Language translations of brochures created
Assault on Age brochures published
Date Rape brochures published
"Take Back the Night" Marches in Mankato, Bemidji, Winoia and
Mpls
Ten year anniversary celebration for rape crisis movement in Mn
"Decade of Light" , Oprah Winfrey appears

(I)   Conference on Sexual Assault of Institutionalized Populations
Management training for RCC and their Boards of Directors
Inservices for RCC's:

Confronting Homophobia
Minimizing Abuses of Power When Working with Children
Chemical Dependancy and Family Intimacy
Men: Beyond Treatment,
Co - Dependency
Sexual Addictions
Food Issues and Eating Disorders
Sex and Aging

(T)   MCASA inservice, theme was "Our Commitment to the Future"
NCASA conference, theme is "Spiraling Outward: Healing, Power,
and Change"

1986   (L)   Therapist's Duty to Warn of Violent Threats by Client law enacted
Guardian Ad Litem for Children Act
Atty. General fails in attempt to de-criminalize Incest

(R)   "Project Impact" , a multi-disciplinary cooperative effort is tried.
State departments include: the Crime Victim Witness Council,
BCA , Public Safety, Public Health, DHS, DOC,
State Planning Agency and the Attorney General.
Children's Trust Fund formed

(I)   Men's Conference planned by Men Against Rape, BrotherPeace and
National Organization for Changing Men
Inservices for RCC's:
Building a More Effective Board
Male Sexual Abuse Victims
The Mother's Voice in Incest Cases
Do Your Volunteers Measure Up
Grantsmanship for Beginners: Foundations
Malpractice Laws
Increasing the Organizational Commitment of Your
Volunteers
Incest in the Organizational Family
Guide to Corporate Giving for Non Profits
Abuse Victims; The Life Span Perspective

(T)   MCASA inservice for RCC's, theme was "A Time of Change: A
Time of Opportunity"
NCASA conference, theme was " Our Roots: The Foundation
for The Future"

1987   After this time there was huge turnover in staff, change in policies and
managementstyle.Unfortunately, careful records and history were no longer kept.

Changes In the Minnesota Statutes Governing Rape Crisis Centers

1974   Mn Statutes Chapter 241.51
          Program to Aid Victims of Sexual Assault
             Development of Program
             Powers of Commissioner
             Funding pilot programs

1977   Mn Statutes Chapter 241.55
          Crime Victim Centers
             Planning, function, evaluation

       Mn Statutes Chapter 241.61
          Battered Women
             Pilot programs
             Powers of Commissioner
             Advisory task Force
             Project Coordinator
             Data Collection

1990   Mn Statutes Chapter 661.A
          Crime Victims, rights, programs, agencies
          (All of the above statutes were consolidated here)

                 Definitions
                 Notification of Victims: Services and Rights
                        Plea agreements
                        Data privacy and confidentiality
                        PSI
                        Notification of release
                        Victim impact Statement
                        restitution by offender
                        probation and parole hearing
                        HIV tests
                        STD tests
                 Sexual Assault Programs
                        Statewide Funding
                        Powers of Commissioner
                        Advisory Council
                 Battered Women's Programs
                        Statewide funding
                        Powers of Commissioner
                        Advisory Council

1990 Mn Statutes Chapter 661.A
Crime Victims, rights, programs, agencies
(continued)

General Crime Victim Centers
Advisory Council
planning
evaluation
reparations and claims
Crime Victim Ombudsman
24 hour crisis line
public safety
mediation program

12. Changes in Personnel/Structure
11. Refinement of Concepts
10. Refinement of Technique
9. Inductive Program Planning

8. Changes in Personnel/Structure
7. Dealing with Individual Cases
6. Emphasis on Broad Basic Factors & Causes

5. Change in Personnel/Structure
4. More Careful Study
3. Attempts at Reform & Initial Social Action

2. Discussion of Problem's Seriousness
1. Awareness and Recognition

STAGES	I. AWARENESS	II. POLICY DETERMINATION	III. REFORM	III. REFORM	STAGES
FOCUS	Empowerment/Social Change			Pathology/Social Services	FOCUS
ORGANIZATIONAL STYLE	Alternative, Collective, Feminist	Social Change	Feminist/Bureaucratic	Bureaucratic	ORGANIZATIONAL STYLE
TIME PERIOD	Formative Years 1970-75	Early Years 1975-80	Middle Years 1980-85	Later Years 1985-90	TIME PERIOD

INTERVIEW FORMS

Date

Address

Dear _____:

I am an MSW student at Augsburg College in Mpls, Mn. I am writing my thesis paper on the history of the rape crisis movement in Mn from 1970-1990. I am looking at the changes in organizational structure in rape crisis centers as they moved from grassroots volunteer agencies into programs at the Mn Dept of Corrections, Victim Services Unit. I am interested in the statistical and historical information about these changes in individual programs. I have selected to interview you because of your reputation as one of the founders in the rape crisis movement in Mn. Your longevity makes you a valuable resource person. I have enclosed a short list of questions to help structure the (personal / phone) interview. I have also enclosed a consent form for you to sign if you are interested in participating. Your cooperation and assistance is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Champion

History of the Rape Crisis Movement
Consent Form

I am currently a graduate student at Augsburg College in Mpls, Mn. I am collecting information for my MSW thesis that provides an historical overview of the rape crisis movement in Mn from 1970-1990. I am interested in the changes in organizational structure in rape crisis centers as they evolved from grassroots volunteer agencies into programs at the Mn Dept of Corrections, Victims Services Unit. I am interested in analyzing the possible effects upon the programming and the leadership that may have resulted.

In order to develop a more informal oral history, I would like to interview you for a period of one hour, exploring your experiences as a key figure in the development of the rape crisis movement in Mn. I will need a signed consent form in order for you to be a participant. Participation is voluntary and there is no compensation. The thesis will not contain information that will make it possible to identify you in person, by title or by agency. All resource people will be referred to as "individuals with the same 20 history in the rape crisis movement as the time period covered in the study." Under the limitations section of the signature page, you may opt to not answer particular questions. All records from this interview will consist of handwritten notes by myself. They will be kept in a locked file in my office until the end of the study in June 1994, when they will be destroyed. They will not be made available to anyone other than myself.

Your decision to participate or not in this study will not affect any current or future relationships with the researcher, Augsburg College or the Rape Crisis Movement. However, your cooperation in this study is appreciated . I believe this subject matter is an important part of the historical record concerning human services and womens history in Mn. The person conducting this study is Cheryl Champion. If you have any questions, I can be contacted at PO Box 54065, Mpls, Mn 55454. My thesis advisor is Dr. Ed Skarnulis, Augsburg College , Dept of Social Work, 612-330-1000.
****
I have read the above information, I have asked any questions I have and I have received answers. I consent to an interview with the investigator for the purposes of this study, pertinent to the content of this study, subject to the conditions described above, and the use of information from my interview for the study with no limitations, or the limitations as follows:

_____

_____
Signature_____
Date:_____
Investigator's Signature _____
Date:_____

Qualitative Interview Format

Open ended questions to prompt reflections from individuals

1. As a founding member of the rape crisis movement, how many years have you been involved?

2. What led to your involvement in the early years?

3. What motivated you to stay all these years?

4. What has sustained your involvement over time?

5. What do you see as the changes, differences, and adjustments the rape crisis movement has made over the years to survive?

6. What do you see as the rape crisis movements accomplishments and strengths?

7. What do you see as the rape crisis movements failures and weaknesses?

ARCHIVAL SEARCH

Date

Address

Dear_____;

I am an MSW student at Augsburg College in Mpls, Mn. I am writing my thesis paper on the history of the rape crisis movement in Mn from 1970-1990. I am looking at the changes in organizational structure in rape crisis centers as they moved from grassroots volunteer agencies into programs at the Mn Dept of Corrections, Victim Services Unit. I am interested in the statistical and historical information about these changes in individual programs. I am interested in the archival material your organization has related to this study.

I have enclosed a consent form that needs to be signed if you are interested in participating. Your cooperation and assistance is appreciated. We can set a time to met after you have completed the consent form.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Champion

History of the Rape Crisis Movement
Consent Form

I am currently a graduate student at Augsburg College in Mpls, Mn. I am writing my thesis paper on the history of the rape crisis movement in Mn from 1970-1990. I am interested in the changes in organizational structure in rape crisis centers as they evolved from grassroots volunteer agencies into programs at the Mn Dept of Corrections, Victims Services Unit. I am interested in analyzing the possible effects upon the programming and the leadership that may have resulted.

In order to trace this evolution. I would like to study the historical archival material available on file in your organization. I will need informed consent from you as the custodian of this information in your agency. Participation is voluntary and there is no compensation. Only you agency or organization will be identified in the final study. Personal information such as your name or title will not be revealed. Under the limitations section of the signature page, you may opt to not provide certain materials. I will be reading through your historical archives and taking notes for the body of my paper. All records from this study, the consent forms and the notes, will be kept in a locked file in my office until the end of the study, June 1994, when they will be destroyed. They will not be made available to anyone other than myself.

Your decision to participate or not in this study will not affect any relationships currently or in the future with the researcher, Augsburg College or the Rape Crisis Movement. However, your cooperation in this study is appreciated. I believe this subject mater is an important part of the historical record concerning human services and womens history in Mn. The person conducting this study is Cheryl Champion. If you have any questions, I can be contacted at PO Box 54065, Mpls, Mn. My thesis advisor is Dr. Ed Skarnulis, Augsburg College, Dept of Social Work, 612-300-1000.

****

I have read the above information. I have asked questions that I have and I have received answers. I consent to participate in this study as the legal spokesperson for my agency. I give consent to the use of information from our organizational files, pertinent to the content of this study, subject to the conditions described above, or additional limitations as follows:

_____

_____

Signature:_____Date:_____
Title:_____
Organization:_____

Investigator's Signature:_____Date:_____

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SURVEY FORMS

Date

Address

Dear _____:

I am an MSW student at Augsburg College in Mpls, Mn. I am writing my thesis paper on the history of the rape crisis movement in Mn from 1970-1990. I am looking at the changes in organizational structure in rape crisis centers as they moved from grassroots volunteer agencies into programs at the Mn Dept. of Corrections, Victim Services Unit. I am interested in the statistical and historical information about these changes in individual programs. I selected your program for its historical longevity.

I would like to invite you to fill out the short survey form I have enclosed. I realize that current members of your program may not have all the history, but much of this information would be in the final quarter grant reports to the DOC. (Form MC-160)

I have also enclosed a consent form that you should sign if you are interested in participating. Your cooperation and assistance is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Champion

History of the Rape Crisis Movement
Consent form

I am currently a graduate student at Augsburg College in Mpls, Mn. I am collecting statistical data for my MSW thesis that provides an historical overview of the rape crisis movement in Mn from 1970-1990. I am interested in the changes in organizational structure in rape crisis centers as they evolved from grassroots volunteer agencies into programs at the Mn Dept of Corrections, Victims Services Unit. I am interested in analyzing the possible effects upon the programming and the leadership that may have resulted.

In order to trace this evolution, I would like you to fill out the attached survey form from your archival data. I will need informed consent from you as the custodian of this information for your agency. Participation is voluntary and there is no compensation. Under the limitations section of the signature page, you may opt to not provide some of the data or to not answer some of the questions. The thesis will not include information which will make it possible to identify your agency. All records from this study, the consent forms and surveys, will be kept in a locked file in my office until the end of the study, June 1994, when they will be destroyed. They will not be made available to anyone other than myself.

Your decision to participate or not in this study will not affect any relationship now or in the future with the researcher, Augsburg College or your employment within the Rape Crisis Movement. However, your cooperation in this study is appreciated. I believe this subject matter is an important part of the historical record concerning human services and women's history in Mn. The person conducting this study is Cheryl Champion. If you have any questions, I can be contacted at PO Box 54065, Mpls, Mn 55454 . My thesis advisor for this project is Dr. Ed Skarnulis, Augsburg College, Dept. of Social Work, 612-330-1000.

****

I have read the above information. I have asked any questions that I have and I have received answers. I consent to participate in this study as the legal spokesperson for my agency. I give consent to the use of the survey information , pertinent to the content of this study, subject to the conditions described above, or additional limitations as follows:

_____

_____

Signature:_____ Date:_____
Title:_____Agency:_____

Investigator's Signature:_____ Date:_____

History of the Rape Crisis Movement
Survey Form

What year did your center first begin:
1. ....organizing?_____
2. ....delivering services?_____
3. ....become incorporated for profit or non-profit?_____
4. ....begin receiving funding from the Dept of Corrections?_____

5. How many of the individuals involved in the founding of your organization are still involved?

_____

6. What changes in staffing patterns have occurred in your organization over time?

_____

_____

a. are professional credentials needed for any job descriptions?

_____

b. are efforts still made to hire those without formal training but community experience?

_____

c. are individuals with survivor status still involved?

_____

d. are individuals who gain experience as volunteers able to move into other positions?

_____

e. what circumstances have altered or affected your abilities to continue any of the above?

_____

_____

7. How would you describe your organizational structure?

a. a collective, a task force, a committee, headed by a Board of Directors ?

_____

b. how has this organizational scheme changed over time?

_____

c. how have these changes affected your services to victims?

_____

d. has your membership increased or decreased with the changes?

_____

e. how has your mission adjusted with the organizational changes?

_____

f. how has this affected your ability to deliver services effectively?

_____

From Department of Corrections Quarterly Report Form

Item	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
1. Number of staff					
2. Number of volunteers					
3. Number of board members					
For the above categories: 4. How many were survivors?					
5. How many were lesbian?					
6. How many were women of color?					
7. How many were people with disabilities?					
8. How many were over 55 years of age?					
9. Was there 24-hour crisis line response?					
10. How many victims were served?					
11. How many public speaking engagements?					
12. How many professional trainings?					
13. Did you provide services to other crime victims besides rape?					
14. Funding patterns: Other government funding					
DOC funding					
Individual donations					
Foundations					
Corporations					
Other					