RAPE CRISES IN RAPE CULTURES:
TRANSNATIONAL DEHUMANIZATION WITHIN SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE
COMPLEXES

by

ELIZABETH ELLEN WHALLEY

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written by Elizabeth Ellen Whalley
has been approved for the Department of Sociology

_____

Dr. Joanne Belknap (chair)

_____

Dr. Rebekah Campbell

_____

Dr. Janet Jacobs

_____

Dr. Amanda Stevenson

_____

Dr. Christina Sue

Date _____

The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories, and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

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Elizabeth Ellen Whalley, Ph.D. Sociology

RAPE CRISES IN RAPE CULTURES:
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RESPONSE COMPLEXES

Thesis directed by Dr. Joanne Belknap

This dissertation examines the State and cultural responses to sexual assault in two cultures: Ireland and the United States. As two former colonies of the United Kingdom, the U.S. and Ireland exemplify the complicated dynamic between post-colonial religious nationalism and sexual assault response. My data includes ethnographic research conducted over four years at two rape crisis centers (RCCs), including participant observation and sixty interviews with RCC management and advocates. I examine how governmental structures maintain economic control over anti-rape movements, which neutralizes the social threat posed by such activism. In both countries, RCC's dependence on State complexes promotes a limiting definition of victimization that is dependent on institutional involvement. While previous research has attributed the homogenization of the anti-rape movement to neoliberal ideologies, using a transnational approach I find that gendered nationalism is a more appropriate framework from which to understand formal sexual assault response across cultures. The neoliberal U.S. Sexual Assault Response Complex (SARC) uses gender-neutrality and color-blind views of race within criminal-legal and medicalized models. The Irish welfare-capitalist SARC employs essentialized views of gender and race within an apolitical scheme. When rape is viewed as an individual rather than a gendered social problem, sexual abuse and rape culture proliferates within RCCs, taking nationalist patriarchal forms.

Previous research conceptualized RCC institutionalization as a reluctant concession requisite to the continuation of services and the anti-rape movement. I find that centers utilize

rhetoric of intersectionality and inclusiveness without examining the consequences of oppression within their organizational structures. State solutions for sexual assault require involvement with institutions that have been historically oppressive for people of Color, and ignore the legacy of racialized false accusations upon which U.S. nationalism is built. In Ireland, client-centered services function to maintain the cultural boundaries between who is a client to be served and who is not, which perpetuates racial and citizenship status hierarchies while reifying hegemonic constructions of violence. Diversity marginalizes clients and advocates alike, while supporting narratives of perpetration that protect the State. Rather than changing their organizational missions to align with the SARC transformations, both centers maintained their claims to anti-rape movement work. In so doing, the centers occupy the space of a social movement while marginalizing the possibilities for social change. As a result, expansions of State power move beyond surveillance into the prosecution of victims of sexual assault. I propose the development of transnational anti-rape justice models to address the complexity of the eradication of sexual abuse.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the advocates both at home and in Ireland who shared their time, experiences, homes, meals, jokes, laughter, worries, traumas, victories, and visions for a better tomorrow with me.

I am confident that there is, indeed, a future without rape- because I have known you. I promise to always keep my eyes on the horizon of that day while driving towards it.

…and to the people of Ireland, especially the memory of Eva Davin. Rest in Power, Eva. Thank you for opening your home to me, and showing me what to notice in the country you so loved.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

General

RCC   Rape Crisis Center
SARC   Sexual Assault Response Complex
NPIC   Non-Profit Industrial Complex
ED   Executive Director
SJ   Social Justice

United States (U.S.)

WERA   Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse
SARG   Sexual Assault Response Group
CMH   Community Mental Health
SANE   Sexual Assault Nurse Examination
CAN   Community Allies for Nonviolence

Ireland (IRE)

RCWI   Rape Crisis West Ireland
SATU   Sexual Assault Treatment Unit
CRA   Charities Regulatory Authority
HSE   Health Service Executive
Tusla   The Child and Family Agency
Gardaí   Police/Law Enforcement
DPP   Director of Public Prosecution

CHAPTER I: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A. INTRODUCTION

In a courtroom nestled in the mountains of the Western United States, rape crisis advocates sat motionless on the wooden benches. As I had come to expect since I began volunteering at Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse (WERA[1]), the head juror delivered a series of not-guilty verdicts to the room. The perpetrator laid his head on the table in front of him and sobbed his relief into the courtroom microphone. Two advocates turned to cradle the victim, and carried her out of the space. In a back room of the courthouse provided by the State for such moments, the victim broke down into jags of panicked sobs. We joined together, creating a circle around her, while two counselors held her. Trying to control my own emotional reaction, aware that this moment was not and could not be about my feelings, I thought about how this was another example of failed justice, which occurs disproportionately in the few rape cases that go to trial. "I'm the holder of hope," her counselor told her. "You may not have any hope now; you cannot see or feel it in this moment. So I will hold it for you. That's my job. That's what I do." This was one of more than twenty sexual assault court trials I attended over my three years with WERA. In that time, I only observed one guilty conviction. Mya, who worked for over five years at WERA, states definitively that regardless of the verdict, she has never had a client who was glad they went through the trial process. She remarked, "Even when they get a guilty verdict, they wouldn't do it again."

Across the Atlantic Ocean, a similar scene had played out in an Irish courtroom. Maeve, a staff member and advocate at Rape Crisis West Ireland (RCWI), has attended many cases for RCWI Court Accompaniment, but the first case sticks with her most. The uncontrollable shaking

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[1] I have changed the names of people, places and other identifying traits to ensure to confidentiality and privacy of my research participants.

of the victim upon hearing her perpetrator's acquittal remains with Maeve to this day, as do

unanswerable questions about how the victim's drinking or perpetrator's community standing

may have impacted the jury. Maeve tries to reassure victims using belief.

> People are going "he was found 'not guilty' - are you lying about it?" and that is
> the bit I try to give to people - it's not that they didn't believe you, because you
> wouldn't be here in the first place if somebody along the line didn't believe you.

In her four years of court accompaniment, Maeve has never seen a guilty verdict in a sexual

assault trial. Many years and cases later, what remains with Maeve is learning that the court case

just described, derailed the victim's progress in therapy, and from there the victim's life "just

turned upside-down and turned to shit."

Recently, convicted rapists such as Brock Turner (the "Stanford Rapist"[2]) and Owen

Labrie[3] have received national attention, and anti-rape activists have claimed their lenient

sentences as evidence of rape culture. Once relegated to feminist theory, the concept of rape

culture[4] has entered the mainstream lexicon. As illustrated the U.S. and Irish court advocacy

experiences described above, my ethnographic dissertation research in both countries revealed

that lenient sentencing is largely irrelevant to rape crisis work. Guilty verdicts and the

expectation of judicial solace stand in contrast to the lived experience of rape crisis advocates.

The disjuncture between government institutions (e.g., the hospital, police, and courts),

cultural perception, and the realities of sexual abuse treatment, forms the basis of my

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[2] Brock Turner or "the Stanford rapist" gained national publicity in 2016 after he was convicted on three counts of sexual assault, sentenced to six months in jail, and released three months later. During sentencing, the judge in his case pointed to his athletic success as a captain of the Stanford swim team as an indication that a punitive sentence would do irreparable damage to his life. Mainstream media sources such as Cable News Network (CNN, *Legal View with Ashleigh Banfield* 6/6/16), Cosmopolitan Magazine (Gupta 2016), and Black Entertainment Television (BET, *BET News*, 6/8/16) discussed Turner's case as an example of how white privilege and rape culture factor into the treatment of sexual assault cases.

[3] Owen Labrie received nationwide media attention in 2014 after he was charged with multiple felonies after forcing a 15-year-old freshman girl into sexual contact as a part of the "senior salute," an annual ritual at St. Paul's School, an elite private school in New Hampshire. Labrie was ultimately convicted on lesser charges of misdemeanor sex with a minor, sentenced to one year in jail, and released after two months.

[4] Excusing sexual abuse through the propagation of common rape myths, institutional inaction and sexist attitudes is often called a "rape supportive society" or a "rape culture" (Kelleher & McGilloway 2009; Bevacqua 2000).

ethnographic study of institutional sexual assault responses in the U.S. and Ireland.[5] While

mainstream culture and sexual assault scholarship fixate on punitive punishment for sexual

assault, transnational experiences of rape crisis advocacy reveal a multitude of further issues

within the response to sexual assault. From ethnographic data (participant observation and one-

one-one interviews with staff) collected at two rape crisis centers (RCCs), one in the United

States (U.S) and the other in Ireland, I address a gap in the transnational sexual assault literature

by problematizing the role of the State in the institutional responses to sexual assault.

Although measuring sexual assault rates is difficult and not always assessed consistently

across countries and thus should be interpreted with some caution, the extant research indicates

somewhat similar rates of sexual assault victimization for women in the U.S. and Ireland. In

U.S, measurements of lifetime sexual assault victimization range from one in five to one in three

women, and one in 71 to one in twelve among men (Breiding et al. 2014; Black et al. 2011;

Belknap 2010). In statistics from self-report surveys conducted in Ireland, one in five women and

one in 25 men report having experienced adult sexual assault (Dublin Rape Crisis Centre 2014;

McGee et al. 2002). In Ireland, 70 to 73 percent of sexual assault victims know who assaulted

them (Galway Rape Crisis Center Annual Report 2015; McGee et al. 2002), which is the case for

91 to 60 percent of U.S. victims (Lawyer et al. 2010; Fisher et al. 2000).

In addition to the somewhat similar prevalence risks of sexual assault, the U.S. and

Ireland also have similarities in the quantitative indicators of a rape culture. Studies report that

both countries share a particular level of belief in rape myths (Kelleher & McGilloway 2009;

Bevacqua 2000). Both countries also have low rates of official sexual assault reporting, low

conviction rates, and high attrition rates within those cases that are brought forward (Lonsway &

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[5] I use the term "institutional sexual response" in reference to the services performed and actions taken by legal, medical, police, and victim advocacy systems.

Archambault 2012; Belknap 2010; Hanly et al. 2009; Regan & Kelly 2003). These similarities are useful for an ethnographic comparison of RCCs in both countries.

This transnational institutional ethnography of two RCCs is based upon a total of four years of fieldwork in the U.S. and Ireland. As two former colonies of the United Kingdom, the U.S. and Ireland exemplify the complicated dynamic between post-colonial religious nationalism and sexual assault response. My ethnographic data collection includes interviews with advocates as well as my own experiences: answering hotline calls, accompanying victims to the hospital, police station, or courthouse, attending supervision group meetings, team meetings, steering committee meetings, team-building activities, and outreach events. I also analyze print material provided by the RCCs through trainings and other communication.

B. DEFINING KEY CONCEPTS

1. Rape, Sexual Assault, & Sexual Abuse

I use the terms rape and sexual assault interchangeably in this study, and will also use the broader term of sexual abuse. Sexual abuse encompasses a wide spectrum of behaviors and experiences, and does not limit the definition of what can be sexually traumatizing to violent acts, as some scholars do when using the term sexual violence (Belknap 2007; Belknap et al. 1999). For example, non-consensual pornography, coercing or deceiving an individual into a sexual act, and sexually aggressive stalking must be included in the classification of what experiences are sexually traumatizing.

Using the language of sexual abuse not only creates space for non-physical or relational behaviors, but also a more inclusive variety of traumatizing sexual perpetration. While some academic definitions of sexual violence include a conceptual place for acts such as these, using the language and understandings of the victims themselves aligns with the transnational and standpoint feminist frameworks which that form the research paradigm of this work.

2. Vocabularies of Victimization

There is an active conversation in victimization studies of the use of the terms "victim" and "survivor" when discussing those who have experienced sexual abuse (Martin 2005; Mardorossian 2002). The discussion often centers on whether the term "victim" is disempowering, and does not allow for process and progression. In her research on sexual abuse, Mulla (2014) bases her decision to use the terms "victim" and "patient" as based on how institutions interact with them: "I made this choice because I think it is the most accurate given the particular setting in which I conducted research. Legal institutions locate and constitute victims, not survivors…" (6). Using contextually based definitions of those being discussed is important to the feminist methodological framework of this work, so similarly I have tailored my language to that used within my research sites.

As institutions with a wide variety of functions, RCCs view those who experience sexual assault as both victims and survivors, both in need of resources *and* in the process of recovery. RCCs also serve victims and survivors as "clients," and therefore occasionally use that identity. For these reasons, I interchange the terms victims, survivors and clients when appropriate throughout this research. In so doing, I aim to de-stigmatize the label of "victim" and to suggest meanings for that word that are not automatically seen as disempowering, weak, or broken. Notably, scholars have begun to challenge the negative connotation constructed of victimhood, and believe that victims can demonstrate agency and strength in their recovery (Mulla 2014; Gavey & Schmidt 2011; Weiss 2011).

3. Nationalism

In my findings chapters I extend transnational feminist theories of gender and nationalism by applying the ideologies to cultural and institutional responses to sexual assault. Predicate within nationalism is an understanding of the concept of a nation. A nation is an abstraction in itself, defined in social science research as an "imagined political community" (Anderson 1991). Nations are comprised by collectives of individuals bonded by beliefs in self-determination with regards to territorial borders (Barrington 1997). Definitions of nation and nationalism identify the use of common myths and values as fundamental to the national system of political, economic and cultural ideologies (Carter et al. 2011). As a foundation of social reality, it therefore can be viewed as the ultimate source of law (Greenfield 2012), or a "structure of feeling" (Anderson 1991: 141). Nationalism gives the social actor both a specialized location and a community, or "transforms space into homeplace" (Alonso 1994: 386).

Nationalism is in itself a secular concept, although religion can be a major aspect of nationalist constructs (Greenfield 2012). Religion and nationalism are closely tied historically as well as conceptually: scholars have suggested that nationalism was historically a concept of Judeo-Christian civilization, and more broadly suggest that nationalism is a product of monotheism (Greenfield 2012; Anderson 1991). The division of the Western European Church is commonly cited as the creation of religious differences; this turned nations against one another in competition and conflict. In defending this viewpoint, Greenfeld asserts that despite a diversity of groups and traditions, all of nationalism is predicted on a monotheistic "principle of no contradiction" (2012: 1500). Nationalism creates an ordered universe and logic in the State, where once such universal power was given only to God. In this way, it has been argued that nationalism replaced Catholicism (Greenfield 2012). Greenfield writes that logic, a product of nationalist mutually-exclusive monotheism, "…is so central to us that even those of us who are

aware of its historical origins tend to see it as an inherent capacity of the human race, a biological capacity rather than a cultural tendency" (1500).

Investment in nationalism is reified by creating connections between individual identity and nationality, which provides a social actor the motivation to adhere to nationalist beliefs: "Since the dignity of the individual identity is derived from the membership in the nation, one becomes necessarily invested in the collective dignity of the nation, sensitive of the nation's standing among other nations, and committed to preserving and augmenting it's prestige" (Greenfield 2012: 1499). While these are the individualized interests of nationalism, particular strategies simultaneously create and reify the nation though communicating hierarchies, everyday behavior, rituals and State polices (Alonso 1994).

The cultural tendency towards logical nationalism can be used to explain how a cultural rationalizes contradictory messages about their culture. Carter, Ferguson and Hassin (2011) propose that system justification theory can explain cultural defensiveness: "In addition to being motivated to justify themselves and their social, cultural or racial ingroups, people have a motive to support the larger system of which they are a part, and to see the status quo as legitimate and good" (Carter et al. 2011: 342). Due to the need identified by Greenfield for nationalists to see the world as orderly and logical, individuals will tend to side with hegemonic messaging over counter-narratives (2012). In her article on how social actors manage hegemony and State silence in their conversations, Christina Sue (2014) described how individuals use rhetorical strategies of silence function to maintain the current power structure. Sue proposes that individuals use strategies of naturalization and minimization to maintain silence around that subject. In this way, nationalism can be used to understand many elements of rape culture: rape sympathetic attitudes that validate patriarchal masculinity, victim-blaming mentalities that are critical of feminine sexuality, social resistance to criticize institutions, and the skepticism towards rape itself.

4. Feminist Nationalism

Feminist scholars have critiqued the mainstream understanding of nationalism, emphasizing that gender is central, not tangential, to understanding the concept (Thapar-Bjorkert & Ryan 2002; West 1997; Yuval-Davis 1993). Such scholars note that nationalism is constructed through a series of masculine interactions and orders, and through men's relationships (West 1997). Nationalist ideology manifests from men's feelings: "nationalism typically has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope" (Enloe 1990:4). Nationalism places the nation directly on the body of both the individual as well as collectively on the populace (Dingley 2015), which feminist scholars argue is a feminized nation bestowed upon feminine bodies (Deer 2015; Meany 2013; Fletcher 2001; Narayan 1997). The relevance of a nation to rape culture emerges, as the cultural features of a nation include shared myths and values as well as embodied nationhood.

Nationalism operates through sovereign ideologies heavily enmeshed with the lack of occupation, or colonialism. In fact, colonialism is viewed being oppositional to nationalism (Chatterjee, as cited by West 1997). Colonized nations have historically been gendered with feminine pronouns, and colonial masculinity is framed as an emasculating term (Thapar-Bjorkert & Ryan 2002). Cultural conflicts between colonizing cultures and colonized indigenous cultures are often over the role and treatment of women, with the colonizer depicting indigenous practices as "backwards" in comparison to Western culture. In *Dislocating Cultures*, Uma Narayan (1997) names the framing of women's rights as a common site of colonizing structures, as "[t]he figure of the colonized woman became a representation of the oppressiveness of the entire 'cultural tradition' of the colony" (17).

Under the threat of colonialism, nationalist rationalizations are often seen as a way to protect the indigenous culture. In the construction of national identities, women are often symbolically conflated with the nation-state itself. When decolonization occurs, the function of nationalism is fundamental. In fact, nationalist values may become exaggerated as they form, to create immediate distance between the colonizer and the formerly colonized. What is traditional to that culture (and not the colonizer's culture) is often heralded as fundamental to the forming nation. The nation-state traditions that are made sacred often relate to the role of women in that culture, which has the effect of placing women in specific roles and in need of paternalistic protection (Thapar-Bjorkert & Ryan 2002). In her study of Irish post-colonialism and reproductive rights, Fletcher cites post-colonialism as produced by both decolonization as well as changing conditions of the *interpretation* of decolonization (2001). Decolonizing cultures can also use these "colonizer" cultural interpretations as evidence of anti-nationalist betrayals by women (Narayan 1997). Women's rights can then be framed as part of "the colonial regime" and restricted in the name of indigenous nationalism (Fletcher 2001). Uma Narayan (1997:20) argued that this is a common phenomenon as nations following colonization:

> The nationalist cultural pride that was predicated upon a return to 'traditional values' and the rejection of 'Westernization' that began under colonial rule thus re-emerges today in a variety of postcolonial 'fundamentalist' movements, where returning women to their 'traditional roles' continues to be defined as central to preserving national identity and cultural pride.

For example, when abortion access is discussed as becoming 'in line' with other Western nations, conservative nationalist groups can build the case of abortion as an imperial invasion. Abortion rights are a strong indicator of women's institutional and social inequality in any given country (MacKinnon 2005; Fletcher 2001), and restrictions on abortion access have been found to have a disproportionate impact on economically marginalized women (Stevenson et al. 2016). Catherine MacKinnon tied reproductive freedom to rape: "If sex equality existed socially- if

women were recognized as persons, sexual aggression were truly deviant…the question of [the fetus]'s political status would be a very different one…Indeed, it shows how powerless women are that it takes a fetus to make a woman look powerful in comparison" (2005:141).

The tensions between women and nationalism create complex relationships between a woman and her state. While women's bodies are the bearers of cultural nationalism, at the same time that they "are denied any direct relation to national agency" (McClintock 1997: 90). As Lois West posited, "How could women be nationalists when they did not have equal rights? How could women not be nationalists when they loved their country, people, and home?" (1997: xii). As an inherently gendered process, nation-building processes are directly related to cultural responses to sexual abuse. State responses to sexual assault are enactments of the foundational structure of these States; the origin of collective social beliefs can be used to explain contemporary cultural treatments of sexual assault.

C. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

1. Feminist Theory and Sexual Abuse

During the second wave of feminism, analyses of sexual abuse made groundbreaking claims that the hegemonic gender roles performed within all sexual activity caused sexual violence (Dworkin 1987; Clarke 1981; Moraga & Anzaldúa 1981). While extreme, these theoretical contributions formed the foundational analysis of sexual violence as a gender social construction. For example, Marcus (1992) asserted that rape did not occur because of the superior biological strength of males, but rather "A rapist follows a social script and enacts conventional, gendered structures of feeling and action to draw the rape target into a dialogue which is skewed against her" (390). Under such a premise, heterosexual sexual scripts make the distinctions between aggressive and coercive sexual behavior difficult. The propositions that the

potential for sexual assault was present in most heterosexual sexual encounters were met with incredible resistance. Feminist theory began to frequently be negatively labeled by anti-feminists as lesbian radicalism, suggesting feminist theorists advocated for a type of separatism that liberal feminists began to distance themselves from (RADICALLESBIANS 1997).

The resulting fragmentation of feminist theory around the issue of compulsive heterosexuality had deep repercussions for the study of sexual assault. On the topic of contemporary feminist theory, Mardorossian (2002) critiqued the current approach: "Contemporary feminist theory...tends to ignore the topic of rape in favor of more ambivalent expressions of male domination such as pornography or sexual harassment" (743). While her separation of sexual harassment from sexual violence is problematic (see Belknap et al. 1999), her point that rape became avoided in feminist theory is valid.

Contemporary feminist theorists have called for a renewed examination of sexual abuse that encompasses structural and institutional critiques, including the impact of compulsive heterosexuality on sexual abuse. Increasingly, feminist research attributes modern rape culture and the prevalence of sexual abuse to the gender roles constructed through heterosexuality, particularly seen in studies of how victim accounts adhere to rape myths (Peterson & Muehlen 2004), or how rape myths have changed in content somewhat over time, yet remain prevalent (Suarez & Gadalla 2010). In their 2003 study, Littleton and Axsom found that young adults have difficulty distinguishing seduction scripts from rape; in large part because men use manipulative techniques to have sex in both types of sexual scripts. Similarly, Nicola Gavey's (2005) book, *Just Sex? The Cultural Scaffolding of Rape,* uses a theoretical deconstruction of heterosexuality in explaining sexual assault. I build from the recent feminist scholarship that has returned to the topics of heterosexuality and gender (e.g., Deer 2015; Mardorossian 2014; Anderson & Doherty 2007; Sanday 2007; Gavey 2005; Cahill 2001).

Using a feminist criminological approach, I draw from feminist theories of gender power to analyze the social and criminal legal responses to sexual assault, critically locating dominant masculinity as a structural position rather than a categorical sexual difference (Mardorossian 2002). Although Mardorossian's theoretical approach builds from Foucault's centralization of sexuality, bodies, and power, she challenges the "truth-telling" within Foucault's theories as being a distinct form of feminist solidarity, where women learn to contextualize their experiences. Using Mardorossian's theoretical contributions from a transnational perspective, my feminist theoretical approach similarly conceptualizes institutions and bodies as locations of power, applicable to both sexual abuse and institutional sexual abuse responses. In so doing, my work critiques compulsive heterosexuality as well as the masculinized power structures that form both nationalist ideology and institutional structure.

2. Transnational, Black and Indigenous Feminist Theories

In discussing anti-rape activism transnationally and as a part of larger social justice movements, I use feminist theoretical concepts proposed by transnational (or "Third World"[6]), Black, and indigenous feminist theorists. A major strength of a feminist method is that the applicable and important aspects of various theoretical approaches can be taken together, combating the traditional "objective" single-truth found in much positivist social research (Hawksworth 2006). In her book *Feminism Without Borders,* Mohanty (2003:107) provides the case for collaborative theory consistent with various feminist approaches and the inclusion of postcolonial paradigms:

> I argue that the challenges posed by black and Third World feminists can point
> the way toward a more precise, transformative feminist politics based on the
> specificity of our historical and cultural locations and our common contexts of
> struggle. *Thus, the juncture of feminist and antiracist/Third World/postcolonial*

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[6] See Narayan (1997) for more on the use of this identifier.

studies is of great significance, materially as well as methodologically.
(Emphasis added)

Given the complexity of my transnational approach and focus, I use a structural analysis of powerful social institutions by using a collaborative theoretical approach.

My analysis of institutional responses to sexual assault draws from feminist perspectives on institutional power. As posited by Smith (2005), feminist institutional analyses center the experiences of individuals within structures. Departing from Goffman's (1961) concept of a "total institution" and Weber's "ideal bureaucracy" (1946), feminist theory uses individuals' lived realities to build theoretical analyses of institutions. In their critical analysis of intersectionality in social research, Choo and Ferree (2010) proposed that analyses must do more than contribute to diversity; intersectional social research must also re-conceptualize power from the margins and center. With this framework, I center the experiences of rape crisis advocates to understand RCC institutionalization while deconstructing State and organizational power. For example, in Chapter Five, I utilize advocates' experiences with sexual harassment to understand organizational and cultural rape cultures. Within this analysis, I deconstruct RCC advocates as embodying the tension between the grassroots feminism that founded RCCs and the State solutions that currently control these centers.

My analysis of nationalism, gender and institutional sexual assault responses draws from the work of Third-World feminist scholars such as Uma Narayan (1997), who uses the overlapping complexity of feminisms and transnational research to frame what she terms "post-colonial feminism." Specifically, my analysis of sexual assault builds from Narayan's discussions of how representations of violence inform concepts of identity, victimhood, nationalism, and tradition. Similarly, Anna Sampaio (2004) addresses how a global feminist theory requires an analysis of the impacts of historical locations taken together, including

"colonialism, racism, patriarchy, ethnic/cultural genocide, economic exploitation and, increasingly, globalization" (183). Given the impact of Western imperialism and the U.S. globally, postcolonial frameworks within transnational feminism help frame the diplomatic and cultural relationship between the U.S. and Ireland.

In my study of the U.S. and Ireland, all of the aforementioned historical locations become relevant to the story of sexual assault response. Colonial histories, genocide, racism, economics, and globalization all play crucial roles in my analysis of a concept often limited to simply patriarchal analysis. I examine the U.S. as both a colonizing force and former colony, and in doing so explore the complexity of both the colonizer and the colonized. This dual analysis of power also applies to the genocidal histories of both countries. Throughout the mid-Nineteenth Century, genocide was occurring in both countries: millions of Irish people died during the Great Famine, Britain's intentional starvation of the Gaelic people (Mcveigh 2008). During the same period, the U.S. continued centuries of killing of indigenous people by passing the Indian Removal Act (1930) that further decimated Native communities. In her book on the abuse of Native Americans in the U.S., Andrea Smith (2005) asserts that sexual abuse is inherently tied to U.S. colonialism and global colonialism: one cannot be understood without the other. In proposing that colonial violence is inherently sexual violence, Smith states that feminist and prison abolition work must integrate anticolonial responses into liberatory frameworks.

Multiple activist-scholars have called for an expansion of intersectionality towards a more collective understanding, such as the connections Smith makes her in work. In 1991, Crenshaw delineated structural intersectionality from political intersectionality. *Structural intersectionality*, Crenshaw proposed, encompasses the ways in which the intersection of different identities, namely race and gender, change how social justice reforms are experienced. Alternatively, *political intersectionality* is the analysis of how conflicting political agendas

within different social justice movements disempower and further marginalize those within the various subordinated groups. Building on this, Choo and Ferree (2010) highlighted the importance of adopting intersectional approaches that incorporate macrostructures of inequality with microstructures that construct social meaning. Choo and Ferree viewed this integration as giving clarity to the recursive relationship between multiple institutions. In this way, feminist theory should combine structural and political intersectionality to understand the impact of institutional power. I utilize these perspectives of intersectional feminism throughout my analysis. For example, Chapter Six situates the interpersonal experiences of RCC racism and colorism within a larger context of RCC conflict with antiracist social justice movements.

Recent Black feminist scholarship pushed political intersectionality to explicitly include international social justice efforts. In *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine and the Foundations of a Movement,* Angela Davis (2016) specifically stresses the importance of global connections in social movements. Davis proposes the expansion of overlapping oppressions are fundamental to the new activist mission, in what she conceptualizes as the "intersectionality of struggles," writing: "[i]nitially intersectionality was about bodies and experiences. But now, how do we talk about bringing various social justice struggles together, across national borders?" (19). The need to include structural intersectionality while expanding political intersectionality globally is the center of this transnational analysis.

Taken together, transnational, indigenous, and Black feminist theories allow for my research to include analyses of broad range of issues relating to sexual abuse, including sexual assault, institutional sexual assault response, and social justice issues globally. From this theoretical base, my dissertation research addresses the underpinnings of sexual abuse, as well as the intersectionality of social movements, from a transnational perspective.

D. RESEARCH GOAL

Due to the proliferation of scholarship documenting sexual and other gender-based abuses (e.g., intimate partner abuse) as social problems during the second wave of feminism, sexual abuse transformed from a minimized issue into a public and political act (e.g., Herman 1997; Sheffield 1987; Brownmiller 1975). In this cultural formation of rape as a social problem, survivors were frequently portrayed as broken, traumatized, and in need of care, in what was coined "victim feminism" (see Stringer 2014 for a full review). Much of the sexual assault literature has continued in this tradition, constructing a "real victim" as paradoxically one who was not violently raped, but needs institutional intervention in order to recover (Mardorossian 2002; Chasteen 2001). The discussion of non-reporting or non-institutionally-involved rape victims as in "denial" or "unacknowledged" (e.g. Paul et al. 2013) created a patronizing vision of sexual assault both culturally and throughout the literature.

Research has attempted to explain non-reporting through analysis of the characteristics of crime incidents or through speculating that victims are not aware that a sexual experience meets the legal definition of rape (Jones et al. 2009), consistently returning to the obstacles of reporting. Weiss (2011) exemplifies this issue in her study of victims' non-reporting accounts. She concludes: "Attempts to increase the reporting of rape and sexual assault will not be fully successful until victims no longer choose to deny unwanted sexual situations as real and reportable crime" (462). Weiss's work is demonstrative of the mainstream position of sexual abuse research, which can implicitly hold victims responsible for rape culture and reify the importance of State power. Rather than analyzing how the legal system may not serve victims, mainstream scholarship examines how victims can better serve the legal system.

By examining sexual assault response using a critical institutional analysis, I join a minority of scholars who challenge the assumption that the goal of sexual abuse research is to

ameliorate reporting rates or increase sentence length.[7] In contrast, I find these goals to be the root issue of sexual abuse. I expand upon scholarship that has documented RCC institutionalization (Corrigan 2013; Matthews 1994) by documenting this as occurring in Ireland as well, but under different circumstances. In both Ireland and the U.S., this RCC institutionalization has marginalized prevention efforts and fostered an implicit pro-reporting bias that de-prioritizes prevention and victim agency. The push for harsher carceral solutions found in the U.S. RCC both fails victims and perpetuates the very dehumanization at the core of sexual abuse (Bumiller 2008). Although the nationalist ideals and geopolitics of Ireland and the U.S. differ in institutional practices, I also acknowledge the related rape victim dehumanization that occurs through mental health pathology within Irish institutionalization, and suggest that the globalization of mass incarceration may ultimately cause these divergent paths to converge.

Previous scholarship on U.S. rape reform and anti-violence movements has addressed how institutional integration led the State to co-opt the feminist anti-rape movement (Mulla 2014; Corrigan 2013; Bumiller 2008; Matthews 1994) both. Scholars have connected this anti-rape homogenization to the rise of neoliberalism (Stringer 2014; Bumiller 2008), expanded crime control and the therapeutic State (Bumiller 2008), and the forensic age (Mulla 2014). While these theories effectively explain the United States' institutional sexual assault response, as Bumiller (2008) wrote such findings are limited to the U.S. Neoliberalism cannot explain the sexual assault rates and systemic failures of cultures that do not rely on this type of political and economic ideology. Building from current perspectives, in this dissertation I push the current scholarship further by framing the construction of rape culture transnationally. While taking care

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[7] Some recent work has highlighted the agentic decisions that rape victims and responders make, seeing their negotiations of the legal system and disclosure as important elements of a new theory of sexual assault (Mardorossian 2014; Mulla 2014; Stringer 2014; Gavey 2005; Peterson & Muehlen 2004). For example, in their study of SANE nurses, Greeson and Campbell (2011) delineate the different boundary negotiations and processes SANE nurses take to promote victim agency within institutions, or to protect victims from systemic mistreatment.

to avoid problematic "cultural difference" approaches to sexual abuse (Bumiller 2008; Narayan 1997), I compare two "cultural explanations" of rape culture. I deconstruct the unique cultural explanations within two countries in order to understand the similarities in their cultural and legal treatment of sexual assault. Taken together, culturally contextualized gendered nationalism can explain institutionalized rape crisis response in both countries. Gendered nationalism constructed the economic systems RCCs have merged into, and gendered nationalism can also be found in the treatment of rape victims.

Most comparative research on postcolonial Ireland and the U.S. that employs a consistent method across the two countries are on Irish migration to the U.S. There have been several studies that draw direct comparisons between children in U.S. and the colony of Northern Ireland (e.g., Barton 2001; Benson et al. 1991), as well as research connecting the colonial pasts of Ireland and India or of the U.S. and other formally colonized nations (see Thapar-Björkert & Ryan 2002; Marx 1998; Bose & Ward 1997). Previous discussions of sexual assault that mention both the Republic of Ireland and the U.S. have largely compared incidence or prevalence rates where different measures were used in each country (e.g., McGee et al. 2011). My dissertation research is the first postcolonial analysis of sexual abuse comparing the U.S. and Ireland that was conducted in both countries.

In both Ireland and the U.S., scholars in the field of sexual assault have called for an increase in qualitative studies of sexual abuse (e.g., McGee et al. 2011; Campbell & Wasco 2005). Rape culture is a difficult concept to operationalize, and as a result, studies that attempt to move away from pure theoretical conjecture largely rely on individual-level survey data measuring adherence to rape myths (see Deming et al. 2013; Eagan & Wilson 2012; Boehner et al. 2005; Chasten 2001). It is imperative that rape culture and institutional sexual assault responses be analyzed comprehensively, observing social behavior in context and de-centralizing

official reporting. Qualitative studies of RCCs and the institutions with which they interface can address the "how and why" of sexual abuse both institutionally and culturally. Rebecca Campbell and Sharon Wasco, for instance, discussed this in their 2005 analysis of sexual assault methodology. While acknowledging that descriptive statistics of sexual assault are foundational, Campbell and Wasco assert it is time to push the study of sexual assault forward, "to move from prevalence to prevention" (2005: 129). In Ireland, one of the few large-scale studies of sexual abuse concluded the need for deeper analysis of "worrying" social trends (McGee et al. 2011: 102). This work aims to contribute to this growing demand in the field of sexual assault research.

E. DISSERTATION OVERVIEW

In this dissertation, there are six chapters, including this introduction and theoretical framework, a review of the existing research, the methods, three findings chapters, and a conclusion chapter. The three findings chapters address how sexual assault response and rape culture are impacted by gender, nationalism, and State power. In the first findings chapter, I propose that the systemic responses to sexual assault be seen as organizational complexes. In proposing that victims of sexual violence are medically and legally commodified, I draw distinctions between the two countries' institutionalization of RCCs. In doing so, I highlight how both countries' gendered nationalist and economic forces influence their treatments of sexual abuse. More specifically, the U.S. rape institutional procedure displays de-gendered neoliberalism while Ireland has fully integrated traditional gender roles into their welfare capitalist response procedures, amounting to a transnational negation of structural gender analysis. To illustrate this mechanism, I point to the changeover within the U.S. RCC from a bottom-up, volunteer-led hotline, to a top-down staff-organized, direct-response service. Regarding Ireland, I describe the impact of absorbing RCCs into the public healthcare system.

While my first findings chapter explores how RCCs fit into sexual assault response complexes, my second findings chapter addresses how this institutionalization creates a vacuum wherein rape culture permeates both culturally and organizationally. To illustrate this, I use the treatment of sexual harassment within RCCs to examine how institutionalization is enacted within the organizations, detaching advocates from larger anti-rape movements. As players fully integrated into the institutional sexual assault response complex, I demonstrate how both RCCs replicate patriarchal structures and gender ideologies in their treatment of staff. Adding to the innovative literature on tactics used by rape victims to empower themselves within legal systems, I show that advocates also strategically navigate institutional difficulties to maintain their connection to the anti-rape movement and sexual assault victims. Although these negotiations occurred within both centers, the organizations' responses to these were considerably different. More specifically, in response to resistance from advocates, the U.S. RCC routinely wielded economic security and messages of advocate disposability to quash dissent. When conflict arose at the Irish RCC, management reaction was inconsistent, switching between silence and managed spaces for dialogue. As such, this chapter extends the current scholarship that views RCC institutionalization as the anti-rape movement's reluctant concession to political and economic forces. This institutional support has developed into as a management tool used to suppress advocate power within the RCC.

The final findings chapter engages current feminist criminological work on the intersectionality of social justice movements, both structurally and politically. I point to the areas where diversity is given "lip service" by the RCCs, where inclusion efforts prioritize dominant identities, and competition is fostered between social justice organizations. I investigate the inconsistent engagement with racial oppression in both centers, especially focusing on the framing of African Asylum Seekers at RCWI, and tokenization of Latinas and post-racial erasure

of racialized sexual myths at WERA. I also push the tensions of RCC institutionalization further by addressing the lack of political intersectionality within the RCCs.

Both Irish and U.S. criminal legal systems have routinely re-traumatized victims and failed to reduce sexual violence, and yet rape crisis organizations align with institutional power. I connect colonial histories to the perpetuation of sexual abuse and other forms of dehumanization, including the carceral state. Applied to sexual assault response, institutional failures protect patriarchal constructions of gender, propagate State paternalism, and endorse nationalized racism and xenophobia. The acceptance of State solutions to sexual assault has rendered contemporary victim advocacy organizations complicit in the inequality and dehumanization inherent within governmental systems.

My conclusion chapter addresses the utilization of hegemonic systems of oppression within anti-rape movements as antithetical to the founding goals of crime prevention. This places RCCs in an incongruous and self-defeating space between feminist and carceral solutions. I discuss how the advocates are caught between the transformed organizational missions and their own field experiences. I build from critical criminological theory that details how the carceral system functions as intended: failure to reduce crime serves those in power (Reiman & Leighton 2013). RCCs have become fundamental players in profiting from, not preventing, sexual abuse. I argue that institutional sexual response and rape culture are best understood using transnational conceptions of gendered nationalism. In the U.S, RCC institutionalization condones the State exploitation of anti-rape messaging to justify mass incarceration. In Ireland, sexual assault has been pathologized as a mental health issue and marginalized as the last governmental priority.

This research extends the current scholarship on the institutionalization of modern anti-rape movements, revealing that anti-rape organizations use institutional power to entrench hierarchical structures. Where RCCs were once the location of anti-rape activist organizing,

advocates now face marginalization for such involvement. As established rank-and-file elements of sexual assault response complexes, RCCs are both condoning and reconstructing the racism, colonialism, sexism and individualization that cause sexual abuse. Incarceration is not embraced as an Irish sexual assault solution, as collective welfarism is contradicted by incarceration. However, the comparable rates of Asylum Seekers within government confinement indicate that racialized confinement is also a nationalist practice in Ireland. As a result, Irish RCCs may find themselves similarly positioned to support a racially oppressive system of confinement.

Feminist scholarship is methodologically obligated to advance social transformation. Therefore, the preference of dominant sexual abuse research towards further integration into the criminal legal system raises important questions regarding this requirement of feminist epistemology. How do we fulfill our obligation as feminist researchers to work for social change when incremental reforms reinforce systems of oppression? Building from the framework of reproductive justice movements, I propose that anti-rape organizing within RCCs must embrace an anti-rape justice framework that addresses issues of reporting and institutionalization, as well as political intersectionality through racial justice. I assert that feminist criminology must interrogate the ways institutional responses to sexual abuse contribute to mass incarceration and social injustice, specifically focusing on the globalization of this complicity. As leaders in gender-based crime scholarship as well as victim-offender identities, the feminist criminological framework is best equipped to deconstruct the paradox of supporting the criminal legal system through victim services. I believe my dissertation has effectively accomplished this goal.

CHAPTER II: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I discuss the extant literature on sexual abuse that informs the study of rape cultures. I draw upon three elements of cultural sexual assault response to contextualize the analysis in the U.S. and Ireland: rape cultures, anti-rape movements, and rape crisis centers. I approach these concepts from a historical and contemporary perspective that builds a context of the issues in both countries. Taken together, this chapter establishes a background from which I build my transnational ethnographic findings from Irish and U.S. RCCs.

B. RAPE CULTURE

Rape culture, as defined by Buchwald, Fletcher, and Roth (2005), is a culture that normalizes masculine sexual aggression and abuse. Maria Bevacqua's (2009:9) conceptualization of rape culture addresses the multiple avenues of influence within such a culture: "In a rape culture, sexual assault is tolerated, violent and sexual images are intertwined, women are blamed for being raped, sexist attitudes prevail, and male sexual privilege goes unquestioned." Important to Bevacqua's definition are the aspects of gender (sexism and sexual privilege) that are not overtly related to sexual assault in a manifest sense. Further, this conceptualization of rape culture encompasses multiple institutions, implicating the legal system and the media, as well as the broader culture. Martha R. Burt (1980) similarly cited gender construction as conducive to rape culture in her classic article "Cultural Myths and Supports for Rape," listing sexual conservatism, adversarial sex beliefs, and acceptance of interpersonal violence as comprising a rape-supportive culture. Similar to the concept of rape culture is Sheffield's (1987) term *sexual terrorism*, which she conceptualizes as being comprised of

ideology, propaganda, violence, voluntary compliance, and the perception of the terrorist and the terrorized. Thus, rape culture is when society condones sexual abuse, including the construction and dissemination of a problematic narrative, adherence to such attitudes (including perceptions of the perpetrators and victims of sexual assault), as well as the actual acts of sexual abuse.

The very idea of a rape culture is highly contested. Popular explanations of sexual assault hinge on the "uncontrollable" biological urge of males to have sex with females (Ellis et al. 2009; McKibbin et al. 2008; Thornhill & Palmer 2000), explain rapists as having psychological issues (American Psychiatric Association 2013; Stern 2010; Knight 2009), and/or describe sexual assault criminologically as a crime of opportunity (Spivak 2011; Tewksberry et al. 2008). These explanations often use gender as a variable, but not as an overarching framework. In the 1970s and 1980s, feminist scholars began to describe how the social treatment of women caused sexual abuse, combatting biological and psychological theories aimed at pathologizing sexually violent behavior. According to feminist law scholar Catherine MacKinnon (1989), the objectification of women's sexualized bodies is the cause of sexual abuse. "To be sexually objectified means having a social meaning imposed on your being that defines you as to be sexually used, according to your desired uses, and then using you that way" (140). If women are seen in a society as objects to be used, epidemic levels of sexual assault are to be expected.

The construction of a rape culture is predicated on the manifestation and permeation of cultural myths about rape. Cultural myths are defined by three common characteristics: they are false beliefs that are widely held, they explain an important cultural phenomenon, and they serve to justify current cultural arrangements (Lonsway & Fitzgerald 1994). Cultural myths are deeply functional for a social environment. Kappler and Potter (2004:2) explained this functionality: "while myths seem to *explain* events, they more often *instruct* us on how to integrate an event

into our belief systems and worldviews." With these developed understandings, framings are applied to social problems without having to reevaluate the specific circumstances of an individual incident. Rape myths follow the pattern of cultural myth creation in their form and application. In her aforementioned study of rape myths, Martha Burt defined rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists- [that create] a climate hostile to rape victims" (1980:217). Scholars view these rape myths as synonymous with these rape-supportive stereotypes (Lonsway & Fitzgerald 1994).

Typical rape myths form two distinct approaches: myths that blame the victim and myths that forgive the perpetrator. Victim-blaming myths center around the idea of consent: that women can resist or avoid being raped, that women secretly desire rape, that certain dress or behaviors cause women to bring rape upon themselves, such as "victim precipitation," or denying a rape as "rape" (Suarez & Gadalla 2010; Peterson & Muehlenhard 2004; Lonsway & Fitzgerald 1994; Burt 1980). If a woman's claim is not socially (as opposed to legally) viewed as rape, it may be due to the social definition of what rape, and/or adherence to such common rape myths such as women frequently falsely report rape, and women later lie about consensual sex due to having "been jilted or hav[ing] something to cover up" (Burt 1980: 217). Similarly, Susan Brownmiller (1975) addressed the latter myth within her breakthrough book on the pervasive sexual abuse of women, *Against Our Will*: "that the cry of rape is merely the cry of female vengeance in postcoital spite" (228). In contrast to victim-blaming myths, perpetrator-sympathetic myths are comprised of ideas about the character of the perpetrator: that he would never rape somebody because he is a "nice person," that he (or men generally) cannot help themselves ("sexual motivation"), and/or that the rape is not the epidemic feminists claim it to be (Suarez & Gadalla 2010; Lonsway & Fitzgerald 1994).

Rape myths work to silence survivors and discourage reporting, but they also reify rape culturally and understandings of gendered (sexist) sexuality. The systematic victim-blaming pervasive within most rape myths, protects perpetrators by displacing the blame from the rapist to the victim (Lonsway & Fitzgerald 1994). More insidiously, feminist scholars have also suggested that rape myths function to maintain social control and patriarchal power over women (Mardorossian 2014; MacKinnon 1996; Burt 1980; Brownmiller 1975).

Rape myths function to create parameters of who "counts" as a victim and what "counts" as rape. While sexual assault convictions are rare in both of the countries in this dissertation, both claim to be fervently against sexual abuse. Conceptualizing sexual assault is central to understanding this dissidence. The type of sexual assault that has remained consistently criminalized in both countries is violent rape by a stranger, which has been legally distinguished as "forcible" rape (U.S.) or "aggravated rape" (Ireland). This rape typology has also generated such labels as the "perfect victim" or "real rape" (Hanly et al. 2009; Anderson & Doherty 2008; Fisher et al. 2003; Estrich 1988). The *perfect victim* construct serves as an "ideal" type of survivor, a chaste woman who was savagely violated by a stranger. This conception of the "true" rape victim minimizes and denies the vast majority of rapes (and their victims) given that violent stranger rape occurs in only 8 to 10 percent of sexual abuse cases, a statistic consistent in both the U.S. and Ireland (Belknap 2010; Macy et al. 2010; Hanly et al. 2009; Estrich 1988).

By definition, cultural myths are not fact-based. As such, the idealization of violent sexual assault permeates cultural consciousness, whereby rape myths are "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald 1994:134). This was evident in Amy Chasteen's (2001) study of women's perceptions of sexual assault, finding that women

consistently overestimated the rates of stranger rape in the U.S. Similarly, Karen Weiss (2011) found that rape victims used the hierarchy of "real" rape constructed by rape myths to neutralize and invalidate their own rape victimizations, feelings, and injuries. Creating a hierarchy of rape sympathy by typology minimizes or even invalidates non-violent and non-stranger rapes, thus nullifying the majority of rape survivors. Given that non-strangers commit the vast majority of rapes (see Fisher & Cullen 2000 for a review), such assumptions foster an environment that claims to be against rape while condoning the majority of actual sexual assaults. As Kimberly Lonsway and Louise Fitzgerald (1994) wrote in their theorizing about rape myths: "Isolated incidents that are in accordance with the myths tend to be widely publicized. The vast majority of rapes that contradict the myths, however, are overlooked" (135). The "perfect" victims or stereotypical stranger rapes, no matter how rare, are culturally highlighted, as are false rape accusation. Meanwhile, the vast majority of non-stranger assaults, the frequency and circumstances of which challenge hegemonic power structures, are invalidated.

False accusations are an important example of the rippling effect of individual cases and manifestation of rape mythology. As Joanne Belknap wrote in her 2010 discussion of rape reporting, "[d]etermining whether rapes are 'real' is intensely entangled in rape myths that blame victims, excuse rapists, and erroneously support that false rape claims are a common problem" (1335-1336). The idea that men are frequently falsely accused of rape is a common rape myth following the logic of "she's making it up/she's lying/that wasn't rape." Scholars have tied the fear of false accusation to the fact that historically, the accusation of rape was the sole power women had that men did not have (e.g., Brownmiller 1975).

Laws in both the U.S. and Ireland have changed since the 1970s so that victims and perpetrators can be any sex/gender. The fervent interrogation of victims, emphasis of the rare

victim recantations, and allegiance to perpetrator sympathy remain consistent with this still gender-based abuse (primarily women/girl victims and men/boy perpetrators), and serve to protect men and the patriarchy from the possibilities of women's/girls' "unique power" to charge men and boys with rape.

1. United States Sexual Assault and Rape Culture

In the U.S., the passage and attempts at reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act have proven to be instances of heterosexist, sexist, and racist political rhetoric towards victims of gendered abuse. Ortega and Busch-Armendariz argue that such resistance to legal reform is indicative of the "cultural acceptance of violence against women" (2013: 225). The election of President Donald J. Trump in 2016 is similarly revealing of social attitudes towards violence against women. Trump won the Electoral College despite the pre-election release of a 2005 tape where he advocated for sexual assault, infamously boasting that he could "You can do anything- grab them by the pussy. You can do anything" (Fahrenthold 2016). The election served as acceptance of either sexual assault perpetration or Trump's justification of the tape as "locker room talk." Either explanation reveals the normalization of sexual assault in cultural discourse.

Historically, sexual assault was treated as a property crime: a crime committed against the man who was in ownership of the victim: be that her husband, or her father (Belknap 2007; Brownmiller 1975). Even this rudimentary construction of rape was far from universal: During U.S. slavery, the rape of a slave woman was a legal act (Davis 1981). It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that awareness of the pervasiveness of sexual abuse became culturally understood in the U.S., moving away from the conception of rape as the typical violent, stranger rape and towards a more accurate understanding of sexual abuse as a normalized part of women's lives

(Warshaw 1988; Sheffield 1987). Far from a rare and unique tragedy, as Catherine MacKinnon wrote: "…rape is indigenous, not exceptional, to women's social condition" (1989:172).

Sexual assault is the most underreported crime in the U.S. (Edlin et al. 2000), with at least 90 percent of all sexual assault not being reported to the police, and closer to 95 or 98 percent of sexual assault of college women not being reported (Belknap 2010; Fisher et al. 2003). Among cases that are reported, only 0.2 to 2.9 of 100 forcible rapes result in a felony conviction (Lonsway & Archambault 2012). "Forcible rape" is a very limited measure of sexual abuse (Belknap 1999), and in 2012 the FBI changed the definition of sexual assault in the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) from forcible rape of a female to a far more inclusive definition that does not require the use of force (Biere et al. 2014). It is therefore seemingly counterintuitive that research has established that the majority, from 91 to 60 percent of victims, knows their attacker(s) (Lawyer et al. 2010; Fisher et al. 2000).

The reasons for the non-reporting trends within sexual assault victimization are related to larger rape culture in society. Multiple U.S. institutions have been found to mistreat victims in ways unique to sexual abuse cases in what has been termed "the second rape" (e.g., Campbell et al. 2001; Madigan & Gamble 1991). Hospital staff and police have been found to underestimate the negative impact they had on rape victims, which can have significant mental health consequences for victims (Campbell 2005). In several studies, victims describe service providers as distrusting, victim blaming, and disinterested (Greeson & Campbell 2011; Campbell 2005). During interactions with the police, victims report feeling attacked, misunderstood, judged and shamed and many victims reported apathetic police responses that left the survivors to handle their cases themselves (Campbell 2008; Maier 2008; Martin & Powell 1994). Legally, the mistreatment and distrust of such victims, as well as rape-apologist attitudes have been found to

be judicial attitudes unique to sexual assault cases (Belknap 2010). As a result, sexual assault cases have low prosecution and conviction rates, and victims are often left holding the blame for their assaults (Lonsway & Archambault 2012; Belknap 2010). The majority of sexual abuse victims are effectively silenced by the prioritization of cases that function to verify the perceived validity of preexisting public sentiment. Not surprisingly, rape victims have been found to be more likely to report to the police if their rapes were perceived as more "believable" or aligned with the construct of the "stranger" rape (Fisher et al. 2003; Littleton & Axom 2003).

Adherence to the myth that women frequently make false charges of rape likely perpetuates the low conviction rates for sexual assault cases. The frequency of false accusations is much lower than it is commonly believed to be: Studies have found that the actual rate of false accusations falls within a range of 0.005 to 2.0 percent (Belknap 2010; Lonsway et al. 2007). It is statistically far more likely that a woman would not report a rape than falsely claim one.

In her discussion of false accusations, Raphael (2008) found that media sources repeatedly used a statistic indicating that half of rape accusations are proven to be false. This assertion was later found to be baseless, and these media outlets retroactively offered retractions. Despite these admissions, the information became widespread "fact." Such misinformation validates the belief of those who view any failure to convict an allegation of sexual assault as evidence of a false accusation, as "people often use the term unfounded to mean false" (Raphael 2008:371). These myths persist despite research documenting that sexual assault non-convictions are more likely to be caused by inaction or mistreatment by the police (Lisak 2007), victim recantations due to negative media attention (Belknap 2011), fear of retaliation, and other outside forces (Raphael 2008). Raphael further suggests that this misleading of the public may be intentional, as "commentators appear to be waging an organized attack to fuel incredulity

regarding reports of sexual assault, especially those committed by someone known to the victim" (374). Nickie Phillips (2017) addressed these attempts to diminish the experiences of victims in her book *Beyond Blurred Lines*. Through documentation of the concept of rape culture, Phillips discussed how the public discourse on rape culture transformed into renewed focus on false accusations, which shifts institutional responsibility for their treatment of sexual assault.

Given the hypermasculinity (Davis et al. 2006) and violent histories (Jenkins 2007) inherent in culturally popular sports, some scholars argue that sexual abuse of women by athletes is normative, common, and expected (Messner 2002; Kaufman 1987). This holds true regarding gang rapes committed disproportionately by male sport teammates compared to males who do not participate in a team sport (Humprey 2000). Despite the higher proclivity for rape by male athletes (compared to non-athletes), case after case of high-profile sexual assault is dismissed, as seen in the Kobe Bryant and Duke Lacrosse cases (for more information, see Belknap 2010). When these allegations of sexual assault are dropped, it is often because of death threats, taunting, and victim-blaming attitudes from fans of those sports teams, or the larger culture in general (Belknap 2010). For athletes, the aforementioned rape supportive attitudes create an air of invisibility, as they continue to succeed and even gain sympathy from a false-accusation fearing public (Kimmel 2008). When an emblem of nationalist pride rapes victims, their bodies are disregarded, stories distrusted, and physical safety threatened.

2. Irish Sexual Assault and Rape Culture

As in the U.S. case, Irish victims of adult sexual assault often face an intense rape culture. This culture functions in two ways: through the negative treatment of the victim with the simultaneous support of the perpetrator. In their study of rape in Ireland, Hanly and his colleges (2009) divide rape culture into the utilization of common rape myths about victims and about

perpetrators. For victims, the central myths are about victims' likelihood to launch false rape accusations, as well as requiring the victims' experience be consistent with the almost unattainable standard of "real rape" (19). For the perpetrator, rape myths take the form of culturally accepted rape supportive attitudes, which simultaneously provide sympathy to the perpetrator and withhold compassion for the victim based on circumstances of the abuse event and/or inflation of the victim's agency (Hanly et al. 2009). In this way, within the Irish rape culture, *victims* are stigmatized and shamed, while perpetrators are rarely held accountable.

With respect to child sexual abuse, both the U.S. and Ireland were primary sites of the child sexual abuse scandals that rocked Catholic diocese throughout the world in the late 20th Century (McGee et al. 2011; Terry 2008; Smyth 1995). In light of the scandal in the Catholic Church, child sexual abuse has received increased public attention throughout Ireland, while more prevalent forms of sexual abuse have not received as much attention. Moreover, one Irish study concluded that while the prevalence of child sexual abuse is decreasing, the prevalence of adult sexual abuse has been substantially increasing since 1950 (McGee et al. 2011).

Six percent of Irish rape cases are reported to the police (McGee et al. 2011). Due to pervasive rape-supportive attitudes, the attrition rate in the prosecution of rape is higher than for other crimes, and victims are viewed as culpable for their assaults (Kelleher & McGilloway 2009; Regan & Kelly 2003). In Ireland, the conviction rate for sexual assault is 1 to 2 percent of cases. This rate is not only the lowest for all of the European nations, but it is also getting worse: sexual assault conviction rates have decreased seven percent since 1981 (Regan & Kelly 2003).

Not only are Irish conviction rates the lowest in the E.U., but the prosecution of sexual assault cases has been simultaneously declining: from an average of two-thirds of cases in the 1970s, to one-third of cases between 1998-2000 (Regan & Kelly 2003). Moreover, while the

Irish prosecution and conviction of rape cases has declined, there has been an increase in officially reported sexual assaults (Regan & Kelly 2003). The long delays in sexual assault court proceedings correspond with a negative impact on the victims in the judicial system (Regan & Kelly 2003). Current Director of Public Prosecution (DPP) policy does not require prosecutors provide a reason for dropping cases, leaving many victims without answers. Kelleher and McGilloway (2009) found that this DPP policy has resulted in legal personnel's use of common cultural stereotypes and myths within the criminal legal system. One medical provider of rape kits noted that perhaps the legal system was actually worse than nothing: "[the criminal legal system], it's horrendous… maybe the fortunate ones are the ones who don't go to court" (Kelleher & McGilloway 2009:299).

Scholars have documented a decreasing interest in the Catholic Church over recent years, and attribute this change to disillusionment after the Church's serious of sex abuse scandals during the 1990s (Keenan 2011; Smyth 1994). The discovery of extensive sexual abuse within the Catholic Church called the moral authority of the Church into question for many Irish people. Whereas the Church had once been socially infallible, during the sex abuse scandal criticism of both the abuse and the handling of it became common. "Priests had lost their sacred status and would have to pay the price of their criminal actions, like everyone else. The Church was just another institution within the state, and just as accountable" (Smyth 1994:32). This social dissatisfaction with the Church was especially exacerbated by their silence on the abuse allegations. "Remarkably, during the playing out of the crisis, the Catholic Church offered no account or explanation or anything at all…The hierarchy said as little as possible…about the sexual about of children by clerics more generally" (Smyth 1994: 30).

The impact of the sexual abuse scandal served as a critical moment of social questioning of the Catholic Church's role in Irish culture, especially with regards to the ability of the Church to make moral judgments with such a double standard being exposed (Keenan 2011). This had particular implications for Catholic prescriptions of gender and sexuality: "As revelations about the moral double standards and sexual crimes of its priests are made public, the traditional role of the Church in policing sexuality is inevitably discredited" (Smyth 1994: 32). While the Church came under unprecedented criticism during the sex abuse scandals, it remains a powerful institutional force in Irish society, although citizens grow "ever more disillusioned" with the revelations about abuses of power (Bacik 2013:20).

A 2012 study of the Irish media's discourse surrounding sexual victimizations found that if the defendant's family had social capital, the sexual assault victim was treated as a threat to the public honor of the alleged perpetrator and his family (Inglis & MacKeogh 2012). Moreover, in cases where victims were childless wives or unwed mothers, the media consistently portrayed them as sexually insatiable gender-role violators: "They were depicted as having profaned the sacredness of Irish motherhood. In doing this it was intimated that they had violated not just the teachings of the Church, but the honour of the nation" (78). Thus, there was an intricate and overlapping relationship between the Catholic Church and the media, in terms of these victims' sexual victimization being perceived as their sexual contamination, threatening the social order. Although their study suggests that the influence of Catholicism may be declining in some respects, it also reveals that while the source of nationalism may change, it remains consistently reliant on the subjugation of women's bodies.

C. ANTI-RAPE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

1. United States Feminist Movements

In what is often called the "second wave" of feminism, within the United States, mainstream women's activism re-emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, stressing sexual autonomy (see Gornick et al. 1985). When the importance of sexual autonomy emerged, so did the devastating rate of sexual abuse amongst women in U.S. society. Rape had historically been conceptualized as a rare event that occurred to a few women by psychologically deranged strangers. It was not strangers, but loved ones, intimate partners and acquaintances, who were committing the majority of sexual abuse (Brownmiller 1975). When the first feminist research into sexual abuse began, with studies such as Russell's 1984 study of the prevalence of sexual abuse, many victims entered into public awareness for the first time. These hidden experiences were gendered: the vast majority of victims whose stories were missing were women and girls. Before the influx of these types of feminist research, women and girl victims were largely rendered invisible by research and institutions (Belknap 2007). With the new reality of sexual abuse being a common act committed by many men onto many women, it became an emerging cultural issue. Feminist theorists conceptualized rape as a behavior representative of gender relations within a patriarchy (MacKinnon 1989; Sheffield 1987; Brownmiller 1975).

One fundamental issue within the second wave of feminism in the United States centered on the politics of space. Women's health and sexual autonomy were tied to institutions controlled by men: doctors, psychologists, and husbands. As the personal became political, women's ownership over their bodies came into focus. Mainstream feminists demanded acknowledgement of the connection between public institutions and private issues. With this,

women's own bodies transformed into the site of women's sexual health and practice, removing the essential need for care by conventional doctor and medical institutions (Eke 2007).

Women began to create meeting spaces to organize and socialize within, free of sexual harassment. Simultaneously, feminists also fought against laws and policies that kept women away from public spaces or that banned lesbian assembly (Enke 2007). By the 1970s, women's spaces were seen as a feminist priority: "most feminist-identified women -straight and bisexual as well as lesbians- unapologetically promoted separate space in which to organize, socialize, dance, teach, learn, and develop new skills, authority, and autonomy from men" (Enke 2007: 10). Women began gathering publicly to talk about private matters. Such meetings disrupted heteronormative conceptions of public and private, both in the definitions of space and sexuality (Enke 2007). By prioritizing women's spaces and bodily autonomy while challenging the privatization of sexuality, sexual autonomy became politically relevant in the U.S. As mainstream feminists claimed their sexual and bodily autonomy, the first RCCs began to emerge.

After this uprising, the meanings around "women's space" came under threat. Feminist spaces began to frequently be labeled by anti-feminists as lesbian spaces, suggesting the women within the spaces advocated for a type of separatism from which liberal feminists began to distance themselves (RADICALLESBIANS 1997). The policing of women's sexuality has been a historically effective and transnational tool for fragmenting activism and controlling women.

The establishment of bodily autonomy was fundamental for the progression of feminist theory, but the issues were riddled with issues of unexamined privilege. Within the U.S, mainstream liberal feminists often claimed to represent all women, while including only the voices of elite white women (Alexander & Mohanty 2010). Such a conceptualization of feminism and feminist spaces worked to exclude many women, most often women of Color or

with low socioeconomic statuses (Crenshaw 1991; Davis 1981). Criticisms poised at Western

feminists from abroad were also a reality for marginalized activists. Which women belong

where? Who is actually being represented in claims of "universal womanhood"?

While white feminists were combatting constructions of women's sexuality as private

and sacred, women of Color had not experienced the same struggle to make their bodies publicly

relevant. Hegemonic femininity was constructed as "a sphere totally severed from the realm of

productive work," while this had never been true for Black women (Davis 1981: 12). As Enke

(2007) explained, "the 'privacy' of a woman's body depended on privileges of race, class, and

sexuality" (180). Women of Color had been struggling with the racialized and gendered

exploitation of their bodies in the public setting for centuries before the second-wave feminist

movement to bring awareness to (white women's) sexual assault (Tillman et al. 2010; Hill

Collins 2005; Davis 1981; Moraga & Anzaldúa 1981). Angela Davis (1981) also cited historical

racism as foundational to the U.S. societal treatment of rape. Historically, slave women were

"breeders," whose value could be calculated based on their reproductive ability, "an

uncamouflaged expression of the slaveholder's economic master and the overseer's control over

Black women as workers" (7). It was the sexual degradation of Black women slaves that founded

white men's realization of their immunity from facing prosecution for rape. According to Davis,

it was only after realizing the extent of their legal invulnerability that white women also became

targets of widespread sexual abuse by white men. For women of color, sexual exploitation was

not hidden behind the walls of a home: their exploitation was, and had always been, part of the

colonial and national structure.

Despite the complexity emerging from scholars of Color, mainstream feminism

continued to define the issues along the lines of the classic "spheres." Often, mainstream

feminists, largely white, would criticize women of Color for "choosing" race over gender, criticizing women of Color's hesitation to join the anti-rape movement or asking women of Color to defend the sexual abuse in their communities. Barbara Cameron discussed being interviewed by a white feminist and being asked to explain why Native American men were so sexist and violent, which she described as having "been manipulated as a sounding board for her ugly and distorted views about Native Americans" (Moraga & Anzaldúa 1981: 51).

Feminists of Color such as Barbara Smith and Beverly Smith addressed why systemic oppression for is different women of Color, explaining that unlike white women, women of Color share a common oppression with the men of their race. Therefore, they argue, the lesbian separatist movement was implicitly a white one (Moraga & Anzaldúa 1981), because women of Color did not separate from men the way white women did. Theorizing further, Beverly Smith suggested this separation of white feminists from men was caused by the patriarchy carried by white men: White women "had to separate themselves from white men to even have a fighting chance" (Moraga & Anzaldúa 1981: 121).

Shared racial oppression impacted the feminist theories of sexual abuse explicitly. Feminists of Color, distancing themselves from mainstream white feminism, cited the institutional racism implicit within discussions of rape as significant. Due to the historical use of false accusations to rationalize the lynching of Black men in the post-bellum U.S, feminists of Color discussed how Black women are differently protective of their community from the forces of racism and State violence (Hill Collins 2005; Davis 1981; Moraga & Anzaldúa 1981). For example, as Angela Davis critiqued in *Women, Race, and Class* (1981), Susan Brownmiller's groundbreaking work on the realities of rape was steeped in racist analysis of Black men as rapists, and did not dismantle the moral panic around the Black rapist myth: a myth that remains

socially relevant in rape mythology today. This protection was not just of Black men: the rapist myth also created the degradation of Black women's sexuality through painting all Black people as unrestrained sexually. As Davis wrote, "for the mythical rapist implies the mythical whore" (1981: 191). The controlling image of the hypersexualized Jezebel portrays Black women as promiscuous and not able to be raped, a method of rationalizing rape by slave owners: this continues in the 21st century through stereotypes such as "hoochies" and "hoodrats" (Tillman et al 2010; Hill Collins 2005).

Further, the trope of the Black rapist caused Black men to distance themselves from anti-rape movements, which feminist theorists cite as damaging to anti-oppression movements as a whole. In her analysis of the fight for suffrage, Davis (1981) discusses the importance the support of Black men during Black women's fight for suffrage (while being marginalized by white suffragists). This same support was not possible around sexual abuse. Due to the devastating impact of the myth of the Black rapist, Black women have historically been expected to keep silent about intra-racial sexual abuse for the good of the community (Hill Collins 2002; Pierce-Baker 1998). Crucial to the feminist understanding of sexual assault, feminists of Color also discussed how anti-rape movements must include anti-racist activism for social transformation to occur (Lorde 1984; Davis 1981).

2. Irish Women's Movements

Nationalism is frequently perceived as being in conflict with feminist goals, often based in a fear of cultural imperialism associated with Western feminism (Mohanty 2003). Still today, some activists within women's movements hesitate to embrace the term "feminist" (Mahon 2001). This distancing is a common occurrence in countries where feminism has come to be associated with Western imperialism and anti-nationalism (Alexander & Mohanty 2010). This

does not suggest that the Irish movement was not a feminist movement. As Evelyn Mahon (2001) wrote of the modern Irish activist: "While not all those in the women's movement necessarily describe themselves as feminist, feminist scholarship provided the ideas and concepts on which the movement was based" (2001: 677). Mahon detailed the two significant peaks in the modern Irish women's movement: one in the 1970s, heavily influenced by second-wave feminism in the U.S. and Northern Europe; and the other in the late 1990s with an increased discussion of abortion in Ireland.

The Irish women's movement in the 1970s was at times radical, with leaders such as Nuala Fennell proclaiming that in order to belong to the Irish women's movement, one had to be anti-government, anti-police, and anti-U.S. (Mahon 2001). While scholars describe disagreement between "left-wing socialists" and "middle-class women" in agenda-setting women's liberation (Ferriter 2008), the differences were not as vast as seen in other feminist movements. Even in the more radical groups, the issues tackled often remained under the umbrella of what is called "liberal feminism": a political agenda that is focused more on issues of economic and political equality than radical issues of patriarchal structures (Ferriter 2008).

In 1971, several different tenets of the Irish women's movement came together under the name of the Irish Women's Liberation Movement (IWLM) to publish a pamphlet, *Chains or Change: The Manifesto of Irish Women's Liberation Movement*. In this piece, activists listed specific demands for Irish women: equal pay; equal treatment by the law; equality in education; legal protection for abandoned wives, unmarried mothers, and windows; and the reform of unsanitary and unstable housing conditions (Ferriter 2008; Smyth 1988). The liberal agenda of the early Irish women's movement intentionally avoided touchstone issues such as abortion rights and sexual assault. While eventually the issue of contraception proved divisive for the

IWLM, the unified manifesto was effective in impacting the larger culture around women's rights (Mahon 2001). The women's movement and aforementioned manifesto were widely interpreted as radical and was widely protested, but through this the movement was given larger public exposure (Smyth 1988). While the issues within *Chains or Change* seem conservative within the current conceptualization of the women's movement in Ireland, Ailbhe Smyth (1988:335) argued that in their historical context, the issues raised were deeply controversial and impacted later activist efforts:

> The focus on the nuclear family, on "liberal" themes such as equal rights and educational opportunities, the low-key treatment of contraception and the absence of any reference to abortion, the lack of any analysis of sexuality or of sexual politics, these all seem surprising now in the 1980s. This in itself is an indication of the extent to which the Women's Movement has stimulated discussion and action in areas once considered unspeakable, it not unthinkable, and now taken for granted. In the Ireland of 1971, the I.W.L.M. manifesto was perceived as radical, challenging and deeply subversive of the status quo.

The mainstream women's movement continues to reflect the liberal perspective of the women's movement. Much of the discussion of Irish women's equality centers on the decades-long struggle to get more women elected, as the underrepresentation of women in politics has continued into the 21st century (Ferriter 2008; Reilly 2007). While the issues of reproductive rights and violence against women have since emerged in Irish public discourse, such topics remain quite contentious and unpopular (Ferriter 2008).

Despite this social hostility towards discussions of women's rights, spaces were created to help Irish women manage such issues. The first shelters for abused women emerged in 1974, and the first RCC was founded shortly after. Despite these advances, violence against women is not given the same cultural priority as the more liberal aims (Ferriter 2008).

D. RAPE CRISIS CENTERS

As gendered institutions operating within nationalist cultures, RCCs sit at the epicenter of the tension between cultural patriarchy and feminist transformations. RCCs provide victim support while existing as organizations that interact and mediate victims' relationships with larger institutional powers: often the very structures that construct and reify national identities. By interfacing with legal, medical and community systems, RCCs engage with many different institutional conceptions of how to intervene in sexual assault, negotiating various "institutional imaginaries of sexual violence" (Mulla 2014: 5) to serve victims and their communities. As such, RCCs have been heralded as both bastions of feminist progress as well as problematic results of the institutionalization of women's issues. RCCs are not only social service providers; but also present locations of ambiguous feminisms, contested institutionalization, and moral contradiction.

1. United States Rape Crisis Centers

The first RCCs began opening in the early 1970s in the United States during the second wave of feminism, predominantly in large metropolitan cities. From their inception, RCCs were feminist spaces: formed by activists for communities of women (Maier 2008; Enke 2007; Fried 1994). Carole Mardorossian (2002) discussed the conceptualization of victimhood during these formations: "In such a context [of the second wave], being a victim did not mean being incapacitated and powerless. It meant being a determined and angry agent of change" (767). RCCs created a space for activism by both victims and advocates, promoting the need for collective change and combating the stigmatization of sexual abuse victims (Enke 2007).

Contemporary RCCs provide many of the same services as the first centers did: a balance of victim services and prevention activism (Maier 2008; Byinton et al. 1991). Victim services typically include a hotline, free or discounted counseling, and assistance interacting with formal institutions in order to buffer secondary victimization (Ahrens et al. 2009; Campbell 2008). In one nationally representative sample of 168 RCCs, every organization included a hotline in their services, and 95 percent of the RCCs offered advocacy for interfacing with the police, legal system, and medical services (Campbell et al. 1998).

One important element of the research around RCCs is by assessing their effectiveness for the victims they serve. In one study of post-assault disclosures conducted by Ahrens, Cabral and Abeling (2009), 81.6 percent of victims reported having told at least one person about their assaults. Within those who disclosed, 43.7 percent of sample disclosed to counselors, who were rated by victims as providing the most healing and positive support of all the formal services (compared to medical and legal responses). Counselors were also viewed as providing high levels of tangible aid, along with low levels of negative responses. The impact of these disclosures is significant, as positive or negative reactions have been found to have a mediating effect on the development of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms (Ullman 2010, 1996; Campbell 2008). Multiple studies have found that RCCs are considered the most helpful type of post-assault service, as victims who engage with RCCs experience reduced distress compared to those who do not, including reductions in self-blame, distress, and PTSD symptomology (Ullman & Townsend 2007; Wasco et al. 2004; Campell et al. 1999).

This support has also been found to eliminate gaps in service delivery by other institutions in the sexual assault response complex. For example, in one study hospital staff had frequently refused to perform a rape examination if a victim had showered. Such

misunderstandings of protocol did not occur if a RCC advocate was present (Campbell et al. 2001). Of those who reported their assaults to the criminal system, the presence of a rape crisis advocate was found to increase the likelihood that the responding officer would take a report, and decrease negative treatment from the police as well as levels of emotional distress after reporting (Campbell 2006). While the larger cultural discourse of rape often distrusts women who hesitate to bring their case to the authorities, RCCs support their clients in making their own decisions around the involvement of formal institutions (Martin 2005; Herman 1997). Leaving the decision of institutional involvement to survivors allows for them to reclaim their agency over their lives and bodies, the agency fundamental to feminist ideology that the act of sexual abuse has temporarily removed (Greeson & Campbell 2011; Herman 1997).

While victims' reports of how advocacy impacted their recovery reveal the positive impact of RCCs, contradictions and limitations within RCC victim services are present throughout the literature. For example, barriers to RCC service have been found in many marginalized populations, including differences in urban and rural access (see Logan et al. 2005) and the LGBTQ community (see Long et al. 2007). While not facing structural gender oppression, studies have also problematized the marginalization of men from advocacy as well as victim services (Maier 2008; Enke 2007).

Additionally, several studies have determined that services in the sexual response complex often underserve victims of Color (Tillman et al. 2010; Campbell 2008; Martin 2005). Barriers to access for people of Color include both geographic and cultural obstacles: RCC location, cost, and availability of services are common issues, as well as the stigma against mental health services in some communities of Color (see Tillman et al. 2010; Matthews 1994). Research also reveals subtle racism or racial marginalization within many RCCs. Victims of

Color report feeling they were expected to cope with any racial aspects of their assault or treatment on their own, without the support of RCC staff (Enke 2007). The hesitancy of some RCCs to advocate on behalf of victims' marginalized racial identities corresponds with Campbell and her colleagues' (2004) study, in which victims of Color discussed RCCs as a space for white women: White victims and advocates alike. Victims of Color also report that white RCC staff often did not understand their needs, and as such were concerned about their agency and control when interfacing within RCCs (Martin 2005; Campbell et al. 2004; Matthews 1994).

RCC staff also report concerns with how their agencies may be perceived by victims of Color, and acknowledge the difficulties in accessing these victims (Macy et al. 2010). In one study of rape crisis advocates, Ullman and Townsend (2007) found that 24 percent of advocates spontaneously mentioned racism as a problem in rape crisis organizations. The manifestations of racism that these advocates mentioned included RCC giving lip service to antiracism without commitment, as well as a lack of trust of advocates of Color by white management. Confirming these findings, Macy and her colleagues discuss the concerns around the mistreatment of oppressed identities, and specifically racism. In the words of one person interviewed, "I think that racism is a pretty big issue in a lot of programs…I feel like I talk to people [everyday] who feel oppressed in programs mostly because of racism" (Participant, as quoted in Macy et al. 2010: 23). Barriers to access for victims from marginalized identities and the racist attitudes within the services themselves illustrate the complications in assessing RCC success.

Another important measure of the effectiveness of RCCs is their fulfillment of their missions. The missions of U.S. RCCs, however, have historically been quite nebulous. When RCCs were first established, they were not originally oriented on client services, but instead were often feminist grassroots organizations with multiple purposes (Enke 2007; Matthews 1994;

Gornick et al. 1985). The first centers rejected anti-feminist notions of bureaucracy and hierarchy in favor of community and collectivity (Maier 2011; Byington et al. 1991).

Within the present socio-political U.S. context, the defunding of social programs and continued glorification of free-market capitalism has greatly impacted RCCs. Anti-rape legislation has become increasingly "de-gendered" within public and political discourse (Beres et al. 2009). Just as the meaning of victimhood changed to empower women in the 1970s, it again changed in meaning. U.S. politics began to highlight the rights of victims of crime more generally, a category under which rape victims became subsumed. With this removal of the significance of gender to sexual abuse, sexual assault again becomes an individualized issue. Under the guise of austerity measures and increasing services for all crime victims, many governmental budgets have cut what little funding RCCs were receiving, repurposing these funds towards the expansion of victims' services bureaucracies (Beres et al. 2009).

As a result, contemporary RCCs have grappled with unprecedented underfunding. RCCs have begun to increasingly rely on donations and grants to keep their doors open, which can cause organizational decisions to be made based on the requests of their funders (Maier 2011; Beres et al. 2009). In a study by Ullman and Townsend (2007), 64 percent of advocates cited chronic underfunding as being a major barrier to services and RCC success. The prioritization of financial sponsors in place of community collaboration has resulted in what Wies and Coy (2011) call the "political economy of sexual violence victim care" (28), which has fostered RCC environments centered on constant competition for scarce resources.

Several scholars have connected such concessions to bureaucratic structuring to the depersonalization and disruption of the grassroots feminist nature of the RCC (Beres et al. 2009; Maier 2008; Campbell et al. 1998; Gornick et al. 1985). As Amy Fried (1994) discussed in her

case study of RCC subcultures: "[f]or some, rape crisis centers are social-movement organizations, dedicated to creating broad social change. Others see them as highly co-opted social service organizations, which are not particularly feminist in nature" (563). Byington and colleagues (1991) examined differences between the original "freestanding" RCCs, centers that were affiliated with publicly funded organizations and RCCs that were associated with private non-profit organizations (largely mental health centers). The authors determined that affiliation allowed for more financial stability, but came with trade-offs around prevention programming and activism. While financially unstable, freestanding RCCs were found to be most effective, especially around organizing for social change.

Contemporary U.S. RCCs are constantly navigating balancing the needs of survivors, the feminist movement, and their places within the larger bureaucratic mental health system (Campbell et al. 1998; Byington et al. 1991). While victim services are foundational to centers, it is often seen as a stopgap solution to a larger cultural problem, creating divergent interpretations of RCC achievement in the literature (Maier 2008; Matthews 1994; Byington et al. 1991; Gornick et al. 1985). Campbell and her colleagues (1998) investigated the charges of de-radicalization in RCCs, and discovered that while many RCCs were indeed still grounded in social activism, this activism presented differently than when centers were first established. Older centers were more likely to participate in public demonstrations and prevention education, while younger centers were more often active in political lobbying. The authors proposed that activism in the newer centers had not disappeared, but adapted to weather political climates in order to provide services for victims and continue a larger structural undertaking. Fried (1994) similarly delineated the tensions between the "politicized" and the "service" subcultures of RCCs, finding that while the differing approaches were often contentious, both contributed to

incremental shifts in the larger structure. This finding was replicated years later, with Maier (2008) determining that feminist identity has changed over time to fit more into the mainstream, and had to become less politically radical in order to continue being funded. Many of the advocates in her study expressed anxiety over the possibility of their RCC losing it's feminist mission by collaborating with the institutions they had abhorred. Once they did begin working together, Maier reported many RCC advocates felt the collaboration increased the influence of their organizations and created the opportunity to educate these vital spaces.

Several feminist researchers dismiss the debate over the political trajectories of feminist organizations as unproductive (Fried 2013; Enke 2007). In her work on the organizational treatment of rape victims, Martin (2005) views the debate over bureaucracy versus collectivism in feminist organizations as excessive, urges the focus be turned to what feminist organizations are doing that *is* working for women. Martin further discusses the impossible 'ideal type' of feminism that feminist organizations are often held against, and asserts that organizations should be measured in terms of the outcomes for women they provide. Noting the history of strictly regulated and exclusionary feminism, Enke (2007) proposes such debates may even cause the reification of oppression: "Ironically, by focusing inquiry on the self-identified feminist institutions that perpetuated themselves as feminist in space and over time, our histories may over-select for the more boundary-policing aspects of feminism" (256). Shana Maier's (2008) analysis of the role of feminism in modern RCCs exemplifies the importance of inclusive conceptualizations of the organizations. Maier found that while the majority of RCC directors identified their centers as feminist, they were often hesitant to use the label of feminism due to the possibility of alienating victims, advocates and funding sources. It is important that future research of RCCs continue to disentangle this conceptual separation between center and

feminism, for both increased inclusivity as well as longitudinal RCC understanding. While shirking the label of "feminist" may contradict many feminist researchers' understanding of RCCs, the negotiation of politics and funding clarify the rationale behind such distinctions.

2. Irish Rape Crisis Centres

There are thirteen RCCs throughout Ireland, the first of which opened in Dublin in 1979. During the first formative years of the establishment of Irish RCCs, there was no funding for the centres, leaving the few RCCs dependent on volunteers' use of their own cars, homes and telephones for supporting survivors (McKay 2005). Advocates met victims in public places to discuss resources when space was not available. In 1985, small grants were provided to some centres, which usually did not amount to more than £5,000 (about $7,600 USD) to pay for training, space, and publicity (RCNI 2015; McKay 2005).

Irish RCCs gained attention during the Catholic child sex abuse scandal, with many news outlets and research alike reporting increased utilization of their services as evidence of the crisis (Dublin Rape Crisis Centre 2014). While there is not currently any research on the utilization rates of Irish RCCs collectively, the Dublin Rape Crisis Centre's national hotline (which receives calls from throughout the country) has seen an increase from 76 calls in 1979 to 12,192 in 2013. In 2013, 78 percent of the calls were from women and 22 from men, with 0.4 percent of callers identifying as transgender. Ninety-six percent of the callers in 2013 were Irish nationals (Dublin Rape Crisis Centre 2014).

Financial cutbacks are common to both Ireland and the U.S. The Dublin Rape Crisis Centre (DRCC) discussed the impact of underfunding in their 2014 annual report, in which they discuss the success of the center despite a fifth consecutive year of governmental funding cuts. This largely impacted the wages of advocates in the centers, who have either had their salaries

frozen or cut by five to twenty percent (Dublin Rape Crisis Centre 2014). Additionally, RCWI's website cites budget cuts as the reason most educational programming is no longer offered.

Other than publications from the RCCs themselves, there has been only one study of RCCs or with RCC advocates in Ireland, conducted by Kelleher and McGilloway in 2009. In interviews with eighteen stakeholders who worked at Irish RCCs, advocates described rape culture, the persistence of victim shame and rape myths as barriers to treatment, and the need for educational and legal reform for victims of sexual abuse. There was no discussion of the interpersonal or psychological experiences of the participants themselves, as the focus of the study was on the social transformations needed with regards to the Irish cultural treatment of adult sexual assault.

CHAPTER III: THE METHODS

A. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I outline the research method of this transnational institutional ethnography. I first discuss my study design in the context of ethnographic, feminist, and transnational methods. I then address rape crisis centers as ethnographic sites, wherein I describe the development of this project and the RCCs that are the focus of this dissertation. Before presenting initial demographic data on the interview participants, I explore the types of data collected and how I analyzed this data for my findings chapters. Using a framework of transnational feminist methods, I conclude the chapter with a discussion of researcher reflexivity and limitations. Overall, this chapter facilitates an understanding of how I collected the data from which I base my findings, as well as the constraints of this research.

B. INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND FEMINIST METHODS

1. Institutional Ethnography

Ethnographic research creates thick description of social contexts (Geertz 1973). I established these contexts through participant observation as a victim advocate (U.S.) and intern (Ireland) and in-depth qualitative interviews with paid and volunteer staff at both sites. Institutional ethnographic methods are an effective framing for this institutional examination. First introduced by sociologist Dorothy Smith, who called institutional ethnographic methods "sociology she further describes this method as an approach that is *for* the people instead of *about* the people (Smith 2005:1). Moreover, the institutional ethnographic method specifically focuses on examining power structures through the viewpoints of those who participate within

them, as well as examining how individuals operate within the power structures they operate within (Smith 2005).

The layering of complex systems at work is needed when a concept such as rape culture is conceptualized and studied. Smith views institutional ethnography as an analysis of the interconnected relations of a wide range of social structures, including: "the corporations, government bureaucracies, academic and professional discourses, [and] mass media" (2005:10). Using this broad approach, I situate rape crisis centers (RCCs) as providing victim support within a system of institutions and cultural perceptions. These layers mediate victims' relationships with the RCC as well as larger cultural and institutional responses to sexual abuse.

Importantly, institutional ethnography allows for deductive extrapolation from individual-level interaction to systemic processes. Throughout my research, I alternate between focusing on the RCC advocates' individual-level experiences and system-level institutional analysis. This is one of the strengths of institutional ethnography. Smith explained that "[e]thnography may start by exploring the experience of those directly involved in the institutional setting, but they are not the object of investigation. It is the aspects of the institutions relevant to the people's experience, not the people themselves, that constitute the object of inquiry" (2005:38). Smith writes that through feminist methods, "system levels" are viewed as performed by *individuals* and can be extrapolated from this location: "Carrying ethnography beyond the locally observable is made possible both by the approach to work organization through the work knowledges of participants…Translocal forms of coordinating people's work are explored as they are to be found in the actual ways in which coordination is locally accomplished" (37). As such, the institutional ethnographic method allows for larger statements

across levels of analysis, including meso- and macro-level institutional interconnections, national identities, governmental policies, and geopolitical forces.

Using this process of ethnography, it is important to state that the sites within this study are not representative of all RCCs within their respective countries. Further, qualitative work is limited by restricted generalizability. The illustrative, thick description advantageous to ethnographic work limits the generalizability of any qualitative study, including the current work. While institutional ethnographic methods allow for the analysis of larger cultural processes, this is not to suggest that my findings represent all RCCs or SARCs within these cultures.

2. Feminist Methods

I designed my dissertation research using feminist theoretical perspectives and feminist research methods. Feminist research methods are defined as including a commitment to documenting hierarchal power structures (including within one's own research), using the knowledge and voices of those who have traditionally been marginalized from knowledge creation, and promoting social change based on these findings (Hesse-Bieber & Leavy 2007; Belknap 2007). These are all fundamental concepts in conducting research on sexual abuse, a topic that has been extremely marginalized from mainstream research, as well as legally and culturally missing in such research. Accordingly, the voices of those impacted by sexual abuse are of upmost importance within any research conducted on the topic, including the victim advocates at rape crisis centers (RCCs) who work and volunteer with them.

Transnational feminist methods provide an understanding of how hierarchal power structures, as well as the social location of the participants, influence the research. An allegiance

to transnational feminism frames my dissertation research with a reflexive understanding of power dynamics, centering of gendered issues, and advocacy for social change (Sampaio 2007; Ferree and Mueller 2006). Such an approach stands in contrast to the traditional universalizing narrative that claims "all women" share a common experience that drives the need for global advocacy (Mohanty 2003). It is with this awareness that I approach the research of sexual abuse transnationally and contextually. Victims of sexual assault do not share one monolithic experience. Just as no singular rape victim is representative of all rape victims, sexual assault responses in the U.S. do not represent sexual assault response globally. While the two centers at the core of this study are similarly not representative of all RCCs, they provide an illustration of the process within two culturally contextualized SARCs. This understanding is the core of my transnational approach.

The conceptualization of sexual assault provides an illustrative example of how I frame the current project using feminist research methods, particularly the importance of moving away from legal definitions of sexual assault. Criminal-legal classifications of sexual assault have historically been exclusionary and limiting, yet commonly used in academic research (Campbell 2002; Russell 1984; Brownmiller 1975). From the outset, the anger and determination behind sexual terrorism (Sheffield 1987) was what drove the mainstream feminist movement and created the counter-knowledge approach that formed early feminist theories of rape. In her book *Emotionally Involved: The Impact of Researching Rape*, Rebecca Campbell questions the "emotional accuracy" of academic studies of sexual assault. "There is nothing academic about rape...It has been made into a topic suitable for academic research. It has been cleaned up enough to pass muster within the academy" (Campbell 2002:116). Campbell discusses the difference between *thinking* rape and *feeling* rape. Thinking rape, she posits, provides distance and safety to

the researcher (2002). Such an approach, however, causes both research and victims to suffer, as emotional disconnection is both anti-feminist and limiting. In her analysis of survivor narratives in comparison to traditional definitions, Campbell (2005:113) clarified the significance of the importance of accurate, victim-oriented definitions:

> Contrast the language that is typically used to define rape- 'contact between the penis and the vulva'…with [rape narratives]. Survivors do not tell their stories with these words. The assaults are instead described primarily through feelings…less so by acts or events. Rape is what it feels like.

Numerous contemporary feminist theorists of sexual violence are calling for the re-establishment of emotion in analysis, especially advocating the use of anger in theory (e.g., Campbell 2002; Mardorossian 2002) Anger, some theorists claim, is what initiated the push for new definitions of sexual assault that were so effective during the second wave. This anger can be functional, and new theories of sexual assault need to balance both accuracy and emotion (Campbell 2002). Janet Jacobs (2004) discusses a similar feminist quandary researching genocide, and views feminist theory as needing to balance the distancing of the research with the dangers of over-empathizing with victims. Jacobs and Campbell agree that intellectual and emotional honesty and reflexivity can strengthen, not harm, research (Jacobs 2004; Campbell 2002).

In a response to calls to treat sexual violence more accurately, I document and use emotion in my research, consistent with my own experiences of the varied impacts of sexual abuse across geography, sexuality, gender, and age. This awareness drives my anger with the current systems (e.g., the hospital, police, and courts), as well as my hope to diminish rape culture and sexual abuse. These emotive reactions can be used in research, if used with deliberate care: "field researchers may use their own personal experience of events that please, shock, or anger them to identify matters worth writing about," as long as the ethnographer reflects on these feelings in order to "increase sensitivity to the experiences of others in the setting" (Emerson et

al. 1995: 27). Thus, I documented my feelings and emotions relevant to this research as I was conducting my data collection. I wrote extensive process notes documenting the experience of being a volunteer, supervisor, and a researcher conducting participant observation in both field sites (the U.S and Ireland). When I felt frustrated with certain RCC processes or decisions, I wrote about these experiences and emotions. Similarly, when I felt impacted or overloaded by certain cases or the sheer amount of work, I took notes. I found my anger and frustration manifested most frequently when navigating issues around victim suicidality and court trials, engaged in memo-writing (Emerson 2001) about these events and my corresponding emotions . These "feelings" writings provide important institutional data, allowing me to simultaneously contemplate my observations as a researcher, as well as my feelings as a volunteer in a space fraught with sexism, racism, classism, heterosexism, trauma, anger, sadness, silencing, minimization and other inequities.

Admittedly, including emotions in my field research may diminish the perceived "objectivity" of the study, but the goal of feminist research is social justice, not simply mainstream theoretical contribution. On the topic of these mainstream expectations, bell hooks asserts "[t]he value of feminist work should not be determined by whether or not it conforms to academic standards," but instead, "[i]f feminist writing and scholarship aim to promote and advance the feminist movement, then matters of style must be considered in conjunction with political intent" (2000:113). Feminist research must be grounded in the needs of the population it serves, and therefore the authenticity and accessibility of feminist research is prioritized alongside academic pursuits.

This research is grounded in social justice in multiple ways. First, I ensured that my participant observation was mutually beneficial to both RCCs. During the first two years in

which I was developing this project, I dedicated hundreds of hours of time to supporting the needs of both rape victims and the U.S. RCC organization. Although these hours served my research interests, my time on the hotline, often overnight and throughout entire weekends, is not included as part of my dissertation data. My interactions and direct support of victims, while formative to my understanding of rape crisis responses, are also not part of this study. At RCWI, the work that I did in fundraising, organizing, and writing specifically for the center also contributed to the larger mission of social justice. Second, I worked to ensure that my research design was interactive and purposeful for the advocates and RCC organizations. I asked the leadership at both RCCs if there were questions they would like me to include in the interview schedule, allowing me to meet their research needs, as well as my own. I plan to present and discuss this work with both RCCs, and have talked with the Board of RCWI about presenting my final results to them. I regularly give talks on self-care and rape culture in the larger community, including WERA trainings. Finally, each of my data/findings chapters and conclusion focuses on avenues for reform in institutional sexual assault responses and the implications of my findings for social justice. Each of my findings holds implications that could ameliorate many social injustices: rape culture, sexual abuse, and mass incarceration.

3. Ethnographic Role and Field Site Reflexivity

I worked to increase my reflexive awareness of the power dynamics within my research process and relationships. Naively assuming that my research is without a subjective frame could allow for the reification of problematic Positivist understandings of the social world by "allow[ing] the politics of knowledge production to proceed unmarked and unchecked" (Hawkesworth 2007: 128). The important aspects of my position within my research sites include my status within the RCCs and my subjective approach to the topic of sexual abuse.

In having a field site outside of my country of origin, my status as a foreign researcher and varying levels of group identification between field sites influenced my research. As Nagar speculated in her article "Collaboration Across Borders" (2003), reflexivity that addresses a researcher's personal identity and not their institutional and geopolitical privilege falls short. "If our goal is to transform the power hierarchies embedded in knowledge production, it is clearly not going to happen merely through a discussion of how we represent others and ourselves" (2003: 360). I made efforts to minimize the mistreatment of participants and misinterpretation of cultural contexts by being reflexive about my outsider status and researcher privilege. The outside investigation of a culture by a U.S researcher has historically fostered a dynamic that has been quite problematic and oppressive to colonized populations.

The U.S. came up quite frequently in my interactions with RCWI advocates. This was not surprising, given the postcolonial frameworks that frame the discursive relationship between the U.S. and Ireland. The impact of Western imperialism and the U.S. globally makes it impossible to completely disintegrate the two research sites (Hawkesworth 2006; Harvey 2003). Many conversations about the U.S. included a mention of mass shootings (the frequency of which was setting records during the summer of 2015) and Donald Trump, who was campaigning during both fieldwork periods. When the U.S. was brought into conversation, I was consistently open with my criticism of the government, politics, and violence there. My reasons for this were twofold: one, I was genuinely interacting with the advocates from my perspective and beliefs. Second, I was making an effort to present counter-knowledge to the standard imperialist narrative of U.S. exceptionalism.

It is also important to address the discrepancy in roles between field sites and possible influences on my research. I spent three years at WERA, and eight months at RCWI. While I

brought years of experience as a rape crisis advocate to RCWI, the limited nature of my time

there also constricted relationship building. My differing positionality in both locations has both

advantages and disadvantages. While an inside knowledge creates a certain depth of

understanding, it can also create assumptions through the creation of normalcy, [l]ong-term

participation dissolves the initial perceptions that arise…it blunts early sensitivities to subtle

patterns and underlying tensions" (Emerson et al. 1995: 13). In this way, there were some

advantages to my short time in a foreign space for research collection. As Hawkesworth (2006)

theorized in her discussion of evidence blindness in social research, social location can partially

restrict data collection: "Literally, one's group membership would make it impossible for one to

perceive certain evidence" (121). These identifications include historically specific racial and

class categorizations, as well as being a member of a formal organization such as WERA. I

worked to balance the beneficial aspects of the outsider perspective with awareness of the history

of mainstream feminisms attempting to speak for or on behalf of women they do not represent.

During my fieldwork at both centers, I developed personal friendships with many of

those who have been a part of the organizations. I took notes about how this relationship building

impacted my various roles, including how these bonds helped me as an advocate and how my

presence in the organization may have impacted the very organization being studied. On the

topic of the potential influence of an ethnographer on their field site, Robert Emerson and his

colleagues discussed "consequential presence," or reactive effects from the presence of a social

researcher and their impact on the space as not biasing data but instead a source of further

information (Emerson et al. 1995). While I would have had a different perspective on WERA

had I not been so deeply immersed as an advocate, the ethnographic method allows for the

acknowledgement of multiple subjective truths and realities based on one's experience in the field site (Emerson et al. 1995).

I found it important to take note of which advocates I became close with, and the possibility that their roles in the organization impacted my analysis. This was also discussed by Emerson and his collaborators in their discussion of ethnographic methods, as the selection and fostering of relationships is expected: "develop[ing] certain perspectives by engaging in some activities and relationships rather than others…exposing the ethnographer selectively to varying priorities and points of view" (1995: 3). Exemplifying this, I developed (and maintain) a close relationship with my first key informant and gatekeeper, a WERA staff member who left her position in late 2014. To keep track of how her friendship influenced my participant observation, I wrote memos on our friendship, especially during and after her departure from WERA. While I would have had a different perspective on WERA had I not built this friendship, the ethnographic method allows for the acknowledgement of multiple subjective truths and realities based on one's experience in the field site (Emerson et al. 1995).

4. Role Conflict and Sexual Victimization

The role conflict felt by sexual abuse researchers often moves into a tension between the researcher and the researched**.** Often, this conflict includes the researcher's own experiences with sexual assault: if not through personal victimization, than as an individual in a rape culture (Campbell 2002; Herman 1997). This overlap of roles is frequently addressed in studies of rape crisis staff and volunteers who have experienced sexual abuse themselves (see Herman 1997; Schauben & Frazier 1995). The impacts of survivorship on research are rarely discussed, which is surprising given the importance of reflexivity in feminist research methods. For instance, in her discussion of recruiting a research team, Campbell (2002) suggests researchers follow the

example of RCCs for volunteer recruitment. While some centers do not allow survivors to be volunteers, the policy of most centers is to have staff members discuss where survivor applicants are in their healing and preparation for such work before deciding on their applications. Such an approach is noteworthy when placed in the context of research on traumatic healing. Popular trauma theories, even feminist approaches, often discuss the need for victims to learn to manage their anger in order to find "true" healing while simultaneously describing recovery as a non-linear lifelong process (Herman 1997). The expectations around "healing" for research-survivors are surprisingly linear compared to the messages sent to survivors and participants. These expectations could create shame for the researcher who is triggered by an interview.

While there should be some safeguards around the circumstances of a survivor's healing in conducting research to avoid egocentric interviewer reactions during interviews (see Campbell 2002), the researcher-survivor demands further discussion in feminist methods. Triggers and self-care are often the remedies for survivors and advocates who face difficulties (Herman 1997); the same care should be promoted for survivors interested in sex assault research. Embracing recovery as a fluid, diverse process in my research process encompasses many of the fundamental elements of feminist research methods.

For sexual abuse researchers who, like me, are both sexual abuse activists and survivors, it is important to deconstruct this role tension. My dedication to the mission of ending sexual abuse is an emotional one, and such a "subjective" perspective is traditionally marginalized from positivist mainstream research. As a feminist ethnographer, I am aware an objective research perspective is not possible, no matter the life experiences of the researcher. I believe my personal experiences with sexual abuse contribute importantly to this study, as "a model of science that embraces not detachment but engagement as the road to knowledge" (Burawoy 1998: 5).

Feminist theory asserts that diverse experiences, "insider" experiences, can strengthen research. Campbell, in her discussion of the role of emotions in researching rape, discusses the benefits of emotional engagement and empathy at length (2002). Therefore, as a subjective participant and insider, there is two-fold benefit in bringing my sexual victimization into the research (for one powerful example of such survivor-research reflexivity, see Pierce-Baker 2000).

My experiences as a victim and as a secondary survivor[8] have influenced my approach to this research. The timing of my assault complicates the insider/outsider roles of my work. I had already begun my academic studies of sexual abuse when I was sexually assaulted. I do not study sexual assault *because* I was sexually assaulted, but I *was* sexually assaulted. I feel compelled to be open about my assault to reduce stigma and normalize the experience for others, and also feel that victimization can diminish the perception of research. As Joanne Belknap (2015) asserted in her discussion of activist criminology, "The inclusivity of scholars with diverse demographic characteristics and life experiences is vital for a broad criminological lens, and yet tokens in the academy are often viewed as inherently biased" (7).

I am frequently asked what drew me to study sexual assault and rape culture, and the answer always requires identity negotiation. I must navigate answering honestly and answering fully. The honest response is that it was my overlapping interests in gender, sexuality, crime, and power that first interested me in the field. The full answer includes disclosure of my insider status as a rape victim. During my first semester of graduate school, a professor asked me the aforementioned question. I answered honestly, but not fully. Unsatisfied, she then asked if I was a survivor. With some hesitation, I disclosed my victimization. This seemed to resolve an unanswered question for her, as she responded, "Oh, well that makes sense then." In that

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[8] A secondary survivor (U.S.) or supporter (Ireland) is the term for an individual who is supporting a loved one who has been sexually assaulted.

moment, I felt my other motivations had been dismissed as inauthentic. In her mind, my

victimization became my master status as a researcher. Learning from this positionality, in this

work I create space for an analysis that includes my subjective experiences without relying on

insider/outsider motivations. My experience illustrates that the reflexivity of sexual assault

researchers is more complicated than traditional binary understandings of survivor and non-

survivor.

My sexual assault has also had a direct impact on my research perspective and theoretical

framework. This assault is where my critical analysis of state responses to sexual abuse began.

As is the case for twenty percent of women who are sexually assaulted during college (Fisher et

al. 2016), I was in a relationship with the perpetrator of my sexual assault. I never considered

reporting him to the police. In the days after the assault, I confronted him about what had

occurred. He admitted to his actions, validated my experience, and apologized. Although we

broke up, we discussed what changes he had to make in his sexual behavior. As time passed, I

began to question my experience of the assault, which is common for rape survivors.

Traumatization and cultural attitudes towards rape frequently impact how victims process their

own assaults, often causing then to doubt their experiences and to question their interpretations

of their assaults (Weiss 2011). Seeking clarity, I contacted my perpetrator and asked for another

apology, which he gave in writing. When social attitudes towards rape were pushing me to

discount my experience, I received validation from the only other person who was there: my

perpetrator.

My perpetrator's accountability was healing for me, and I believe his apologies

minimized the lasting impact of the assault. This process also continues to influence my

approach to this research as critical of criminal-legal solutions. His documented confession

stands in contrast to the expected behavior of a defendant; it also combats the standard narrative for a rapist. Outside of the normative roles constructed for us by the adversarial judicial system, he was able to admit to his actions and his future sexual behavior was addressed. The system does not have room for such apology, understanding, or rehabilitation.

My experience with sexual assault also frames my approach to solutions and social justice. In many ways, this was a privileged experience. I am fortunate that I felt safe confronting my perpetrator, which is not a luxury that many victims have. What if an accountability process such as mine did not require such a privileged set of circumstances? What if the harm and sexual scripting of rape could be addressed at an interpersonal level? Not all sexual abuse victims would want this opportunity, nor should they be expected to engage in it. However, there are victims who want the possibility of such an opportunity, and do not have access to it. The criminal-legal system treats all victims uniformly, offering only the adversarial, punitive attempt at resolution. I learned firsthand the power a victim can gain by having a meaningful alternative to formal reporting. As a result, my work highlights solutions that create space for such alternatives. Some may interpret the experiences that have pointed my research towards state alternatives and prison abolition as influencing my findings. These subjective experiences are equally as valid as those that lead scholars to be pro-state cooperation, pro-reporting as a goal of the anti-rape movement, and see prison as the solution to crime.

While nearly all of my loved ones have experienced sexual abuse, I do not know anyone in my personal life that has reported their abuse to the authorities. This is in line with research that has consistently found 90 percent of rape is unreported (see Belknap 2001). In addition to my own experiences, the victimization of my loved ones also shapes how I approach this research. My research question has never been "what would have helped us report?" Rather, my

work is driven by questions of: What could healing have looked like? What do victims need, what has helped, and what would have helped? What suggestions can I make regarding policy and solutions that would actually have given my loved ones comfort? I have seen healing, but I have not seen healing from criminal-legal systems. I have witnessed perpetrator accountability, but I have not witnessed defendant accountability. I have seen prevention, but not as a result of state involvement. It is these personal insights that I bring into my role as an ethnographer of sexual abuse.

C. THE RESEARCH SITES

1. Rape Crisis West Ireland

Rape Crisis West Ireland (RCWI) is in and serves the community of a mid-sized city in Western Ireland. Comprised of over 250,000 residents, the population of the coastal city has steadily been increasing over the last twenty years (Central Statistics Office Ireland 2012). There is also a large university centrally located in the city, and the local tourist industry draws visitors during all times of the year. The area is known for coastal views, restaurants, traditional folk music ("trad music"), and Celtic historical importance.[9] The city was also considered a major location of the Archdiocese, and at the end of the Twenty-First Century was frequently implicated during the exposure of rampant child sexual abuse by the Catholic Church (Keenan 2011). The vast majority of the county identifies as white (96.5%), with 0.3 percent of residents identifying as Black and 0.4 percent Asian Irish, with 1.4 percent identifying as Other (Central Statistics Office Ireland 2012).

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[9] Gaelic was the political order and predominant pastoral culture that existed in Ireland previous to British colonization in 1542. Gaelic society can be traced back as far as the first century, and contemporarily is also referred to as "Celtic" (McCaffery & Eaton 2003). Both are viewed as a source of Irish nationalist pride. The indigenous language of Ireland is Gaelic, and it appears alongside English on all street and highway signs. While it is mandatorily taught in all Irish schools, the 2011 census found that 41.4 percent of Irish people report being able to speak the language.

Rape Crisis West Ireland, founded in 1984, provides helpline and counseling services for sexual abuse victims and secondary survivors. They also have a public role in the community, with education and prevention efforts when there is funding that allows for it. In recent years, governmental funding decreases caused the RCWI to make cuts that have impacted these programs. The RCWI has two full-time staff, twelve part-time staff and seventeen volunteer counselors, as well as a multitude of other volunteers who fulfill tasks related to fundraising and support. Two of the staff members at RCWI are men, and all of my participants identified as white, although there was some diversity in nationality, with two British and one German counselor working/volunteering in the center.

The RCWI is run out of a building donated by a large religious organization comprised of Catholic nuns. The building sits on the property of the former Magdalene laundries, one of several institutes of confinement for "fallen women" run by the Catholic Church between the 18th to 20th centuries. In the 1990's, mass graves filled with hundreds of women and babies were uncovered, and investigations lead to the revelation that laundries were sites of extensive abuse by nuns and priests.[10] Several of these women are buried in a small graveyard near the entrance of the building. The Magdalene women were a common topic of conversation in the center, with many advocates believing the space was haunted due to the injustice that had occurred there. The Centre is run out of an old nursing home for the Magdalene women, and the individual counseling spaces have been converted from bedrooms. Each counselor has their own designated room, which contains a unique arrangement of comfortable seating, aromatherapy, and artwork nestled in between old sinks and dormitory-style shelving left from the nursing home.

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[10] Women sent to the laundries were outcast from their communities for a variety of gender-related reasons, including unmarried sexual activity, pregnancy, or general reputational dislike. For a full review, see Costello et al. 2015.

Aside from three administrative roles, all of the advocates at RCWI are counselors. A hotline is staffed during daytime hours by certified counselors, and the main purpose of the organization is to provide long- and short-term counseling for victims and their loved ones ("secondary survivors" or "secondaries"). While counseling sessions run from morning until late at night, three "frontline" counselors alternate shifts on the helpline from 10am to 1pm on weekdays. The executive director has her own office, and otherwise the counselors and administration share two larger rooms, including one room where the helpline phone is answered. RCWI also offers alternative forms of therapy on a drop-in basis, such as ear acupuncture and group counseling. Advocacy is also provided in interactions with law enforcement (the Gardaí), in court, or at the Sexual Assault Treatment Unit (SATU). While the changes in funding and structure impacted RCCs, the main functions of the Centre have remained consistent over time.

2. Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse

Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse (WERA) is a rape crisis center established in 1972 within the Western United States. WERA is located in a mid-sized city with a population of over 300,000. The median household income and education are both higher than the rest of the surrounding area, making the area one of socioeconomic privilege. The city is viewed as a predominately white, upper-middle class community. The city contains a large university of over 30,000 students that draws many to the area.

There are six staff positions and approximately thirty active volunteers at WERA, with one or two counselors providing client services, an executive director, and community outreach staff. The vast majority of staff and volunteers are women, though several men held both roles during my three years of observation. This disproportionate gender representation is typical of

rape crisis centers and, more generally, "care work" that is traditionally associated with women (Martin 2005). Advocates at WERA range in age from their early twenties to late sixties, and many young women volunteers attend the local university. While most the advocates past and present are white, there are several Latina women in both staff and volunteer groups. Over the course of my three years of fieldwork, I observed approximately ten Latina, two Black, and one Asian American advocates working/volunteering at the center. This is illustrative of the racial diversity of the city generally, as the 2015 census found that 91.0 percent of city residents identify as white, 13.7 as Latino/a[11], 4.6 percent Asian American, and 1.2 percent Black.

The physical and institutional form of WERA shifted over my time with the center. The major services included a 24/7 volunteer-run hotline, which has changed into a 24/7 volunteer direct response service after the hotline was outsourced to a national answering service. As part of the direct response service, advocates support victims during hospital rape kit examinations, run interference between victims and the police, and show support by attending court trials. There are six full-time staff members at the center, including one counselor and one prevention coordinator. There is a long waitlist to meet with the on-site counselor. WERA was located in a busy downtown collection of businesses offices, sharing a parking lot with a café, which turned into a marijuana dispensary. After five years in the space, WERA moved into a large medical office complex. The organization is located within a wing of one of the complexes' buildings, where each staff member has an individual office. WERA also offers alternative counseling, including support groups, exercise meet-ups, and seminars in trauma-informed yoga.

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[11] The 2015 census allowed for multiple racial identifications for those who identified as Hispanic, and so may be included in multiple race categories.

D. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

1. Rape Crisis Centers as Ethnographic Sites

I began volunteering at WERA in June 2012. I wanted to increase the praxis of my study of sexual abuse, and saw rape crisis advocacy as being a way to challenge the static nature of studying sexual assault. I was also interested in the center as a potential field site, as one of the few spaces where sexual assault is explicitly and repeatedly discussed. I was open about my research and interests with the staff at the center, and they were enthusiastic about my ideas. I conducted exploratory research as I considered the possibility of the center as a field site, including field notes and memoing my experiences as an advocate.

After time in the field, I began to view WERA as an ethnographic site. I developed a growing awareness of how rape culture manifested within sexual assault response. The societal treatment of sexual assault was evident in the complicated relationships between WERA and formal institutions such as the hospital and police. These fraught relationships resulted in intense advocacy experiences for RCC advocates, including myself. I found myself on the phone convincing a police officer that a victim had the right to be taken in for the rape kit she wanted, regardless of the fact that she was homeless (he later called back to apologize). I waited with a victim in an emergency room for five hours, only to wait four more after we learned that the front desk had forgotten to call the SANE nurse. I sat outside interrogation rooms while the police asked a victim why they needed an advocate if they were telling the truth. On hotline calls, I listened to rape victims rationalize their reporting decisions.

While I had aimed to focus on the majority of sexual assault that is not reported, I came to realize that all victims engage with formal institutions indirectly. While most victims elect not to report their assaults, these decisions are made based upon their experiences and feelings

towards both their assault and formal institutions. Through the course of one day at a RCC, multiple interventions shape how sexual assault victims recover and make these decisions about their lives and experiences. The routines, protocols, knowledge and strategic approaches of RCCs shape how we see not only victims, but also those actors who work within those spaces and with one another: victims, advocates, police, lawyers and medical staff. In contextualizing her ethnography of sexual assault emergency room examinations, Mulla (2014) recognized the connection between institutional response and rape culture, asserting, "Clearly, legal and educational institutional contexts are key sites of shaping juridical and cultural attitudes towards rape" (19). In this way, multiple structural aspects of sexual assault and rape culture is addressed when examining one piece of the systemic puzzle.

2. Transnational Method and Ireland

Through my advisor, Joanne Belknap, I made a connection with a staff member at the Rape Crisis Network Ireland (RCNI), a research organization in Ireland. She gave me the name of the Executive Director (ED) of RCWI, which was located in a city that had many parallel demographics to the city WERA is located within. The ED and I spoke on Skype in 2014, and she endorsed my research and offered me a short-term internship. I secured over $10,000 in funding from various departmental and university grants, including $5,000 from the Ogilvy Travel Fellowship out of the Department of British and Irish Studies. I spent the summer of 2015 in Ireland at the RCWI. As my relationships and trust developed with the staff, I decided it was important to extend my research there. I returned to the Centre during January 2017, and completed my fieldwork in April 2017.

I received approval from the University of Colorado's Institutional Review Board to interview advocates and observe meetings after obtaining informed consent. I use the word

advocate as an umbrella term to include both staff and volunteers who are a part of an RCC. Advocates were an appropriate choice for the interviews because of my focus on the institutional interconnections in rape crisis response. These are connections that advocates have more experience with than a victim, who may only directly engage these institutions only once or twice, if at all. Advocates are also well tuned to manifestations of rape culture and the social treatment of sexual assault. I opened the parameters of the study to advocates who have worked with the RCC in the past as well as the present, in order to expand both the population size and discussion of RCC institutional history.

My ethnographic data collection is comprised of sixty interviews with current or former RCC advocates: twenty from RCWI, and forty from WERA. From 2012 to 2015, I spent approximately fifteen hours a week involved with WERA, typically spread out throughout four or five weekdays. I conducted forty interviews with WERA staff and volunteers, which ranged from thirty-five minutes to two and a half hours long. As a result of over 2,000 hours of participant observation (discussed at length later in this chapter), I have hundreds of pages of field notes and memos.

My eight months at RCWI were split into two four-month time periods. While my time at RCWI was markedly shorter, it was highly concentrated compared to WERA. During the summer of 2015, I was at the center twenty hours each week, spread over three days. Throughout my second visit over the winter of 2016, I spent thirty-five hours a week at the center, over four or five days a week. In total, I spent over 700 hours in the field doing participant observation. Immediately after the interviews and observations, any notes were transferred to locked cabinets, either on the CU campus or in a locked container in apartment in Ireland. Any digitally recorded data was kept on password-protected files.

3. Field Notes/Participant Observation

        A fundamental tenet of ethnographic research is participant observation. Participant observation explores interpersonal interactions and the construction of meaning within them: "[t]he ethnographer participates in the daily routines of this setting, develops ongoing relations with the people in it, and observes all the while what is going on" (Emerson et al. 1995: 1) . Hammersley (2001) saw the rationale of participant-observation ethnographic approach as fundamental for answering research questions such as the ones put forth in this study, writing "…[B]y entering into close and relatively long-term contact with people in their everyday lives we can come to understand their beliefs and behavior much more accurately" (102). As a participant observer in both sites, I took pages of field notes and wrote reflective memos.

        My position as a researcher was completely overt throughout the duration of the study. In both locations, I openly disclosed my position as a sociologist conducting research on the center. I also took extensive field notes during my participant observation at both RCCs. In accordance with my IRB protocol, I obtained written consent for these observations, in addition to the informed consent given for the interviews. These observations include supervision group/staff/team/steering committee meetings, team-building activities, administrative tasks, interpersonal interactions with staff and volunteers, and other outreach events that include or were sponsored by the RCCs. I also have accumulated extensive written material provided by both RCCs through trainings, meetings and other communication. These field notes and memos were completely de-identified.

        My RCC volunteer roles are important to the study. Engaging in the field sites through volunteering allowed for an understanding of the meanings and practices of RCCs to develop through shared experience, a fundamental aspect of modern participant observation (Rubin &

Rubin 2005; Emerson 2001). It is important to note that I had different roles as a participant observer in the two field sites. During my three years of advocacy at WERA, my role was amorphous. After completing a forty-hour training, I began as an advocate on the hotline in 2012. In this role, I took at least twenty hours of hotline shifts a month (calls were directed to personal cell phones), went on "hot calls" to the police station and hospital, and attended group and monthly meetings. Six months into my volunteering, I was asked to be a volunteer supervisor. In this role, I helped train new volunteers, ran small group meetings with a co-supervisor, and attended steering meetings with a group of other volunteer supervisors and several WERA staff. As a supervisor I was also responsible for being the backup on-call counselor for a week at a time, which required answering any hotline calls that were missed by assigned volunteers and taking any shifts during the week that were not filled. For the first hot call, volunteers must bring another advocate who has experience with such calls, and so I often went with new volunteers to the hospital. As I began conducting interviews, I stepped down as a supervisor, and then stopped taking shifts on the hotline or attending meetings.

My participant observation during my eight months in Ireland at the RCWI took a different form. I was introduced as an intern to the staff and volunteers, and they were immediately made aware that I was doing a research project on the center. As an intern, I began with basic administrative tasks such as sending the mail or organizing paperwork. My desk was in the same room as the helpline phone. As trust and rapport began to build and I was given more substantial tasks such as reviewing and eventually constructing annual reports. I also made promotional materials for the center, redesigned their website, and helped plan fundraising events. I was permitted to attend and observe all staff meetings, and was asked to participate in a team-building workshop where the advocates reflected on the goals, strengths, and weakness of

the center. I was also invited to all outings, including retirement and farewell parties. A week after I arrived, the RCWI learned their application had been selected for a documentary project on the center. I was asked to head the production of the film. In this role, I arranged client and advocate interviews, planned time for filming at RCWI and throughout the city, and conducted some interviews for the film. I began to come into the Centre on many of my days off, where I would work on my memo writing and field notes while continuing to observe daily activity. When I left the center, I offered to continue helping however I could do so remotely. A few weeks after my return, I was asked to write speeches that the Executive Director and Mayor would give at a RCWI event. This was my final project with the center, although I have remained in contact with the advocates there.

4. Interviews and Recruitment

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with staff and volunteer advocates. Interview participants were recruited through convenience and snowball sampling in order to locate advocates who left the organizations. This is a non-random method that focuses on recruiting participants who are both accessible and nearby to the researcher and research site. Participants in qualitative research are frequently recruited through convenience methods such as those proposed in this study, and snowball sampling is regarded among qualitative researchers as an appropriate and successful recruitment technique for qualitative studies (Loftland et al 2006).

At WERA I recruited for interviews by announcing my project at trainings and monthly meetings. I would then follow up through email to all active volunteers and staff. I used snowball sampling to find former volunteers and staff who had left WERA. I also contacted staff members who had left WERA since I had been there. At RCWI, the Executive Director announced my project at the first staff meeting upon my arrival. As a result of this announcement, several staff

members arranged interviews with me. With permission from the ED, I sent a follow-up email describing my study to the staff list, as well as a list of volunteers. In an effort to build rapport in trust before our conversations, I scheduled the majority of interviews for the end of my time at RCWI. I spoke to all but four of the counselors at RCWI, who did not respond to my email.

To ensure that I heard from a wide variety of perspectives, I worked to recruit interviewees from all areas of the organization and across years of institutional history. The function and approach of the RCCs had changed over time, and were interpreted differently by each participant in my study. By taking this approach, I was working to avoid essentializing any one account as empirical truth. Uma Narayan (1997) addresses this in her discussion of Western feminist research of "Third World" cultures. While the traditional criticism of Western transnational feminist research is that it is often patronizing and imperialistic towards the culture of study, Narayan is careful to highlight the importance of avoiding extremism in the other direction. Research also cannot view marginalized participants as "'authentic insiders'" who, Naryan continues, "all share a uniform and consistent account of their institutions and values" (33). To ensure this nuance and complexity in my data, I spoke to interns, executive directors, new volunteers without any direct experience, and advocates with over two decades of organizational knowledge.

I collected this broad range of RCC experiences through focused recruiting in addition to general recruitment. I contacted key players within the organizations with more specific invitations to participate, in the hope of creating as comprehensive an organizational understanding as possible. Institutional ethnographic methods endorse this selective interviewing: "In many investigations, informants are chosen as the research progresses, as the researcher learns more about the social relations involved and begins to see avenues that need

exploration" (McCoy & DeVault 2006: 23). In this tradition, I arranged interviews with management and executive directors for the end of my collection; this allowed my growing understanding of the RCCs to shape the line of questioning. In order to establish reliability within the data, I compared the participants' descriptions of their roles within their organization to records from the RCCs, to ensure that I reported each advocate's role appropriately. I also compared my field notes to calendar reports of dates and frequency of meetings. I used emails, meeting minutes and other documents to triangulate the reported events at the RCCs.

These interviews were grounded in the purposes of feminist research methodology, one of which is providing the culturally silenced an opportunity to talk. Participants report that participation in research interviews, while not intended to be explicitly therapeutic in intent, is often healing and helpful (Campbell et al. 2004; Pierce-Baker 2000). Specific to RCC advocates, studies have found advocate-participants report feeling validated and heard by the interview experience (Wasco and Campbell 2002; Schauben & Frazier 1995). Many of the interviewees in this study told me that they found doing the interview therapeutic and beneficial in allowing them space to reflect and gain insight on their experiences and time at the center.

Interviewees were asked about their experiences as advocates or interacting with the RCC, their perceptions of the organization, their thoughts about sexual assault, and about how sexual abuse is perceived in the larger community. At the end of the interview, participants were also asked about their attitudes towards several political concepts, including feminism, religion, and abortion. The participants were also asked to provide demographic information such as race, age, and employment/volunteer histories. The only questions that were refused were two RCWI respondents who only wanted to give a general idea of their age, and one WERA interviewee who did not want to define feminism.

Feminist research aims to reduce the negative impact of data collection as much as possible. Unlike traditional research, where interview guides can cause the discussion to go any number of ways during the course of an interview, it is important for feminist sexual assault researchers to be vigilant in the intentionality of their questioning. Rebecca Campbell (2002) discusses the process her research team came to in deciding whether to ask a question. Bearing in mind that questions from formal institutions often cause negative emotions in survivors during reporting, Campbell was careful to analyze her own questions for the possibility of such harm "Upon further reflection, we realized the topic of rape resistance really wasn't a central substantive concern for our project…Therefore we chose not to ask about it" (137). In doing this, Campbell discusses how her team was "making a decision about the content of an interview based on our collective understandings of the emotional needs of our target population" (137). Reflected that way, such a minimization of impact is clearly founded in a feminist research methodological approach.

It was with this feminist aim that I decided to drop three questions on prior sexual victimization from the interview schedule. While I found it interesting with regards to the motivation of the advocate, I decided that the question was not central to the interests of the study, and that such a question could perpetuate the conflation between victimization and motivation. I felt that the information gained from the question was not worth the risk of harm, and in fact could derail the interview. I found that asking advocates why they joined the RCC addressed their motivation adequately. On several occasions, this or another question caused a disclosure of sexual victimization from the interviewee. I felt that by allowing these conversations to occur naturally, all survivor-advocates had more control over their decisions to disclose during the interview.

Participants did not receive any incentive to be interviewed. With the consent of interviewees, all interviews were digitally recorded. Following the end of the interview, participants were reminded of the resources available to them. I provided contact information for sexual assault resources outside of the RCC on their informed consent forms. Interviewees were encouraged to contact me if they had any questions or concerns about the study, or if they were interested in accessing any publications that result from the research.

My role as a volunteer supervisor at WERA may have impacted the interviewees. While I began at WERA as a hotline volunteer, after six months I was given a supervisory role at WERA. While I provided advice and support in my group leader role, there was no incentive (financial, academic or otherwise) or assessment within these relationships. While this position provided many benefits to my ethnographic data collection, this responsibility may have impacted the interview process. I took certain safeguards to minimize the impact of my role on the power dynamics of the interviews. Before I began interview collection, I stepped down as a supervisor, and shortly afterwards I stopped my volunteer hours on the hotline and as an advocate. Despite these safeguards, there is a possibility that my previous position of authority may have caused volunteers to be hesitant to criticize or portray the RCC in a negative light.

As seen in Table 1, I spoke with a higher proportion of younger advocates at WERA than at RCWI. I attribute this to different services performed at the centers; the RCWI focused on individual in-person therapy with trained counselors, while the majority of WERA roles were to on the hotline. There was much higher turnover at WERA, which is reflected in the average years of experience at both centers (8.4 at RCWI versus 2.7 at WERA). In combination with the timing of my research and interview collection, this turnover is also why I spoke to such a high percentage of former WERA advocates (73%, n=29) compared to those no longer affiliated with

RCWI (10%, n=2). Table 1 details the age, gender, race, years of experience, current status at the organization, and RCC position of the sixty participants.

		Ireland - RCWI (N = 20)	United States - WERA (N = 40)
Age	*20-29*	1	23
	30-39	6	11
	40-49	9	1
	50+	4	5
Gender	*Woman*	18	37
	Man	2	3
Race	*White*	20	30
	Latina	0	7
	Black	0	2
	Asian-Irish/American	0	1
Years at RCC	*Range*	(1 - 25)	(0.5- 7)
	Mean	8.4	2.7
Status at RCC	*Current Advocate*	18	11
	Former Advocate	2	29
RCC Position*	*Staff- Admin*	5	8
	Staff - Counselor	9	2
	Volunteer- Counselor	2	33
	Volunteer - Other	5	2
	Board Member	3	0

* = Categories not mutually exclusive

5. Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed either by me or by a professional transcriber using secure website. I used NVivo software to analyze my interview data, field notes, memos, and documents from both sites. This allowed for the separation of the two field sites, as well as the ability to view data on common themes easily across RCCs.

In order to improve the validity of the data, I compared the statements made within each of the interviews to the documentation of the center: through emails, website archives, multiple editions of training manuals, newspaper articles, and governmental reports. In this way, multiple and complex realities were collected within the data, and also the experiences and histories of the centers were triangulated and confirmed throughout the data.

I began analyzing the interview data from the beginning of collection. While conducting interviews, I was continually engaged in iterative process of focused inquiry. Through multiple iterations of transcript and field note reexamination, I began to code for various themes and assemble the institutional processes of "sexual assault response." Institutional ethnographic methods suggest analysis involve three segments of analysis: first, describing the everyday world of the organization. Second, tracking the social processes that connect the work of that organization to that of other institutions. Finally, connecting these processes to larger ideological characteristics of the institution (Townsend 1996). I found this to be the most effective approach to this systemic analysis, with one additional iterative step: comparing these descriptions, processes, and ideologies transnationally. Moving back and forth between description, processes, ideologies, and cultures developed my overall analysis and connections. Each of my data chapters utilizes this four-step process.

My analysis of the data is built from the interviews and participant observation to speak to systemic and institutional processes, rather than the respondents themselves. This is a major strength of the institutional ethnographic method, which asserts "[t]he researcher's purpose in an institutional ethnography is not to generalize about the group of people interviewed, but to find and describe social processes that have generalizing effects" (DeVault & McCoy 2006:18). As a result of this, I utilize a writing strategy that combines my description of institutional processes with quoted excerpts from interviews. This employs one of the main strategies of interview-based institutional ethnographic methods, which utilizes interview quotes to "carry forward the description and analysis in the final text" (DeVault & McCoy 2006: 40).

I centered the voices and experiences of the advocates within the analytical description of processes. By using the participants' words and typologies, transnational feminist research can

create a reflexively structural analysis that is conscientious of the possibility of oppressive analytical framings (Mohanty 1997). It is fundamental that feminist research be an *analysis* of cultures from a transnational perspective, rather than an *intervention* (Abu-Lughod 2013). For example, in my data chapters I build the discussion of sexual assault prevention and education from the ideas and strategies of the RCC advocates themselves, rather than my personal theories of sexual assault prevention. This places the organizations into context by centering the voices and ideas of those who are being analyzed.

In addition to organizational ideologies, I used de-colonial frameworks to guide the conflicting patterns of perception in the Irish and U.S. social contexts, as well as and the fractured global practices of colonialism and imperialism. Transnational feminist theory dictates that the impact of women's rights, the government and legal systems on an individual cannot be disentangled from structures of global policy, imperialism, and nationalism (Abu-Lughod 2013). For example, Irish transnational feminists Inglis and MacKeogh (2012) assert that when documenting cultural shifts between the Church and media, this modernization must be situated in historical background. Each of my findings chapters synthesizes organizational processes and theoretical concepts to bring forward a transnational institutional ethnographic analysis.

Negative cases or contradictory explanations to the mechanisms explored in this dissertation consistently reflected ways that the advocates' opinions conflict with messages from management. For example, nearly every advocate at WERA discussed how the center defined itself publically as a feminist organization, while they acknowledged that internally the organization was not aligned with feminist beliefs or practices. In contrast, the ED was the only RCC employee at WERA who posed the alternative view: that WERA was outwardly not feminist, while inwardly was covertly within that political viewpoint. Aside from the comparison

of feminism and mental health stigmas as seen in Chapter Five, the analysis of the role of feminist labels in RCCs has been well covered in the literature (e.g. Beres et al. 2009; Maier 2008; Byington et al. 1991). However, this exemplifies the many instances in which advocates discussed their positions and viewpoints as at odds with organizational stances. These negative case contradictions are more a reflection of structure and power than a possibility of alternative interpretations. It is crucial to create space for their agency within these problematic, yet crucial, sexual assault response services. Participants within both sites emphasized, and requested be emphasized within the interpretation of the data, that while they were aware of the issues at the centers, they held co-existing and complicated relationships with these issues. There existed a consistent tension between the advocates' dedication to antirape work and the issues of the centers, more fully described in Chapter Five.

I provided sections of many of my drafts to participants for their edits and to ensure the accuracy of my interpretations of their experiences and viewpoints. In response, advocates consistently agreed and aligned with my interpretation of their experiences. For example, I sent my interpretation of the organizational responses to inappropriate callers (Chapter Five) to multiple advocates, including Mya. In one instance within this chapter, my interpretation of Mya's experiences move beyond what she herself states. She confirmed my examination of the response. Some of the analysis of Irish SARCs required conference with Irish advocates, to ensure that my understanding of the culture and underpinnings of social processes was valid within their social contexts. They also helped me bridge gaps in understanding of the medical systems and governmental oversight of organizations. My work was strengthened by the feedback of these advocates.

I elected not to label all quotes with demographic information about the respondent, such as their race and class. Institutional ethnographic methods suggest that writing procedures that do this "risk inviting an individualizing line of analysis" (DeVault & McCoy 2006: 41). Omitting such identifications keeps the focus on the institutional processes being described, identifying speakers by only their role in the organization (DeVault & McCoy 2006). I offer demographic information when relevant to the analysis at hand, resulting in different patterns of identification throughout the findings chapters. In addition, throughout my analysis I describe organizational positions in intentionally vague terms. The small sample size and specialized job descriptions at the centers make this an important protection for the interviewees' confidentiality.

E. LIMITATIONS

No study is flawless. These centers are not representative of all RCCs, or even all RCCs within their respective nations. Both WERA and RCWI are located in majority white cities, within majority white counties. They are both also located in cities that have higher socioeconomic measures that the surrounding areas, and are both home to large university systems. As such, my findings at these two locations may be specific to a white, socioeconomically privileged population. I do focus on racial and gender representation, or lack thereof, in both centers. This does not replace the need for research that centers underrepresented populations. The lack of racial diversity in service provision is significant and important, and limits my data to a certain population. Studies that focus on more socioeconomically/racially diverse areas may reveal different findings from what I observed.

Another limitation of the study is the different spans of time I spent in the two field sites. My time at RCWI was more concentrated, and my observations were over a much shorter time (eight months) compared to WERA (three years). These differences in the time spent in both

centers make direct comparison between the centers difficult. While this impacted the span of time I observed, I believe that the institutional history provided by two volunteers who had been working for the Centre for over twenty-five years helped supplement my limited time there. Given the reliance of RCCs on outside funding and the dependence of this funding to political climates, many changes occurred during short spans of time. While I situate my analysis historically, my analysis is of a snapshot of a current moment in RCCs, one that is constantly changing and has transformed since I finished collecting data there.

Transnational feminist methods foster the construction of reflexive frameworks and contests hegemonic knowledge structures. This often exposes many research limitations and complexities, as it has done in this study. Acknowledging the consequences of such problematization, Hawkesworth (2006: 135) emphasized the importance of engaging in transnational research despite the aforementioned tensions and considerations:

> If feminist researchers are to avoid replicating neocolonial power relations, then they must engage rather than ignore the contentious theoretical assumptions at the heart of these transnational feminist debates. Excavating and analyzing competing theoretical assumptions will not eliminate the structural differences…but it will disrupt sanctioned ignorance, end oppressive modes of feminist ventriloquism, and expand feminist awareness of additional dimensions of the politics of knowledge.

The reflexive discussions in this work create a context from which limitations of this analysis can be understood. In order to minimize these potential limitations, I discussed my findings with other rape crisis advocates, including RCC staff at both locations and former volunteers. I sought out input from those I had supervised, those I had not, and those who had supervised me. I utilized the feedback given to continue to hone my analysis and understanding.

A reflexively constructed feminist analysis does not imply that this research is free from all problematic and oppressive interpretations. Such research does not exist. The impossibility of

perfect feminist research, however, does not invalidate the importance of continually striving for

that ideal.

CHAPTER IV:
"LOCAL WOMEN'S SERVICES" AND GENDER-NEUTRAL NONPROFITS: NATIONALIZED SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE COMPLEXES

A. INTRODUCTION

In both Ireland and the U.S., Rape Crisis Centers (RCCs) emerged out of feminist efforts to frame sexual abuse as a social problem and dissatisfaction with State responses to sexual assault victims. In the decades since their establishment, there has been considerable RCC integration into these governmental systems. As discussed in Chapter One, the use of gender to understand sexual violence is both fundamental and controversial due to the critique of masculinity and power that such analyses require. Given that governmental institutions are patriarchal systems, feminist collective RCCs pose a threat to entrenched gender order and nationalist ideologies. Creating institutional dependencies between RCCs and the State neutralizes these vulnerabilities.

In this chapter, I conceptualize the term "sexual assault response complexes" (SARCs) to view RCCs as one among many institutions who respond to sexual assault, and explain how this term effectively expands the current literature on institutional sexual assault response. I then draw upon my institutional ethnographic research to examine how SARC integration has transformed RCCs into hegemonic State agencies. My findings establish three processes of RCC institutionalization into SARCs in both countries: economic dependence on patriarchal systems (neoliberal and welfare capitalism), State use of gendered nationalism to negate sexual abuse as a social problem (gender essentialism and gender neutrality), and the establishment of governmental oversight to control antiviolence social movements (shadow state and welfare state). Using these scripts, SARCs are able to transform RCCs into services that support government control without challenging cultural treatments of rape or masculine power. This chapter culminates in a discussion of how the causes of and solutions for sexual assault have been co-opted by the State.

The transnational method of my research also expands the field of SARC research beyond the specific economic ideology of neoliberalism in the U.S, suggesting that the nationalist motivations of government structures play an important role in understanding the systemic failing of victims and perpetuation of rape culture.

B. SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE (INDUSTRIAL) COMPLEXES

Pilisuk and Hayden defined the military industrial complex as "an informal and changing coalition of groups with vested psychological, moral, and material interests in the continuous development and maintenance [of war and the military]" (1965: 103). The concept of the intra-organizational "complex" has also been applied to other connected institutions and structures, such as the prison industrial complex (Davis 1999), wedding industrial complex (Mead 2008), and academic industrial complex (Culliton 1982).

In *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded,* the INCITE! organization (2007) outlined the existence of the "non-profit industrial complex" (NPIC), which Dylan Rodríguez defined as "a set of symbiotic relationships that link together political and financial technologies of State and owning-class proctorship and surveillance over public political discourse" (2007: 21-22). INCITE! critiqued the NPIC as a trillion-dollar industry that performs the work of the State by keeping forms of inequality in place (2007). Similarly, Beth Richie (2012) proposed that antiviolence movements have become a system of state-funded agencies. Both Richie and INCITE! point to the proliferation of neoliberal capitalism[12] as linked to the rise of the NPIC.

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[12] Neoliberalism is an ideology and set of principles associated with deregulation of markets, privatization, and the shift of public services to private organizations. Scholars have connected the rise of neoliberalism as the "hegemonic political form" in the late 1970s alongside the establishment of the feminist antiviolence movement (e.g. Stringer 2014; Bumiller 2008). Beatrix Campbell wrote that "Women's liberation had scarcely danced onto the stage before the world was captured by capitalism's second coming…Twenty-first century capitalism presents itself as liberation logic: it pitches choice and competition against the dependency, mutuality, and co-operation that are the conditions of life" (2013: 5).

RCCs are also enmeshed within interconnected relationships between the State structures and medical systems that enact institutional sexual assault responses. RCCs hold a space within both non-profit social service and social justice work, and I view this direct contact with multiple governmental institutions as another type of complex. This matrix of systems that respond to sexual assault (hospitals, law enforcement, and court systems) can be termed a *sexual assault response complex*. Regarding sexual assault response, this concept can be applied to the collaborations among the political, medical, criminal-legal, penal, and victim advocacy organizations that each respond both independently and collectively to sexual assault.

These institutions, and the individuals that comprise them, bring varying approaches and motivations in responding to a sexual assault, or as Purcell and Cavanagh (1972) described the military industrial complex, "differentiating among the institutions…there will certainly be varying scope and depth of commitment" (103). Each institution within the SARC responds differently to sexual assault, and yet these functions are inherently connected to other SARC structures. For example, medical systems respond to physical injuries, *and* serve as the beginning of the criminal-legal "chain of custody" for evidence collected during the sexual assault nurse examination. The criminal-legal system focuses on the investigation and indictment for sexual offenses, which transforms the victim into a witness for the State prosecution of sexual offenses. The penal system is tasked with housing offenders for whom the criminal-legal system has given a sentence of incarceration for committing sexual assault. Political legislatures and other governing bodies shape the legal definitions, prioritizations, and punishment for sexual assault. Victim advocacy organizations (within which RCCs are included) are typically the system with the deepest and most specialized "scope of commitment" specific to sexual assault. RCCs advocate for survivors when they navigate SARC systems, provide confidential resources for

victims, support survivors in long-term recovery, and engage in community anti-rape education and prevention initiatives.

Given the context of the U.S. private health insurance system, sexual assault response could also be viewed as a sexual assault response *industrial* complex. The intersections of privatized insurance, privatized healthcare, and criminal-legal systems further the conceptualization of the U.S. SARC as profiting from the perpetual cycle of sexual violence. During the process of a forensic sexual assault exam, victims are disembodied as their bodies are catalogued and transformed into crime scenes, with the forensic collection of evidence prioritized over the desires and boundaries of the individual victims (Mulla 2014). Having been instructed not to eat, drink, urinate or bathe before the exam, victims regularly wait four to six hours in emergency rooms for their exams. Following the exam, victims are routinely sent medical bills with thousands of dollars in charges. While such exams are ultimately paid for by the State or private insurance, this knowledge of deferred payment depends on the impetus of the victims or RCC advocates. More specifically, Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) victim advocates from RCCs instruct victims that they will be mailed these bills, but inform them not to pay them because they are covered by insurance. Such a process reveals that the bureaucratic focus of the SARC that contradicts victim needs. Mulla's (2014) analysis of sexual assault emergency room responses drew this connection, finding the economics of healthcare played out between hospital staff, rape crisis advocates, and sexual assault victims. In her discussion of how the cultural permeation of the prison industrial complex, Angela Davis (2016) views mass incarceration and the healthcare industry as linked to the commodification of human services through the destructive force of global capitalism. Sexual assault response is similarly linked to such commodification.

In contrast to the U.S. private healthcare system that situates SANE examinations within hospital emergency rooms, the Sexual Assault Treatment Units (SATUs) within the Irish SARC are in entirely separate buildings from hospitals. Maeve, who has volunteered for five years as a SATU advocate, in addition to her administration job at Rape Crisis West Ireland (RCWI), described the arrangement of the SATU as such:

> It's separate. It's not the hospital, it's not the Garda station, it's just them. They recognise that, because they are able to move freely around the rooms and do whatever they need to do without any fear of meeting or seeing anyone else.

The nationalization of Irish healthcare separates the institutions within the Irish SARC in ways distinct from the U.S. complex. Irish RCC institutionalization involves integration into the State healthcare model, and thus, healthcare is the direction of SARC integration. The focus of the SARC is largely on the treatment of the victim in ways that negate the examination of the perpetrator. This is not to suggest that Ireland should adopt a criminal-legal focus into their SARC, but rather that the focus of institutionalization is different due to differing governmental involvement and profit margins. As I discuss in this chapter, State institutionalization causes both U.S. and Irish SARCs to negate the structural analysis of sexual assault as a social problem.

Notably, in both Ireland and the U.S, the first RCCs were outwardly opposed to the police and legal systems that had historically mistreated and abandoned victims (Maier 2011; McKay 2005; Byington et al., 1991). Changes in the funding and structure of RCCs, however, led to an increasing proximity to State and institutional systems. In the face of State dependency, RCCs began trading-off their anti-establishment missions in favor of financial stability, using bureaucratic status markers to establish their legitimacy with State-endorsed systems they rely upon (Martin 2005). Campbell and her colleagues' (1998) findings on organizational shifts in U.S. RCCs are consistent with this contention: Although the RCCs maintained social change

abilities, "the line between service delivery and social change is indeed quite blurred" (459). I

build from this understanding of RCC changes to suggest that the current iterations of RCC

assimilation into SARCs have minimized the ability of RCCs to make structural change.

The transformation of both Irish and U.S. RCCs into State agencies are aligned with the

characteristics of institutional power. Foucault (1978: 88-89) discussed the rise of institutional

power as occurring due to the draw of bureaucratic efficiency, as well as legal affiliation:

> If these institutions were able to implant themselves, if, by profiting from a
> whole series of tactical alliances, they were able to gain acceptance, this was
> because they presented themselves as agencies of regulation, arbitration, and
> demarcation, as a way of introducing order in the midst of these powers…of
> identifying its will with the law, and of acting though the mechanisms of
> interdiction and sanction.

Funding shifts, then, caused RCCs to enter into SARCs, which provided economic security.

These affiliations also brought increased efficiency and structure, and authority through laws

and sanctions. This strategy removes the political power of RCCs, rendering SARCs to focus

solely on sexual assault management – or, as Matthews (1994) poses, "managing rape" rather

than preventing it.

C. IRISH "LOCAL WOMEN'S SERVICES": GOVERNMENT-REGULATED RCCS

1. Rape Crisis West Ireland as Nationalized Healthcare

SARCs are a set of gendered systems. Economic insecurity pushed RCCs into these

systems, causing the surveillance and control of centers established by the feminist and women's

movements of the 1970s and 1980s. The Irish economic depression following the collapse of the

Celtic Tiger in 2008[13] cut much of the funding to social services (Dublin Rape Crisis Centre

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[13] The Celtic Tiger was a period of enormous economic growth in Ireland during the early 21st century, which
ultimately resulted in four economic crashes: of the property market, banking, fiscal, and financial sectors. Thus,
Ireland requested assistance from the European Troika (the EU Commission, European Central Bank, and
International Monetary Fund). For more on the collapse of the Celtic Tiger (see Donovan & Murphy 2013).

2014; Donovan & Murphy 2013), pushing RCCs further into SARC dependency. In this section, I discuss the Irish SARC as a gendered system driven by nationalist ideologies of social welfare, and how SARC integration is driven by patriarchal State control.

RCWI services are currently included within the Irish system of taxpayer-funded universal healthcare, which is provided to anyone who has resided in the country for longer than one year (McDaid et al. 2009). The provision of governmental healthcare is illustrative of the welfare capitalism used by the Irish government and founded within postcolonial nationalist ideology. From 1845 to 1851 over one million Irish, approximately one-eighth of the population, died from starvation and disease in what is known as the Great Famine (Nally 2008). This colonial genocide of the Great Famine[14] has been attributed to the British prioritization of free-market capitalism over life-saving charity for the Irish. Upon liberation, then, postcolonial Irish identity became fundamentally linked to governmental protections within a welfare state. These protections are reflected in the socialized healthcare and educational systems, the extensive unemployment benefits (i.e., "the Dole"), maternity leave, and the provision of social services including RCCs.

The nationalist importance of welfare capitalism positions the Irish government as a paternal State protector. Irish scholars propose that patriarchal nationalism has constructed a "feminized Ireland" in need of care and protection (Hanafin 1997: 250). In his analysis of the Irish Constitution as a "phallocentric manifesto," Hanafin (1997) describes the gendered interactions between Irish culture and law: "Ireland is a paradigmatic case of how a patriarchal

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[14] In addition to a desire to depopulate Ireland, the British actions during the Famine utilized the economic ideology of free-market capitalism. The British made the distribution of aid contingent on relinquishing land ownership and participation in State-sponsored hard labor. The initiatives created a landless group of wage laborers, or a Proletariat class, which has been discussed as a completion of the colonial goal of the Anglicization of Ireland (Nally 2008).

cultural narrative insinuated itself into the legal narrative…the traditional masculine (his)tory of

Ireland became the way in which law's story was told in the constitutional narrative" (249).

In 1991, the Irish government refused requests to fund the emerging RCCs throughout the

country, claiming they "duplicated" immediate services the Sexual Assault Treatment Unit (SATU)

already covered, and stating that long-term counseling could be handled by the nationalized

psychological and psychiatric services. RCC advocates, however, saw themselves as providing a

unique service by specializing in the impact of sexual abuse, arguing that they had helped improve

the culture for women and transform rape law through their activism (McKay 2005). Isla, who has

been a counselor at RCWI for ten years, addressed the gap in services that RCCs filled:

> I think the demand of the clients coming in. I assume people could see that people
> were coming in to look for the service. The first step is being met; being talked to;
> being validated; being believed. That is a really important step and I think that
> was being missed out on by the more Psychiatric and Medical side of the world.

Hearing and trusting sexual assault victims was revolutionary in Ireland, especially given the

history of secrecy surrounding such abuses.[15] The exposure of this gap in services was not well

received by the larger Irish culture. Ellen, a twenty-year veteran counselor at RCWI, describes

the early days of the Centre as being culturally and politically shunned.

> It wasn't profitable or popular to be involved in Rape Crisis Centres at the
> beginning. We were very much people on the edge of society who were a voice
> saying 'this happens, it happens a lot, people suffer from it', and it wasn't
> certainly well received, and we were seen very much to be suspicious of, to be
> distrusted. We were the people saying the unpopular things. I remember one
> time one of the female lady mayors giving out about us because we were
> implying that rape happened here, and we were ruining the image of [the city].

Ellen's reflection illustrates the cultural threat of the RCCs and the anti-rape movement to the

identity of Irish communities. This radical message and change in the treatment of sexual abuse

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[15] Ireland has a long history of hidden and silenced sexual abuse within State and Church run institutions, including both Churches, schools, and in aforementioned indentured servitude programs such as the Magdalene Laundries. (For full reviews, see Keenan 2011 and Costello et al. 2015.)

victims made RCCs a threat to the structure and authority of the State. Based on the fears that an acknowledgement of rape would lead to the advancement of other feminist agendas,[16] conservative Catholic groups against the RCCs suggested that advocacy for rape victims should be integrated into the national health service, where they could be supervised (McKay 2005). As a result of centuries of religious discrimination under colonialism, appealing to Irish Catholic identity is a historically successful strategy in Irish politics.[17] Uma Narayan (2013) theorized that in the aftermath of colonialism "The sense of cultural anxiety created by rapid social change results in responses that see changes in gender-roles as the paradigmatic symptom of cultural threat and loss, resulting in calls for a return to 'our traditional way of life,' a return that is primarily to be accomplished by returning women to their 'traditional place'" (404). While the care for sexual abuse victims remained within RCCs, by integrating the centers into the nationalized healthcare system, rape crisis advocacy became subject to governmental oversight to prevent the proliferation of "anti-nationalist" feminist activism.

In reflecting on how the cultural perceptions of the Centre had changed, Ellen describes that the cultural avoidance of rape and dislike of RCCs was what pushed advocates into being more political and outspoken. In this excerpt, Ellen links the de-politicization of the RCC to the current institutionalization of RCWI into the SARC:

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[16] Conservative Catholic groups cast the RCCs as feminist campaigners motivated by a desire to legalize abortion and divorce (McKay 2005). Divorce was deemed unconstitutional when the Irish Constitution was ratified in 1937 and upheld by popular vote in 1986. In 1997, divorce became legal in the Irish State, passing by a margin of fewer than ten thousand votes (Hill 2003). Divorce currently requires that the couple have been separated for four years (Irish Constitution 2013). Abortion remains illegal in Ireland, with exceptions made only to save the pregnant person's life (Murray 2016).

[17] Durkheim's equation of society with religion (1995 [1912]) is exemplified by the development of Irish Catholic national identity. The colonial abuse of Catholicism by the English through legal and social Catholic discrimination strengthened the place of the Church in Irish culture (Bacik 2013). After the revolution, Catholicism became an important distinguishing characteristic of freedom from the Protestant values of their former colonial power within the newly established Irish State (Fletcher 2001).

So, it was that kind of thing. Therefore, you had to be a little bit more activist, or putting forward a particular kind of view, whereas now we are much more mainstream. Too much so, as well. Now we are very much mainstream. We're almost like a Health Executive Service, like an offshoot of that, do you know what I mean? I mean there are gains in that, but there is also probably a bit of a loss in that, too.

Ellen's statement reflects the history of sexual abuse as a social problem. When RCWI was founded, the marginalization of sexual abuse was treated as a call to action. Currently, this social distancing pushes RCWI to be more conventional. Since integrating with nationalized healthcare systems, SARC institutionalization has caused advocates to temper their approach out of fear of obsolescence. Ellen saw the relationship between RCWI and the government as a delicate balance. The unspoken, omnipresent possibility of funding cuts has caused the Centre to align their messaging with that of the larger formal systems. She describes the need to assimilate with governmental systems this way:

Well, you see - to get the funding to keep the Centre running, to a certain extent you need to say the right things and not be too challenging to the Governmental institutions. If you say too much, you run the risk of…it's never said, but you run the risk of your funding. You become a bit of a thorn in their side. You become a bit of a difficulty, and you know, there is that. In order to get more funding, we've had to become more mainstream.

Ellen's statement demonstrates how the threat posed to the government by RCCs has transposed into the State's threat over the RCCs. Financial institutionalization into the healthcare system established State control over RCWI, as indicated by Ellen's discussion of moderating the Centre's views. This integration has not corresponded with increased economic security for the Centre. In 2014, Tusla, the Child and Family Agency, split from the Health Service Executive (HSE) to form an independent State entity comprised of a range of services, including RCCs. Several advocates believe that the government's ulterior motive is to eventually eliminate RCCs. Anna, a twenty-year veteran counselor at RCWI, described her concerns:

> Ultimately what I think Tusla is about, behind the scenes - what is never admitted publicly, is that the institution of Tusla is actually about getting rid of the sector altogether. So, a lot of things have been given into its care, and in ten years time, the whole picture will look totally different. There will be hardly anything left.

Anna believes that consolidation of services has an ulterior motive of eliminating RCCs. Isla similarly addresses the political and economic dependence of the Centre: "It's frustrating because a change of Government could shift the whole thing backwards again, or another recession…or whatever." RCWI has made repeated structural and service concessions in the interest of financial security, yet the economic stability of the Centre remains nebulous.

SARC assimilation also facilitates the State surveillance and regulation of RCWI. In 2014, the Charities Regulatory Authority (CRA) was created in response to the misuse of funds by an Irish charity. The CRA mandated that all charitable organizations register with the State and adopt a Board of Management structure. As six-year counselor Karen describes,

> The structure changed…where they went from the collective where all the decisions were done by all of the counsellors that worked here. Then I think Charities were just required to move more into a Board and Management structure. I think it's a requirement for Charities and it would have been a requirement I'd imagine, through the HSE for funding and stuff like that as well.

This registration was inherently linked to the national healthcare funding stream for the center, and signaled the end of the collective structure in RCWI. The regulation of both healthcare and charitable organizations centralizes the role of the State in sexual assault recovery while neutralizing the political element of RCCs.

2. Nationalized Gender Essentialism: Rape Crisis West Ireland as "Local Women's Services"

Culturally entrenched understandings of gender and sexual abuse led to the devaluation of RCWI within the hierarchical ranking of State agencies supported by nationalized healthcare. The resulting financial instability of the Centre extends governmental control over its services,

and therefore the antiviolence movement. In this section, I address how Irish SARCs use nationalist conceptions of gender to subordinate sexual assault as a women's issue, thereby entrenching the masculinist power of the State. First, gender is constructed using essentialist gender hierarchies. This allows sexual abuse to be labeled as an inherently a feminine issue, negating structural analysis.

As a state-regulated charity within the nationalized healthcare system, the relationship between the RCWI and State is inherently gendered. Within the HSE/Tusla reconfiguration, the category of "Domestic, Sexual, and Gender Based Violence Services" was created, wherein RCCs were listed as a "Local Service for Women." Such a designation uses the classical construction of gender essentialism, in which gender roles are viewed as static, often biological, indisputable facts. These facts normalize gendered abuse as unavoidable, as "responsibility for women's unequal status rests with Nature, which is impervious to political intervention" (Stringer 2014: 59). This inequality is then established as definitional to women, or as bell hooks wrote, ""the dominant tendency in Western patriarchal minds to mystify woman's reality by instating that gender is the sole determinant of woman's fate" (2000: 15).

These essentialist conceptions of femininity conceptualize rape as an act that is defined by and defines women: "to be rapeable, a position that is social not biological, defines what a woman is" (MacKinnon 1989: 178). In the designation of RCWI as a women's service, cultural messages are transmitted about both sexual abuse and gender: it happens to women, defines women, and is natural to women. Within this binary construction of gender, the designation of rape as a women's issue erases the role of men: as both victims and perpetrators. It is the patriarchal State structure that establishes such binary conceptions of gender, as "patriarchal power relationships polarize notions of masculinities and femininities" (Campbell 2013: 54). The

designations of women as victims and rape as a woman's issue, allows for the role of

perpetration as well as masculinity to be rendered invisible.

The marginalization of sexual assault prevention and education aspect of RCCs illustrates

the use of State control to remove the focus from the causes of sexual assault. Amy, one of two

RCWI executive directors I interviewed, stressed the importance of prevention services: "There

are mental health services - there is all that, but unless we change how people view sexual

behaviour, and how the view consent and all the rest of it, nothing is ever going to change." By

fostering financial dependency with RCWI, the State controls the messaging of sexual assault

causes and promotes the use of the therapeutic services within nationalized healthcare. Anna

described the issues of prevention as clearly linked to the scarcity model of the RCWI:

> EW: What do you think about how RCWI handles prevention and education?
>
> A: There is no funding for it. One of my days was education and prevention, and
> I actually really enjoyed that. That was great, because you weren't looking at the
> aftermath of trauma, you were actually actively working on changing something.
> That was great. You were usually well perceived by the youngsters, even if they
> were giggly and so on. But then the funding was cut so my post was gone, from
> one day to the next.

Anna's assessment of her previous RCWI preventative work, was that it was well received by the

students. Mila echoed Anna's thoughts on the lack of funding, and connected this issue to the

relationship between the Church and the State.

> Oh god, prevention work yeah…but there is no money. Sex education is a huge
> one. As basic as sex education — that wouldn't be the Rape Crisis Centre doing
> that, but if there was an organization, and it would probably have to be an NGO
> because the State wouldn't take that on! The Catholic Church and the State are
> like this (indicates closeness) so if an NGO had the funding, you know — and
> the resources to be delivering sex education in Secondary schools…

Mila crucially integrates the funding issues that restrict prevention sources to State priorities,

religious nationalism, and a discomfort with sexuality. The institutional control over the RCWI

by the State allows for the continued power of the government to control sexuality and align with the values of the Catholic Church. By cutting prevention and education, the anti-rape movement remains contained, nationalist gender constructs upheld, and the solution to sexual assault moves from structural analysis of sexuality and masculinity to individualized women's counseling.

RCWI advocates refute the designation of the Centre as a "women's" space, using a distancing strategy that weaves a careful narrative. Many advocates described various efforts to expand the space for male victimization: through outreach, hiring male counselors, and criticizing perceived "anti-male" attitudes. This frequently included a distancing from feminism, and many of the advocates used a common cultural definition of feminism as being anti-men. While RCCs had been founded by feminist activism, the associations between colonialism and imperialist definitions of feminism also posed a cultural threat to the Centre.

The tension between the external and internal gendering of the Centre is further exemplified in the discourse surrounding the inclusion of male survivors and staff. In 2015, 90 percent of RCWI clients identified as women, and 10 identified as men. In 2006, RCWI combined with a male sexual abuse center, merging clients and counselors. William, a leader at the male Centre before it merged with RCWI, describes the move as being motivated by governmental funding cuts:

> I was coordinator there for six years but the HSE — the Health Service Executive, who were funding us, were under a lot of pressure to cut down on costs and I spoke with one of their senior guys, and he said 'have you ever considered linking up with the Rape Crisis Centre?' and I said yes, I actually had. Ellen, who also works here, and I decided that would be the right thing to do and so in 2006 we became one.

While State cuts were generally viewed as negatively impacting the Centre, the advocates positively reflected on the financial pressure that caused the consolidation of the centers. Mila,

who worked both at the male center and has been a counselor at RCWI for ten years, viewed the

consolidation as shifting the attitude towards men in the Centre:

> M: That was a good shift, I think — it helps to shift an attitude. I suppose when an organization is brought up through a Feminist movement, it can…it shouldn't really have an anti-male attitude, but I think it does underline it in some way. I think it was a good shift, for people to start to see male clients here.

> EW: Do you know anything specific that was causing that attitude?

> M: I think it was the origins of it — which it came from the Feminist movement. I think that created some of that. I do think that still, a bit of that exists — not letting anyone see a man here, as if they are the enemy or something? I don't think it's healthy — I don't think it's a healthy attitude at all.

While Mila acknowledges the importance of feminism to the founding of the Centre, she

explains her rejection or disinterest in feminism as a problem with how feminism essentializes

gendered victimization. She also references a RCWI policy: that male staff avoid being seen by

non-client female victims, including answering the door to let female clients into the Centre

(which requires clients to press a buzzer to notify a counselor). This mandate constructs a

protective view of women victims as fragile and easily upset by masculinity, similar to the Tulsa

gendered understanding that women need specialized care. This reveals a paradox between the

governmental use of gender essentialism in the categorization of RCWI, and the rejection of such

thinking by the advocates.

Though the advocates reject the use of gender essentialism within *feminism*, this

essentialism is *culturally* used to demarcate the Centre. The mischaracterization of the Centre's

client base leads the advocates to self-regulate false gender constructs through their own

distancing from RCWI's feminist roots. Campbell (2013: 55) suggests that in patriarchal

societies a woman knows herself as both a subject and an object, and therefore "restlessly submit

to a kind of self-surveillance that is both a form of agency and subordination…Patriarchies

solicit women's subordination and participation, and of course seek women's consent." This concept can be seen at work here, as the advocates "police" RCWI's gender constructs, while the Centre is labeled using this essentialist treatment by governmental powers. hooks (2000: 74) addresses gender violence and gender constructs as needing nuanced perceptions of both issues: "men do oppress women. People are hurt by rigid sex-role patterns. These two realities co-exist. Male oppression of women cannot be excused by the recognition there are ways that men are hurt by rigid sex roles" (ibid.). While there is space for an analysis of masculinity as oppressive to women and men, gender essentialism does not allow for such duality.

The Irish SARC negates a gender analysis of sexual abuse by essentializing feminine vulnerability as a fixed state, rather than a socially constructed position, and sexual victimization as an inherently feminine issue. Within such a conception, men are erased as both perpetrators and victims, protecting entrenched patriarchal power. RCWI advocates attempt to create gender inclusivity in ways that can echo State-enacted gender essentialism, which inadvertently reifies masculine power hierarchies. Attempts to address the role of masculinity in causing sexual assault are negated by State elimination of these RCC services. RCWI's efforts to de-essentialize both gender and sexual abuse have not effectively altered the State perception of RCCs, as seen in the subordination of RCWI within the SARC discussed in the next section.

3. *The Gendered Subordination of "Local Women's Services"*

RCWI's welfare-state regulation and gendered designation centralizes the role of the State in overseeing sexual assault recovery while neutralizing the anti-rape movement within RCCs. From this foundation, hegemonic gender hierarchies devalue the social importance of RCCs, and nationalist motivations of efficient healthcare are used to reconstruct victimization for the needs of the State. Notably, *RCWI's institutionalization has not improved the Centre's*

financial, cultural, or governmental standing. In this section, I demonstrate how SARC

integration and contemporary iterations of gender subordination marginalize RCWI and sexual

abuse.

The fourteen programs Tusla oversees are hierarchically ranked according to the

agency's prioritization of their funding. Domestic, Sexual, and Gender Based Violence Services

are situated thirteenth of the fourteen. Maeve, who had been on the RCWI staff for six years, saw

the de-prioritization as standing in contrast to the success that RCCs have had. She compares

RCWI to other nationalized services and views RCWI as doing more work with less support:

> So, there has been a period of adjustment —I suppose on every level, not just in
> this organization but any community organization or service …we are not very
> high on their priority. An awful lot of things don't work in Ireland, such as the
> social care and fostering service in Ireland. It's really not working. When you see
> them pumping so much money into something that doesn't work, it feels like such
> a waste, you know? They have services in there that do work, and don't need
> monitoring because they know the money isn't going in any weird direction — it's
> literally going to providing the service. It's not like we are sitting here surrounded
> by leather sofas and gold-covered pens. We work on a very minimal scale…and we
> are getting paint sponsored to tidy the place up, it's not like it's in the budget! Then
> you see places up the road getting two hundred thousand to redecorate and all this
> — you are just going 'what the fuck, like!'

Maeve's reflection calls the high functioning and measures of success attached to the Centre into

contrast with other social programs that are proven ineffective. Explaining why RCCs are

essential services, Sinead discusses the de-prioritization of RCWI using a similar rationale:

> Yeah, I do think they are very very important, and I think they should be funded
> much more. I mean, it's cancer, like. It is a cancer in our society and why real
> cancer gets more attention. I don't know. The reserves in Cancer Care West are
> three million. They've been around for twenty years. We've been around for
> thirty-two and our reserves are fifty grand.

Both Maeve and Sinead view the distribution of governmental support as illogical: Maeve uses

service success and cost-effectiveness to measure the stratification; Sinead uses a public health

perspective to assess the social impact of sexual abuse as well as the longevity of the

organization. The State's refusal to use such measures of success in national fund distribution strategy reflects the "anti-industry" and "anti-science" beliefs embedded in Irish nationalism. As Dingley (2015) discussed in his analysis of Irish national identity, the postcolonial unification of Ireland included anti-science and modern industry positions as a manifestation of anti-English sentiment.[18] Following independence, Irish identity drew demarcations between themselves and their colonizers, and distanced the Republic's culture from scientific evidence and industrial logics. This ideology was directly connected to governmental configuration, or as James Dingley (2015) described Irish State development: "Nothing further from scientific government could be imagined: this government was premised on a world in which morals, politics, and aesthetics are subjective and not objective, feeling, not analysis" (144). In a patriarchal culture, such as Ireland, a government based on morals and politics disadvantages the feminine. Given that Tusla has gendered RCCs and rape as essentially feminine, their low status in government priorities is fitting. Less than a century after the post-colonial Irish construction of nationalism began, the government agency of Tusla can be seen as driven by nationalized gender priorities, rather than evidence-based practices or an industrious model.

The ranking of government social services continues to be driven by religious morality, which creates a space for women, but a subservient one. Catholic doctrine has impacted, and continues to impact, many aspects of the relationship between Irish women, sexuality, and the State. Historically, pregnant unmarried women faced social rejection and suffering, including forced adoptions and slave labor in state-funded Church-run "Magdalene laundries." The WERA building is located on the one of the sites of a former such laundry. Many advocates saw the

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[18] During colonization, the English used scientific rationales to justify their treatment of the Irish: "science was associated with a 'natural' British State building that grew out of a core pre-existing identity to encompass backward peripheral regions such as Ireland" (Dingley 2015: 138).

connection between the laundries and the Centre as fitting. Sinead reflects: "I think they are the

same clients that we have now that were then." Isla viewed the symbolism as positive:

> I think it is wonderful. Some people have mixed feelings, and the little graveyard
> outside the back door is a bit strange, but I feel it is proper order, something
> coming to closure, because I believe there was so much sexual violence behind
> those laundries and a cover-up of it. We are now here and doing some healing for
> a change.

Isla interprets the placement of RCWI on sites of historical gender abuse as a positive resolution.

This positivity is based in the Centre's replacement of the perpetration of sexual abuse with

healing from sexual abuse. Given the institutionalization of RCWI into State structures, the

government, then, maintains State control over sexual abuse, transforming institutional trauma

into institutional recovery. Stated alternatively, the RCWI provides healing at the same time that

the State's power remains omnipresent over the site. Sinead drew direct correlations between the

use of the space and the societal view of the Centre:

> If you think about the Centre itself, nobody wants to know about it, nobody
> really funds it, it's 'down here in a dell' literally behind the old Magdalene's.
> Even the fact that we are in the Magdalene's home represents to me what we are,
> which is the hidden part of the psyche.

Sinead's interpretation of the historical connection suggests that the State continues to hide abuse

in multiple ways: geographically, culturally, and economically. The subordinate position of the

Centre in hierarchies of State funding illustrates that while the function of the space has radically

transformed, the concern for sexual abuse has not. Hanafin's (1997: 250) analysis of social

meaning for women's rights in the Irish Constitution, places women's role as in the family and

demonstrates "how patriarchy has defined the role of women in constitutional terms." This is

consistent with Tulsa's hierarchical ranking of RCCs with the treatment of gender issues in

Ireland. While nationalist social welfarism includes supporting a "women's" issue through the

healthcare system, the patriarchal structuring and sex-negativity of Irish culture continues to

subordinate issues viewed as sexual and feminine, resulting in RCWI's tenuous financial

position. Regardless of how advocates have attempted to position the RCWI, the federal

designation of RCCs as gender-specific counteracts many of these efforts on a structural and

cultural scale. Sexual abuse is inherently a feminine issue, and therefore is subordinated within

the State's internal hierarchies of gender and sexuality.

Ultimately, the government's priorities drive the stability of RCWI. Karen's discussion of

her hopes for the future of RCCs reflects the impact of governmental institutionalization:

> I hope that they are more valued in a governmental sense, in terms of funding. I
> hope they get more of a status in terms of funding, and that you don't have to
> struggle all the time with it. That you could have the money to do all these things
> and that we could be then working more in the area of educating and awareness in
> society, than in specialize and the aftermath and after effects. I'd love to think that
> is where we are heading towards. That we'd be looked at as not so scary, and a bit
> more valued.

Karen focuses in on the financial devaluation of the centers as well as the perception of RCCs as

a misunderstood threat. She also highlights another crucial implication of institutionalization- the

ability for the government to control which services are provided at the Centre, which causes the

marginalization of prevention and education in favor of proscriptive individual response. Many

at RCWI lament the cuts that have been made to prevention and education efforts in favor of

counseling. Sophie, a ten-year veteran counselor at the Centre, viewed the Tusla integration as

also changing the form of counseling provided by the Centre.

> S: They've always looked for stats and stuff, but it seems now that Tusla Ireland
> are involved and there is to be more of that bullshit. It's going to be more about
> the assembly line and 'give them the six weeks and get them out!' and all of that,
> which is going to go against the whole ethos of what we were about… or the
> Centre.
>
> EW: Was about historically, you mean?
>
> S: I think so. I think it was set up as a safe place outside of that environment
> where people were able to go…

EW: How do you think that's going to change things?

S: I don't know. I'd say if they bring in the whole six-week….It's insane! I think it's just going to let down a huge amount of the population that need the service, and they will have nowhere else to go except privately, and people don't have the money, and then not everybody is specialized in the area, privately.

Sophie draws a crucial distinction between private services and the nationalized healthcare system that subsidizes the RCWI. She not only views the RCWI as continuing to provide a specialized service and space for rape victims, but also views the government standardization and regulation of the Centre as impacting victims' services. State policies that limit counseling services to six-weeks per victim saves the government money, while pushing the need for longer-term care out of the public system. In 2015, 37 percent of the RCWI clients had experienced child sexual abuse, and 61 percent adult sexual assault. Given this diversity of experiences, a universal healing timeline will meet the needs of all RCWI's clients. While RCWI was once a place outside of the government, SARC integration transforms the function and purpose of the Centre to serve governmental needs.

RCCs remain both distrusted and financially insecure, as they were from their foundation. The supervision and regulation instituted by SARC integration has not had a corresponding effect on the perceived legitimacy of the Centre which is still culturally and governmentally viewed as "scary" and keeps the RCWI both culturally and governmentally marginalized. Thus, the Centre's sacrifices made through institutionalization may have been in vain. Nationalized funding has not provided financial security for the Centre, nor has it improved the perception of RCCs. Through the SARC, the Irish government has transformed the anti-rape movement into a State agency that individualizes sexual abuse through essentialized gender constructs, places healing on a timeline of cost-efficiency, and marginalizes prevention and education.

1. Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse as a State-Sponsored Non-Profit

Similar to financial insecurity pushing RCWI into the patriarchal nationalized Irish healthcare system, funding scarcity institutionalized WERA in this U.S. SARC. This resulted from two patriarchal hierarchies of power: neoliberal economic ideologies and the criminal-legal system. In *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State,* Catherine MacKinnon (1989:163) described the relationship between the State, law, and gender as "male jurisprudentially, meaning that it adopts the standpoint of male power on the relation between law and society." In this section, I address how the U.S. SARC and WERA rely and support both forms of this masculinized power. Through this process, SARC incorporation has turned WERA from a threat into a reinforcement of the hegemonic social order.

In the U.S, the proliferation of neoliberal capitalism severely reduced funding to anti-rape services in the 1990s and 2000s. Following the passage of the original Violence Against Women Act in 1994, prospective RCC funding became tied to evidence-based governmental grants and associations with State-affiliated institutions (Bumiller 2008). The impact of neoliberal capitalism is gendered, as reflected in the "feminization of poverty"[19] caused by such capitalism (Kingfisher 2010). In her analysis of neoliberalism and victimology, Stringer argues that the hesitation to connect capitalism to historical oppression impacts both women and their labor: "the norms and processes that serve to structure labour markets in ways that marginalize women and undervalue their labours, are protected from critique" (2014: 50). Campbell (2013:27) also argues that neoliberal capitalism is fundamentally against the feminine, proclaiming,

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[19] In 1978, Diane Pearce defined the feminization of poverty as disproportionate rates of women, especially women of Color, living below the poverty line or dependent on welfare. While Pearce's study examined the United States, the findings have since been replicated worldwide (see Kingfisher 2010 for a review), as well as more recently within the U.S. (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010).

"Neoliberalism is sexist" when describing the redistribution of funds away from women and the children they care for. Amber, a volunteer supervisor at WERA, described RCCs as crucial services within a neoliberal capitalist structure:

> Well, all the obvious reasons because there are survivors who have nowhere else to go, who have no support, who have no access to counseling, no access to advocacy. We live in a capitalist country and everything costs and if you don't have the money to pay for a good lawyer or to pay for a good advocate or to pay for a good therapist, what do you do? So yeah, I think crisis centers are incredibly important. I mean, rape isn't going away, it's still going strong.

Amber views RCCs as providing expensive industry-bound resources to those who would otherwise not receive them. Like Sophie at the RCWI, she perceives the private sector as inaccessible for many rape victims. She outlines three services provided by RCCs to navigate sexual assault in a neoliberal, capitalist society: legal support, victim advocacy, and counseling needs. Bumiller (2008) outlines the three responsibilities Amber lists as the extension of the problem of sexual assault onto professional classes, which treat sexual abuse as an "unqualified good" and increases State surveillance over citizens' lives (65). Amber views RCCs as needed in a capitalist economy because rape permeates society, although SARC institutionalization suggests it is this capitalism that causes rape to persist.

Bumiller (2008) asserts that while RCCs have remained generally intact, State surveillance over an extended network of public and private agencies tasked with institutional sexual assault response, has led to the neoliberal appropriation of the antiviolence movement. My findings suggest that this State control occurs *within* RCCs as well, and therefore RCCs can no longer be thought of as separate from the expansion of State surveillance within the SARC.

The first entry point for WERA institutionalization into the SARC was the formalization of the previously amorphous relationship between WERA and Community Mental Health (CMH). The relationship between WERA and CMH illustrates the establishment of capitalist

State control over RCCs. The two organizations joined forces in 1973, and official description of the relationship between the two has alternated between WERA being a team, program, or affiliate of CMH. While an increasing number of RCCs have become affiliated with larger social service organizations, these affiliations are more commonly seen in centers established after the peak of the anti-rape movement (Campbell et al. 1998). Despite the continued messaging of CMH providing economic security from WERA management, the Center's funding relies on governmental sources. Although CMH provides a financial safety net, most funding for WERA lies in federal grants. Nancy, the top manager at CMH and former executive director of WERA, addressed this:

> EW: What are the typical funding streams of WERA?
>
> N: So right now it's been the Victims of Crime Act, federal money, the Violence Against Women Act, federal money, the Victim Advocacy and Law Enforcement- that's an institutional pot of money[20] and then really small kinda prevention grants, like the Tony grant is a State grant that comes up about youth education. So, federal, some, mainly, and then some State dollars.

It is significant that the main source of WERA funding is from the State. Within U.S. neoliberal capitalist ideology, it would contradict U.S. national identity to directly support RCCs through a nationalist social service program. [21] This mentality dictates that the government is not responsible for the success of U.S. citizens. Spending on social services should therefore be limited: "if one believes that structural causes are not the reason for inequality, it follows that

[20] VALE is a State grant that supports a state-wide victims group, which distributes some of these funds to WERA.
[21] This capitalist national ideology can be attributed to the religious colonial history of the U.S. As Durkheim theorized in *Division of Labor* (1984 [1893]), the social structuring of religion and moral development are all closely linked to economic organization. The continuing impact of Protestant colonization is observed in U.S. economic and cultural belief in the U.S. as a capitalist meritocracy, the contemporary iteration of Predestination. In a capitalist meritocracy, those who are economically successful in life have earned their wealth and status; conversely those who are not as successful are presumed to lack ambition or drive, and therefore deserve their subordinate socioeconomic standing (Wald & Calhoun-Brown 2011). Unregulated free-market capitalism and meritocracy are identical in their missions, as capitalist theory requires that businesses will be successful if they have earned that ability (Harvey 2004; Gamble 2001).

structural solutions such as government programs are not required" (Wald & Calhoun-Brown 2011: 193). Therefore, the government cannot directly provide social services such as RCCs.

Yet as the organizations that emerged from the second-wave feminist movement, RCCs pose a threat to the patriarchal social order in the U.S. While nationalist ideology dictates U.S. RCCs cannot be State controlled, governmental oversight is needed to manage the antiviolence movement's criticism of the social structure. Integration into CMH and federal grant reliance provide two layers of such oversight over WERA. Campbell (2013: 5) notes that the neoliberal capitalist aim to minimize the role of the government "…shrinks the space of politics and thus, the possibility of challenge and change."

Wolch (1990) conceptualized the "shadow State" as being the rise of governmentally controlled nonprofit agencies to administer direct social services cut by the deregulation and privatization of capitalism. By latently supporting these agencies, the U.S. government gained oversight over social justice organizations and pacified the communities most affected by federal cuts, while maintaining their political ideology of free-market capitalism. WERA is within this shadow state, as a government-backed service that is latently regulated by both grant requirements and CMH affiliation. Relying on federal and State grants allows for State control over RCCs while staying within the governmental ideology of restricted social services.

The support of WERA from State grants also facilitates State control over the mission and services provided by the center. In 2001, the name of the Center changed from being a *Rape Crisis Team* to *Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse* to more fully convey the preventative and social justice orientation of the center. This principle has been marginalized through funding issues. Samantha, a three-year volunteer advocate, described the services and goals of WERA:

> I think our large mission is to end sexual assault, but our bulk of our effort is
> about after the fact, being a hotline, and being a counseling program, and group

therapy program…I mean, I think our funding supports our hotline more than it supports the education and training ahead of time. So, I think we're successful as a hotline. I think we have a nice pipeline into counseling for people who don't have other resources and so that is great, because just talking to somebody once on a hotline doesn't fix their problems, but for certain people it can bring them into counseling and group sessions. That's great. So, I think we meet the mission there. With a little bit more funding, I think we could help meet the frontend mission of reducing assaults.

Samantha recognizes that the realities of service provision stand in contrast to the overall mission of WERA. Further, she addresses how the funding issues impact the ability of WERA to fulfill this organizational goal. Government funding focuses on the proscriptive response to sexual assault, negating the prevention and education in favor of SARC integration.

WERA leadership was consistently on message in the rationalization of their institutionalization into CMH: we need them for financial support. Steve, who spent ten years as a volunteer advocate at WERA, discusses the relationship between WERA and CMH as such:

I think that there's definitely positives and negatives. On the positives, it helps ensure that we have baseline funding every year. Grants can come and go, or fundraising efforts can go up and down. CMH provides the stability that the basic bills will get paid and we can stay in business, so that's nice because one year you go out of business, it really would be hard to start up again.

Despite being covertly funded by governmental grants, economic insecurity continues to motivate WERA to be integrated with CMH. As such, if a federal grant is cut due to increasing governmental privatization, WERA is protected by the centralized capital within CMH. This economic insecurity comes at a large organizational cost. CMH is a federally backed non-profit, and does not identify as a social justice organization. Rachel described this tension as such:

CMH does not have a social justice lens, which is a problem for a rape crisis center because the work that we did is social justice work and we're part of a movement and they're not part of that movement and they don't understand the movement. And they don't value the same things that a rape crisis center needs to value…it's not interested in creating social change or it's just serving individuals. Well, some of the programs do try to be preventive and

> things like that but we're tied their money. So, we have to kinda do things the
> way that they do things.

Given the apolitical approach of CMH, institutionalization pushes WERA away from the core

values of RCCs and the anti-rape movement. The financial instability of neoliberal capitalism

that pushes WERA into reliance on a larger social service organization serves the priorities of the

State by allowing further surveillance of WERA. By integrating into CMH, the threat caused by

a structural analysis of sexual abuse as a social problem is neutralized. Neoliberal capitalist

structures foster the economic insecurity that causes the mainstream dependence of RCCs on the

state, pushing the centers into SARCs and away from social justice work. From there, SARCs

address the issue of sexual assault as an individual issue that reifies the power of the state.

2. Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse as a Direct-Service Program

Transformations in the understanding of gender and sexual abuse led to the integration of

WERA into the structure of the patriarchal State through criminal-legal service provision. In

addition to the shadow State dependency of WERA on State funding, these changes allow

another avenue for the government to manage the cultural messaging of the center, and therefore

the antiviolence movement. In this section, I address how SARCs use nationalist conceptions of

gender to transform sexual abuse from a cultural problem to a criminal-legal problem,

entrenching the power of the state. Gender is first removed from sexual abuse using the

neoliberal ethos of legal neutrality. From this foundation, law enforcement uses meritocratic

principles of personal responsibility to restrict legitimacy to victims who align with state.

In 2015, WERA management announced to supervision group volunteers that the hotline

would be outsourced to the national rape crisis organization located on the East Coast. This

transformed WERA into a direct-service organization, with on-call volunteers to provide in-

person advocacy at the hospital, police station, or in court. At the time of the change, Steve referenced the impact of this transition by writing in an email, "I think your dissertation may take an interesting turn to documenting the end of one of the country's oldest grass-roots hotlines as its non-face-to-face services are outsourced." By transforming the hotline into a service that exclusively serves institutions within the SARC, WERA has assimilated into a deeply patriarchal State system. Or, as Campbell (2013: 89) states: "The most masculinized of public services, the judiciary, police and peacekeepers, do not take inspiration from the collective body of women: the 'scene of the crime.'" WERA had already provided these forms of in-person advocacy. The outsourcing indicates that WERA has consolidated the hotline from a service for all victims, into a service exclusively supporting those victims who are within the formal institutions of the SARC. This transformation was reflected in changes in the numbers of contacts. In 2016, WERA saw nineteen more therapy clients than in 2015 (from 92 to 111), while hospital and law enforcement advocacy increased sharply from nine to 54 visits. Tellingly, while the hotline received 755 calls in 2015, the last year of the localized service, the outsourced hotline received 247 calls: two-thirds fewer calls. Direct-service provision increased SARC advocacy, and sharply reduced those reaching out for hotline counseling.

Gruber (2009: 8) documents the progression of the anti-rape movement away from awareness-raising and towards supporting the criminal legal system, describing how "the subsequent decades-long entanglement with criminal justice systems have fundamentally re-defined the movement's internal goals." Nancy, in a top WERA leadership role who was with the organization for over fifteen years, when asked how increased direct-service interactions had influenced the center's relationship with law enforcement, responded that she "did not know if that was what, how, or why" the switch had occurred, and that the transformed relationship with

authorities had not occurred to her. Nancy did see a change in the relationship with the police over time: she asserted that years ago WERA advocates were seen by law enforcement as interfering with investigations, but now there is respect and collaboration between the systems:

> I feel like we're working together, there's conversation there's respect. When there's issues, I feel like we follow up. It just feels healthy to me.

Rachel, a veteran employee and volunteer advocate who worked for Nancy during her time with WERA, felt the importance of improving WERA's relationship to the State was obvious:

> I saw that as really being a priority, how can we get the police to respect us and to trust us and communicate with us. And for us to start working more as a team rather than completely separately or as if we're in opposition to each other.

Rachel views the efforts to improve the relationship between WERA and law enforcement as unidirectional: how to gain the respect and trust of the police, but not the need to develop respect for police from the center. Nancy and Rachel's perceptions of a transformation between the center and the police are in line with national data on the relationship between U.S. RCCs and the state. The anti-authoritarian stance of many U.S. RCCs radically shifted in the decades following the rise of the anti-rape movement, and U.S. research has found mainstream antiviolence movements are now closely aligned with State logics (Corrigan 2013; Richie 2012; Bumiller 2008). In his deconstruction of the NPIC, Rodríguez (2007: 43) acknowledged the transformation of critical social justice movements by reflecting, "Strangely, then, we are faced with the ascendance of anti-State State actors: people and parties who gain State power by denouncing State power."

By creating a dependent relationship between RCCs and formal reporting systems, the State apparatus has gained the dedicated support of their one-time critics, and RCC aligned their visions with "law and order" nationalist ideology. As a result, the State neutralizes the threat of WERA by securing State structures as the solution, and affirms the cultural importance of the

carceral state. Joanne Belknap (2014:1) pointed to the contradiction of mass incarceration and defunding of State services: "At the same time that our government fosters and funds mass incarceration…we find advocates for social and legal justice struggling to fund, open, and maintain…abused women's shelters, homeless shelters, child sexual abuse organizations, rape crisis centers, and so on." WERA's institutionalization suggests that RCCs resolved this tension through integration into the social program U.S. nationalist ideology does not hesitate to support: the carceral state.

The framework of State protection is embedded within the construction of the U.S. as a nation- state. In contrast to hegemonic origin stories of democratic independence, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz (2014) points to the founding of the U.S. as being caused by a split in the British Empire, specifically regarding the right to expansion into Indigenous land and the possession of Africans as chattel (2014). In breaking from British rule, the new republic was positioned as only protectors of the settlers from indigenous people (Deer 2015). Indian men are viewed as the 'true' rapists to justify the colonization of Indian land, and false beliefs in the mass rape of white women by Black men led to thousands of lynchings in the Post-Bellum U.S. (Smith 2005; Davis 1981). These accusations were founded on the guise of State protection of white women's sexual purity. Smith argues that these views obscure white supremacist and patriarchal power. This paternalistic and racialized government structure form the foundation of U.S. national identity, and is seen again in the criminal-legal jurisdiction within the U.S. SARC.

As a result of switch to direct service, the U.S. SARC and WERA within it now both rely on the assumption that the law is gender-neutral in a society without sexual (or racial) inequality. WERA's integration into CMH utilizes a neoliberal economic structure that views on gender as irrelevant to social life. Mackinnon (1989:163) theorized that the State, while positioned as a

gender-neutral arbitrator of justice, is a gendered institution: "The foundation for its neutrality is the pervasive assumption that conditions that pertain among men on the basis of gender apply to women as well- that is, the assumption that sex inequality does not really exist in society."

This belief in gender equality creates a gender-neutral and individualized approach to both rape and the criminal-legal system. The law poses as innocuous, ignoring the political contexts that made intervention in victim's lives necessary. As Mardorossian (2002) wrote, legal effort "'legitimizes the law and the State as appropriate protectors against injury' while obscuring the masculinist State's own power to injure" (759). In her study of sexual abuse and criminal-legal systems, Phipps (2010) described the legal changes that led to sex-neutral categories for victims and perpetrators, rather than laws that specified female victims and male perpetrators. With these changes, Phipps proposed that the gendered body has been dismissed in favor of the victimized body. Within this removal of the significance of gender, assault becomes individualized and removed from analyses of gender or sexuality. Sexual abuse has become a criminal issue, with support being "frequently positioned as a means by which to achieve criminal justice objectives" (368).

Just as RCWI also relied on gender essentialism, WERA has adapted the institutional view of gender. WERA now utilizes the criminal-legal view of victimization: gender neutrality. Mya, who worked at the center for five years, reflects her frustration with the organizational refusal to acknowledge the gendered nature of sexual abuse.

> Oh no. Oh my God. It got to be this thing where you couldn't even say, "A man is a perpetrator, and a woman is the victim." You couldn't even say that, because they were like, "Well, there's male victims too." And it's like, "Yes. We know." But the big percentage are women, so fucking stop. Well, and I mean, it's a gender-based crime…. That's not a mystery or a surprise. It shouldn't be a surprise to anyone. So, taking gender out of it makes it make no sense. I don't know. God, this is upsetting.

Similarly, Bumiller (2008:86) claims that the "genderless formation" of intimate partner violence pathologizes victims while reconstructing femininity: "women are taken out of their gender, class, and racial situation and their problems are discussed as if all persons are equally vulnerable." Notably, the gender neutralization so illogical to Mya, is perfectly logical from the neoliberal criminal-legal perspective.

Using this genderless framework, the State can provide solutions that simultaneously reify the role of the government as protector and promote State interests via the criminal-legal system. Gender-neutrality in the U.S. SARC allows for solutions that maintain the status quo: "Practical rationality, in this approach, means that which can be done without changing anything" (162). Rather than prevention and education practices that center social change, the criminal-legal system is now the solution to sexual abuse in the eyes of both WERA and the U.S. SARC. This is consistent with Mardorossian (2011:77) who identified the criminal legal response to rape as "a legal machinery that poses as neutral arbiter between incriminated and isolated individuals in a context of collective violence it was historically instrumental in creating." MacKinnon (1989) theorized that U.S. ideology maintains a façade of separation between morals, politics, and the court system. This cognitive dissidence allows for the perception of judicial neutrality: "Courts, forums without predisposition among parties and with no interest of their own, reflect society back to itself resolved" (162). *By switching the hotline into a direct service, the solution to sexual assault has transformed from prevention to prosecution.* This is evident in Gloria's discussion of the changeover from the hotline to direct service provision, where she constructs a shared mission to adjust to change.

> I've seen a lot of change, and I haven't always agreed with the direction, but
> when you realize everybody's just trying to make a difference, and they're
> working their best to do that and make that happen, you release some of that "I
> liked it the way it was. I don't like this change." But this change is all good

> because ultimately, we just want to serve the victims and stop this thing called
> sexual assault from happening to anyone. That's the goal everyone has.
> Regardless of how we do it, we keep that goal in mind.

Gloria manages her disagreement with the change by focusing on her belief in the shared

mission between the criminal-legal system and RCCs. In so doing, she transfers the goal

of ending sexual assault from the social justice to the criminal legal perspective.

In 2017, WERA relocated to office space on the CMH site. Nicole, who has been a

volunteer advocate for just over a year, expressed discomfort at this idea: "I mean, perpetrators

go in there, too. What if a survivor ran into their perpetrator?" Indeed, one of the other CMH

programs is a partnership with the local Sherriff and Probation Department to provide services to

those on probation; it is possible that victims and perpetrators may cross paths as they access

services. The consolidation of WERA into CMH increased the proximity of many connections

within the SARC, removing the idea of a "safe space" for victims in favor of criminal-legal

consolidation. This stands in contrast to the hyper-gender surveillance policies of the RCWI,

wherein male counselors are treated as dangerous and access to the Centre is completely

restricted to RCWI clients and staff. At WERA, the individualized approach of CMH and

criminal-legal services takes priority.

Neoliberal principles frame the understanding of oppression as individual, not cultural,

working to "recast questions of political and economic status as matters of individual

psychological and agency, resulting in further displacement of the concept of structural

oppression" (Stringer 2008: 50). This occurs within both the NPIC that WERA is embedded

within, as well as the criminal-legal system WERA transformed to serve. Becoming a direct-

service organization that services the State transforms aligns WERA's definitions of causes,

victims, and solutions with that of the SARC: from structural understandings of gender and

power into individual victimizations and criminal pathologies. The solution to the individual issue of sexual assault confirms the State as paternalistic authority. The use of the criminal-legal system to diminish sexual abuse and WERA within the SARC is the focus of the next section.

3. Legitimate Relegation: Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse as a Neoliberal Crime Service

WERA's "shadow state" regulation and criminal-legal transformation centralizes the role of the State in sexual assault recovery while neutralizing the political element of RCCs. WERA is now an organization within the NPIC that serves criminal-legal ideology. WERA's institutionalization has not ameliorated victim services or the center's position within the SARC, however. In this final section of my findings, I demonstrate how SARC integration and gender neutralization has not improved the State treatment of rape victims or RCCs.

Neoliberalism serves two crucial functions within the U.S. SARC: it individualizes social issues, and mandates victims display personal responsibility. This responsibility is most often applied to analyses of victim blaming rhetoric (i.e., Stringer 2008). My findings extend this ideology to the responsibility of victims to report their assaults to law enforcement. WERA's direct-service transformation has negatively constricted the SARC and cultural attitude towards rape. Using neoliberal principles, sexual assault has been transformed from a social problem into an individual one, wherein the paternalistic criminal-legal system is the only solution. Stringer (2008:9) writes, "neoliberal victim theory is characterized first and foremost by a victim-blaming conception of victimization as subjective and psychological rather than social and political…this way of knowing victimization transforms social vulnerability into personal responsibility" (9). When situated in a criminal-legal context, victimization has been transformed into a responsibility to report, which reifies the importance of the SARC and criminal-legal system. During one of WERA's monthly volunteer meetings, a police officer's presentation to the

volunteer advocates illustrated the legitimation of victims through institutional participation. An advocate asked him a question about non-reporting and used the term "survivor." He corrected the advocate: "they're victims, not survivors, until they go through my process." The officer positions victimhood as a negative term indicating regression: healing can only come through engaging with criminal-legal systems.

Through this process, victim legitimacy is determined by law enforcement, which the officer also suggests is the sole location of transformation from broken to healed. Crenshaw (1991:291) wrote that holding rape victims to strict standards of legitimacy allows for mass invalidation of experiences, effectively "measuring the rape victim against a narrow norm of acceptable conduct for women. Deviating from that norm tends to turn women into illegitimate rape victims." Casting sexual assault in this way invalidates the vast majority of victim's experiences, non-reported assault. Within the minority of cases where sexual assaults are deemed valid, the victims are represented as dependent on State protection. Within these gendered constructs, it if a woman behaved according to hegemonic rules of femininity, the masculine arm of the law will punish the man she was not powerful enough to resist.

While the RCWI counselors resisted gender essentialist views of victimization, several WERA advocates adapted the criminal-legal definition of victimization and healing. This is evident in Gloria's discussion of recovery, prosecution, and victim compliance:

> She's in a place where she can stop being a victim. She hasn't been a victim for a really, really long time. She owned that and did the work necessary to move from victim. It's different for every person. She was able early on to make that transition because as we prosecuted immediately, she did everything that she could to help her prosecution team to get together the evidence.

In their study of perceptions of sexual assault victims in the general population, Gavey and Schmidt (2011) proposed this perception represented a "trauma of rape" discourse: rape was seen

as a devastating violation, worse than death, that took public processing to recover from. As this conception of rape entered public consciousness, victim legitimacy became dependent on victim compliance within the protective authority of the criminal legal system.

While WERA retains a two-person counseling service that treats non-reporting victims through referrals, institutionalization into the SARC through criminal-legal direct service effectively changed the population of survivors reached by the center from any sexual abuse victim to the minority of victims who engage in the SARC. Advocates and staff did not believe that this better situated the center within the SARC. Mya assessed the influence of WERA within the SARC in her discussion of Sexual Assault Response Group (SARG), a coalition of district attorneys (DAs), law enforcement, and local victim advocacy centers founded in 2011. The function of the SARC is to meet and discuss the possibility of pursuing charges as a result of sexual assault investigations. WERA regularly participated in these meetings, with the purpose of advocating for the victim and providing education and knowledge about sexual assault that could contextualize the case for the State. While the group theoretically creates more space for WERA within the SARC, Mya was skeptical that WERA had any impact.

> M: I mean, it didn't do anything we just talked about it and nothing happened, nothing changed.
>
> EW: What would change have looked like do you think?
>
> M: I don't know. I feel like maybe people changing a little bit how they thought about things like DAs may be looking at cases a little differently. Or like detectives maybe thinking about more trauma-informed ways they could've handled speaking with survivors. But it was like—I felt everybody was just so in their own little world and was not really willing to look outside of that or listen to anybody else. So, it was kind of, I mean, it really just did nothing.

Mya's statement reflects the presence of an internal hierarchy within the SARC, wherein the State retains entrenched power over the treatment of sexual assault. Mya worked for both the

court system and WERA as an advocate. In her role with the State, she was surprised to discover that very few victims used WERA's services. She now views the usefulness of WERA as dependent on the victim's experience with law enforcement.

> I do think WERA maybe is a resource if people are unhappy, and the DA's office is like, 'Oh contact WERA, I mean don't tell us about it.' Or they feel like the need additional support because they haven't been supported so far. That's my theory.

The unhappiness and State disinterest that Mya refers to within the court system is endemic to the criminal-legal response to sexual assault. Engagement with formal institutions has been found to mistreat victims in ways unique to sexual abuse cases, in what has been termed "the second rape" (Madigan & Gamble 1991). During interactions with the police, victims have reported feeling attacked, misunderstood, judged and shamed (Campbell 2008; Maier 2008). The mistreatment and distrust of such victims have been found to be judicial attitudes unique to sexual assault cases (Belknap 2007). As Belknap (2010:1341) notes in her analysis of rape reporting and cultural response, increasing rates of reporting "have not been sufficient to stop police and court practices that all too often blame, discredit, and stereotype rape victims." Due to pervasive unresponsive and problematic criminal-legal treatment, victims who seek help from the police or social service agencies have been found to have a disproportionately higher correlation with depressive symptoms (Kaukinen & DeMaris 2009). Using colonial logic, State protection is promised as a reward for victim cooperation, when this assimilation does not protect victims, but instead ensures their subjugation within the system (Smith 2005). Mya's account suggests that rather than proactively improving the court process or providing preemptive victim advocacy, WERA is viewed as a solution for SARC complaints, and used only for support after the "second rape" has occurred. Transforming WERA into this service allows for the SARC to deflect criticism to an organization that has become reliant on State

compliance, and therefore would not take action that would threaten the power structure. The centers that once spearheaded the criticism of the State during the anti-rape movements have now become the State solution to resolve such complaints.

Amy described a similar experience with SARC marginalization of WERA. She took a call from a police officer that had been interviewing a homeless rape victim over the course of three days. After three days, a police officer called the hotline hoping that WERA could find a place for her to go. Amy recalled her frustration over how law enforcement engaged WERA within this case:

> Yeah, and I remember part of what was so fucked up is it was like they knew WERA existed but they chose to utilize us only when convenient. Instead of having someone there to support her the whole time. Which was telling, I think… and so I got there, he had her in a like an interview room, like where you interview suspects. And so she was like on the—we were on the close cam, I saw he was like, "That's her." And I was like, "That's creepy as fuck. Turn that off. Why do you have that on right now?" Yeah, and then he was like, "What do you want to know?" And I was like, "I want you to—I want to talk to her is what I want to know." And so I just—I think that he called out of convenience and wanting to be done with the weekend stuff.

Amy's story reveals much about the SARC system (mis)functioning: the treatment of the victim as a suspect, and use of WERA for the convenience of law enforcement investigations. Taken together, Mya and Amy's experiences reveal that WERA is turned to when victims are complex or a nuisance for the State. These findings demonstrate that WERA has not improved the institutional process for rape victims: they are brought in on a case-by-case basis to smooth over the deficiencies and issues of the SARC. In this way, WERA's services have been individualized to serve the purpose of the shadow state. While the shadow state explains how the NPIC is used to undermine experiences of shared capitalist oppression through limited service provision (INCITE! 2008), I extend this concept to how the State uses RCCs to pacify victims and maintain the patriarchal status quo of the SARC and "second rape." Routing the most upset or

"difficult" victims through WERA negates the potential of a collective movement to reject or reform the criminal-legal process, and entrenches the State's neoliberal solution to sexual assault.

The SARC relegation of WERA also occurs within the medical institution of the SARC. Sarah's experience advocating for a victim at the hospital reveals that both medical and law enforcement take precedent over WERA requests and victim needs.

> So apparently there was a mental health hold out for her. We used to go to this hospital that provided SANE exams in Easton, and a lot of their staff were not familiar with the fact that survivors don't have to report in order to a SANE exam. And so there was a problem with that were I was trying to advocate for her, but I was being told no that's not possible and so she got really scared while we were there because she was being told. And she was like "what you betrayed me, these people are telling me something different than what you told me," and then the SANE nurse tells the police that there is a kit happening. And I had to ask them, "can you wait until after we leave to say this" but she wouldn't. And then of course the police are like "is this Stacy, we know, we're looking for her, we're looking for her, and what your describing sounds her so we're just coming." And then the police are on their way, and so she flees because she doesn't wanna be strapped, whatever they do.

Despite the protocol that creates space for victims to have rape kits done without formally reporting at that time, the nurse was unaware of this policy. Providing such information to both victims and SARC staff is central to the role of an advocate: however, Sarah's experience demonstrates that WERA's expertise is marginalized by both medical and law enforcement services. Mulla (2014) drew such a connection in her analysis of sexual assault emergency room responses, finding that hospital staff had become legal arbitrators of the State. The desires of the victim and specialized knowledge of the RCC are both ignored in favor of law enforcement needs, which illustrates the placement of both victims and RCCs within the hierarchical SARC.

WERA institutionalization has brought the center into a SARC that continues to marginalize their perspective, victims, and mission. In posturing to bring perpetrators to justice, the judicial and legal branches provide a façade of protection for a minority of victims and

transform solutions for sexual assault into a display of national authority. Through gender-neutrality, these State powers reinscribe the patriarchy that perpetuates a sexually abusive environment. WERA's transformation into direct service provision creates one type of victim: the State and culturally filtered legitimate victim. Assimilation has placed WERA under government regulation, transformed the center into a service for the state, and rendered their advocacy ineffective within the SARC.

C.   CONCLUSION

In his 2009 discussion of the conception of victimization, Van Dijk explored the etymology of the world victim, and joined it to both religion and gendered behavior. He connects the word *victim* in reference to the sacrifice of Christ within Christian theology. As such, the ideal victim is Christlike: deeply suffering, forgiving, helpless, and compliant. In contrast, resilience, autonomy, and activism were found to trigger negative social responses to the victim. Van Dijk's conceptions can also be applied to the cultural response to sexual assault victims and RCCs in both countries. When first established, WERA and RCWI embodied the "bad" victim: activist, independent, and outspoken. They also posed a threat to the social order in exposing the causes of victimization: gender, power, and the social structure. As such, both governments have transformed RCCs into the ideal victim: institutionally dependent, complacent, and passive.

While State backing seemed at first to create the possibility for the economic and cultural affirmation of sexual abuse as a social problem, this reliance ultimately disempowered the centers without providing actual financial reassurance. This strategy proved beneficial for only entrenched power. bell hooks described feminist movements' attempts to gain power through the social structure, as both privileged and naïve: "Their suggestion that they should first obtain money and power so as to work more effectively for liberation had little appeal for poor and/or

non-white women. It had tremendous appeal for ruling groups of white males who were not threatened by women in feminist movement validating the status quo" (86). While the racial exclusion within anti-rape movements is addressed in Chapter Six, this chapter elucidated the entrenchment of hegemonic power through SARC institutionalization. My findings build from the work of Bumiller (2008) that attributed the co-option of the antiviolence movement to neoliberalism, Corrigan (2013) who tied this transformation to criminal-legal strategies, and INCITE! (2007), who viewed assimilation as a product of the NPIC. The institutionalization of RCWI within a social welfarist SARC extends the diffusion of anti-rape movements to constructions of nationalism and State power.

This chapter describes how different gender strategies used by State forces lead to a similar result: the collective negation of structural analysis. In both cultural contexts, the gendered structural causes of sexual assault have been obscured, while the solutions to sexual assault now require patriarchal government intervention. "The State is male in the feminist sense: the law sees and treats women the way men see and treat women" (MacKinnon 1989: 161). The cultural views of the feminine can be seen in how both countries' nationalist structures manage RCCs. While the Irish SARC genders rape as essentially a feminine affliction, the U.S. SARC views rape as genderless. Both SARCs ignore the reality of sexual abuse as an offense that is a gender and a structural problem. The U.S. structure treats RCCs as inconsequential, which equates to the treatment of rape as unimportant. The Irish structure views RCCs as inferior subjects within the nationalist social welfare system. State patriarchies that function to protect their power cannot be relied on for economic support, regardless of form. Both economies are subject to change, be that through further privatization in U.S. or more legislative enactments of the religious patriarchy in Ireland.

Kristin Bumiller (2008) proposed that while State surveillance now extends further into institutional sexual assault response and take non-feminist forms, RCCs remain essentially true to their feminist missions. In this chapter, my examination of RCC integration into SARCs suggests that this is no longer the case. WERA and RCWI are completely enmeshed within and in service of their States. This is not to suggest that the centers are equal players within the SARCS: internal gender hierarchies place RCCs in a diminished position in both national and culture structures. Both centers self-regulate the institutional mandates: RCWI advocates use gender essentialism in describing the Centre and their identities, while WERA advocates reflect the center's transformed principles of gender-neutrality and criminal-legal solutions. The gender policing of the RCWI door policy and CMH centralization of both victims and perpetrators is illustrative of how the two centers hold this culturally gendered tension.

Campbell and Wasco (2005) wrote "it is essential to not lose sight of the fact that the incidence of sexual assault is not going down significantly because prevention remains elusive" (129). This chapter revealed that integration into SARCs has increased the distance between incidence and prevention through the State definitions of who is a victim, and what is a solution. Advocates are aware of what works in reducing sexual abuse: it is the governmental control over RCCs and SARCs that makes prevention opaque: the current solutions serve State interests, not victims or the movement. The damning conflict of interest created by RCC institutionalization is telling within twenty-year veteran counselor Ellen's reflection on the limits of a government-controlled RCC when asked about what she hoped to see in RCCs in the future:

> I suppose where I see them going - I would really like them to retain some of that awareness, advocacy, educational side of themselves. I would like to see them being independent enough that they could speak out against the abuses they see happening…abuses that mightn't be popular to be named by the institutions, whether they be medical, governmental… I fear the more we go mainstream, the less we will be able to do that because to a certain extent, you have to play the

game and go by their rules. So, you are not as free to speak out against injustices
that you see by the government…because then you seem to be biting the hand that
feeds you.

RCC institutionalization is not the "realistic way" for centers to move forward. Affiliation with

the government is transforming centers back into the silenced communities they emerged from.

The relegation of WERA in the U.S. SARC displays how centers are now designated to

help only non-complacent or unhappy victims within the system. The center is now tasked with

the pacification of those most hurt by the system, which marginalizes court advocacy. WERA is

not actually reforming the court system through direct-service provision in the SARC hierarchy.

WERA is performing the NPIC task of baseline service provision, a task managed by the State in

order to undermine collective action by those oppressed in the SARC. In Ireland, the designation

of RCCs as a women's service renders rape a women's issue. As such, rape becomes an issue for

RCCs, not the State, or masculinity. The use of the criminal-legal system as the solution to U.S.

sexual assault and Irish austerity cuts to prevention and education effectively ensure the

perpetuation of rape culture. In this way, RCCs provide the key to understanding rape culture:

SARCs are both managing and diminishing the social importance of rape, and the RCCs are the

stopgap measures that prevent the progression of anti-rape movements.

This is not to say that RCCs do not do great work or save lives. In their discussion of the

NPIC, Munshi and Willse (2007) create space for the genuine successes of non-profit

organizations alongside their capitalist State functions, asserting the NPIC "may structure the

work that takes place in any given organization, but it does not fully account for or subsume it. In

non-profits, life-saving resources are redistributed, leadership skills are shared and developed,

and people build radical consciousness and community" (xviii). My experience as an advocate

was filled with astounding people and transformative work, and my experiences and connections

as an advocate comprise many of the best moments of my adult life. My research, however, found these organizations and advocates limited by their codependency with the State. In her discussion of NPICs for INCITE!, Andrea Smith (2007) asserted that the systemic critique was intended not to destroy all non-profit organizations, but rather to begin a conversation about the capitalist assumptions behind such work. In conceptualizing RCCs as subsumed within SARCs, I hope to advance a similar dialogue of the nationalist blockages within the fight against sexual assault.

CHAPTER V:
RAPE CULTURES WITHIN RAPE CRISES:
ADVOCATE VICTIMIZATION AND AGENCY

"I reject rape culture outside in the community- and now am feeling complicit in it."
- Rachel, *Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse*

A. INTRODUCTION

The concept of rape culture is fundamental to the anti-rape movement's articulation of the

social causes and responses to sexual assault. Anti-rape activists have worked to enter the concept of

rape culture into public discourse (see Phillips 2017 for a full review). In this chapter, I address how

institutionalization has created a space wherein both the Irish and U.S. RCCs in my study

replicate fundamental nationalist articulations of rape culture. In Chapters Four and Five, I

explored how SARC integration brought both the RCWI and WERA, respectively, into larger

bureaucratic hierarchical structures that conceptualize sexual assault as an individual issue,

changing their missions to fit into State requirements. In the absence of these structural

understandings, the cultural patterns proliferated internally. While RCC integration with the

State was once a reluctant concession (Corrigan 2013; Campbell et al. 1998; Matthews 1994), I

illustrate how RCC institutionalization has become a managerial tool manipulating advocates

into complicity, while these advocates struggle against RCC management to maintain their

connections to anti-rape work.

I frame this chapter by mirroring RCC advocate's experiences to the institutionalization

process rape victims navigate within the SARC. I use WERA's and RCWI's organizational

management of sexually inappropriate hotline calls as an example of how advocates' issues,

gender privilege, and racial tropes are viewed by RCC management. RCC leadership use

strategies of advocate control that echo the predominant cultural handling of sexual abuse: blame

and complicity. Advocates negotiate their placement within institutionalized systems through demonstrations of agency within the organization. In effect, institutionalization is displayed within RCCs as a managerial tool that perpetuates rape culture and alienates advocates, and thereby, mostly likely, the survivors, as well.

B. SEXUALLY INAPPROPRIATE HOTLINE CALLS

The manifestations of rape culture in both organizations follow nationalist patterns most clearly in their response to sexually inappropriate hotline calls. In Chapters Four and Five, the nationalist treatments of gender were seen to have transformed the cultural understanding of sexual assault victimization. These gender processes also recreated rape culture within the RCCs. Bumiller (2008) proposes that RCCs are now part of social service bureaucracies that have become part of the neoliberal governmental apparatus. As such, advocates replicate State practices by imposing individualized conceptions of violence on their own clients (46). I expand this argument to include how RCCs place this "understanding" on their own advocates.

In this section, I focus on sexually inappropriate calls as an example of organizational polices that can reproduce different iterations of rape culture. Managing sexual harassment on the hotline using a neoliberal victim-blaming frame causes the reproduction of cultural scripts, gender hierarchies, and individualized understandings. Such environments harm and disconnect advocates from the larger anti-rape movement. RCWI's use of solidarity, collectivity, and police discretion for such calls insulates the counselors from trauma, and illustrates the limits of confidentiality within State relationships.

The two RCCs have different forms of hotline coverage relevant to contextualizing the services. Until the change to direct-service provision in 2016, WERA's hotline was staffed 24/7 by volunteer advocates and employees. In 2015, WERA's hotline received 755 calls. At RCWI,

funding cuts in 2013 shortened the center's hotline hours. The hotline is currently staffed on

weekdays during business hours, with after-hours and weekend calls being routed to the national

hotline.[22] In 2015, RCWI's hotline received 3,040 calls, texts, and emails.

"Inappropriates" in the U.S, or "wankers" and "pervs" as termed in Ireland, are terms for

someone who calls the hotline to discuss sexual activity for the purpose of their own sexual

gratification. In both centers, all of these callers were men. They often began the call by

disclosing that they have been sexually assaulted, and then describe the assault in increasingly

explicit detail. Occasionally, the callers ask the advocate about their own sexual experiences, or

question the advocate about the normalcy of their sexual desires. The individual can often be

heard quickly breathing or masturbating in the background of the call. The strategies for

determining the sincerity of the call include redirection of their sexual stories to feelings about

the sexual assault, grounding strategies, or future plans to manage their abuse. Sexually

inappropriate callers will not respond to such redirection, and will continue giving sexually

explicit details.

Advocates at both centers saw these calls as a sexual invasion and frequently discussed

the calls using language of being "perpetrated against" on the phone calls, with one advocate

defining a sexually inappropriate call as "people who are calling to masturbate and perpetrate on

us." This violation is jarring given the vulnerability and intimacy of RCC hotline advocacy. The

calls constitute sexual harassment, a form of sexual abuse. Belknap (2007: 294) outlined sexual

harassment as "the unwanted, intrusive, and insulting behaviors" that "have the effect of

controlling, angering, and humiliating women and girls." Given that these incidents occurred as a

part of RCC advocates' work, the calls constitute workplace sexual harassment, which gives a

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[22] RCWI also runs a 24/7 volunteer hotline that provides direct advocacy for SATU call-outs. In 2015, 60 clients were supported by a SATU advocate. In comparison, WERA advocates provided hospital advocacy nine times in 2015. This number increased to 54 in 2016, the first year of WERA's change to exclusive direct-service provision.

particular relevance to the organizations' responses to the occurrences. The disparate treatments of these calls exemplify how advocate issues are handled by the two organizations.

1. "They Know What They Signed Up For": Inappropriate Calls at Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse

Sexually inappropriate calls were a central issue at WERA. One staff member estimated the hotline received approximately five of these calls a month, although the frequency was quite variable: I once spoke to the same man three times in five hours, as he continued to call hoping there had been a shift changeover. Volunteer advocate Kim describes the typical call as such:

> I feel like they're pretty general-- pretty smart about how they handled doing it. It builds a normal incident of sexual assault, usually. I mean there's obviously some signs there but it's built like it could be a sexual assault. And then all of a sudden, you realize it's not…it would be a situation where someone is saying something happened to them, going into a fair amount of detail, but again that's not always that weird. And then all of a sudden, you can hear them jacking off or something along those lines and realize it's not actually something that happened.

Inappropriate calls were one of the most frequent causes of volunteer burnout and turnover. These incidents were also an issue exclusively for women advocates. During his seven years on the hotline, Steve had never had such a call. He received far more hang-ups than the other hotline volunteers, which he attributes to callers seeking a feminine voice.

Advocates struggled with the process of determining if the call is sexually inappropriate, which must be done while providing empathetic emotional support. If hotline advocates are incorrect in their assessment, ending the call could leave a victim without resources. Kim wrestled with her disdain for sexually inappropriate calls and fear of incorrectly identifying one, by putting herself in the perspective of a survivor.

> That would break my heart if I was calling a hotline to work through some shit or to have some support, to be told that I was an inappropriate call when I wasn't. But also-fuck you guys. All these assholes who are calling. I don't know, it's complicated.

Habitual inappropriate callers learned to tailor their stories using trauma-informed language to keep the advocate engaged for longer. For example, one regular caller used the phrases "triggers" and "grounding exercises" to keep the advocates confused about his intentions.

Due to the opaque nature of such distinctions, many advocates would continue to provide emotional support for the call, even if they were uncomfortable. This signals a pattern of advocates prioritizing the needs of the possible genuine call over their own emotional safety. Leslie, a volunteer supervisor, described this advocacy negotiation and her view of the training of volunteers to distinguish between a genuine and inappropriate call as needing improvement.

> L: Inappropriate callers, which means people who call the hotline, basically to masturbate, and then also supporting other volunteers through that. And seeing, and I'm talking as a supervisor, talking to volunteers who are clearly unprepared for those types of calls or other types of calls, and just seeing that if your training was stronger that people wouldn't be making the mistakes that they were making.
>
> EW: What kind of mistakes?
>
> L: People don't trust- people being our volunteers- don't feel confident ending the call with them cause they're afraid like 'what if this is actually a survivor who needs support?' And so, people stay on for like forty minutes at a time…our policy is to as soon as you identify that it is an inappropriate caller to end the call, but I think people do that in a lot of different ways. A lot of people don't feel comfortable doing that or don't trust their intuition or value their own discomfort, like value their own wellbeing. I don't think that WERA training has reinforced enough that that's not okay, you shouldn't be being victimized and that's not what you're here to do and if you're feeling uncomfortable you have a right to protect yourself and end and remove yourself from the situation.

Leslie suggests that advocates are not trained to assert their boundaries, and that WERA does not validate the unacceptability of the inappropriate phone call or negative experiences that result.

Mya agreed with the assessment of WERA failing to address the issue adequately:

> M: As an organization, I feel like WERA's not addressing it in the way it needs to be addressed.
>
> EW: How were they addressing it?

M: Oh, just basically, people should be able to deal with it, we train on it, just hang up the phone and it shouldn't affect you that much.

Mya describes the treatment of advocates' harassment as invalidating and dismissive. In effect, WERA refuses to condemn the sexual abuse that occurs on the hotline or affirm the rights of the advocates to volunteer without abuse. Since the entry of the term into public discourse, "rape culture" has described the normalization of sexual violence, especially that against women (Phillips 2017). At WERA, the attempt to construct sexual harassment as within the role of women's advocacy normalizes the behavior within the organizational culture. The methodical invalidation of sexual abuse in the community and within formal institutions, once the impetus in the founding of RCCs, has become the standard narrative at WERA. While the inappropriate calls create the harmful sexual environment and rape culture the RCCs advocates are typically committed to ending, ironically, WERA's handling of the incidents created an intimidating and offensive space specific to woman advocates.

The need for victims to have had stronger boundaries or to have resisted more is foundational to cultural attitudes towards rape. Within WERA, the management's desire for advocates to establish clearer boundaries drives their dismissal of the sexual harassment of advocates. Weiss and Borges (1973) connected women's roles as sexual gatekeepers to the delegitimizing of rape victims. They assert that within the heterosexual construct of sexuality, "While the man is expected to initiate sexual relations, women are supposed to accept the responsibility for how far these relations will proceed...she learns that a raped woman is considered a responsible, not an innocent, victim" (85). If an advocate deviates from this standard protocol, management places the blame for advocates' distress onto the advocate, rather than the perpetrator of the call. Cassandra, a volunteer advocate, describes a painful inappropriate call that illustrates the repercussions of such strategic blaming:

Even though we'd practiced doing them, I wasn't great at trying to shut it off at the end, so I didn't just hang up. I think I said something like, 'You're not using the hotline for the right reasons. I'm going to end this call.' The guy flipped out at me, started calling me names, telling me I sucked at what I was doing, and then hung up on me. And I took that to my super group where-- I really liked my super group leaders, but I felt like it was kind of dismissed a little bit. Like, 'oh, everybody gets those, sorry that sucks, move on.' But for me, I didn't want to answer the phone again, in fear that it was that same man. And so, I found that I just didn't want to take shifts, and so then I went on a break and my break turned into never going back on the hotline because I just did not-- I don't know, I feel like when you answer the phone, there's a certain amount of vulnerability there, like you're opening yourself up to being able to have empathy and connect to somebody's emotions. And then when someone takes advantage of that, it feels awful. And I just didn't want to expose myself to that again.

Cassandra describes verbal abuse that occurred when she attempted to intervene within a sexually harassing phone call. The difficulty of this experience was trivialized at a WERA meeting, and her fear and feelings of exploitation remained with her, ultimately causing her to stop her hotline advocacy. Hotline advocates are expected to determine the nature of the call while supporting the caller, and quickly end the call after making the correct determination. Using this technique, advocates are trained to believe if they follow this procedure correctly they will not be harmed by the call. As such, advocate blame extends beyond the protocol of the call itself, and into the emotional response of the advocate. Being upset about the harassment signals that the advocate did not handle the call correctly. This eliminates the possibility for a "good" advocate to feel distraught, leading to self-blaming and suppression of trauma.

Cassandra inhabits a level of self-shame around her hotline abilities, pointing out that despite her training, she "wasn't great." She views her inability to hang up as evidence of her failure as the "sexual gatekeeper" of the call, and interprets the resulting verbal abuse as the caused by her lack of skill. The actions Cassandra took, however, were in fact the organizational protocol established for inappropriate callers at the time of her call. WERA training materials from 2013 instruct advocates that as soon as the caller is identified as inappropriate, the advocate

should name the caller as inappropriate, tell the caller not to call the hotline again, and hang up. This contradiction demonstrates that WERA's framing of sexual harassment as the advocates' fault was "successful" for Cassandra. Despite following the protocol, she casts herself as having failed. Neoliberal organizational messaging protects WERA from any culpability in the harassment of advocates by rendering any harmful experience a personal responsibility. Cassandra is left with the idea that if she had been better at ending the call, she would not have experienced the victimization, and could have remained a counselor on the hotline. In the context of self-blame, high turnover related to "inappropriates" may alienate advocates from the activism within the anti-rape movement due to perceived personal failures. The victim-blaming embedded culturally in the U.S. and organizationally at WERA has been discussed as based in neoliberal ideology. In her analysis of victimology, Stringer (2008:9) writes, "neoliberal victim theory is characterized first and foremost by a victim-blaming conception of victimization as subjective and psychological rather than social and political…this way of knowing victimization transforms social vulnerability into personal responsibility."

At one monthly meeting after volunteer supervisors reported many advocates were upset by inappropriate calls, WERA leadership printed out the month's call logs, highlighted the inappropriate calls, and held them up to the volunteers to display the relative infrequency of the calls. Such minimization is commonly seen in cultural attitudes that view sexual abuse as a trivial issue and believe that women should be accustomed to cultural or workplace sexual harassment (Belknap 2007). In response to this approach, advocates discussed delaying or failing to fill out paperwork on inappropriate calls because they were hesitant to revisit the episode, did not see the point of recording the call, or both.

Corrigan (2013) interviewed RCC advocates about the ways that law enforcement intentionally discouraged victims from institutional engagement. She correlated increased reporting to the expectations of a warm institutional response, and low reporting to the belief that doing so is futile. Building from this, my findings suggest that RCC advocates have their own experiences invalidated and normalized within the hostile environment of sexual harassment at WERA. The lack of constructive response from the center's management discourages advocates from reporting such incidents, creating an under-reported rate of victimization. WERA then uses these rates to further dismiss harassment as a rare occurrence. In their study of how women negotiate rape myths and sex constructs in understanding their sexual experiences, Peterson and Muehlenhard (2004) discuss the cultural myth of rape as a deviant event. When rape is framed as rare and perpetrated by a few "bad apples" rather than by systemic social problems, social change is deemed unnecessary. By minimizing inappropriate callers as deviant events, WERA avoids the need for organizational change.

The difficulty of establishing advocate boundaries was an especially loaded concern given the preferential treatment of men's victimization at WERA. Advocates are trained to view men's victimizations and disclosures as especially difficult situations that require extra care and understanding. Nancy demonstrated such a hierarchy in her hopes for the future of the center.

> I hope that we continue to outreach and serve marginalized people that aren't just white women, white college aged straight women. Because as we know sex assault- we're really intentional about outreaching to men, or people who identify as men, or people of Color for sure. And people who- there has to be outreach, there has to be funding for that, which is part, usually part of the problem.

In discussing the importance of improving the inclusivity of WERA, Nancy uses a framework of understanding RCC services as racially, sexually, and class privileged. Yet her description of marginalized victims ranks men as the most important segment to reach, second to people of

Color. Given her use of class and racial identifiers of privilege, it is telling that she names a historically dominant gender categorization as needing inclusion before racial marginalization.

While WERA is dedicatedly gender-neutral in their approach to sexual assault perpetration, the treatment of men's victimization as harder than most (women's) sexual assaults illustrates a process of selective gendering. The center uses gender neutrality to negate feminine oppression and criticisms of masculinity, yet utilizes gendered awareness regarding violence that occurs to men. As Yancey Martin (2005:254) described, "It is simply less disruptive to the gender order to focus on the victims rather than the perpetrators of rape." There is an implicit ranking within such a focus, and men's pain is at the forefront. In comparison, women's sexual victimization is rendered mundane, normalized abuse.

This gender-neutral framework also organizationally erases the gendered causes and impacts of sexual inappropriates. The privilege that male advocates experienced, namely their protection from sexual victimization, is institutionally erased within a gender-neutral framework. Fiona, a volunteer advocate and paid employee, sarcastically describes WERA's attitude as such:

> 'You talked to someone who totally manipulated you and made you feel violated? Meh. That's part of being on the hotline'…it's gross. Especially because the guys never got them. Steve never had an inappropriate caller. So, there's a lot of parallels. And the fact that Lacy or whoever couldn't see that is pretty fucked up.

WERA utilized a gender-neutral approach with an exception for the hierarchical ranking of men's victimization, wherein men's victimization takes priority over the potential abuse of the advocates. Using this perspective, WERA removed any structural understanding of sexual abuse. Nancy, the manager of WERA who has been in leadership at the center for over twenty years, views inappropriate calls as unrelated to sexual abuse hotlines. When asked about sexual inappropriates on the WERA hotline, she broadened such occurrences to all hotlines generally:

N: Yeah any hotline, any time you ever have a hotline I think.

EW: Do you think they might be more specific to a sex assault hotline cause they have a little more space to talk about sex?

N: I don't know. That's a good question. I never thought of it like that.

While Nancy normalized inappropriate calls as occurring on all hotlines, she also has not taken or supervised anyone who has taken one of WERA's inappropriate calls. In contrast, longtime volunteer supervisor Gloria quickly recognized the sexual aspect of the calls and the specificity of the sexual assault hotline.

Something's not firing in their head correctly to call what they have to know is a sex assault hotline. How else do you get the phone number? To get a counselor on the phone and then do that.

In asserting that sexual inappropriates are an issue on all hotlines, Nancy removes the calls from the context of sexual assault. Advocates that volunteer for anti-rape work are clearly passionate about the movement, and within these calls men are re-asserting their power within a rape culture. While advocates with hotline experience recognize the motivation to call a RCC hotline specifically, WERA management dismisses the sexual motivation. WERA management does not consider the sexual harassment that is occurring on a hotline staffed by rape crisis advocates.

Both volunteer and staff advocates found resistance when solutions for reducing the number of sexually inappropriate calls were proposed in meetings with upper management. This was a particular struggle for Mya within her non-managerial staff position:

We need to be addressing this in a different way…and there's just kind of no willingness to do that. Either I think people just kind of felt that volunteers should deal with it and do what we say, and shouldn't be affected by inappropriate callers…I think they just feel like, 'Oh well. They know what they signed up for.' No one signs up for that.

Mya views WERA's organizational opposition to solutions as based in the victim-blaming of advocates and she made a compelling case for this assertion, as did the other events described in

this chapter. The idea that advocates should accept sexual harassment as part of their role directly

utilizes the language of victim-blaming ideas such as victims "asking for it."

Volunteer supervisors suggested a gender-based solution to the issue of inappropriates,

which directly conflicted with WERA's institutionalized stance of gender neutrality. Hotline

calls are received by an answering service, which then direct the call to the person signed up for

the shift. This answering service has the ability to filter some types of calls. The answering

service would often provide unsolicited gender guesses when connecting advocates to hotline

callers, offering "I have a male caller on the line" or "I have a woman on the line." This was also

done in a more organized way, as seen within the Spanish hotline. The Spanish hotline was

staffed by a pool of Spanish-speaking advocates who were not directly on the hotline, but

available to take calls as needed. The answering service would direct such calls to this different

pool. Given that male counselors did not experience sexually inappropriate calls, supervisors

suggested that this pooling method could be used to direct masculine-sounding callers to male

advocates. Sarah explains this proposal, and how WERA management received it:

> S: To have, you know the same way that we handle our Spanish hotline, have a
> set group of volunteers. Because one thing we noticed with our male volunteers
> and these callers is that often they will- for example, Steve has been on the hotline
> for like six years and he's not gotten any inappropriate callers but he gets some
> hang ups at night. So, these callers aren't really interested in talking to men. If we
> just had men answer the phone, either at night, because the answer service does
> do some screening for us…so they could, if it's, and you know of course like this
> is sort of problematic because you can't tell someone's gender by their voice, but
> like for phone calls that sound like men at night, and some of them had very
> distinctive voices… and so like the guy with the baby voice you can tell it's him.
> I'm sure they could do for us but for some reason that's not seen as a priority.
>
> EW: Why not?
>
> S: Because volunteers have been consistently blamed for not having stronger
> boundaries with them, with these inappropriate callers.

While Sarah is aware that the gendered filtering method would be imperfect, she sees it as a possible improvement, especially given the precedent of the answering service having done so for individual callers. She views the disinterest in creating a solution for sexual harassment on the hotline as related to management's blame for the inappropriate issues on the advocates. WERA would avoid conversations about what motivated inappropriate callers, instead focusing on why advocates did not better manage the situation.

Management repeatedly rejected the "pooling" idea as unfair to the male volunteers. While male supervisors offered to participate in such a group, WERA leadership argued that such a method would place an undue burden onto male advocates. In viewing the prevention idea as an unfair request for male advocates, WERA management implicitly endorses the use of the method for Spanish-speaking advocates, but not men. All of the Spanish-speaking advocates are women, and the vast majority are Latina women, including one Latina staff member who was on "backup" for the pool twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week until she left the organization. All of the male advocates are white. By suggesting that this method is acceptable for one group and not another, WERA is putting the burden on Latina advocates that is unacceptable for the white men who would form such a pool. This illustrates a double standard that protects white masculinity from burdens allowed for femininities of Color.

Amy discusses her perception of the management, specifically a former executive director, as viewing male advocates preferentially:

> I feel like Lacy, too, was really was one of those people who's like, 'There's a man involved. It's like a miracle. We should honor them and give them presents, and make them feel like the most special person in the world.' And I was like, 'No. They should be doing this, actually.' They all should be doing this. We should not give them any more props than anyone else.

In *Rape Work*, Yancey Martin (2005) discussed accounts that justify men's superiority to RCC advocacy, including a RCC that saw male staff as enhancing the community image of the center. She linked this privileging to an RCC's ability to provide gender-matched services to male victims, otherwise "most [law enforcement] agencies valorize men and most RCCs, women. These arrangements seem unlikely to change anytime soon" (184). In short and ironically, as an institution within the U.S. SARC, WERA advantages white masculinity in ways that are in agreement with the views of patriarchal neoliberal criminal legal structures.

Williams (1992) coined the term "glass escalator" to describe the latent structural advantages gained by men entering traditionally feminine occupations, and Wingfield (2009) clarified that this concept is racialized, as it applies predominantly to white men. Building from this conceptualization, my findings support Flood's (2015) theoretical argument that problematized the recent trend of highlighting men's inclusion in anti-violence movements. He commented, "An emphasis on and practice of including men in this work can fuel the invalidation and marginalisation of the expertise of women and the women's sector" (163). For WERA, this invalidation extends to both women advocates' expertise and their harassment. WERA's policies prioritize a potential burden to white masculinity over current feminized harassment, while placing an "undue burden" on Latina advocates.

WERA's treatment of sexually inappropriate calls illustrates how management uses the discourse of neoliberal victim blaming to handle advocates who are sexually harassed on the hotline. The abuse of advocates is dismissed, normalized, and decontextualized using gender-neutrality to insulate WERA from structural changes. The hierarchical treatment of white masculinity is also evident in the avoidance of organizational solutions to managing inappropriate callers. A structural examination of inappropriate calls would obligate WERA to

engage with the sexual, racial, and gendered patterns within the harassment. Such an analysis would threaten the individualized, colorblind, gender-neutral, framework developed for SARC integration and the financial security institutionalization affords.

2.“Oh Yeah, Are You Going to Let Him Come Now?”: Wanker Calls at Rape Crisis West Ireland

Advocates at the RCWI immediately recognized the description of sexually inappropriate calls. Della proclaimed, “Oh, you’re talking about the wankers!” Counselors referred to the incidents as “hoax,” “wanker,” or “perv” calls. While RCWI counselors do not take hotline calls overnight, they describe the calls as a violation exacerbated by the level of vulnerability and empathy the counselor extends. As Mila describes,

> I was covering one Christmas and ended up taking this big long call and then at the end of it realising it wasn’t genuine, and you can feel a bit violated by that. You are opening up and being empathic, and all of that. That’s the thing - you open up a lot of your energy to people in a way, and then when you have that kind of violation and they are just using it for sexual gratification. It’s not about you helping anyone... it’s a very open space when you are being empathic.

Mila pinpoints the issue with these types of calls being the realization that her sincere advocacy is being exploited for nonconsensual sexual behavior.

In contrast to Nancy’s normalization of such calls to all hotlines, Sinead, the past and temporary executive director of RCWI, immediately recognized the sexually violating aspect of the calls and the specificity of the sexual assault hotline: “I think they think it’s a free sex line, you know what I mean?” By acknowledging the sexual nature of the call, RCWI management acknowledges the role of the caller within the harassment, and creates space for the counselors to address both the exploitation and the sexual nature of the call. Sinead’s continued reflection on the calls reveals the physical and emotional space as important to the counselors.

> We got to know him really quick. You’d nearly know by his ring that it was him, you know? I remember one time Annabelle picking up the phone -in the [old

building] it was one big office kind of thing, with one little back office, but really always in the same room… I remember Eve sitting there and Annabelle picking up, and going 'it's him! It's him!' and Eve was going 'he's having a wank! He's having a wank!' You see, if you'd never answered to him before he'd start the whole thing again. Annabelle was like, 'okay, okay, just one minute' and Eve was going 'get off the phone! He's wanking! He's wanking! He's wanking!' We were just pissing ourselves! 'Oh yeah, are you going to let him come now?!' *[Laughs]*

Sinead's reflection points to the collective experience of receiving of the call, which negates much of the trauma of the violation. Across the board, RCWI counselors did not describe lasting harm from the calls, and frequently referenced them in the lighthearted terms seen in Sinead's response. The shared office setting of the hotline limits the hours that counselors are available and allows for the calls to be taken and experienced together. While RCC institutionalization has eliminated RCWI's collective organizational structure in favor of a government-mandated Board of Management, the nature of the space allows the benefits of collectivity to continue informally.

Again, virtually all hoax callers were men. While WERA staff refused to acknowledge the gendered nature of such calls, gender was on the forefront of managerial descriptions of hoax calls at RCWI. Sinead connects her comfort ending hoax calls to her distrust of men:

I am very good at hanging up. I'm very 'nope sorry, I am not talking to you'. There used to be this guy who used to ring up all the time…we got to the stage where we were nearly laughing about it, you know? So, I have, but I'm very quick to put down phone-calls now, and probably always was. Even when [the men's abuse center] was amalgamating, I wasn't really for it, because it's usually men, you know? I just don't really trust men that much.

Siobhan relates her ease with cutting off hoax calls as connected to her cynicism around men's sexual motives. She utilizes a frame of gender essentialism that views men as perpetrators, even as she acknowledges that men are also victims. Siobhan's distrust of men was not the popular view of gendered perpetration amongst RCWI counselors. Most advocates viewed men who were victims of abuse as more tragic than the typical victim, who is a woman by default. For example, as Annabelle describes: "I find male disclosure

more heart-rending because I just know how incredibly difficult it is." Annabelle

explained her view of male victimization through contemplation of her identities:

> I don't know what it is. Is it the mother in me, the protector in me? When I see a man go to pieces, it seems much more intense, for me. Maybe it's because I've done it myself so much, or I work with women ninety percent of the time, so when a male starts to process deeply, that part of the therapy - it just hits me like a brick. It's just so big. I feel honoured. It's that piece. It's not even that I reach out and protect them, or I have a tendency to be more protective of men - I don't. It's the honour of processing that with them. So, yeah - I think the male calls seem bigger somehow, or something. Maybe because I've done less of them? For straight male in their fifties or sixties to call an RCC is huge, so taking that call and doing it well is so important, for me. If it's not done well, I get angry.

Annabelle evaluates her position as a mother and counselor in contemplating men's

victimization. She explicitly rejects the possibility of her feelings being protective, and decides it

is a rare honor. The advocates' narrative of men's victimization as more tragic than for other

victims' privileges masculine experiences, pain, and disclosure within a hierarchical view of

sexual abuse. Within distinctly oppositional narratives, both Siobhan and Annabelle reify gender

essentialism: in the unilateral distrust of men, as well as the privileging of their experiences.

Annabelle's use of the rarity of men's victimization as reason to revere it transitions the attention

of sexual assault from a cultural to specific understanding, and again renders feminine sexual

victimization as endemic. While men's abuse is unique tragedy, as Catherine MacKinnon wrote:

"…rape is indigenous, not exceptional, to women's social condition" (1989: 172).

All of the RCWI advocates I interviewed believe the Centre currently handled such calls

well, and did not feel any lasting issues as a result of the calls. Multiple advocates mentioned a

difficult week with a high frequency of hoax calls. In the excerpt below, Lauren describes these

issues and her view of the issue as currently resolved.

EW: Did you feel like that was handled well by the Centre?

L: The inappropriate callers? Not at all! I mean, no one should have ended up getting one after the first one, do you know what I mean? I felt it was, overall, handled after that, but I think it should never have been allowed go as far as it went, you know? People should have been made aware when they were doing staffing cover - 'look, we get two or three of these, these are the stories' but they didn't. Everyone got caught out with them, and they knew it - they knew when to ring, that there would be cover on different days.

Lauren believed that there had been a lack of communication around hoax calls during this time, and thought the strategy for these calls could have been enacted sooner. Eventually, all hotline counselors became aware of the patterned calling.

The frequency of sexually inappropriate calls dropped quickly after an organizational solution was reached: the Centre began reporting especially difficult hoax callers to the Gardaí (police). This method of addressing the calls validates the harassment of counselors as an organizational problem. The solution also relies on the paternalistic authority of the State to protect the counselors. As Ellen describes, any potential organizational conflict over the confidentiality of the hotline is resolved by the use of police discretion.

I: How do you feel like those types of calls were handled at the Centre?

R: They were handled quite well. On my own occasions, I would have caught them reasonably quickly, and there were never any threats - they were most just…and you would just put down the phone. You would say 'look, I'm putting down the phone now and what you are doing is inappropriate.' That was our standard response, and you'd put down the phone. It would ring again, and you'd pick it up and hear the voice, and put it down again. There were one or two occasions where it was a bit more threatening, and we would have reported to the Gardaí. They would have followed it up and traced it, and once or twice they'd say 'God, yer man is a messed up type of character' you know, they had him in their sights. So, they would have known him anyway, and gone and talked to him, and threatened if it happened again they would do something about it. I would have felt it was handled okay.

The use of law enforcement to limit the occurrence of hoax calls illustrates a mechanism of selective confidentiality and privacy within the center. RCWI management is often preoccupied with efforts to shield clients from unnecessary exposure to other clients or staff; yet neither the

managers nor the counselors express concern about the violation of caller confidentiality in regards to sexually inappropriate calls. The reporting of hoax callers signals that confidentiality is a concern limited to victims, and not extended to perpetrators. While the cultural history of sexual secrecy in Ireland (see Keenan 2011) leads to hyper-privacy policies around victims at the RCWI, this secrecy does not apply to perpetrators. Hoax calls remove the callers' right to privacy, suggesting the sexual secrecy does not apply to "clients" perpetrating against them.

The counselors do not express a desire for the Gardaí to prosecute callers: simply to get them to stop by warning the callers rather than pressing charges against them. As seen in Ellen's description, there is an expectation of police discretion. Advocates perceived the informal warning by the Gardaí as sufficient, and it was effective: fewer calls were received. The non-prosecution by the police and the acceptance of this solution by the advocates is reflective of perpetrator sympathy, a major tenant within the definition of rape culture (Hanly et al. 2009). RCWI advocates and the Gardaí both operate under the cultural assumption that discretion is the best strategy for those who sexually harass them.

The solution to sexually inappropriate calls at RCWI validates the harassment as problematic and creates a structural solution. In relying on State authority to address the calls, the Centre follows the pattern of SARC institutionalization that reinforces the role of the State to manage rape. The State takes the calls seriously, but exercises discretion by warning the perpetrators in a display of sympathy for the men. Such sympathy has been connected to the low reporting and conviction rates within the Irish criminal legal system. The discretionary solution to the calls, however, has effectively stopped much of the harassment faced by RCWI advocates in a way that validates the counselors while using a community-based non-punitive response. If the Gardaí prosecuted the callers for their harassment, the counselors may hesitate to utilize the

solution in the future, especially given the attention the counselors pay to the possibility that hoax callers are motivated by their own trauma histories.

RCWI advocates cite the space given for autonomy and self-determination in their satisfaction with the organizational response to hoax calls. Isla, who has been a frontline counselor for ten years, describes how the ability to collaborate with other counselors on strategies for the calls is empowering:

> I think it's done really well. I think we have taken charge of that ourselves, to make sure it is. Again, that is something I like working in here: you have the autonomy to do that, and we talk a lot together about strategies, policies and protocols for dealing with these things. I think it is well looked after here.

RCWI's organizational approach to sexually inappropriate calls illustrates one of the last fully collective aspects of the center. The collaborative strategizing, sharing, and validation of hoax calls minimizes the impact of the sexual harassment. While the callers' masculine identities are discussed openly, prevention relies on individual State response. In this way, the treatment of such calls follows the pattern of Irish RCC institutionalization. Identity categories are visible, but immovable. The response to harassment reifies the power of the State. The RCWI's community-oriented discretionary response is effective at reducing the harassment and validating the experience of the advocates without posing a threat to State structures.

C. ADVOCATE ALIENATION

In her study of rape reform and the criminal-legal system, Corrigan (2013) found that as RCCs became incorporated into State agencies they made a series of compromises with criminal-legal agencies to secure government funding. She connected this institutionalization to the exodus of anti-rape activists from RCCs, in that the "increasing power of State agencies and officials to influence the scope, extent, and form of rape crisis services to victims drove many of

the more radical activists out of organizations, frustrated and unwilling to comply with the

constraints imposed by State requirements" (45). My findings indicate that RCC

institutionalization is no longer a reluctant concession: managers capitalize on these changes as a

tool for suppression. RCCs have adopted the hierarchical formations within the SARC, and these

nationalist structures are used to alienate advocates and protect entrenched power.

1."Outsourcing is the New Black": Neoliberal Expendability at Working to Eliminate Rape & Abuse

At WERA, this managerial pressure used neoliberal ideologies to blame volunteers for

organizational issues and frame frustrated advocates as expendable within a financially secure

model. This included framing the staff and volunteers as a replaceable, Proletariat class within a

neoliberal capitalist model. Where integration into CMH and State structures once a necessary

evil for RCC survival, this financial security is now used against the advocates. Several volunteer

supervisors referenced a meeting between supervisors and management where outsourcing was

first introduced as an idea. Heather quickly caught on to the messaging of WERA leadership.

> The one where she was telling us how it was going to be. Remember, she was
> like, 'You're expendable.' Do you know that meeting was so jarring to me that I
> actually barely remember it. She told all of us that we're completely expendable
> and that if we're not comfortable being expendable, then we should just move on.

Heather's experience of the meeting was so upsetting that she references a mental block, but

remembers hearing that WERA management viewed advocates as inherently replaceable and

suggested that unhappy supervisors leave. Rachel similarly reflects on the language used by

management: "She said you're coming from a scarcity model. I'm not." In this statement, the

financial security of the center, established through RCC institutionalization, is now being used

to threaten volunteer advocates. Corrigan (2013:116) wrote that while RCCs "actively confront

and challenge [formal institutions'] beliefs, attitudes, and practices, they are significantly

hamstrung by differences in political power, funding, and access to resources." Thus, Corrigan argues RCCs have adopted an accomodationist stance with the SARC. My findings suggest that while funding is a restriction, management uses the forces of hierarchical power and economic alienation to remove those who would actively confront and challenge State structures.

The outsourcing of the hotline to the national service, discussed in Chapter Four as consolidating the hotline into direct-service provision to the medical and legal systems, was rationalized using both the advocate-blaming ethos seen in the inappropriate calls and neoliberal capitalist perspective. Amy's speculation about why the switchover occurred, illustrates this process.

> Because it's good for their budget *[laughs]*. I've heard that it is really good for their budget. Why do they need the switch? I don't know…Because we're also not trained-- I'm not a trained therapist. I suppose that could be a part of it. All of a sudden after forty years you need trained therapist on the hotline? I think it's such bullshit, clearly. Because it's been forty years of not being able to retain volunteers? Basically, they were saying it was a better use of money to have [the national service] than to have us. And it's just like, I volunteered thirty hours a month on the hotline for four years. For free. And I don't want to hear about how it's going to be better for your bottom line to not have me at all.

Like Amy, most advocates were unsure why the changeover occurred, desired increased transparency, and were upset by their sudden commodification into cost/benefit calculations. Steve, who had been volunteering with WERA for over eight years, discussed this change in an email with the subject line "Outsourcing is the new black," a reference to *Orange is the New Black*, a popular television show inspired by Piper Kerman's 2012 memoir on her incarceration. This connection to the criminal legal system would prove fitting in the context of the direct-service changeover discussed in Chapter Four.

Amber, who volunteered for WERA over two and a half years as both a hotline volunteer and supervision group leader, left the organization after she requested time off,

and WERA management refused her request. She was left with feelings of self-blame around her departure from the organization.

> It was incredibly difficult work, but it was also very hopeful at times, and fulfilling, and having those moments of connection with people made it easier to do the hard parts of the work. At an organizational level, I think my expectations were not met once WERA kind of started to fall apart. They were in the beginning for sure… but as time went on and there was more turnover and less support from staff members, it became more difficult. The hardest part was feeling like I didn't have enough to give. I didn't have as much as was needed and working closely with staff members who kind of encouraged me to feel …. like I wasn't doing enough…There is an energetic quality to the way that the leadership at WERA was engaging with me and with other supervisors and volunteers that made it so that I was interested in not being involved anymore and feeling incapable.

Amber's experience presents a combination of the advocate blame strategies seen in the treatment of inappropriate calls and neoliberal capitalist expectations of productivity. In discussing how her expectations of the organization were met in the beginning, but changed as institutionalization at WERA increased.

2. "Take the Lid Off and Let The Light In": Silent Progress at Rape Crisis West Ireland

Ingrid, who served as the executive director of RCWI during my first fieldwork period, hopes that RCCs become more uniform. As a part of this goal, she views standardization as in opposition to RCC history and crucial to her vision of RCCs.

> I: I'd like to know that if I walked in to the Rape Crisis Centre in [a region of Ireland], I'm going to get exactly the same level of service that I'm getting when I go [Irish city]. I'm not sure that's the way now…That comes back to people being in the organization for a long number of years – you know what they say about 'you're losing that'…what did that guy say to me the last day when we were over in the HSE [Health Service Executive]? You're losing the corporate memory when people go. Yeah, you are but the other side of that is that sometimes things need freshness, and they need to take the lid off and let the light in. You know? I think there needs to be a bit of that.

Ingrid's goals position institutional knowledge as burdening the progress of RCCs. Later in our conversation, she criticizes RCCs that refused to join a group of State -affiliated RCC managers. In so doing, she adds specificity to the historical past she hopes to distance RCWI from:

> I think they are in that mode of 'we are a collective; we are a feminist movement', they are anti-State, they are anti-change…they are fucking crazy! It's just fucking nuts! And if you saw them! Have you seen [their] website. These big, butch women. They just do nothing for themselves! Go on, shout the next question!

While RCC institutionalization is often conceptualized as a necessary allowance to maintain the Centre, here Ingrid uses homogeneity as a reason to push advocates out, while criticizing anti-State beliefs pathologically and policing their gender expression as not fitting within the cultural scripts of gender essentialism. Far from an organizational sacrifice, SARC integration is framed as the sane, progressive direction for RCCs. *RCWI counselors faced a management style that framed turnover as healthy for the future of RCCs, while using silence and distance to marginalize voices of dissention.*

Sinead, who worked at RCWI for over a decade, returned as interim executive director in 2016 to fill a gap in the position left when Ingrid was asked to resign over legal issues that emerged. She directly compared the environment at RCWI to abusive relationship dynamics.

> I think sometimes dynamics really play out here and I think that is what is happening here at the moment. I would have laughed at that maybe, if someone told me years ago, but I feel it big time now…we are working with abused and abusers, and secrecy and shame, and I think that plays out in the 153organization itself…I do feel what is happening in the last few years is that they have had terrible managers who have been actually abusive, and who played the Board against the staff, and the staff against the Board. That is the dynamics of an abuser who is abusing in the family and plays the one off the other, and so nobody feels that they are safe to come forward about it and then when they are gone it all comes out, which it did – still people are pitted against each other.

Sinead references Ireland's cultural history of authoritative Church control and the abuses hidden by power. The State and Church were the cultural sources of moral authority and

knowledge in Ireland (Dingley 2015). This hegemonic power allowed the proliferation of

abuse and normalized cycles of violence (Keenan 2011). Sinead sees the authority of the

Board and executive director, established through institutionalization as the replacement

for their collective structure, as fostering abusive dynamics throughout the center.

RCC institutionalization is partly due to a genuine belief that positive SARC

relationships create better outcomes for victims, and partly "about the inequalities in

power, funding, and resources which law enforcement agencies can use to coerce centers

into silence and compliance" (Corrigan 2013:107). In contrast, I find that WERA and

RCWI used internalized power hierarchies, funding insecurity, and institutional resources

to push their advocates into silent complicity. When advocates were unwilling to

conform, they left the organization. They did not leave because of the mainstreaming of

RCCs by the State; they left as a response to the institutional betrayal of the RCCs.

Yancey Martin's (2005) study of official responses to rape found a declining use of

volunteers at some RCCs. She interpreted this as a necessary sacrifice of centers'

grassroots origins in favor of the reliability of paid employees. In contrast, my findings

suggest that volunteer characterization that uses capitalist justifications of reliability may

be organizational attempts to quell the dissention of RCC advocate/activists.

D.   NEGOTIATING THE MOVEMENT: ADVOCATE AGENCY

Advocate victimization separates advocates from RCCs and the anti-rape movement by

fostering advocate self-blame and alienation from their work. In their study of rape victims and

formal reporting, Greenson and Campbell (2011) identified three forms of agency that victims

use to gain control over their experience in the legal and medical systems. These strategies

include institutional compliance to improve their chances of success within these systems,

defiance using noncompliance to protect themselves from additional harm, and defiance by challenging the institutional response to their case, in hopes of changing that response. My findings illustrate that despite institutionalized blocks from within the centers, advocates similarly developed agentic strategies to maintain their connection to victims and the larger anti-rape movement. While strategies of advocate compliance have been well covered in discussions of how advocates manage institutionalization, in this section I apply the two strategies of defiance to instances of rule-breaking within both centers.

1. Protective Noncompliance

Advocates intentionally violated the rules and policies of the centers in cases where doing so was out of their own self-protection. For example, Amber was aware that she was breaking WERA policy in her assertive confrontation of an inappropriate caller.

> A: …. I had some douchebag dudes, but the last one that I remember clearly the conversation… He giggled a few times and that was like the dead giveaway to me, the giggle and I was just like- I probably wasn't supposed- I was always doing things I wasn't supposed to do. I read him the fucking Riot Act. I was like, "Do you realize I'm a volunteer on this hotline and I am here to help women and men who have been sexually assaulted and that every day I am listening to people tell me horrific things that have happened to them and that it crushes my spirit and then you fucking call me to giggle?!"…I didn't have much tolerance for that guy.

> EW: What did he say?

> A: Oh, he just hung up, he didn't say anything and I think he hung up before I was even done yelling. Whatever…they were never traumatizing for me. I know that there are some people who are on the hotline who have had inappropriate callers and they are- but to me, just like my own personal defense mechanisms, how I deal with shit is like, "Fuck you." I'm not going to let you have any kind of an effect on me at all. Sometimes I just want to scream, "I'm a fat dyke!"

Hotline advocates are strictly warned against verbal confrontation during inappropriate calls, as WERA management believes it could encourage or further gratify the callers. Such rationale exhibits yet another neoliberal cultural belief about sexual assault regarding victim

precipitation, that a victim's behavior encourages the perpetrator. As such, Amber's expression of frustration is not unique in sentiment, but in delivery. She acknowledges her pattern of breaking with WERA policy as a point of pride. Amber does not express frustration over the caller's termination of the call while she was speaking, indicating that her self-expression was for her own needs rather than to appeal to the conscience of the caller.

While Amber was not unmoved by the call, as indicated by her "crushed spirit," she connected her noncompliance to her lack of residual trauma by referencing a defense mechanism that overrides the protective measures offered by WERA's institutional protocol. She referenced her own identity markers as a "fat dyke," seeing humor in the contrast between the fantasy she imagines the caller has of her and her identity outside of the hegemonic beauty standards. This self-identity overrides the expectations within her role as an advocate during the call, implying that she views her protective noncompliance as her authentic self. Amber's ability to protect herself from lasting issues surrounding the harassment are connected to her agency in handling the call, reflecting a similar solution to how Ellen mentioned the RCWI handles calls.

2. Challenging Defiance

Advocates who viewed institutional policies as neglecting either or both the anti-rape mission or needs of victims, sometimes engaged in defiance in order to alter the outcome of their services. As discussed in Chapter Four, RCWI's institutionalization severely cut the funding for prevention and education programming. The counselors were upset by these cuts, viewing such initiatives as crucial to the long-term success of reducing sexual assault. This was particularly true for the education programming that occurred within schools. Historically, RCWI had gone to schools around the area to talk about consent and sexuality. Annabelle reflected on the importance to both the community and her advocacy:

> We have teenagers that call in and say 'one of your staff people were in our school, and we were out the other night and I thought of what William said, or Annabelle said, and I thought- "this isn't good, I need to get us out of here."' We hear great stories like that. Or some lovely things like "the RCWI gave us permission to go home and talk to my parents about sex." Really life-changing stuff …It's real prevention, and that makes doing the crisis frontline work okay.

Annabelle sees the tangible prevention that education programming has provided, but also the genuine hope within such work as a buffer that enables her more difficult work on the hotline (frontline). After a long struggle with the administration, RCWI was granted permission to present its education program at a conservative Catholic secondary school. There was no funding left for such programming: the cost of transportation, payment for counselors' time, and class materials. She ultimately decided to go and give the presentation anyway, against the wishes of the executive director. In rationalizing this decision, she explained that she would simply have to ask forgiveness after the fact, as it was too important an opportunity. Anna, who had a prevention role before the cuts, maintains that she would not make the same decision:

> Now they do a lot of unpaid stuff because they have to organise those gigs, and you are only paid for the actual gig…that is really the ride now. It really undervalues the work. I wouldn't do it myself. I would feel very resentful.

Annabelle sees education work as worth breaking the rules for in her hope for cultural change. She witnesses real transformations that make her financial sacrifice worthwhile. Both counselors view prevention work as fundamentally important. Anna views the cuts as a governmental devaluation of prevention, which makes performing previously paid work for free as an affront to the meaning of the work. Yet it is the very significance of this work that leads Annabelle to go outside of governmental designations and disobey RCWI management.

At WERA, advocates broke rules in an attempt to improve the outcomes for victims. Volunteer supervisor Gloria acknowledges that institutional rules have a function, but victim needs can override their purpose: "It's to protect everybody, however I can see myself bending

that if I was really going to make some impact on somebody, or I could help someone." More specifically, volunteer advocate Casey described going against WERA rules as allowing for the best parts of her experience as an advocate.

> I would say, the best part was those rare but significant moments where I felt like the work that I was doing mattered. I had a call one night that will stay with me for the rest of my life, from a girl who had just been raped by the man that her mom was having an affair with, as like a silencing technique [so that the daughter would not disclose the affair]. I stayed on the phone with her for four hours because it had just happened and she was like in tears and she just kept repeating the same questions. I know that I wasn't supposed to have stayed on the phone with her for that long but I couldn't not. She needed someone and I'm really glad that it was me and that I was able to be there for her. Just moments like that, the work, the connection, the opening the door or at least a window to healing and helping someone feel supported and that it's not their fault.

Casey justified knowingly exceeding the WERA 45-minute phone limit for what she perceived as the desperation of the victim, viewing the help she provided as the highlight of her advocacy.

Yancey Martin (2005) suggests that centers are moving away from volunteers, as they pose a risk of failing to "comply with the agreements between RCC and mainstream organizations" which "can cause ill will and loss of support for the center, in addition to denying vital services for victims" (155). Such designations are highly dependent on what are considered "vital services" and foundational patriarchal reasons for "ill will." Institutional rules established due to SARC integration, promoted the efficiency, professionalism, and economic austerity mandated by nationalist structures. Advocates found that disregarding these rules better served the original RCC services: victims, prevention, and their role in the anti-rape cause.

E. CONCLUSION

This chapter illustrates how the nationalist restructuring of RCCs fostered the use of cultural responses to rape within the centers. At both centers, advocates experienced gender-based sexual harassment as part of their work. The organizational responses to sexually

inappropriate calls utilized cultural frameworks of victim-blaming and perpetrator sympathy. Furthermore, RCCs then evade responsibility for the calls by using neoliberal or collective nationalism. Individualized conceptions of violence are placed onto the experiences of rape victims and advocates, alike.

My findings expand the studies of RCC organizational and political development. In both Ireland and the U.S, SARC integration was a reluctant concession to keep centers open during the economic instability of the late twentieth century. Scholars argued that despite these State affiliations, incremental systemic change continued (Corrigan 2013; Campbell et al. 1998; Matthews 1994). Yancey Martin (2005) termed the work centers were able to do as "unobtrusive mobilization." The cases of RCWI and WERA suggest that RCC management now reify the racial and gender hierarchies that support the larger complexes and use nationalist ideologies to manage advocates who show resistance to institutionalization.

Both RCCs began as collectives. As was the case for many U.S. RCCs, neoliberalism changed the form of WERA away from this collective structure, stratifying power within the SARC. WERA has acquired traits of this institutionalized power, resulting in alienation that secures the center as an agent for the State. Irish RCC institutionalization integrated RCWI into welfare capitalism. This stratified RCC power by creating hierarchical relationships within the organization. However, evidence of some collective structuring remains, as seen in the response to hoax calls. The collective foundation of the Centre aligns with the collective ideology embraced by government structures (e.g., Dingley 2015). RCWI's space for informal collectivity has maintained the connection of many advocates to the center, as reflected in their low turnover rate and the long tenure of many counselors.

Much research on the evolving form of RCCs relies primarily on interviews with RCC directors (Campbell et al. 1998). This chapter exemplifies how RCC leadership and advocacy have very different stories within them, and the importance of hearing advocates reflect on their centers. Moving away from the top of RCCs internal hierarchies exposes that the tense position of feminist collectives plays out not only within the SARC, but also amongst advocates.

By strategically breaking the rules set forth by institutionalization, advocates maintain their connection to victims and anti-rape activism. Corrigan wrote that RCCs are "constrained in their attempts to do systems advocacy or social change work by abysmally low levels of funding, political marginalization within their communities, and a public lack of interest in or sympathy for sexual violence. Against these daunting odds, RCCs have managed to effect real change in their communities" (115). This chapter illustrates that this "real change" made by RCCs can be found in the covert work of those advocates.

CHAPTER XI:
GRIDLOCK: FAILURES OF RCC INTERSECTIONALITY

A. INTRODUCTION

RCWI and WERA were both founded as a part of larger social movements against rape. Even through the transnational, nationwide institutionalization of many RCCs, the centers continue to be socially understood as the forefront of anti-rape movements (Corrigan 2013; Martin 2005). WERA and RCWI do not reject this categorization: they position themselves as social change organizations in movements to end sexual assault. One fundamental signifier of the centers' movement orientations is their efforts for inclusivity of a diverse clientele. In this final findings chapter, I address how the different approaches to inclusivity at both RCCs utilize nationalist understandings to further the oppression of marginalized groups and reconstruct State power. I establish this pattern through an examination of the similarities and contrasts between social justice, racial justice, and RCC anti-rape movements in both countries. This subjugation takes three forms: the disregard of intersectionality in understanding the needs of victims of Color, tokenizing and imperialist treatment of advocates of Color, and perpetuation of racialized tropes of Black/African sexual threats. Within each of these areas, my findings weave complex national pictures of colonial representation, resentment, and repression. Despite facades of racial inclusivity within the RCC anti-rape movements, the lack of concern for structural and political intersectionality serves patriarchal motives, perpetuates rape culture, and fails victims.

B. INCLUSIVITY

1. Neoliberal Social Justice: "Multicultural" Inclusivity at Working to Eliminate Rape & Abuse

In 2016, WERA leadership added a sentence to the organizational mission:

We believe that every person has the right to live free of sexual assault. We are moving to end sexual assault and the suffering it causes in our community. *We*

> *challenge all forms of oppression and recognize their connection to sexual violence.* [Emphasis added]

The inclusion of other types of interlocking oppressions within the anti-rape mission is indicative of the organization's adoption of the rhetoric posited by social justice (SJ) organizing based in the concept of intersectionality. Born into social movements from Black feminist thought (Collins 2002), such a framework includes the examination of the foundations of oppression and injustice while building community collective action through collation building (Richie 2015; Silliman 2004). In *Mapping the Margins* (1991), Crenshaw proposed the term *structural intersectionality* to address how individuals within multiple systems of oppression experience social justice reforms differently. WERA's advocate training materials illustrates how the organization attempted to address structural intersectionality:

> We know that the daily violence of racism/white supremacy, sexism/transphobia/ patriarchy, classism/capitalism, and homophobia/heterosexism are the intersecting sources of sexual violence, the reasons it happens.

These training materials draw an explicit organizational connection between other systems of violence and sexual abuse. This acknowledgement is especially complex given the direction of WERA's integration into mental health and criminal-legal systems. WERA's organizational narrative is complicated by my findings within Chapter Four, wherein the center was seen to have adapted the individualist SARC view of rape as a mental health and criminal issue, rather than a social problem.

Sexual violence research documenting the integration of RCCs into State structures (Martin 2005; Matthews 1994), as well as the co-option of anti-rape movements by the State (Stringer 2014; Corrigan 2013; Bumiller 2008), also proposes that RCCs have taken accommodationist positions to push incremental change. My findings show that the understanding of RCCs as social justice (SJ) organizations is complicated by the contradictions

between WERA's public identity as an SJ organization and a service provider for the criminal-legal system.

In *Abolitionist Democracy*, Davis (2005:28) clarified the difference between multiculturalism and racial justice: "Multiculturalism is a category that can admit both progressive and deeply conservative interpretations. There's corporate multiculturalism because corporations have discovered that it is more profitable to create a diverse work place." Davis argues that multiculturalism must be political, and collectively struggle for equality and justice. I find that WERA engages in a version of corporate multiculturalism while making explicit claims as a racial justice SJ organization. This dilutes the anti-rape movement and further obscures the insidiousness of institutional racism, pushing collective liberation further away while organizationally orienting towards it.

2. Nationalized Equality: "Apolitical" Inclusivity at Rape Crisis West Ireland

Organizational inclusivity at RCWI uses an apolitical model. Although the stated mission of the organization is largely focused on community prevention and victim advocacy, the statement also addresses social equality at-large in more general terms:

> RCWI's vision is of a just and equal society where everyone has the right to live free from sexual violence and abuse.

The vague acknowledgement of social structure is reflective of the Centre's political neutrality. In combination with the RCC's nationalized healthcare institutionalization, this effectively neutralizes any remaining political orientation within the Centre.

Framing politics, rather than political structures, as potentially marginalizing survivors maintains hegemonic governmental structures. Institutionalization into individualized mental health counseling allowed for the Centre's mission to pivot from representing the needs of clients

culturally to providing for the needs of clients locally. In the excerpt below, Roisin, a former

fundraiser at RCWI, describes how this process occurred for her personally:

> R: The organisation as a whole has absolutely no political stance, and will never
> have anything to say about abortion or about things like that, because it just
> doesn't have ….a political stance. So, there is the hesitation.

> EW: Were you told that we didn't take political stances? Was that from the ED?

> R: Yeah. In the early days, I was going' oh, we should be saying this about
> abortion!' and she was like 'Roisin! No. We have no political stance whatsoever.
> We don't…that's not our job. Our job: we look after the clients.' Whatever
> happens outside in the world, this is the little…you know, we don't promote any
> political party. The local politicians might knock down every once and awhile to
> talk about the issues, but if they are inviting one politician they will invite them
> all. In the early days I would have been 'oh, we must be saying something about
> this!' but afterwards I thought, 'yeah, they are right.' They have nothing to do
> with…other than looking after their clients.

> EW: Do you think that's a good call?

> R: Yes. I think there are just too many variables and I think it might deter people
> who need the services from coming in. They might have been assaulted but they
> were pro- or anti- abortion. I think it's one of their best features, that they don't…
> I think actually the apolitical organisation is much more important than feminist.

Roisin's role as a fundraiser uniquely positions her to reflect on the public messaging of the

Centre. While she initially thought it could be important for RCWI to speak out publicly about

political issues, she ultimately agreed with the focus on client services and viewed the policy as

creating political inclusivity.

In positioning the apolitical stance as one of her favorite aspects of the Centre, she also

ranked it as more important than feminism. Indeed, many of the advocates referenced the

apolitical approach to inclusivity in regards to abortion rights and feminism. In this way, both

RCWI and WERA distanced themselves from feminism under the auspice of inclusion. Rather

than take a stance that would be unpopular with either nationalist Catholics or the feminist

movement from which RCCs were borne, the RCWI sidesteps the gendered complexities of the

post-colonial Irish identity. While the Centre manifests many of the cultural values found in Irish society, it is the values themselves that are transmitted, rather than the meaning-making processes: the political meanings, not the political power.

Although the advocates most often discussed apolitical distancing in the context of gender and political inclusivity, the strategy has implications for the racial accessibility of the Centre. Chapter Four established that institutionalization into the SARC reified paternalistic nationalism based on a cultural collective identity of social welfarism. This State dependency has caused RCWI to engage in identity management to keep their stated mission of client-focused services intact. Focusing exclusively on client services without a political platform allows for the government's political ideology to continuously redefine for the Centre who is a client, and what services should be provided.

C. VICTIMS OF COLOR

1. Institutionalized Intersectionality at Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse

Services for sexual assault victims, including RCCs, struggle with the accessibility of service provision to victims of Color (see Tillman et al. 2010; Campbell 2008; Martin 2005). In recognition of this disparity, the intersectional social justice (SJ) models adopted by many RCCs directly address the need to increase the racial accessibility of their organizations. At WERA, this was seen in Chapter Five, when Nancy listed communities of Color as crucial to the expansion of services, albeit after the inclusion of men. One of the barriers to access for victims of Color is the stigma against mental health services in some communities of Color (see Tillman et al. 2010; Pierce-Baker 1998; Matthews 1994).

WERA's organizational awareness of the cultural and historical barriers for victims of Color as stated in their mission is directly oppositional to the direction of SARC integration: into

bureaucratic mental health systems and the criminal-legal system. Following the rollout of the changes to direct service, the affiliation of WERA and Community Mental Health (CMH)[23] became publicly positioned. Before 2012, WERA was framed as an RCC without a mention of CMH on their website. In 2012, WERA was re-branded as a program of CMH, and the WERA logo was altered to reflect its program designation. Of the ten services listed as a part of CMH, WERA is the only to have "Program of CMH" included on its logo, and the slogan is a qualifier on all print materials.

At the time of the switch, staff and volunteers expressed discomfort with the centering of mental health for an RCC, as it framed victims as "crazy." Gabrielle, a volunteer advocate, wondered about the switch: "What's the message? Is the victim supposed to think that she was raped, and now she's got a mental health issue? Or maybe that is just what society should think?" Branding a social problem as a mental health service further individualizes sexual abuse: "When institutionalized, 'mainstream' or western medicine reconstitutes social problems as 'diseases' or individual pathologies in need of medical intervention...it replaces the ideology and structures of social movements with the ideology and structures of (western) medicine, subsuming grassroots to State and capital interests" (Durazo 2016: 180). Under such a framework, sexual assault victims and offenders can both be viewed as having individual "issues," protecting hegemony from social change.

When advocates voiced concern over associating sexual assault with mental health from a social problem perspective, WERA management was nonresponsive, and later suggested that the stigma against mental health needed to be challenged. One fundraiser at CMH is named "Rise Above Stigma," which carries a meritocratic nationalist connotation of personal responsibility

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[23] Recall from Chapter 4 that CMH was the umbrella mental health agency that WERA integrated into during the changeover to direct-service provision.

that suggests individuals can move beyond their concerns for cultural stigmatization. This "bootstrapping" of U.S. ideology is frequently used in rationalizing the neoliberal cuts to services that disproportionately impact communities of Color.

CMH's branding of WERA ignores the legacy of medical violence against women and communities of Color. While there is a larger cultural stigmatization of mental health in U.S. society, there is also a sub-cultural distancing of communities of Color from medical institutions. This stigmatization of mental health services is most often attributed to historical ties of the medical industry to slavery, colonialism, segregation, neglect, and reproductive control (Durazo 2016; Martin 2005; Roberts 1997). Lina, a Latina volunteer with WERA for two years, illustrates the racial justice issues within RCCs when discussing her hope for future centers:

> I think a lot of times the more institutionalized rape crisis centers are very white and very from a white mental health perspective. When communities of Color and queer communities have been resisting rape, and navigating rape, and alternative ways for centuries. So yeah, I think building and kind of bridging that would be really important and become more multidimensional.

WERA's institutionalization continues to marginalize access to RCC services for victims of Color. The organizational rationalization of this stigma uses the rhetoric of self-responsibility that perpetuates inequalities. An internal hierarchy within WERA prioritizes the integration with white patriarchal power imbued into institutions over the needs of victims of Color.

Mental health stigmatization is not the only cultural stigma that WERA encounters. WERA, like most RCCs, is affiliated with feminist movements culturally. Organizational belief in the importance of tackling mental health stigmas head-on is a distinctly different approach to stigma than is used to address negative cultural attitudes towards feminism. WERA leadership distances the organization from the public identification of a feminist organization, believing that doing so may discourage survivors from obtaining their services. While Nancy identifies proudly

as a feminist and discusses gender equality as the "work of her lifetime," she is careful to

distance WERA from the designation.

> EW: would you say that WERA is a feminist program?

> N: I can remember having this debate once. Here's the thing: I would say yes. I wouldn't probably advertise our services as such because people would make their own choice about how they interpret that- like that we hate men- and I don't. I wouldn't want that to happen because we serve men, right? I wouldn't want men to not see us. So, I would just not advertise that, 'cause I couldn't control the message. But internally, do I believe that WERA is a feminist organization- yes.

The concern over the social interpretation of feminism stands in contrast to WERA

management's disinterest in the stigmatization of mental health. This inconsistency reveals

WERA's assertions of SJ awareness, yet calculated institutionalization into mental health and

criminal-legal reporting spaces. By asserting the desire to dismantle mental health stigma

through direct contact, while avoiding feminist labels under the guise of inclusivity, historically

racist institutions are treated deferentially. As such and also found in Chapter Five, RCC

institutionalization is not a reluctant concession. Public CMH branding is not only a conscious

choice, but a choice made specifically for the RCC and not for other CMH programs.

2. Rape Crisis West Ireland: Apolitically Xenophobic Client Services

RCWI's policy of political neutrality has implications for racially marginalized rape

victims. From 2005 to 2007, the Centre ran an Asylum Seeker and Refugee Clinic for women.

Ninety percent of clients at the clinic were from countries within Africa, and 79 percent of the

clients had experienced rape. The clinic was funded by a governmental grant entitled The

Dormant Accounts Fund. While the numbers of clients using the service increased over the two-

year span of the initial grant, the government halted the funding of this program. At the same

time as the clinic's funding was cut, there was increasing national concern over non-white

immigration into the country. From 2002 to 2006, the percentage of non-Irish nationals increased

by 87 percent; the fastest increases outside of other EU nationals were of people from Africa and

Asia (Ireland Census 2006). In 2004, a national referendum was passed that restricted access to

citizenship by birth: the government stopped granting citizenship to children born in Ireland to

non-Irish nationals, which some believe would have created "a truly multicultural Ireland"

(Lentin 2005:1). Before 2004, anyone born on Irish soil was entitled to citizenship. After this, the

referendum citizenship was only granted to children with at least one Irish parent. Such

restrictions stand in contrast to the legislation that allows foreign-born individuals whose

grandparents or parents were Irish citizens before their birth, in acknowledgement of the mass

migration of Native Irish during the Great Famine (Citizens Information Board 2016).[24]

Several advocates reported cases where RCWI's apolitical approach to inclusivity

marginalized victims in need of their services. While advocates discussed the complex trauma

and deep need required by asylum seekers, the apolitical stance of the Centre prevents RCWI

from protesting the state's xenophobic legislation and funding decisions. Sophie, who has been a

counselor at RCWI for ten years, compared the plight of the African refugees to her own

experience moving from Northern Ireland to the south of Ireland as a child.

> I've worked with a lot of asylum seekers in the Rape Crisis Centre and I think it's
> because I identified with their being a refugee, although mine is a very minor
> identification, still - it was there. Up North it is a very different culture, education,
> schooling - everything. I mean, I don't know. Well me personally, I always said
> even though I came from a war situation where I saw a lot of violence; a lot of
> stuff outside my front door - I didn't know what human evilness was until I
> moved South to rural Ireland. The narrow-minded, awful…being different, no
> fresh blood in this particular place. You are sticking out like a sore thumb. It's

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[24] During early colonialism, the British racialized the Irish as barbaric and biologically inferior to rationalize their
genocidal approach to the Native Irish population (Dubar-Ortiz 2014; Lentin 2005). During the postcolonial
construction of the Constitution, the Irish created their own caste system by defining what the Republic was to be,
which was exactly what the British had taken away: "the space of white, Catholic, settled men of property" (Lentin
2005: 3). Whiteness was later reified as part of the Irish identity in the form of anti-immigrant sentiment.

that classic…even though you are a child, so, you know? I can imagine how they feel - the asylum seekers and refugees. They are so visible and even their skin colour - they can't blend in and hide even if they wanted to, you know?

In aligning herself with the refugees, Emma's reflection is indicative of the downside of collective identity: marginalization. She views her identity as a refugee from The Troubles[25] as "very minor" in comparison to the African refugees, and references the physical markers of difference as making them targets of xenophobic treatment from the dominant racial group. In Ireland's construction of nationalism, identity is constructed through difference.

The 2004 referendum's xenophobic narrative was laden with racist sexism towards African women, who were believed to emigrate late in pregnancy to manipulate the government into granting citizenship for their children (Lentin 2005). These women were framed as a promiscuous flood of sexually deviant immigrants who posed a sexual and genealogical threat to the Irish identity (Meaney 2013). Irish scholars have argued that the treatment of migrant women in legislation such as this constructs Ireland as a 'racial state' that excludes certain groups specifically to maintain the homogeneity of the population. In the same vein, Lentin claimed that "the debates around the referendum made gendered (black) bodies central to re-articulations of Irishness as white supremacy" (2005:2). The advocates were aware of the difficulties faced by asylum seekers in their home countries as well as in Ireland. While executive director Sinead called the Irish treatment of asylum seekers "horrendous," the RCWI's political neutrality does

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[25] The Irish Free State was established after a treaty agreement in 1922. The treaty created a partial state of Irish colonization by England via partition: with three quarters of the island, Ireland, being an independent republic, and the other quarter, Northern Ireland, remaining a British providence (Fletcher 2001; Townshend 2013). The divisions created by partition were largely a result of religious affiliation: the Northern part of the country had a large Protestant population, while the rest of Ireland was highly concentrated with Catholic-identified citizens (Townshend 2013). Scholars have discussed Ireland as an example a decolonized sovereignty: a republic that did not match the ultimate goals of the revolution (Thapar-Bjokert & Ryan 2002). The presence of North Ireland as a British neighbor presented ethno-religious identity negotiation that manifested in a civil conflict that reached a peak during the 1990s, termed The Troubles, wherein sectarian violence was common through the island. In one study of the social divisions by ethno-religious groups, Protestant/Catholic resentment in Ireland was found to have persisted over the fifty years since partition (Fletcher 2001).

not create space for the Centre to advocate for the needs of such clients. The Irish "racial state" constructs the African women's sexuality as a nationalist threat, while Irish women's sexuality is essentialized as inherently victimized. RCWI's experience with the needs of asylum seekers directly contradicts this narrative, as Rachael's counseling experiences illustrate:

> It was heavy, ya know? It was genocide stuff, and kids gone missing, kids being raped in front of them, being in Direct Provision - that made me really angry…you know when you do a drop-in with, let's say an Irish woman, or a woman who lives here …you know, you say 'oh, what's your support system?' They don't have any. 'Oh, have a nice bath for yourself.' They can't. 'Do some writing', they can't, because it's not private because even the people in the hotel will come and take their writing or their sewing or their food. 'Buy yourself something nice to eat'. They don't have any nice food, they don't have any money, and they are just trapped in this system. It's just horrible working with people. It's like a black pit of despair, and a few times we did group work and it was actually like falling into a well.

Rachael's description illustrates that asylum seekers have fewer resources and differently complex types of trauma than the typical RCWI client. Client-centered services are valued at RCWI as the advantage to apolitical inclusivity. However, these services are no longer provided to those outside of the governmental designation. Moreover, Rachael's reference of the plight of the refugees as a "black pit of despair," harkens the "Dark Continent" racialized controlling image of Africa that has plagued Western discourse (Adichie 2009; Baaz 2001).

Sinead's description of the needs of asylum seekers suggests that these clients are far from a sexual threat; rather, their circumstances *increase* their sexual vulnerability:

> Well, for instance, our clients in the asylum seeker clinic were constantly being harassed outside the Direct Provision centre[26] because as somebody called it, a 'honey-pot'. Where do you go where there are vulnerable, weak women? It's a known fact that men hang outside the teenage children's home waiting for girls to come out, and they hang around the Direct Provision centre as well.

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[26] Direct Provision is the governmental housing program set up to manage asylum seekers, where previously such refugees had been included in the social welfare system. It has been the source of much controversy across the political spectrum, with some viewing it as a type of extended detention, and others viewing it as a drain of governmental resources. For an extended review, see Breen 2008.

Inclusivity at RCWI mandates that the RCC cannot call out the sexist, race-based xenophobia within cultural stereotypes and political legislation: either act would be a political statement. As such, the Centre faces an organizational inability to advocate for service accessibility.

The apolitical nature of the RCWI does not extend to sexual abuse; though limited by SARC institutionalization as discussed in Chapter Four, the Centre has an active social media presence and frequently issues public responses to sexual assault in the news, commenting on issues such as sentence length or posting about rape culture and victim blaming. The political neutrality of the Centre, however, curtails the structural intersectionality of such community engagement. RCWI cannot correct the cultural myths of asylum seekers by asserting that such women are more frequently victims of sexual assault perpetrated by white Irish men. In this way, the inclusive framework of the RCWI latently supports the hegemonic political structure and obscures the patterns of assaults by Irish men. Under this policy, the public narrative of the mainstream anti-rape movement can only represent those issues or victims perceived as "politically neutral," in effect shaping who is a socially understood victim--- and who is not.

RCWI's awareness of the needs of asylum seekers and inability to campaign for them set up a role conflict between the Centre's client-centered philosophy and institutional dependency on the government. To resolve this tension, advocates at the RCWI re-framed government cuts to minimize the scope of the issues. In Katie's reflection on social issues and governmental cuts, she uses the issues in other countries to negate the importance of funding cuts that remove services from those in need locally:

> My political beliefs would be very international and global. I don't engage with local political issues because sometimes I don't think they are important in the grand scheme of things. When it comes to issues, let's say in Irish politics - if it's about sexual violence, or homelessness, or social welfare - I always compare it to other countries on another level. So, I look at things very…when there are…let's

say austerity cuts, like there are here… I would say 'what is this now, in relation to, you know, parts of Africa, or different countries' and that is how I judge them.

Katie describes preferring to consider the plight of other countries, rather than the issues of funding within her own. In describing other countries, she mentions one continent as the "other": Africa. This assessment of the mono-cultural Africa uses a Western view that defines Africans "in terms of their difference from the West, as the primitive barbarian origin of man as opposed to civilization…as nature as opposed to culture" (Baaz 2001:8). Katie's excusal of local cuts to services is driven by her concern for the issues in Africa, which is indicative of the ability of power structures to distance the concept of violence, as Smith (2005:177) wrote of terrorism and foreign policy. More specifically, Smith (2005:177) stated that "terrorism was something that happened in other countries, while 'home' was a place of safety…the premise that violence happens 'out there' rather than at home."

Rather than examining structural obstacles to obtaining services, RCWI's conceptions of marginalization focus on victims who may not identify as the typical clientele of the Centre, such as men, or those against access to abortion. As such, RCWI focuses inclusivity efforts on broadening the identity of the Centre rather than the accessibility of services to the socially marginalized. By focusing on their image and conception of victimization, RCWI remained within the limits of what could be controlled by the organization.

D. RCC ADVOCATES OF COLOR

1. Tokenized Commodities: Advocate Diversity at Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse

WERA exemplifies how fragmented ideals of inclusion lead to the competitive tokenization of people of Color within social justice organizations. The center approaches social justice from a neoliberal stance, which recreates the institutional racism seen in the solution for

sexual assault. The neoliberal framework of inclusion is evident in the organizational treatment of Clara, a young Chicana/Latina college graduate. The organizational demands placed upon Clara's racial identity display the complicated relationship between SJ organizations, diversity, and neoliberal racial ideology.

Clara was hired at WERA to do community education work, with a specific focus on the local Latinx[27] community. WERA management is what has been termed in SJ literature as a "white-led social justice organization" (Kivel 2007). WERA's organizational leadership is comprised of two white women, Nancy and Lacy. Lacy is Clara's immediate supervisor, and Clara is also working with Consuela, who is from Central America. Clara identifies as a mixed-race Chicana/Latina woman, and experienced pushback from WERA leadership when she disclosed her racial identity. She connects her surprise to the SJ framework espoused by WERA:

> As a social justice organization, I was really kind of appalled by their lack of framework or even just the way that they handled when I expressed that I was a mixed-race person. I felt very attacked, very categorized. I regretted even outing myself in that way, which was kind of ridiculous *[laughter]*. I've never even had that problem at even just a general workplace… I was actually told that Latina clients wouldn't feel safe around me because I looked too white, even though our counselor, who is bilingual, is from Spain. She Castilian and she's very light skinned, very European-looking, in the traditional sense. And obviously, being from Spain, you know, doesn't have that history of indigenous connections or connections of colonization, so that's interesting from like a social justice perspective…So like I'm a light skin-passing woman. But I always like to point out that Mexican people are a mixed-race people. Just historically-- because of colonization. So, it's like, you could have somebody who is completely of African ancestry, or light-skinned, right… I just wanted to point that out.

The differential treatment of Clara based on her light skin color illustrates the center's policing of social boundaries in regards to racial mixture. Clara's assertion that her racially mixed identity has not been an issue within other workspaces aligns with Telles and Sue's (2009)

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[27] Following a line of queer Latinx scholarship, I use the term Latinx to signal inclusivity of all gender expressions, moving away from the gender binary reified within Latino/a designations. For more on the use of Latinx, see Scharrón-del Río & Aja (2015). When I am referring to a specific Latinx person, I use the gender categorization consistent with the participant's self-identity.

discussion of race mixture as "affected by the social context." Colorism is a term used to describe experiences of skin color advantage and disadvantage. Colorism is founded in colonial ideologies that privilege skin lightness due to similarity with white Europeans, and stigmatize dark skin associated with indigenous and Black people (Quiros & Dawson 2013). Wherein colorism is defined as lighter pigment being allocated more privilege, the view of Clara's light-skinned racial identity was a source of both internal and organizational conflict. Although WERA claims to utilize a SJ framework, Clara's experience illustrates a "corporate multiculturalism" approach. The treatment of racial diversity as an asset to the organization restricts the "multicultural" in-group benefits from those not perceived as advancing WERA through their racial identification.

Clara's confusion around WERA's use of colorism, multiculturalism and inclusion also hinges on WERA's acceptance of a light-skinned Spanish counselor. Rachel, a white-identified former volunteer supervisor, was also on WERA staff at the time of Clara's hiring. She also points to the inconsistent treatment of Latina staff in the following quip about WERA's treatment of Clara: "They're not going to see *you* as Latina, but *you* should go see this white Catalonian woman." In comparing her treatment to that of her Castilian co-worker, Clara explains her light skin as a *result* of colonization. In contrast, Conseula views Clara's light skin as dangerous to clients, suggesting she views Clara as a *representation* of colonization. Warren and Sue (2011) address the history and contemporary rhetoric of race mixing in some Latin American countries. They use the example of Mexican social scientists who believed racial mixing would erode racial divisions, and point to how such belief created narrative of racial avoidance that allows for latent racism and colorism against indigenous and Black communities. Under the guise of racial homogeneity, whites in Latin America can assert mixed-race heritage and claim African and

indigenous connections while maintaining their white privilege, and so "whites also tend to include Africanness and/or Indianness, albeit in very paternalistic ways, in narratives of national heritage" (35). In the context of this racial ideology, Clara came to be viewed an authentically white, mixed-race elite. This organizational distrust was further exacerbated by her use of Spanish as a second language, which came to be viewed as a lack of cultural authenticity:

> For Latino people, specifically Chicano people, there's always that emphasis too on whether or not you can speak Spanish and that supposedly makes you authentic or not. And I speak some Spanish and I was very honest and open about that. I was very attacked about that. And I was actually told by the native Spanish-speaking person who worked there that I couldn't speak Spanish, even though I demonstrated the particular level that I had already talked about. So I think that just in that space, I think that person who was Latina-identified may be felt valued for that, for her ability to speak Spanish and then maybe threatened that there was another person who identified in that way as well. I was basically totally told I couldn't speak Spanish. I did the Spanish test with Inés at Community Mental Health- she would assess people's Spanish-speaking abilities, and help them with the pay grade based on that. And she said that my Spanish was wonderful. She put that in writing and nobody ever acknowledged that. In fact, the other Spanish speaker, who had told me I looked too white, said, "that was a stupid test and anyone could pass it," after I'd passed it. So I felt like, right? All these things made me feel very defensive, but I wasn't allowed to be defensive.

Vargas (2015) found that racial categorization within the U.S. white/Latino boundary is shaped by three perceptions: physical characteristics, cultural traits, and socioeconomic markers. Clara's Spanish was deemed organizationally deficient for the WERA's expectations for such a cultural marker. Clara's organizational designation as not authentically Latina then translated into WERA's negation of Vargas's final racial marker, that of social class.

> The other thing that was interesting is that because I was a recent college graduate-- I think I was 22 at the time- that was brought up a lot by my supervisor. That I was young. That I was green. I didn't really know what I was doing. She kept saying, "this is your first real job," which I felt was really problematic because I'd been working since I was 15 years old, as soon as I could. And then its kind of classist as if working in a restaurant full-time to support yourself is not a real job. So I felt really kind of offended by that a lot.

Given that Clara was viewed at WERA as not Latina, she was then ascribed the negative perceptions of a white woman who had just graduated from college. Using Vargas's (2015) model, Clara's working-class status could be viewed as a socioeconomic marker that lends credibility to her racial identity. However, having been organizationally understood as a white college graduate, her economic identity is then erased. Clara's experience supports Vargas's argument that personal racial identification is only one element of racial boundary maintenance. He asserts that racial self-identification must be externally validated to facilitate group-based experiences.

WERA's consistent use of racial stereotypes and inconsistent views of racial identity came to a head in their competitive relationship with Community Allies for Nonviolence (CAN), the local domestic violence organization. While WERA did not view Clara's racial identity as an asset organizationally, it became an asset intra-organizationally. The experience Clara describes below exemplifies the complexity of a white-led neoliberal SJ organization within the NPIC.

> I became a part of the ongoing collaboration with CAN and that was an ongoing relationship that was being built and I was joining the team. And I guess, historically, there have been some issues with CAN calling out WERA for not being on point with their racial knowledge or racial equity knowledge. So in a private meeting between me and Lacy, when we were discussing how the collaboration was going, she told me it would probably help if I were to out myself as a Latina or disclose that piece of my identity. But then she was like, 'I can't ask you to do that. But it will help.' And I was kind of like, 'That can go either way. I just feel like I am who I am. That piece is expressed through who I am. I don't feel the need to really tokenize that part of my identity.' I felt tokenized, which was kind of weird for me because I had already been told I wasn't Latina enough or Latina at all… And then her response to me saying 'I don't know. I have to feel it out.' --I was trying to be as cordial as possible-- was, 'Well, you know, that's fine if you don't want to. But they will probably just think you're an ignorant white woman.' And that's a direct quote. 'Ignorant white woman.' So it was almost- felt manipulative that she's going into my insecurity about not feeling Latina enough and feeling like I have to prove myself, and as if my knowledge of social justice issues was irrelevant also.

Clara's lack of racial markers makes her too white within WERA, but Latina enough when extra racial assets are needed to contest the call-out by CAN. The stereotypical "white girl" trope that has been placed on her is then used to pressure Clara into utilizing this asset for the organization. This selective use of identity politics is similar to WERA's inconsistencies in gender awareness in Chapter Five: the gender-neutral organizational paradigm is disregarded when gender awareness benefits men, the dominant category. Clara's racial identity is organizationally erased, unless it would benefit WERA. While the calling out of latent racism within mainstream feminist activism is not new (Crenshaw 1991; Davis 1981; Moraga & Anzaldúa 1981), the use of SJ frameworks to perpetuate and perpetrate racism is a contemporary adaption of second-wave white feminism. Richie (2015:263) addressed this connection in remarking, "what we found then is what we still find now: a pernicious form of racism in the movement to end gender violence."

WERA's approach to inclusion uses a capitalist model that tokenizes people of Color as company assets. As Tapp (2006:6) wrote of the attempts to diversify white-led movements, "Coloring-up social justice organizations through 'diversity trainings' and 'diversity recruitment efforts' has been, not surprisingly, woefully unsuccessful." This fosters competition between marginalized individuals to claim their value to WERA. Clara's identity, as it is organizationally translated, does not fulfill the standards needed for WERA's use of race as a corporate multicultural asset. Bonilla-Silva (2001) proposed that the token inclusion of people of Color in social life is part of the new structure of racism: "'White supremacy' is reproduced in a mostly institutional and apparently non-racial manner that relies on *token inclusion*- rather than on the systematic exclusion- of racial minorities from certain jobs and places and does not depend on overt expressions of racial hostility" (67).

Clara's experience highlights a complicated space between SJ frameworks that center voices of Color and corporate multiculturalism. In a SJ organizational setting, the acknowledgement of one's privilege is ritualistic. WERA leadership polices the authenticity of who can represent diversity, and therefore who must check which privileges, according to capitalist white supremacist standards. While Clara was reflexive about her passing privilege, her perceived refusal to acknowledge the white and class-privileged identity ascribed to her alienated her from the organization. Clara worked at WERA for less than a year. She struggles with reflecting on her experience without internalizing the difficulties during her time there. In so doing, she utilizes internalized victim-blaming language commonly used by survivors.

> I think that anyone who's kind of worked in a hostile work situation could probably relate to once you get out, sometimes you're confidence is really impacted by that. I think it's just really confusing. *It's hard not to feel like it was your fault, if that makes sense.* [Emphasis added]

Clara's experience contributes another layer of complexity to the policing of rape victim authenticity discussed in Chapter Four, and the control of advocates through sexual harassment addressed in Chapter Five. WERA's treatment of race reveals the ultimate power of institutionalized RCCs to control not only how advocates experience their work, but also how advocates represent themselves.

Despite WERA's use of SJ language, there is a structural resistance to intersectionality. As players in the SARC, WERA must also hold the gender-neutral, color-blind State ideologies of neoliberal capitalism. Mya illustrates the tension between SJ values and organizational realities in her discussion of how WERA approach trans issues.

> I feel like they would try to-- it was almost like pretending to be aware of things, yet not actually knowing enough for it to be useful type of thing... And still having some judgment around it. Being like, "Oh, we do all this training on what it would mean for a transgender survivor," but yet, no one actually cares or does

anything to try and make it actually feel like a safe organization for transgender people, or reach out to the transgender community. It's just almost surface level.

Mya's reflection of WERA's diversity efforts as a façade reflects that the pressures of social justice movements create surface level change, without making the organizational changes needed to serve marginalized populations.

2. "An Issue That Is Difficult to Talk About": Advocate Inclusion at Rape Crisis West Ireland

Chapter Five addressed the organizational manifestations of rape culture that proliferate when sexual abuse viewed as an individual issue. As Tapp (2006:7) asserted about battered women's shelters, "disconnected, service-based organizations oversimplify the complex nature of people's lives by encouraging a single-issue approach to injustice." When sexual abuse is made a political single-issue, intersectional understandings become fundamentally impossible. Further vacuums are created where political understandings are avoided, and cultural beliefs about the racialized Other manifest institutionally. Sinead's reflection on advocate diversity at RCWI came just after her discussion of the victimization and lack of resources for asylum seeking rape victims:

> EW: How do you think RCWI handles issues of diversity?
>
> S: Probably not as well as it could. You can see in the staff, they are primarily middle-class white Irish women. Even now, we used to have a lot more gay women working here. I don't even know do we have any gay women working here anymore as staff. We don't have any Black women. We don't…its mostly Irish white middle-class women, so not great. However, I suppose there is an issue that is difficult to talk about, which is I suppose that some immigrants tend to be more conservative, and definitely most of the African clients I work with are incredibly homophobic to the point of like, violence, you know what I mean? Very racist in themselves, and you often get that with immigrant communities. We have a Polish counsellor who is a volunteer, which is great, and she is counselling in Polish. There was a Nigerian woman who was a volunteer and I actually had to ask her to stop volunteering because she was really homophobic and religious, and it was coming in to the work. Weirdly enough, it was about the pervy guy who said Africans were raping him. I said 'oh I'm really sorry, he's

just weird!' and she said 'I didn't believe him for a minute! African men wouldn't rape a man!' So, then I had to say…'sorry!'

Many complex processes are at work in Sinead's statement. Her use of the racialized hoax call illustrates the avoidance of xenophobia as a cultural issue, instead casting the use of a racist trope as an individualized pathological issue disconnected from larger cultural issues in Ireland.

Sinead's story also acknowledges the racial, sexual, and class homogeneity of RCWI advocates. In addressing the nationalities of the advocates, she problematizes the religious conservatism of both her African clients and a Nigerian volunteer counselor. This stands in contrast to the desire for religious and political diversity that motivates the apolitical organizational policy. RCWI leadership engages in a nationalist and racialized assessment of religious inclusion, wherein the religious diversity that motivates political neutrality is limited to in-group differences. She also asserts the homophobia held by her clients as violent. She interprets the homophobia and racism witnessed at a previous job differently:

> Over the years I have worked for different charities, and I worked for this fabulous charity… they had so much money, and had such a beautiful building and it was so cool, and the CEO was so cool, and I could have really good craic [Gaelic for fun] with him, but he let me do whatever I wanted - he never interfered with what I was doing and I had a really good relationship with the staff but it bored me! And they were casually racist; casually homophobic; casually sexist.

While Sinead describes the discriminatory views witnessed at her former job as casual, she describes the homophobia of her African clients and Nigerian volunteer as violent. Her view of African clients and advocates hinges on cultural explanations, using what Bonilla-Silva (2001) discussed as "the biologization of culture," wherein naturalized explanations of racial inequality have transformed into cultural rationalizations. Narayan (1997) termed "culture as explanation" rather than "cultural explanations" to understand violence in "African," but not Irish, cultures. Narayan (1997:101) further conceptualizes this Othering of distant cultures and normalization of

the violence in one's own society as "border-crossing," and writes that this shapes the perception of violence against women as "'things that happen elsewhere' which in turn suggests they are unlike 'things that happen here.'" Positioning the volunteers' views on sexuality as violent also perpetuates the cultural belief in asylum seekers as sexual threats: while the trope was first extrapolated from a reproductive threat to a sexual threat, here this danger again transforms into a threat to sexuality.

D. THE "DARK FIGURE" OF CRIME

Interlocking oppressions form barriers that marginalize individuals from the benefits of the reforms of the anti-rape movement. In addition, WERA and RCWI fail to examine the importance of political intersectionality within their anti-rape efforts. Political intersectionality examines how the conflicting political agendas within different social justice movements disempower and further marginalize individuals within multiple subordinated groups (Crenshaw 1991). With regards to the anti-rape movements in both countries, institutionalized State solutions for sexual assault neglect racial justice and anti-xenophobic movements. Given the frameworks of social justice and inclusion that both RCCs use, the centers must be accountable to the other networks within larger social justice movements.

Criminologists have long discussed the level of crimes that go unreported to State agencies as the "dark figure" of crime (e.g., Delisi et al. 2016; Biderman & Reiss 1967). In this section, I apply this concept using a double entendre: it conceptualizes both the vast majority of sexual assault that goes unreported each year in each country, and the controlling image of Black men as ominous "dark figures" to be feared.[28] In both Ireland and the U.S, cultural conceptualizations of rape have historically scapegoated men of Color as the primary

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[28] For more on the symbolism of men of Color as "dark figures," see Goldenberg 2009; Young 2006; Schaller 2003.

perpetrators of sexual violence for centuries. Both RCCs engage with these racialized myths, and I illustrate that the organizations again rely on nationalist processes of conceptualizing sexual assault to justify their reification of these violent stereotypes. I connect these tropes to the nationalist protection of the structural and sexual violence perpetuated by hegemonic white masculinity. In both countries, nationalist identities are more inclusive of racially privileged rapists than the innocent people of Color.

1. Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse: The Inappropriate Myth of the Black Male Rapist

Despite the recognition of the connection between racist systems and sexual assault in WERA's mission statement, my findings indicate the center is organizationally unable to acknowledge the role of racial oppression in the cultural construction of sexual assault. In this section, I connect the erasure of racialized tropes within sexually inappropriate calls to WERA's service to dependence on the criminal-legal system. By WERA's own definition, sexual assault and rape culture will remain unremitting as long as the movement is dependent on the institutionally racist criminal-legal system.

The individualized approach to sexual assault within the U.S. SARC is displayed within WERA through the negation of sexual and gender understandings. This turn away from structural understanding is illustrated by the dismissal of the patterns of racialized tropes within the sexually inappropriate calls discussed in the previous chapter. The WERA advocate website has a running list of inappropriate calls for advocates to be aware of, so that advocates can identify repeat callers. All of the descriptions of sexually inappropriate calls mentioned masculine voices. My field observations indicated that about half of the inappropriate calls described by advocates (and believed to be made-up incidences, see Chapter Five), reported Black male(s) sexual perpetrator(s). More specifically, many of the sexual assault stories told by

inappropriate callers racialized their sexual victimizations through depictions of rape by a Black man, or Black men, commonly using racially charged sexual stereotypes such as gang rape or genital size.

WERA management refuses to acknowledge any patterns within the inappropriate calls, maintaining both a gender-neutral and color-blind organizational perspective. Within the neoliberal meritocratic social structure, the dominant culture narrative presents racism as no longer an issue, using an ideology that Bonilla-Silva (2001) explained the "complex ideology of color blindness" as framed by abstract liberalism, "the extension of the principles of liberalism to racial matters in an abstract and decontextualized manner" (67).

Many of the advocates I spoke to also followed this deracialized script, and did not bring up race in describing inappropriate calls. This stood in contrast to my experiences on the hotline, as the supervisor to whom inappropriate calls were reported to, and the website descriptions described above. Many advocates did, however, refer to racist stereotypes of Black men as rapists when asked more generally about common rape myths. For example, Stacy directly connected racist tropes to national ideology, asserting "I think that's as old as an American is like apple pie, blaming the Black community for sexual violence." Leslie describes a similar pattern in her reflection on rape myths: "I think there's tons of them. I think there's a lot about rapists too, that they're like crazy and Black and homeless." Hotline advocates display racial awareness in speaking about cultural attitudes towards rape and race, but not in inappropriate calls. This exemplifies the advocates' ability to see themselves as post-racial, while viewing larger society as racially problematic.

WERA's hesitation to acknowledge patterns of racial oppression within inappropriate calls exemplifies a modern iteration of the racism that plagued the mainstream second-wave

feminist movement. In *Women, Race, and Class* (1981), Davis critiqued *Against Our Will* (1975), Brownmiller's groundbreaking work on the cultural realities of rape. Davis pointed to Brownmiller's racist understanding of Black men as rapists, and did not dismantle the moral panic around the Black rapist myth constructed to rationalize the thousands of lynchings of Black men in the Post-Bellum U.S. (Hill Collins 2005; Davis 1981; Moraga & Anzaldúa 1981). Second-wave feminists' erasure of the devastating historical impact of the myth of the Black rapist trope distanced Black communities from mainstream anti-rape movements (Hill Collins 2002; Pierce-Baker 1998; Crenshaw 1991).

In *Conquest* (2005), Smith highlights that the majority of these lynchings were not directly connected to an actual rape accusation against the lynched person. The sexual violations of white women were the ideology, rather than the direct cause, of the mutilation and murder of Black men. Davis (1981) connects the racially-motivated lynchings to the foundation of the carceral state. After the Civil War, liberated Black masculinity posed a threat to white patriarchal social structure. The construction of the Black male rapist resolved the threat to the U.S. nationalist identity of white supremacy, while founding the carceral state that would become the center of contemporary meritocratic belief. Sexually inappropriate hotline calls are one and the same as the false accusations that led to race-based lynching and mass incarceration. Ignoring the cultural assumptions within these false accusations and the corresponding sexual victimization of the advocates (as discussed in Chapter Five) erases the hegemonic violence of white patriarchy.

WERA management and advocates both ignore these historical racial constructs using de-racialized lens that supports the color-blind racism of the criminal legal system (Bonilla-Silva 2003). Under such an auspice, the social and economic marginalization of people of Color can be viewed as a cultural deficiency rather than evidence of social inequity. WERA is able to utilize

the criminal-legal system as the solution for sexual assault without recognizing the racism

implicit in supporting such a system. Bumiller (2008:9) described the interest convergence

between law enforcement and anti-rape goals as counterintuitive: "as they sought to maintain the

very systems of inequality feminists argued created and sustained gender-based violence." The

following rationalization of incarceration by WERA executive director Nancy, in response to a

question about the ideal consequences for sexual assaulters, reveals the organizational belief in

the carceral state and function of incarceration:

> I think what we're doing when we're doing it, well, is that the crime is
> investigated and that it's prosecuted. And then, if convicted, that the punishment
> meets what the crime is. This is a very complicated answer because you know you
> can get into, 'Is it mandatory prison, is it this, is it that?' There's so many factors,
> I can't say every single sex offender should be jailed for this amount of time.
> There's nuances, and I'm a general believer in rehabilitative- and like not
> incarcerating people- but I think sex offenders are different because what of we
> know about patterns of reoffending, recidivism. But I think there's needs to be
> serious consequences that says that this is a bad deal and …. it has serious
> consequences for the victim and serious long impact, and it needs to be treated
> with that kind of seriousness.

While she acknowledges the issues within mandatory sentencing, Nancy's belief in the deterrent

effect of prison and the impossibility of sex offender rehabilitation illustrates an adherence to

hegemonic cultural discourse (Pickett et al. 2013; Michalowski 2013). What is noteworthy about

WERA's utilization of the criminal-legal system is its outward organizational recognition of

racist systemic oppression. This sets the RCC anti-rape movement apart from other SJ

organizations, as "feminists' calls for stronger prosecution and the expansion of criminal

definitions of rape set them at odds with other progressive groups" (Corrigan 2013).

2. Rape Crisis West Ireland: Homophobic African Rapists

In Ireland, the view of African refugees and immigrants as sexual threats applies both to

African men and women. These constructs are then justified using cultural explanations that

builds internal white Irish collectivity through the boundary maintenance regarding "Africans" as an "otherized" sexual threat. In this section, I use the racial patterns within sexually inappropriate phone calls and the advocates' utilization of essentialized racial constructs to illustrate the collective nationalism racist tropes build both inside and outside of the RCWI.

The racial element of the Irish hoax calls occurs within a historical context of nationalist racial homogeneity, and contemporary nationalist anxieties around African immigration and sexuality. Every counselor who had experience with hoax calls (n = 11) spontaneously mentioned racial fantasies as a part of the calls. Annabelle's description of one repeat inappropriate caller illustrates the fixation of the caller on the nationality of the perpetrators within his sexual fetish:

> Jimmy would get on the line and talk about being kidnapped by four black men and being put into the back of a van and anally raped. He would go into description of what these men looked like, their accents, and 'they picked me because I was beautiful - I had long blonde hair' and you are just like 'ah Jesus, Jimmy!' … Over a period of three years we would get seven or eight calls. Isla was taking them, Mila was taking them, I believe Caitriona had them a few times and that was an education for her. You just had to manage Jimmy, and go 'I know you are masturbating Jimmy. I am going to hang up on you now!'

Isla connects the content inappropriate call to racially integrated neighborhoods, revealing a similar connection between contemporary immigration issues and the hoax calls:

> The thing was he had long blonde hair… and that he was living in an area of Limerick where there were loads of black people, and that fifty men - black men - a night would come in and have sex with him, basically. But when you would try to stop him he would get quite abusive. There was something about him - the minute I heard his voice I used to get raging!

The use of the sexually deviant African trope in RCWI's hoax calls expands Meaney's (2013) assessment of African women as sexually deviant to African men, who are framed as such within sexually invasive hotline calls. While RCWI counselors were more frank in bringing up issues of race, the analysis and organizational understanding of the calls did not include racial analysis.

In combination with the individualized acknowledgment of race within the calls, RCWI counselors more frequently engage gender identity discourse within the calls. Yet they negate a structural understanding of how these factors could be used in the organizational management of hoax calls, turning instead to the State as the solution as addressed in Chapter Five.

The stereotype of African men as a sexual threat is further complicated by the connection between colonialism, genocide, religious domination, and sexual abuse. Long before RCCs emerged through the anti-rape movement, Irish institutions had been managing sexual abuse: within the Catholic Church central in Irish national identity. William, who has been a counselor at RCWI for ten years, viewed the emergence of rampant sexual abuse in Ireland as connected to the colonial oppression of the Irish Catholics by the British during the Great Famine.

> At that time, because of England's' dominance in Ireland, nobody owned anything. It was very difficult to practice your religion; there were Mass paths and Mass rocks where religion was practiced in secrecy…So you were left then with a population which was famished: spiritually; emotionally; physically, and the only way upwards was to send or persuade or cajole one of your children, or two of your children or all of your children to become nuns or priests. Free education; free food; free clothing; comfortable housing… they were told that it would be a great thing if they went to the Convent or to the Seminary. And they did... there was this group of undisciplined fifteen year olds, principally from a farming background who had very little education, and they went and became nuns and priests. I hesitate to say it, but to a large extent they probably had not got a vocation, they had not got what it took to be a priest, but they were hurried through. These people then became missionaries and went all over the world; some of them stayed at home. They weren't hand-picked, in other words. They were desperate people who were trying to fulfill their parent's dreams and who were at the same time relieving pressure from the family, and the family with whatever finances they had, which would have been very little indeed. They were just a bad bunch and they showed up - it's well known, in Missionary areas in Africa and the Philippines - and they abused. They set up a house, the had their housekeepers who were invariably local women. It's well known that priests fathered quite a few children.

William's theory uses the colonial abuses of the British to explain the sexual abuses of the Irish, including in African missionaries. The description contains a complex summary of Irish

nationalism: he discusses the colonized Irish as "famished: spiritually; emotionally; physically," positioning the Irish as victims of British abuse using language similar to the descriptions of rape victims' trauma. William also discusses the Irish Catholic structure as providing the nationalized services that would come to define Ireland. Irish national identity (as Catholic) and Irish sexual abuse (by Catholics) are both constructed by colonialism, genocide, and victimization. In *Conquest*, Smith (2005) discussed how cultures that were built on a heteropatriarchal foundation cannot "liberate" other societies from their perceived homophobia and sexism. She addressed how colonizing forces are able to obscure their own violence by projecting the need for reform onto other cultures. The border-crossing fear of the "African sexual threat" is not only a xenophobic "third-world" projection (Mohanty 2003; Narayan 1997), but also hides the abuse enacted through religious imperialism. William's theorization suggests that sexual abuse in African countries is in fact partially rooted by the perpetration of Irish clergy, pushed into the Church by the colonizing of the British.

E. CONCLUSION

Scholars have discussed racism within U.S. RCCs (Enke 2007; Ullman & Townsend 2007; Martin 2005; Matthews 1994). Building from these studies, my findings extend Bumiller (2008)'s discussion of how RCCS support criminal-legal system. While prior research has found that outside RCC support staff does not acknowledge "outside" racism (Macy et al. 2010; Martin 2005), my findings reveal that this racism permeates into the centers. Similar to the manifestations of rape culture within RCCs addressed in Chapter Five, it is not just the outside racism, or the outside rape culture. *Institutionalization has limited the RCCs' abilities to examine structural issues, and as such racism occurs within and throughout the RCCs.*

The treatment of race at WERA and RCWI rely on interpretations of inclusivity and culture that align with nationalist identities. The centers continue to essentialize or take individual approaches to sexual abuse in accordance with identity-making ideologies. Leadership at both centers view non-political gendered stances as crucial to center inclusivity, and approach race from a fixed or invisible perspective. As such, anti-rape efforts also serve the interests of White patriarchal structures and individualize sexual abuse.

While institutionalization and the lack of intersectionality have been discussed as issues throughout feminist scholarship, my findings contribute that attempts to address these longstanding inclusivity issues reconstruct nationalist power, as seen in the neoliberal façade of racial diversity at WERA and boundary-crossing collectivity at RCWI. Neoliberal ideology fosters a competitive version of intersectional understanding that focuses on the center's image. At RCWI, victims of Color are placed outside of the definition of client-services. This allows for the Centre to maintain its identity as a client-centered, apolitical organization.

Inclusivity efforts also stoke colonial wounds. At WERA, the non-acknowledgement of race connects to colonization throughout the Americas. Color-blind racism at WERA led to the varied treatment of advocates of Color on the basis of their perceived contributions to colonization. Further, it obscures the history of the U.S. as a settler colony that uses the criminal-legal system to suppress and control communities of Color; even as the center outreaches to those communities. RCWI's apolitical orientation and border-crossing cultural explanations negates constructs White Irish national identities without an acknowledgement of Irish violence and the ramifications of British colonization. In both countries, the recursive relationship between institutions reconstructs racial issues: the structures within the SARC are racially

oppressive, which fosters racial oppression within RCCs. Such a dyad preserves racist cultural understandings of rape in the public imaginary.

Institutionalization is fundamentally antithetical to SJ organizations. Social change organizations cannot be color-blind or racially essentialist; gender-neutral or gender essentialist. When intersectional diversity is viewed competitively, people of Color are treated as commodities. Apolitical inclusivity fosters a client-service model that marginalizes those outside of the purview of the collective State identity. The incremental and accomodationist changes made by RCC-led anti-rape movements further marginalize groups in the name of a social movement. In this way, facades of diversity and inclusion are occupying the space and resources of progressive, intersectional anti-rape movements. The need and possibilities of such movements is the topic of my concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VII:
CONCLUSION: TRANSNATIONAL ANTI-RAPE JUSTICE

A. INTRODUCTION

Throughout this dissertation I have aimed to demonstrate how the hegemonic systems of oppression within the Rape Crisis Center (RCC)-led anti-rape movements is antithetical to founding goals of sexual assault prevention. In my ethnography of two RCCs, one in Ireland and the other in the U.S, I found that the integration into Sexual Assault Response Complexes (SARCs) transformed these RCCs into agents of the State, serving nationalist needs while diffusing the power of anti-rape movements. In this concluding chapter, I review how my findings build a cohesive understanding of the cultural and State responses to sexual assault. I use this frame to illustrate how State expansions of nationalist power and RCC institutionalization resulted in unforeseen repercussions for rape victims and advocates caught in the system. I then conclude by proposing that an "anti-rape justice" model be established within social justice models, borrowing language and dynamics from the racial and reproductive justice movements.

B. REVIEW OF FINDINGS

While SARC integration takes different forms within the U.S. and Ireland, the two countries similarly use constructions of gender that promote State control and the pathologization of rape, per the two RCCs included in this dissertation. U.S. SARC approaches use gender-neutrality and color-blind views of race within criminal-legal and medicalized models, while the Irish SARC employs essentialized views of gender and race within an apolitical scheme. Ironically, RCC institutionalization has not resulted in increased financial or cultural security, although that is a common justification used by RCC leadership. Chapter Four illustrates that

SARC integration continues to leave RCCs in subordinate, insecure positions. This dependence promotes a limiting definition of victimization that is dependent on institutional involvement.

When rape is viewed as an individual rather than a gendered social problem, sexual abuse proliferates *within* RCCs, as illustrated by the treatment of sexually inappropriate phone calls fielded by the RCC staff, explained in Chapter Five. Organizational self-reflection on this form of sexual harassment would conflict with the SARC constructions of sexual abuse, and as such, the calls were managed using the nationalized strategies of rape culture common in both countries. The hypothetical needs of male advocates and male victims were prioritized over the tangible needs of the female advocates. At Rape Crisis West Ireland (RCWI), hoax calls were treated with perpetrator sympathy and mercy, exercised by both the counselors and community policing. Collective autonomy is exercised on a micro-level, allowing advocates to manage the calls, negating lasting damage from the harassment. At Working to Eliminate Rape and Abuse (WERA), many of the strategies within victim-blaming were used to manage the female advocates. Their experiences of harassment were minimized, denied, erased, and the advocates were held responsible for their victimization. As a result, many advocates left WERA, upset with both themselves and their experiences, possibly alienating them from future anti-rape work.

Previous research conceptualized RCC institutionalization as a reluctant concession requisite to the continuation of services and the anti-rape movement. Chapter Five documents that RCCs have more agency than previously attributed: anti-rape organizations use institutional power to entrench hierarchical structures. Advocates in both the Irish and U.S. centers engaged in agentic strategies to maintain some connection to victims and anti-rape social change. As such, that social change within RCCs happened in spite of RCC management's suppression of non-SARC activity. Crucially, research on RCCs must be grounded in an awareness of power

structures within RCCs themselves. As agents of the State, public displays of inclusivity or disparagement of volunteer contributions could be motivated by internal hierarchies formed as a result of SARC institutionalization. Advocates, especially advocates of Color, must be included in any organizational assessment of RCCs, with a lens to document potentially racist marginalization.

Both the WERA and RCWI centers' include values of inclusivity in their organizational missions. Chapter Six describes how these centers' mission statements and many other materials stress intersectionality and inclusiveness without examining the consequences of oppression within their organizational structures. At RCWI, inclusion is only for members of the in-group (Merton 1972), as seen in the apolitical approach to religious inclusivity that applies to Irish Catholic, but not African, religiosity. At WERA, intersectional social justice (SJ) frameworks constructed diversity as a capitalist asset, fostering a competitive tokenization and selective recognition within the center. In their discussion of how the U.S. progressive movement's agenda misdirects SJ movements, Lethabo and Osayande (2007:81) characterized SJ organizations within the Non-Profit Industrial Complex (NPIC) as such:

> …many white-led social justice non-profits proclaim, in everything from their mission statements to their funding proposals, that they are committed to improving the social and economic conditions of the oppressed communities in which they operate. But alongside these proclamations exists a persisting hierarchy and circulation of capital within the social justice movement.

My findings in Chapter Six advance the insidiousness of the façade of SJ within white-led neoliberal RCCs. In the U.S, anti-rape efforts ignore the racial underpinnings of the medical model, criminal-legal system, and the cultural attitude towards sexual abuse. State solutions for sexual assault mandate involvement with institutions that have been historically oppressive for people of Color, and ignore the legacy of racialized false accusations upon which U.S.

nationalism is built. In Ireland, client-centered services function to maintain the cultural boundaries between who is a client to be served and who is not, which perpetuates racial and citizenship status hierarchies while reifying hegemonic constructions of violence. Diversity marginalizes clients and advocates while supporting narratives of perpetration that protect the State. Rather than changing their organizational missions to align with the SARC transformations, both centers maintained their claims to anti-rape movement work. In so doing, the centers occupy the space of a social movement while marginalizing the possibilities for social change. As agencies within the SARC, RCCs both excuse and reconstruct the racism, sexism and individualization within sexual response.

Kivel (2007:141) outlined fundamental questions NPIC organizations need to ask of themselves: "How do we know if we are being co-opted…and just providing a service, or if we are truly helping people get together?...the key question we must confront is this: To whom are we accountable?" Although RCCs and gender-responsive programs often intend to be accountable to their clients, financial dependency on governmental funding has rendered the organizations accountable to the State. As discussed in Chapter Six, the marginalization of racial justice further indicates that accountability is to white medical models and white criminal-legal systems built on white supremacy.

C. BACKLASH: RAPE VICTIMS AND EXPANDED STATE POWER

State reliance has had unforeseen consequences for rape victims in both cultures. Criminological scholarship refers to the expansion of the carceral state as occurring in the context of the creation of new categories of crimes and criminals, known as "net widening" (Welch 2005). Although feminist criminological scholarship has addressed how net widening has led to the increased criminalization of women, especially women of Color (see Richie 2012;

Britton 2011), this concept has traditionally been applied to neoliberal ideologies. In this section, I broaden this concept to illustrate how the expansion of State power in both countries backfired for anti-rape movements, victims, and victim advocates. The function of RCCs has transformed from collectives against the State, to agents of the State, and as a result, now must shield victims from the expansion of the State.

1. U.S. Sexual Assault Response Complex: Neoliberal Net Widening and Victim Criminalization

While net widening seeks to increase criminalization and prosecution, rape is a uniquely gendered crime. Thus, net widening of rape cases would contradict the cultural myths of rape. The increased prosecution of a wider scope of sexual abuse would pose a challenge to white masculinity, heteropatriarchal relations, and power. In this context, the cultural belief in a preponderance of false accusations and construction of the "dark figure of crime" functions to control women's "unique power".[29] Rape culture allows for the expansion of State authority over rape, without empowering rape victims. Taken together, "net widening" and rape culture function to expand the carceral state without reforming gender hierarchies.

As a result, neoliberal carceral ideologies have led to the increased criminalization of false accusations, rather than sexual assault. False accusations are now understood within the neoliberal framework of State resources and personal responsibility. This is evident within Mya's description of how district attorneys decide when to press false reporting charges:

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[29] Brownmiller (1975) asserted that rape represents the definitive proof of male supremacy, and so conversely, a rape accusation is a power women hold uniquely over men. The rape accusation therefore represents a threat to hegemonic order. Lord Chief Justice Matthew Hale, a seventeenth century jurist, revealed this social sentiment when he wrote "Rape is an accusation easily to be made and hard to be proved, and harder to be defended by the party accused, tho never so innocent" (as cited in Brownmiller 1975: 369). While legislation now allows for the possibility of men's victimization and women's perpetration, culturally the gendered patterns of false accusations remain intact (see Belknap 2010). As such, some scholars argue rape accusations represent women's lone unique power over men (MacKinnon 1989; Brownmiller 1975).

> I feel like the main thing the DA's office operates from in situations like that [false reporting] is the amount of resources that were spent by like police departments. And then, when they feel like it didn't happen it's like, 'Look at all these resources that were wasted.' And so they need to make up for it by holding someone accountable for that. …[the Detective] was very-- he was pissed. He's like, "We spent a lot of resources and time on this." …And so nothing was decided at that meeting. It was basically just the DA's office being like, "We really feel like she needs to be charged," and us being like, "We really need to not charge her." She's getting treatment, she's getting therapy, please just leave it alone, and then I think-- then we got cut out of meetings…the way I feel like those situations should be looked at is even if you think it didn't happen, what is going on with this person that they did do this then? Not, 'Oh, look at how many resources we wasted.' But like, 'What kind of services does this person need?'

Neoliberal ideologies promote increased criminalization through net widening, which focuses on the prosecution of those deemed to be lying in the eyes of the State. Prosecutorial decisions are made using neoliberal capitalist logics: using the resources of the criminal-legal system to assert the importance of not wasting State resources. This treatment of false accusations reveals how "net widening" is used *not* to increase the criminalization of rape, but to increase the control and condemnation of women's "unique power" to accuse men of sexual assault.

SARC integration has also has placed WERA at risk of incriminating victims within nationalistic carceral agendas. WERA's pro-reporting transformation (as addressed in Chapter Four) links legitimacy to reporting, but also cannot safeguard victims who may be engaged in illegal activity at the time of the assault (e.g., sex work, drug use, etc.). While police are quick to reassure advocates that rape victims will not be charged if they are drinking underage, the same assurances could not be made for felonies or victims targeted within the War on Drugs. Monica, who served as a volunteer supervisor for three years, tugged at this inconsistency in a meeting between WERA advocates and local police:

> It was horrendous, because they were trying to come out with this thing like 'our goal is to get these people off the streets. And if you come in and you've been underage drinking or whatever we're not going to charge you with that, we really want to focus on reporting the assault.' And so they said for misdemeanors.

> Consuela asked a question about warrants and they said 'if it was a misdemeanor.'
> I said I have a question then… 'If someone has a drug conviction that gives them
> a felony on their record and they have warrant out for their arrest, and they come
> in and they've been sexually assaulted are they doing to be arrested for that
> warrant for that felony?' And they said 'It would be a case by case basis.' And I
> said, so how can we tell these people to come in and report when we can't- it's
> possible that you're going to be arrested, for shooting up heroin or snorting a line
> of coke, or carrying it across the border… are you kidding me?

Monica's reflection and questioning of the police suggests that WERA's pro-reporting stance is actively contributing to the criminal prosecution of rape victims. It also displays the class privilege inherent within such police discretion: police are interested in protecting their daughters, but not those seen as delegitimized "criminals." Crenshaw (1991) discussed this transformation as founded on deconstructing the stereotype that gender violence only occurred in "minority or poor families" (547), pointing out that the authorities were less concerned with the violence in such spaces than with removing the stereotypes about gender violence. When the police openly dismiss underage drinking in comparison to the goal of "getting these people off the streets," space is created for victims of campus sexual assault to maintain their legitimacy in the eyes of the State. This implicates that in cases of drug felonies, however, getting rapists off the streets is not as important as the nationalist priorities within the War on Drugs.[30] As such, WERA is contributing to mass incarceration in rhetoric, but also by making rape victims vulnerable to prosecution by the criminal-legal system as part of the legacy of the War on Drugs.

From a critical perspective, then, the U.S. carceral system functions as intended, failing to reduce crime by serving those in power (Reiman & Leighton 2015). Sexual assault is built on a legacy of racism, founded on the lynching of Black men (wrongly portrayed as raping white

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[30] The War on Drugs was a set of policies and legislation instituted throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Conservative politicians engineered a moral panic around drugs used by communities of Color and socioeconomically disadvantaged groups, while erasing the drug use of rich and white communities. In so doing, the hyper-policing and criminalization of marginalized communities was rationalized using neoliberal rhetoric of personal responsibility, and the U.S. entered a state of mass incarceration (See Alexander 2012 for a full review).

women) and the erasure of the rape of Black women at the hands of white slave-owners (Davis 1981). As such, the criminal-legal apparatus arose to protect white power, and white women from Black men's sexuality. The system is now the bastion of neoliberal racial control and racial inequality seen today. In *Abolition Democracy*, Davis (2005) argues that capital punishment continues in the U.S. due to how it is tied to slavery and racism. When a white person is executed, it is a sign of the "revenge of racism…Capital punishment is a receptacle for the legacies of racism, but now, under the rule of legal equality, it can apply its power to anyone, regardless of their racial background" (94-95). I argue that this concept can be applied to the convictions of white, class-privileged men, such as Brock Turner, mentioned in my introduction (the infamous 2016 Stanford rape case). While there are exceptions that allow a social belief in the effectiveness of the system, the convictions of white men should be seen as the "revenge of racism" more than a sign of criminal-legal functionality.

2. Irish Sexual Assault Response Complex: Confidentiality, Collectivity, and State Authority

At RCWI, the expanded power of the State also resulted in the undermining and prosecution of rape victims. This is exemplified by RCWI's service to the State within an agreement made between RCWI and the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), the Irish legal system. Sinead described the development of this policy and the resulting tensions that emerged:

> S: I think dealing with the DPP was very difficult, but now there is an agreement – Ingrid signed an agreement with the DPP handing over notes - it was going that way. I find that very difficult. I think client's notes should never be given over.
>
> EW: What did she sign?
>
> S: A 'memorandum of understanding' with the DPP, which means that we hand over notes only to the DPP when there is a case in time, so that they will be redacted. The Gardaí are trying to break that all the time…now we have it that peoples notes are being used against them, big time**…**It was a law to get the Church for not reporting, so what they said was, 'We need these notes so we can

> see that the Church knew... and it's never been used against the Church. It was about if the priest in confession heard from another priest that da da - it's just being used against victims now. It's never been used against the Church.

Sinead's description illustrates an agreement used to improve the Centre's relationship with the court system, but does a disservice to the Centre's clients. While the memorandum operates within a law established to challenge the authority and invincibility of the Church, Sinead explains that it is not used in this way. A law enacted in an attempt to address sexual abuse is solely used to undermine claims made by rape victims, leaving white Irish Catholic patriarchal authority intact. Similarly to the "net widening" within the U.S. SARC, the legal expansion of State authority is used to reify entrenched power under the auspice of victim protection.

The Gardaí's use of community-policing (discussed in Chapter Five) conflicts with the racist construction of client-services (addressed in Chapter Six). Sophie described the Gardaí's response to the harassment of Asylum Seekers outside of Direct Provision as such:

> We had a lot of clients who were constantly being propositioned and solicited, hassled. We went to the Guards about it and the Guards did nothing about it. In fact, when I reported it to the Community Guard, he said 'and are they taking them up on their offers?' you know, basically finding out were they soliciting! Wanted to know, didn't care and didn't do anything about it.

When RCWI advocates attempted to use the same strategy for hoax calls to protect Asylum Seekers, the response of the Gardaí illustrates the limits of community-policing within a culture constrained by racist oppression. The State's concern over sexual harassment is limited to those victims deemed socially important. Otherwise, the Gardaí's concern becomes over the sexual criminalization of the refugees. Just as the U.S. police prioritize the War on Drugs over rape victims delegitimized by criminal activity, the Irish Gardaí focus on nationalist concern over deviant African sexuality.

The Irish SARC's solution to sexual assault focuses on the needs of the feminine victim, erasing consideration of the perpetrator. Irish colonial history, especially that of the "Poor Laws" formed during the Great Famine, weds incarceration to Irish imprisonment and hard labor under the supervision of the British (Nally 2008). A carceral state would therefore contradict nationalist values of racially homogenous collectivity, forgiveness, and White patriarchy. The incarceration rate of Ireland is very low, even as mass incarceration spread to many Western civilizations (Davis 2001): 80 per 100,000 people were incarcerated in 2015. This rate is far below the EU average of 134 per 100,000, the UK (Britain and Wales) average of 148, and U.S. rate of 458 in 2015 (Aebi et al. 2017; Carson et al. 2016).

Given this nationalistic hesitation towards prison, it is telling that Direct Provision, the confinement of Asylum Seekers in Ireland (discussed in Chapter Six), contains more people than the Irish prison system. Thorton (2014:1) described this trend: "By the end of April 2000, there were 394 people in direct provision centres. At the start of 2014, there were 4,360 people in direct provision. This compares to a prison population of 4,053 in Ireland in February 2014." The threat of Black/African sexuality fostered a nationalist system of confinement that allows for the maintenance of racial hegemony without addressing the morality of incarceration driven by nationalist motives.

D. CONCLUSION: TRANSNATIONAL ANTI-RAPE JUSTICE MOVEMENTS

Despite facades of racial inclusivity within the RCC anti-rape movements, the lack of concern for structural and political intersectionality serves patriarchal nationalist motives, perpetuates rape culture, and fails victims. Solutions to the tension between RCC anti-rape movements, radical anti-rape movements, and prison abolition, hold a common theme of collaboration and intersectionality. Smith (2005:71) proposed the need to examine "how a

politics of intersectionality might fundamentally shift how we analyze sexual/domestic violence"
to understand how under structures of colonization and oppression, entire communities have
experienced systemic sexualized violence.

Social justice frameworks were borne from the need for a collective, integrated
understanding of social change. Within this, reproductive justice platforms, formed largely by
women of Color, emerged in the 1980s and 1990s and pushed mainstream pro-choice
movements to view reproductive rights with an intersectional lens (Silliman et al. 2004). From
this perspective, the movement began to acknowledge that the control and regulation of
reproductive rights are connected to the economic and institutional regulation of communities
marginalized by their race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality (Silliman et al. 2004; Roberts
1997). Such a platform crucially acknowledges the importance of a movement that moves
beyond abortion as a "choice," viewing the economic and institutional constraints on such
choices.

If anti-rape movements embraced a similar framework to advance the goals of ending
sexual abuse, many of the issues addressed in this dissertation could be reconciled. A platform of
anti-rape justice would acknowledge that reporting and institutional involvements in SARCs are
constrained choices, especially for victims historically marginalized from such systems. In the
U.S, such a movement would acknowledge the racial histories of criminal-legal dependence.
Anti-rape justice would work for community-oriented alternatives that would address the harm
of sexual abuse, rather than feed into a system that perpetuates the violence being fought against.
A range of anti-rape goals could be acknowledged, including the right to not report, protections
for RCC advocates, and community prevention work.

Anti-rape activism outside of RCC victim advocacy movements laid the groundwork for such a platform. Anti-rape movements in the U.S. won recent legislative battles, establishing the importance of victim agency over institutional goals, namely the right to delay filing a report. In October of 2016, President Obama signed the *Sexual Assault Survivors' Rights Act* into law. The law allows for victims who do not want to file police reports to still acquire rape kit examinations without having to pay for them, and mandates state authorities to keep the kits until the statute of limitations expires on the case. These changes allow victims the vital option to decide whether and when to press charges, rather than be financially or legally coerced into formal reporting. Previous to this law, many states would destroy rape kits after a matter of months, requiring victims to repeatedly file extension forms. Furthermore, victims could be charged hundreds of dollars for the exams/kits. Amanda Nguyen, a 24-year-old rape victim frustrated by how her case was handled institutionally, was instrumental in crafting this Act (Pauly 2016). In moving towards the anti-rape movement that embraces victim agency and non-state solutions, RCC anti-rape activism would be re-orienting towards becoming more victim-centered, and would be more accountable to victims through their services.

In addition to moving away from reporting as the solution for "legitimate" victims, several feminist scholars have navigated contested terrain by suggesting that social transformation will require *deescalating* the criminalization of sexual violence. In this way, U.S. de-carceration could include reducing the stigmatization of sexual offenders, scaling back mandatory arrest policies, discretion in seriousness of sexual offense, and responses entirely outside of the criminal-legal system (Daly & Bouhours 2010; Bumiller 2008).

Anti-rape justice frameworks would also be global, following the proscriptions of scholars organizing for racial justice and within anti-violence movements. In *Freedom is a*

Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine and the Foundations of a Movement, Davis (2016) specifically stresses the importance of global connections in social movements. She proposes the expansion of overlapping oppressions are fundamental to the new activist mission, in what she conceptualizes as the "intersectionality of struggles" :"Initially, intersectionality was about bodies and experiences. But now, how do we talk about bringing various social justice struggles together, across national borders?" (19). Bumiller (2008) also calls for a global movement, asserting that feminists must return to the origins of grassroots feminist movements, drawing connections with other anti-violence movements locally and globally, including racism in crime enforcement and mass incarceration.

As Enke (2007) observed in her studies of feminist spaces, feminism itself needs constant problematizing in order to continue to contribute less and less to the reification of the oppressive mechanisms at work. Cherrie Moraga (1981:32) also stressed the need to name the enemy both outside as well as within: "We women have a similar nightmare, for each of us in some way has been both oppressed and the oppressor. We are afraid to look at how we have failed each other."

In *Living a Feminist Life,* Ahmed (2017:259) wrote of the hesitancy to call out feminism:

> Protecting the feminist bubble ends up becoming a means of protecting the
> institution. You do not want the institutional violence exposed to others. You
> would prefer to resolve the violence 'in house,' even though 'in house' has failed
> to dismantle the master's house. Is this why there is such a secrecy and silence
> about institutional violence even among some feminists?

Calling out the institutional oppression contained within transnational SARCs is a complex decision. Doing so includes a painful reflection on the mainstream anti-rape movement. However, the approach to social change undertaken by institutionalized RCCs is perpetuating not only the State structure, but also the racism and sexism implicit in hierarchical patriarchal structures of white supremacy. In addressing the 'in house' failures of the anti-rape movement, I

hope that through this dissertation I contribute to both sexual assault scholarship and the

movement to end sexual assault. I also hope to have sufficiently documented the power of

transnational research and the necessity of striving for racial justice within the anti-rape

movement.

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