NOTES

1 IF NOT NOW, WHEN?

1. Andrea Dworkin attributes the phrase “atrocity work” to Robin Morgan. Dworkin defines this work as “the morbid side of the women’s movement. I deal with the shit, the real shit.” Dworkin, Letters From a War Zone (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1988), 133.

2. Dworkin, Letters From a War Zone, 1988, 133.


13. For example, Kelly, Surviving Sexual Violence, 1988; Diana E. H. Russell, Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse, and Workplace Harassment (Beverly Hills, CA:


20. Aurora Levins Morales, *Medicine Stories: History, Culture and the Politics of In-
tegrity (Boston: South End Press, 1998), 17.


26. Morales, Medicine Stories, 123.


36. Davis, 1981; hooks, Ain’t I a Woman, 1981; Barbara Omolade, “Black Women,


64. hooks, Talking Back, 1989.

2 LESBIANS, PROSTITUTES, AND MURDER

1. This chapter was originally published in Feminism, Media and the Law, eds. Martha A. Fineman and Martha T. McCluskey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 249–66.
2. In this chapter, I use the phrase “women working in prostitution” rather than “prostitutes” whenever possible because I do not want to participate in the objectification process that I observe in mass-media accounts of “prostitutes,” which renders the women themselves invisible and does not necessarily reflect how the women define themselves.
4. Ibid.
11. Russo, “If Not Now, When,” 1991; Crenshaw “Race Gender and Sexual Harras-

12. Jack Hampton, a Texas state district court judge, who gave “a killer of two gay men a
30 year sentence instead of life in prison after remarking that the men wouldn’t have been
killed ‘if they hadn’t been cruising the streets picking up teenage boys’” [Gary Boulard,


14. Gregory Herek and Kevin Berrill, eds., *Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against

(December 1998); Peggy Hernandez, “Youth Held in Island Killing Reportedly Suspect in
Thefts,” *Boston Globe* 2, no. 44 (December 1988); “Scotland Yard Helps Probe 2 Water-
town Women’s Deaths,” *Boston Globe* 3, no. 30 (December 1988).

Globe* 4, no. 1 (December 1988).

17. Ibid.


20. Jon Auerbach, “Study: Killings of Gays More Brutal,” *Boston Globe* 21, no. 18 (De-
cember 1994).

50.

Hate Crimes: Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men*, eds., Gregory Herek and Kevin

23. Toni Locy and Brian McGory, “Woman Alleges Officer Forced Sex,” *Boston Globe*
30, no. 1 (April 1994).

24. “Statement of WHISPER Action Group Members,” *WHISPER* VI: 1–2


26. Margaret A. Baldwin, “Prostitution and Feminist Discourses of Law Reform,” *Yale

27. Caputi quotes Jack Levin and James Alan Fox in the discussion of a particular serial
killer and the number of women he killed: “We will never know for certain, because the
majority of them would have been prostitutes whose disappearance may not have been re-
ported. Some may have ended up among the many “Jane Does in the Los Angeles County
morgue” (Caputi, *The Age of Sex Crime*, 1987, 224); See Baldwin, “Prostitution and Femi-


48. Ibid.


50. In general, the generic term “women” continues to be used to refer to centers, orga-
organizations, and projects which are predominantly lesbian. For instance, the “women’s” music
festivals, in Michigan, California, East Coast tend to be predominantly lesbian-initiated and
organized, but the festivals are not called “lesbian.”

1988), 25.


54. Kerry Lobel, ed., *Naming the Violence: Speaking Out About Lesbian Battering*
(Seattle, WA: Seal Press, 1986)

55. Beatrice von Schulthess, “Violence in the Streets: Anti-Lesbian Assault and Harass-
ment in San Francisco,” in *Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against Lesbians and Gay


57. Joan Nestle, *A Persistent Desire* (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1992); Leslie Fein-


59. Ibid., 67.

60. Lynda Hart, *Fatal Women: Lesbian Sexuality and the Mark of Aggression* (Prince-


63. Ibid., 12.

64. Quoted in Leslie Ernst, Cathy Greenblatt, and Susan McWhinney, “(Ain’t) Natural
History,” *Critical Condition: Women on the Edge of Violence*, ed., Amy Scholder (San
Francisco: City Light Books, 1993), 53.

gets: Women, Murder, and Representation*, ed., Helen Birch (Berkeley: University of Cali-

66. Quoted in Susan Edmiston, “The First Woman Serial Killer?” *Glamour* (September
1991) 325.

67. Ibid., 324.

68. James Kunen, Meg Grant, Cindy Dampier, and Sara Gay Damman, “Florida Cops
Say Seven Men Met Death on the Highway When They Picked up Accused Serial Killer

for Lesbians Charged with Crimes?” *Deneuve* (February 1995).


71. Quoted in Mark MacNamara, “Kiss and Tell,” *Vanity Fair* (September 1991), 96.
72. Quoted in Ibid., 100.
76. Moore was never implicated in any of the killings, presumably because she helped get Wuornos to confess to her own involvement. This is despite some evidence that Moore helped Wuornos, at least once, clean out and abandon a car that belonged to one of the men killed.
77. In this movie, on the other hand, the violence is attributed to her past abuse: The encounters with the men she killed are portrayed as triggering flashbacks to earlier abuse and trauma which induce her to kill.
81. Quoted in Kunen, Grant, Dampier, and Damman, “Cops Say Seven,” 1991, 46.
83. Ibid., 958.
89. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. Again, this stands in stark contrast to men’s violence against women which often is considered legitimate except for violence by men of color against white middle-class women. I am struck by the contrast in the understanding granted to men who are serial killers versus that given to women who kill men who have abused them.
94. Hart labels this strategy as the one feminists were using, and while you can see hints of this in Chesler’s essays about Wuornos, you can also see a clear defense of Wuornos, as in the concluding line to Chesler’s article in On the Issues, where she says that Wuornos is turning the question, “Well, [being raped, beaten, robbed, arrested and killed] is part of the job, why doesn’t she get out?” around to “If men don’t want to be killed, they should stay
away from prostitutes—or at least stop degrading and assaulting them” (“Sex, Death and the Double Standard,” 1992, 31); Hart, Fatal Women, 1994, 151.


96. Wuornos initially tried to appeal the seven murder convictions against her. The Florida Supreme Court rejected four of these appeals in early October 1994. For more information, check out the website www.prisonactivist.org/pubs/crossroad/6.3/wuornos.html. From news reports, it seems that Aileen Wuornos is no longer seeking an appeal.

97. You can see the contradictions in such reasoning in Chesler’s own recognition of the problem of an “insanity” defense; she writes, “I am not saying that Wuornos did not kill anyone, nor am I saying she is sane—merely that a strategic use of the insanity plea might have saved her from the death sentence. It is still justifiable—even for a seriously traumatized woman—to kill in self-defense and Wuornos’s claim of self-defense against a violent john is plausible” (Chesler, “Sex, Death and the Double Standard,” 1992, 31).

98. Quoted in Ibid.


100. Ibid., 141.


103. Ibid., 199.


3 LESBIAN AND BISEXUAL WOMEN’S BATTERING


4 PORNOGRAPHY’S STORIES


2. Dworkin, Letters From a War Zone, 1988, 265.


6. For instance, in a survey of Minnesota residents, 50 percent of a statistical sample agreed with the statement that “in the majority of rapes, the victim was promiscuous or had a bad reputation,” and that the majority of rapes were reported only because “the woman was trying to get back at the man she was angry with or was trying to cover up an illegitimate pregnancy.” This information comes from Martha Burt, “Cultural Myths and Supports for Rape,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38 (1980), and was reported by Margaret Baldwin, “The Sexuality of Inequality: The Minneapolis Pornography Ordinance,” *Law and Inequality* 2 (August 1984): 635–36.


33. The eroticization of youth and age/power differences are also common to gay male pornography.


35. In an article by Rich Snowden that appeared in *Aegis*, he discusses his work with incest/child sexual abuse offenders who often claimed that the young girls initiated the sexual activity. The men often claimed that the young girls were the ones with the power.


44. These pornographic books were found for sale at the *Video Expo* on Boylston Street in Boston, Massachusetts, in the mid-1990s.

45. This same criminal justice system has virtually left white men immune from prosecution for the rape of all women, particularly women of color, and men of color immune from prosecution for the rape of women of their racial communities. Gardner argues that one cannot overlook the fact that over 2,000 Black men were lynched from 1889 to 1899, and over 50 percent of them were charged with rape or attempted rape of white women. The rape charge continued to be used by the media as an overriding justification of lynching through the first half of the century. See also Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (New York: Random House, 1981), 172–201; Jennifer Wriggins, “Rape, Racism, and the Law,” *Harvard Women’s Law Journal* 6.1 (Spring 1983): 103–41.

55. Other examples of the use of pornography in generating racism include: in Bangladesh, pornographic movies were shown in Pakistan among the camps during the war in 1971, when hundreds of thousands of Bengali women were being systematically raped by Pakistani troops. In the U.S., pornography focused on Asian women during the war in Vietnam [from Marty Langelan, “The Political Economy of Pornography,” *Aegis* (Autumn 1981): 14].
64. Dworkin, *Pornography*, 1989, 146. Here Dworkin draws a parallel between the denial of sexual violence and the denial of the torture and slaughter of Jews in Nazi Germany. In both cases the victims are characterized as passive, compliant, complicit. She writes: “The importance of the two specifics—Jew and women—resides in the resonating power of sexual memory. It is her image—hiding, running, captive, dead—that evokes the sexual tri-
umph of the sadist. She is his sexual memory and he lives in all men. But this memory is not recognized as a sexual fact, nor is it acknowledged as male desire: it is too horrible. Instead, she wants it, they all do. The Jews went voluntarily to the ovens. . . .” (146).

5 LESBIAN PORN STORIES

1. This is a revised version of “Lesbian Pornography: Discourse of Inequality and/or Resistance,” Cultural Performances: Proceedings of the Third Berkeley Women and Language Conference, eds., Mary Bucholtz, A.C. Liang, Laurel A. Sutton, and Caitlin Hines (Berkeley Women and Language Group, 1994).


14. The following claims are based on an analysis of sixteen issues of On Our Backs from 1991 and 1992, one of the most popular lesbian pornography publications. The publishers report in 1992 that the magazine has a circulation of about 10,000.


37. Califia, Sapphistry, 1980, 64.


6 SEXUAL CONFLICTS AND CONTRADICTIONS


27. Webster, “Pornography and Pleasure” 49.

28. Lisa Orlando, “Bad Girls and ‘Good’ Politics,” *Voice Literary Supplement* (December 1982): 1, 16. Orlando believes that a woman’s position on pornography is ultimately dependent upon whether one emerged from childhood as a “good girl” or “bad girl.” For herself, she suggests that “as a bad girl, I can’t help viewing the feminist antiporn movement as a bunch of good girls on the rampage. . .” (16).

29. Webster, “Pornography and Pleasure” 35.


33. MacKinnon points out that the ideology of sexology, sexual liberation, and pornography is basically derived from “neo-Freudian derepression theory” which suggests that women’s resistance to sexual liberation comes from sexual repression. She argues on the contrary that women’s sexuality has not been repressed in the Freudian sense; “We have experienced deadening and silence and subordination. Men have eroticized the idea that their sexuality has been denied, but their sexuality has been nothing but expressed and expressed and expressed. Sexual liberation, from this perspective, looks like a male rationalization for forcing sex on women” (from MacKinnon, *Feminism Unmodified*, 1987, 144).


7 NEEDED VOICES

1. This chapter was originally published as “A Battered Lesbian Fights for Recognition,” in *Sojourner* 17:9 (May 1992):14, 16–17.
2. Only two of the Framingham Eight had their sentences commuted.
3. At the time this was written, up until today, the shelter for battered women in this area is not open to lesbians and bisexual women.

8 WHITE MEN CAN’T KILL?


21. Ibid.


27. For instance, in the New Bedford, Massachusetts serial killings of the 80s, the news reports emphasized that the women murdered were involved in drugs and in prostitution. The media stories often imply that the women’s murders are inevitable and that the women involved are more expendable than “other” women (i.e., white middle-class married women). See Ann Russo, “Lesbians, Prostitutes, and Murder,” Chapter 2, this volume.


32. Ibid.
34. Chideya, Don’t Believe the Hype, 1995, 193.
35. Ibid., 193–97.
37. Chideya, 200, 201.
40. Ibid., 44.
41. Nancy Berns, “‘My Problem and How I Solved It’: Domestic Violence in Women’s Magazines,” The Sociological Quarterly (Winter 1999). She notes that in her survey of women’s magazines, a very few articles (8 out of 111) focused on social and cultural context as a source of violence; for instance, during the media coverage of Simpson’s case, one article in Redbook addressed athletes and wife abuse.
43. Ibid.
46. Schindehette, 1994, 35.
47. Ibid.
55. Ibid., 117.

9 TAKING BACK OUR LIVES


10 THE STRUGGLE FOR INTEGRITY IN AN UNJUST WORLD

4. It took many years for me to name my father’s sexual abuse. It was only through the deaths of my parents that I began to directly address it. In contrast, I had periods as a young adult when I would recall and relive the sexual abuse by a male neighbor. It was when I came into contact with feminist literature about sexual abuse in the late 70s and early 80s that I first told anyone about the sexual abuse of this neighbor. From there, it took another eight years, and my mother’s death, before I felt confident to name my father in
the memories that came as flashbacks and nightmares. Despite the concrete memories, it continues to be difficult to say that sexual assault is what my father did to me.


10. I am drawing from the work of Dorothy Smith as she is used to frame the work of Tish Langlois (1997). As described by Langlois (1997, p. 64), “Ruling ideology creates a disjuncture, a ‘line of fault,’ because what women actually do within the dominant order is not always what it is in our interest to do. The line of fault becomes visible when women realize that the categories defined by men are ‘a forced set of categories into which we must stuff the awkward and resistant actualities of our worlds.’”


17. Here I am speaking to my parents’ explosive tempers and outrages, my father’s control and dominance, and not the sexual abuse which I had not named directly.


11 A FEMINIST PRACTICE OF ANTRIRACISM


2. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings*
by Radical Women of Color (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981); Angela Davis, 
Women, Race and Class (New York: Random House, 1981); bell hooks, Ain’t I a Woman? 
(Boston: South End Press, 1981); and Gloria Joseph and Jill Lewis, Common Differences: 

3. Leslie G. Roman, “White is a Color! White Defensiveness, Postmodernism, and 
Anti-racist Pedagogy,” Race, Identity and Representation, eds., Cameron McCarthy and 


6. Terrence Crowley, “This lie of entitlement—my privilege to describe the reality of 
women—gives a rape culture its life. . . . When this lie is disallowed, the rape culture is 
challenged at its foundation. If I go on to name that lie, if I break ranks with the patriarchy 
by acknowledging that I cannot know the reality of those subordinated by the system of val-
ues that entitles me, that system is no longer seamless; its existence is endangered.” (“The 
Lie of Entitlement,” Transforming a Rape Culture, 1995.)


8. Ibid., 130.

9. Barbara Smith, “Between a Rock and a Hard Place,” Yours in Struggle, Elly Bulkin, 
Minnie Bruce Pratt, and Barbara Smith (Brooklyn, NY: Long Haul Press, 1984), 77.

Hands, 11, no. 2 (Fall, 1995), 11.

11. Aurora Levins Morales, Medicine Stories: History, Culture and the Politics of In-
tegrity (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1998), 114.

12. See, for instance, bell hooks, Ain’t I a Woman, 1981; Gloria Joseph and Jill Lewis, 
Common Differences: Conflicts in Black and White Feminist Perspectives, 1981; Audre 
Lorde, Sister Outsider, 1984; Cherríe Moraga, Loving in the War Years (Boston: South 
End Press, 1983), among many others.

Women (New York: Routledge, 1996); Traci C. West, Wounds of the Spirit: Black Women, 
Violence, and Resistance Ethics (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Charlotte 
Pierce-Baker, Surviving the Silence: Black Women’s Stories of Rape (New York: Norton, 
1998); Melba Wilson, Crossing the Boundary: Black Women Survive Incest (Seattle, WA: 
Seal Press, 1994).


15. bell hooks uses this phrase throughout her work and I find it very useful and com-
pelling.


17. Michelle Fine, “Witnessing Whiteness,” Off White: Readings on Race, Power and 
Society , eds., Michelle Fine, Lois Weis, Linda C. Powell, and L. Mun Wong (New York: 
Routledge, 1997), 58.
18. Roman, 84.
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