CHANGE HAPPENS.

a guide to reforming your campus sexual assault policy
A publication of

SAFER students active for ending rape

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CONTACT US!

We receive inquiries from students, university administrators and faculty, activists, survivors and parents every day. Please feel free to contact us for more information about SAFER or to get involved. If you are a student interested in improving your school sexual assault policy, email us at organizers@safercampus.org.

We look forward to hearing from you!

Join our email list online by visiting www.safercampus.org/contact.php.

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first, welcome

Welcome to the growing movement of students working to establish effective college sexual assault policies.

As you know, many colleges and universities are embarrassingly unresponsive to sexual assault on campus. While studies consistently report epidemic levels of sexual violence against college women, many schools still lack even basic services like crisis intervention and counseling services, in addition to not having workable disciplinary procedures or reporting mechanisms. Furthermore, inadequate or nonexistent prevention and education efforts are the norm at too many schools, and sexism, racism, homophobia and other biases are often codified in official university policy.

SAFER was created to change that. The silence surrounding sexual assault has often prevented recognition of the nationwide prevalence of the problem of ineffective university responses to sexual assault, and anti-violence activists have been disconnected from one another. SAFER believes that by connecting our experiences and sharing our successes, we can build a powerful and effective movement. Students across the country have successfully banded together in movements to stop the use of sweatshop labor, save affirmative action and create a living wage for college staff. The effectiveness of these efforts has shown just how powerful students can be when we are united.

A traumatic experience with college sexual assault response procedures is not an isolated event on an individual or an institutional level. It is a reflection of a tacit acceptance of sexual violence as inevitable and even excusable behavior. Until now, colleges have found it more convenient to deny the existence of sexual assault on their campuses than to deal with the problem.

The time has come for students to unite our efforts to challenge these practices. We will stand together in insisting that our safety is essential, that sexual assault is not permissible behavior simply because it takes place within a college setting, and that we will not stand by as our abuse is ignored and swept under the rug.
Together, we have the power to make every college and university free of sexual violence. With the strength of our shared knowledge and a network of united activists, we can change our communities—and, by extension, our society.

**A profile of the issue**

Imagine that you are 18 years old and you've just been raped. You arrived at college only three weeks ago and you are confused and deeply traumatized. Not knowing where else to turn, you report the assault to your dean. When you finish recounting the painful details of the rape, the dean immediately asks you whether you were wearing "suggestive" clothing at the time, how many sexual partners you have had, and why you don't have any bruises. He says that in light of the fact that you don't have visible injuries, he does not feel that your story is plausible enough to require an investigation.

For too many survivors of sexual assault, this humiliating experience is a reality. Untrained administrators carry out ad hoc, hastily pieced together policies with little or no oversight for preventing mishandling of cases. Prevention programs and crisis counseling services are rarely present, and those programs that do exist are insufficient and severely underfunded.

Women ages 18 to 24 are in the highest risk group for sexual assault, and about 43% of women this age are enrolled in college. Some researchers argue that college women are even more vulnerable than their non-student peers. Recent studies have found that approximately 3% of college women are raped each academic year, usually by someone they know, and that 20 to 25% of college women will be victims of sexual assault at some point during their college years. In the majority of these cases, the perpetrator is a fellow student. Male students are also victims.

Despite these startling statistics, many colleges choose to protect their reputations by sweeping incidents of sexual assault on campus under the rug. While sexual violence is the number one violent crime problem on college campuses, current college sexual assault policies commonly do not include primary prevention efforts, have no student input, further traumatize survivors, and ignore issues of sexism, racism and homophobia as they relate to sexual violence. By maintaining these policies and resisting student demands for change, colleges create an atmosphere that condones gender- and minority-based violence and silences survivors.

Findings from a recent study showed that only 37% of colleges and universities nationwide reported crime statistics that fully complied with the requirements of the Clery Act, a landmark federal law passed in 1998 that requires colleges to disclose statistics about crime. According to a 2005 study by the National Institute of Justice, only half of all schools spell out specific sexual assault policy goals; 64% of schools do not provide new students with sexual assault awareness education; fewer than 2 in 5 schools train campus security personnel to handle sexual assault; only 46% of schools provide the option of anonymous reporting; and less than 50% of schools tell students...
how they can file criminal charges. Schools are required by federal law to have and to disseminate a written sexual assault policy that addresses prevention of sex offenses and informs students of their rights and of the services available to them should they be assaulted. Not all schools meet this requirement.

Campus sexual assault is hugely underreported to authorities. Part of the problem is that many survivors do not call their experience rape even though it meets the legal criteria, but colleges also often encourage victim-blaming through prevention programs that focus exclusively on risk-reduction behavior by potential victims (such as avoiding alcohol, going out in groups, or carrying a whistle). Drug and alcohol abuse policies that do not include some immunity for victims of sexual assault can also hinder reporting. Not having access to confidential or anonymous reporting also reduces the number of victims who will come forward, as does a belief that the perpetrator will not be punished.

In addition, many schools ignore issues of sexism, racism and homophobia as they relate to sexual violence. Effective sexual assault prevention programs must address broader issues of societal contempt for women, people of color, and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered people. However, most current prevention programs do little more than provide women with a few cautionary words. Men are rarely addressed, and if they are, it is assumed that they could never experience assault themselves. When survivors report their assaults, school officials often treat women of color who have experienced sexual assault as less reliable than white women. Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered survivors are often overlooked or mistreated, and male survivors are almost universally ignored, and the minimal crisis services that are available are often provided exclusively for women.

Schools have a pragmatic as well as an ethical interest in ending sexual assault in their communities. In addition to problems like sexually transmitted disease (acquired as a result of rape by 40% of victims) and chronic physical or mental health problems (affecting 80% of victims), survivors of sexual assault often suffer academic difficulties and are more likely to leave school. Colleges must remember that students are not isolated on their campuses. College students who perpetrate sexual violence can victimize their fellow students or members of the non-campus community. But students can also become leaders for change in their communities.

While schools develop comprehensive programs to curb binge-drinking, prevent plagiarism and promote fire safety, they consistently fail to take responsibility for sexual assault on campus. The result is a campus environment that enforces silence surrounding sexual assault, and sends the implicit message that sexual violence is ignored, and even excused, on campus. By working with students to build strong grassroots movements for improvements to campus sexual assault policies, SAFER seeks to create an environment in which all students can receive an education free from fear. College efforts to prevent sexual violence are inadequate and do not reflect the
needs of all students, but we have seen students achieve real, measurable changes to school policies when they have access to the right training and resources.

**About SAFER**

**Our mission**

SAFER is a national non-profit organization committed to empowering students to hold their colleges accountable for sexual assault in their on- and off-campus communities.

SAFER achieves its goals by training students in effective organizing tactics and challenging them to examine the overlapping links between sexual assault and all forms of individual and institutional violence.

**Our goal**

While sexual violence is the number one violent crime problem on college campuses, current college administration policies and responses to sexual assault are often ineffective, inadequate, and fail to address the root causes of sexual violence while excluding students from opportunities for oversight and change. SAFER’s goal is to ensure that every college implements an accessible, non-discriminatory sexual assault policy that includes the input of students, due process, fairness, oversight, prevention and education, crisis intervention, long-term counseling and community involvement. Like the National Sexual Violence Resource Center, SAFER believes that, due to the impact of institutional policy on social norms, policy reform is a key element in the primary prevention of sexual assault.

**SAFER’s programs**

To bring about change, SAFER provides promising student leaders with the training they need to effectively advocate for improvements to their campus’s sexual assault policies. SAFER offers two training programs for students: the SAFER Teach-In and the SAFER Weekend Organizing Training. For students who haven’t recruited a group yet and aren’t quite sure what they want to change about their sexual assault policy, the SAFER Teach-In is a 2-hour interactive presentation that educates students about their sexual assault policy, helps them analyze its weaknesses, and works with them to develop their first key goals for changing the policy. The Teach-In encourages students to examine the ways in which students and other community members of many different backgrounds may be affected by the policy.

The SAFER Weekend Organizing Training is an intensive, weekend-long program that provides student leaders with the concrete skills they need to win policy reform. For students who have recruited a core group of at least 10 seriously committed students and have a clear idea of the changes they would like to make to their school’s sexual
assault policy, the Weekend Organizing Training works with participants to develop a concrete strategy to achieve their goals. The training lasts 10 hours over the course of two days, and covers issues in depth, such as effective use of the media, dealing with backlash movements, and effective recruiting techniques.

For information on bringing a SAFER event to your school, email organizers@safercampus.org.

To support their organizing efforts, we provide key resources for students.

• The manual you are reading is distributed for free to students and student centers across the country.

• In response to student requests, SAFER, in collaboration with other non-profit organizations, is developing a database of college sexual assault policies and programs, with comments on specific positive and negative policy elements. This database will enable students to be better informed about the various policy options available, and to see how their school compares to similar schools. Policies will be analyzed based on the basic components that a better sexual assault policy should contain, as well as on compliance with relevant legislation. Students will also have the opportunity to enter information about their own experiences. The database will enable student groups to connect with groups at other schools to share best practices and to collaborate.

• Our Web site introduces students to the issue of sexual assault on campus and suggests steps that they can take to change their campus environment. In our online discussion forum, students can connect with their peers, share strategies within a safe space, and have their questions answered by SAFER trainers. We expect 30,000 Web site visitors this year.

• SAFER produces materials for students to incorporate into their local organizing efforts. SAFER posters, T-shirts and buttons feature messages that inspire students to take action and challenge administrations that fail to address sexual assault.

• Student activists are also provided with free support from SAFER via email or telephone. For students who need advice on specific challenges, SAFER staff is available to give advice and information. Consulting sessions may be helpful in difficult situations such as a large-scale media attack by an opposition group, a change in college leadership, or conflict between activists.
The SAFER organizing philosophy

- A grassroots movement should serve to empower individuals as well as a community.
- Progressive change requires three types of work: consciousness raising, activism within existing systems and activism outside of existing systems.
- Members of affected communities must find their own solutions for the problems that face them.
- Meaningful progressive change requires concrete, measurable victories.
- Authority will not change until it is challenged with power that equals its own.
- Collective power is the only power that oppressed groups can rely on.
- Nonviolence is essential to progressive reform.
- All oppressions are interdependent and must be actively resisted.
- Every effective action by activists must be strategic and goal-oriented.
- Authority should always be questioned and held accountable for its actions.
- Change on a community level can make an impact that will change the world.
Guidelines for grassroots efforts supported by SAFER

SAFER is devoted to the creation of comprehensive and accessible university responses to sexual assault. However, on a broader level, SAFER is devoted to bringing an end to violence, particularly patriarchal violence.

SAFER stands behind efforts that strive to create egalitarian and non-violent college communities. While we consider each case individually, SAFER maintains the following guidelines:

1. Movements must be non-violent in nature.

2. Movements must actively oppose sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, ableism, ethnic or religious bias and injustice in all its forms.

3. Movements must meaningfully address issues of education, prevention, crisis intervention and community involvement, and work toward creation of fair, effective and accessible disciplinary procedures:
   - Movements must not single out individual offenders as scapegoats for the broader problem of sexual violence.
   - Suggestions for changes to disciplinary procedures must be workable within a given community and fair to both complainants and accused students.
   - Movements must work to end sexual assault, not simply to punish offenders or limit the activities of those vulnerable to attack.
What makes a good sexual assault policy?

A good policy must meet the needs of your unique campus community. It is impossible to create a “perfect policy” that will fit every campus, but there are basic guidelines that should be met in constructing a workable sexual assault policy.

- **Student Input** - Students representing a diversity of communities should have a formalized way of communicating their concerns about a policy to administrators, and an effective, democratic means of changing the policy if it does not suit their needs.

- **Accessibility** - Policies should be easy to understand and use. Administrators should effectively publicize policies and ensure that students understand how they work. Students should be able to use services and disciplinary procedures regardless of income, disability or identity.

- **Due Process** - Disciplinary procedures should be standardized and consistently enforced. Procedures should include provisions that protect students wrongly accused of sexual assault and measures to ensure fair treatment of those who come forward with complaints of sexual assault.

- **Fairness** - All services should be available to students regardless of sex, ethnic background or sexual orientation. All disciplinary procedures should be fair and impartial.

- **Oversight** - Policies should have formalized means of oversight. No one carrying out a policy should have absolute authority, and students should have a formalized way to ensure that policies are being carried out properly and effectively.

- **Prevention and Education** - Policies should include meaningful efforts at educating students in the dynamics of sexual assault, the effects it has on survivors, and the many factors that allow it to continue. These efforts should challenge sexism, homophobia, racism and other oppressions rather than reinforcing them.

- **Crisis Intervention** - Survivors should have crisis services available to them 24 hours a day, every day of the school year. Free emergency contraception, antibiotics and post-exposure HIV prophylaxis should be available in school health centers.

- **Long Term Counseling** - Colleges providing counseling services for students should provide survivors with access to unlimited free counseling.
second, understanding your campus

*It is essential to understand your campus environment before you try to change it.*

**Questions to answer**

There are four basic question types you will need to answer before you begin your campaign:

1. **What do we want?** *(Determining Goals)*
   
   What problems need to be addressed? What concrete improvements do you want made? What can you realistically achieve?

2. **Why do we need it?** *(Justifying Your Demands)*
   
   What facts justify your goals? How can you prove that your solution to the problem at hand is the best one?

3. **Who can give it to us?** *(Finding Powerholders and Influentials)*
   
   Who has the power to give you what you want? Who has the ability to influence that person or group?

4. **How can we get it?** *(Determining Strategy)*
   
   What is the most effective way to achieve your goals?

The next sections of the manual will help you figure out your answers to these questions.
Researching your policy

Before you begin any other aspect of your campaign, it is essential that you research your school’s sexual assault policy and related programs and procedures. Once you have done your research, goals can be set and strategy can be determined. Policies are often included in student handbooks. If not, to find your school’s policy go to your school’s website and type “sexual assault” into the search box. Next, try searching for “sexual assault disciplinary procedures” and “annual crime statistics.” If you still can’t find what you need, contact your school’s department of student affairs.

You will also need to talk to others about how the policy is implemented, its impact and its history.

Whom to talk to:

- Survivors who have used the disciplinary procedures or campus resources!
- Your local Rape Crisis Center/Women’s Center
- Any student groups devoted to progressive activism
- Your local hospital
- Campus security
- Your local police
- Resident advisors
- Any committees on the policy
- Administrators responsible for policy
- Members of your university’s decision-making body (such as a Faculty Senate)
- Student Councils
- President and Provost of your university
- Alumni activists who have worked on the issue at your school in the past

Check to see if your school is listed in SAFER’s database of sexual assault policies.

Check to see if your school is listed in SAFER’s database of sexual assault policies.
In determining who your powerholder is, you should be as specific as possible. A powerholder is the person or very limited group of people who can give you what you want, not anyone who might be influential in getting you what you want. Your powerholder may be the University President who will sign a policy or a task force of ten people who will create a new policy, but a powerholder is not the person who carries out the policy but has no power to change it, nor is it the entire administration. A powerholder is someone who can be held accountable for his or her actions.

If you are not sure whether someone is your powerholder, because he or she seems to have some power to change the system, although this person is not the main decision maker, it is possible that he or she is an Influential.
Planning worksheet

This worksheet is intended to help you get a better picture of the situation at your school, the obstacles you will face, and your priorities for change. You may wish to copy it and have more than one person complete it, and then compare answers. Use the results to start answering the four questions mentioned at the beginning of this section.

What do we want?

1. Describe your school’s sexual assault disciplinary procedures, from start to finish.

2. What education and prevention efforts does your school have in place to deal with sexual assault?

3. Does your school actively combat sexism, racism, homophobia and other oppressions in its sexual assault prevention efforts?

4. How much do students know about your school’s sexual assault prevention and response policies?

5. How are statistics regarding the number of sexual assaults that occur each year collected and disseminated to students?

6. How well trained are the administrators who deal with sexual assault on your campus?

7. How does your school handle issues of cultural difference as they relate to sexual assault?

8. Do programs related to sexual assault at your school adequately reach all sections of the undergraduate population, including marginalized groups such as LGBTQ students, and ethnic, racial and religious minorities?

9. Is your school in compliance with the Campus Security Act and applicable state/local laws?

10. What are the main weaknesses in your school’s response to sexual assault on campus?

11. Does your school have on-campus rape crisis services available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year?

12. Are rape crisis services accessible to male survivors?
13. Does your school offer free long-term counseling for sexual assault survivors?

14. Does your school provide rape survivors with free emergency contraception, antibiotics and post-exposure HIV prophylaxis?

**Why do we need it?**

1. How common is sexual assault on your campus? (according to local rape crisis centers, hospitals, and any studies you have put together—statistics from national studies are not enough!)

2. Have the administrators who resist change made any contradictory/unpopular statements about this issue?

3. Have any survivors come forward with stories of abuse by the administration?

**Who can give it to us?**

1. Who oversees your school’s sexual assault policy?

2. What is the main decision-making body on campus and how does it work?

3. Who would ultimately make a decision that would change the sexual assault policy at your school?

4. Who has influence over that person or group?

**How can we get it?**

1. Is anyone else working to improve your school’s response to sexual assault? If so, what are they doing?

2. Does your school have an annual Take Back the Night? What is it like and how do students perceive it?

3. How powerful is the women’s studies department at your school?

4. Has anyone at your school organized to change the policy before? How? What happened?

5. List the ethnic and queer groups on campus. Which of them are politically progressive?

6. How many feminist groups are there on your campus? What do they do?
7. What kind of support do you have in the administration, media, faculty, local supporters, etc.?

8. How would you characterize the general political mood on campus?

9. How would you characterize students’ view of the administration?

10. How would you characterize students’ knowledge of and attitude toward issues of sexual violence?

11. How would you characterize students’ general attitude toward ‘feminism’?

12. What is the most active progressive group on campus? What was the last thing they did?

13. How effective is the faculty in promoting activism on your campus?

14. How do students/the administration respond to civil disobedience at your school?

15. Do students read a school newspaper?

16. How effective is student government in advocating for causes like this?

17. How much can your rape crisis center advocate for your goals?

18. What is the best way to reach students on your campus (posters, email, tabling, floor raps, door to door, etc.)?

19. Are there any opposition groups who will attempt to stop you from attaining your goals?
third, building your movement

Don’t underestimate the importance of building a strong, inclusive movement.

Recruiting

Recruiting is the single most essential task you will face in developing and sustaining your movement. Simply put, without a large and diverse group of organizers working with you, administrators will have little incentive to give you what you want. And without effective recruitment, your group and its goals will die when you graduate.

It is important to note that anti-violence organizers have often ignored their obligation to build a movement that adequately represents men, people of color, LGBTQ individuals, low-income individuals and other marginalized groups. This has weakened the movement. In recruiting, it is especially important that you are responsible to diversity, in the interest of both being truly democratic and of creating an effective movement.

Whom to recruit

• Committed feminists/womanists who feel comfortable advocating for ‘women’s issues’

• Students with progressive organizing and leadership experience in any movement

• Students who represent a diversity of backgrounds, interests, experiences, talents and academic pursuits on your campus

• Students from other diverse campus groups

• An equal representation of students from each academic class year

• Students who are new to activism but want to help
• Students of both sexes

How to recruit

• Be prepared—have materials ready and target your audience.

• Recruit for fun and easy tasks first.

• Convince recruits of their abilities and build their confidence. Show them how much they have to offer.

• Listen to their ideas and concerns. Don’t talk more than you listen.

• Adjust your message to fit your audience. Emphasize your issue’s importance and relevance to the individual or group you are attempting to recruit.

• Try to get people to promise something concrete when you recruit them. Be specific about what they are able to do to help.

• Follow up promptly. Make sure they know you haven’t forgotten them.

• Ask new recruits about their contacts and group affiliations. They may be able to help you form coalitions or recruit further.

• Allow new recruits to try out different roles within your group to see what will suit their needs and skills best.

• If you consider yourself a feminist, understand that some people may not identify as “feminist,” but may share the same goals. Talk to recruits about issues instead of pushing labels.

• Be willing to spend a long time recruiting and building the skills of each new leader. People will not become invested in an issue overnight.

• Build recruits’ commitment by ensuring that the organization offers them personal development and fulfillment.

• Share your power with new recruits. Include them in decision-making.
Where to recruit

- Orientation
- Student events/group meetings
- Student center or local gathering places
- In class
- Door to door
Dealing with apathy

When it comes to recruiting, the seeming apathy of most people can become a constant source of frustration. But apathy and laziness do not adequately describe the complex reasons that people do not spend time trying to improve the condition of their lives.

Why don’t people care? How can we fix it?

Learned helplessness

Almost all of the important political decisions affecting most people have been made without their input or consent. As a result, they often do not believe that their actions can have an effect on the larger forces that govern their lives. To challenge their perception of helplessness, you must portray your group as results-oriented and effective.

Alienation

There can be many reasons for a feeling of alienation from progressive movements. Replication of societal oppression within groups is one of the most common; excessive use of acronyms, an abrasive tone, or meetings where nothing is accomplished will also do the trick. In order to challenge the perception that your group is dogmatic, cliquish, or otherwise not fun to be around, hold events that are entertaining (no Marxist sing-alongs) and use media to portray your group positively.

Poorly prioritized self-interest

Most people claim that they are too “busy” to do any extra work. A few people actually are overextended, but in most cases, what they really mean is that they have prioritized other pursuits above developing collective power to improve their situation. The first step to recruiting those who do not prioritize their self-interest is asking them to attend a specific event that won’t take up too much of their time and that will make them feel powerful. As they become more invested in the work of the group, they will find that they have more free time than they thought.

Low self-esteem

In many cases, people fail to prioritize their self-interest because they do not believe that it is important. Racism, sexism, classism and other internalized societal biases may make people feel that they are powerless or that their concerns don’t matter. An effective recruiting process often has more to do with convincing people of their self-worth and effectiveness than with convincing them to support your stance.
The anti-violence movement has overwhelmingly been dominated by white, middle-class men and women. Simply put, this method of organizing is unethical and counterproductive. Effective activism requires that participants examine their prejudices and recognize their privilege while strategizing ways to overcome the barriers that often maintain a segregated and ineffective progressive movement. We don’t claim to have the solution to the divisions caused by intersecting oppressions, but we have found the following “dos and don’ts” to be helpful to student organizers.

Do...

- Take the time to show the community that this issue affects all people. Sexual assault affects everyone. If some groups aren’t attending your meetings, it could be because you are framing your issue as affecting only a limited group that doesn’t include them.

- Confront oppression head on. Don’t pretend that race, sexual orientation, class, etc. don’t matter. The idea of treating everyone “equally” sounds nice, but it usually means treating everyone as if they are part of a dominant group, and silences those who are not. Pretending oppression is not there won’t make it go away. Ignoring it will only make it worse.

- Show your commitment with concrete measures. Don’t just say you care about confronting oppression, show you do. The use of your group’s resources, such as time, energy and money will show your true priorities.

- Recognize that oppression is institutional. Racism, classism, and homophobia, etc. are institutional problems, not just a slur or a hate crime.
The privilege and violence of oppressions are woven through all of our actions and experiences.

- **Make sure everyone talks at meetings.** Internalized oppression often prevents people from believing that their thoughts are valid and useful. It is important to challenge everyone to speak and be heard at your meetings.

- **Make sure everyone does unpleasant tasks for the group and everyone gets a say.** It’s common for members of a dominant group to act lazy and arrogant when it comes to taking notes in meetings, putting up posters, or doing other menial tasks. Don’t let members of oppressed groups within your organization end up doing all the grunt work.

- **Educate yourself.** Ignorance does not excuse offensive behavior or statements. It is everyone’s responsibility to understand their privilege.

- **Be humble.** If you go to speak to another student group, don’t play the role of a missionary who is going to save the less educated. Treat everyone as an individual with unique perspectives and potentially more knowledge than you.

And… Never assume that you are so progressive that you have moved beyond racism, sexism, homophobia, etc. As long as these oppressions exist, no one ever can. Relinquishing your privilege is a lifelong task.

**Don’t!**

- **Assume that certain groups of people are uninterested in this issue.** Sexual assault isn’t something that only happens to straight white women. If you’re only recruiting straight white women because that is who you think will be interested in your group, straight white women will be the only people who are interested in your group.

- **Assume that people of color would prioritize ethnic student groups over an anti-sexual violence group, queer students would prioritize LGBTQ groups over an anti-sexual violence group, etc.** Members of various oppressed groups may prioritize groups specifically related to that identity over this work, and that is a valid choice. However, assuming that they will prioritize those groups over yours treats them as if they are so inherently different from your group that they are not even worth approaching.

- **Set the agenda for your group before you take the time to make it a diverse group.** Once you have set the agenda, you have determined your
constituency. If you want a diverse group to buy in to your goals, you will need to represent the needs of a wide range of people.

- **Do the “head swivel.”** The head swivel is a common maneuver in which an individual mentions an oppressed group that is in the minority within the organization, and then turns directly to a member of that group to say, “what do you think?” This is offensive and expects one person to represent an entire group.

- **Assume that people aren’t American because they aren’t white.** Many people of color have been asked where they are “from” too many times, and the implication is often that since they are not white, they don’t belong here and must be from another country. Asking Asian American people if they speak Chinese and “complimenting” women of color by saying that their appearance is “exotic” are other common examples of this.

- **Assume that people are straight.** Asking a woman if she has a boyfriend, making heterosexist jokes, or pointing out a member of the opposite sex as attractive with the expectation that others will agree all create an uncomfortable atmosphere for LGBTQ people.

- **Make jokes about oppression (for the wrong reasons).** Members of dominant groups sometimes make jokes about an oppression they benefit from in an attempt to show that they are not racist, sexist, etc. Context makes a difference in how these jokes are perceived, but they point out the lower social status of others and can often reinforce oppression rather than countering it. In general, attempts to “prove” you aren’t prejudiced just show that you are.

- **Let members of a privileged group dominate conversation.** It is common for people with privilege over others to unconsciously believe that they have more valuable things to say than others in a meeting. If you find that you are speaking more often than others, think for a second about whether everything you are saying is so important that it needs to be heard. If not, take a step back and speak only when you feel you have an important thought. If they really are all very important, try to consolidate your thoughts a bit more so you can say them quickly rather than drawing them out and dominating the conversation. If you notice that someone else is dominating the discussion, try to move things along and ask others what their thoughts are.
SAFER believes that effective, long-term progressive activism is impossible without an understanding of intersectionality. From creating your demands to recruiting your leadership, intersectionality is essential to developing a strong and sustainable movement.

**Intersectionality:**

- The ways in which race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and other identities intersect and inform individual realities and personal experiences

- The ways in which different individual and institutional oppressions connect with and depend on each other

- The belief that an individual may simultaneously be oppressed and an oppressor
Defining oppression

Throughout this manual, we have used many words to describe types of oppression without defining those words. In this section, we define our terms. We know that these definitions are flawed and incomplete. We felt that it was better to raise these issues imperfectly than to leave them out.

Ableism

Dictionary Definition: Discrimination in favor of the able-bodied

Our Definition: Discriminatory belief, behaviors and institutional practices directed against people with disabilities. Barriers that unnecessarily restrict the mobility or access of disabled people to institutions and/or benefits.

Example Experiences: Reading the dictionary and seeing that it calls people who don't have a disability “able-bodied” (whatever that means). Being forced to crawl up the stairs to enter a building because it is not wheelchair-accessible. Being born deaf but never being taught sign language because your pediatrician told your parents that English is “better.”

Classism

Dictionary Definition: Bias based on social or economic class.

Our Definition: Discriminatory belief, behaviors and institutional practices that favor those with more money. Notably, the institutional practice of paying people wages that are too low to provide for basic necessities, even when working full-time.

Example Experiences: Hearing the term “wife beater” used to describe the tank tops you wear under your work clothes. Being looked down on for being uneducated when you couldn’t afford to pay college tuition. Not being able to afford health insurance.

Ethnocentrism

Dictionary Definition: Belief in the superiority of one’s own ethnic group. Xenophobia.
Our Definition: The attitude that one’s culture is superior to all others. The attempt to forcibly impose one’s own cultural beliefs, system of morality and/or way of life on other cultures. Discriminatory beliefs, behaviors and institutional practices that favor a dominant culture over all others.

Example Experiences: Selling a beautiful, elaborately carved mask you made for $10 while another artist’s painting that required less skill is bought for $10,000. Being unable to read the medical pamphlets in the doctor’s office because they are printed only in English. Not being able to learn about your country of origin in college because 90% of the school’s liberal arts funding has gone to the study of European philosophy, religion, literature, art and history.

**Heterosexism**

Dictionary Definition: Discrimination or prejudice against lesbians, bisexual people or gay men.

Our Definition: Individual and institutional beliefs, behaviors and practices that promote normalization of heterosexual relationships and patriarchal gender roles.

Example Experiences: Being asked how you have sex because you are a lesbian. Watching nearly every movie, television show and commercial and seeing straight people celebrating their relationships, but never seeing queer relationships in any of these places. Being told that there is no such thing as a bisexual person, a feminine lesbian, a straight man who is conscientious about his appearance, a gay football player, etc.

**Homophobia**

Dictionary Definition: Fear of or contempt for lesbians, bisexuals and gay men, and/or behavior based on such a feeling.

Our Definition: Fear of or contempt for lesbians, gay men, bisexual people, transgendered and transsexual people, and those who do not conform to traditional patriarchal gender roles. Individual and institutional beliefs and practices that promote fear of or contempt for those who fall into these categories.

Example Experiences: Being beaten up because you are “too feminine” for a man. Hearing anti-gay slurs and jokes. Having your sex life
compared to bestiality by respected members of your government.

**Male Privilege/Straight Privilege/White Privilege, etc.**

**Dictionary Definition:** We couldn’t find one.

**Our Definition:** The privileges derived from being a member of a dominant group, regardless of whether one personally engages in discriminatory practices.

**Example Experiences:** Having a family that was able to make more money/attend better schools (and pass it on to future generations) because they were white. Being able to get married. Being able to go to the store for milk at midnight without worrying too much that you will be sexually assaulted, shot by the police or gay bashed.

**Racism**

**Dictionary Definition:** Discrimination or prejudice based on race.

**Our Definition:** The belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance (Thanks to Audre Lorde for this definition). Individual and institutional behaviors based on this belief.

**Example Experiences:** Being searched every time you fly because you are of Arab descent (or look like you might be). Not being able to get a home or small business loan when a white person with the same financial record would have. Seeing Asian actors who can speak perfect English cast in bit parts as heavily accented Chinese food delivery people and never getting a lead role unless it’s in a martial arts movie.

**Sexism**

**Dictionary Definition:** Discrimination based on gender, especially discrimination against women. Attitudes or behaviors that promote stereotyping of social roles based on gender.

**Our Definition:** Patriarchy. The enforcement or replication of rigid gender roles. The individual and institutional beliefs and behaviors that support a system of male domination of women.
Example Experiences: Being ignored in high school math class because the teacher thinks girls can’t do math. Hearing words synonymous with female genitalia used as curse words meant to express disgust for weakness. Scraping your knee as a child and being told, “Boys don’t cry.”

Transphobia

Dictionary Definition: We couldn’t find one.

Our Definition: Fear of or contempt for transgendered or transsexual people, and/or those who do not conform to patriarchal gender roles. Individual and institutional behaviors that express this attitude.

Example Experiences: Not being able to use public bathrooms because neither gender will accept you. Having others constantly use the wrong pronouns to describe you. Having to pay thousands of dollars for sex-reassignment surgery because your insurance won’t cover it.

Intersectionality worksheet

Many progressive activists believe that they know all there is to know about intersectionality. Do you know as much as you thought you did? Test your knowledge (and start a great group discussion) with this worksheet.

Answer the following questions with the rest of your group. Remember to set ground rules before you start!

1. Name one difference between Korean culture and Vietnamese culture with regard to sexual assault.

2. How might the myth of asexuality in people with disabilities affect their experience as survivors of sexual assault by a lover?

3. How does America’s past history of slavery continue to affect public perceptions of sexual assault?

4. Why do some transgendered people choose not to identify with the LGBTQ community?

5. True or False: Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are likely to recognize their solidarity as members of the Latino community.
6. Name one commonly held idea that negatively affects each of the following groups:

   Asian women
   Asian men
   Bisexuals
   Black women
   Black men
   Gay men
   Disabled people
   Latina women
   Latino men
   Lesbians
   Native American women
   Native American men
   Transgendered people

7. What shapes an individual’s experience of sexual assault most: sex, sexual orientation, class, race, ethnicity or religion?

8. How might an Asian woman’s experience of sexual assault differ from that of a Black woman?

9. Who is more likely to report a sexual assault to the police: a low-income woman or a middle-income woman?

10. What is the #1 country music song currently playing on the radio?

11. Did you laugh when you answered the last question? If so, why?

12. What is the median income for American families?

13. How do current beauty standards exclude some women?

14. Many gains by civil rights activists were later used by feminist activists to increase women’s rights. Many gains by women’s rights activists were later used by LGBTQ activists to increase the rights of the LGBTQ community. Do these facts indicate a larger connection between progressive movements? If so, what is the connection?
More and more, men are joining the movement against sexual violence. This is an important step toward finally ending this violence. The men who have rejected the notion that sexual assault is a “women’s issue,” and are stepping up to do their part deserve a lot of credit. However, there are some issues that we have seen come up again and again when men have worked with women in anti-sexual violence movements. Here are some tips to make working with women a little easier.

- Treat women activists with basic respect and politeness. Don’t yell, interrupt, belittle, etc.

- Don’t use your membership in the anti-violence movement as a chance to meet women to date, as a way to prove that you are not a threat to women, or for any reason other than to help end sexual violence.

- Think before you speak. If you disagree with another activist, don’t use sexist arguments against her. For example, don’t tell her that you think she is being “irrational” or “hysterical.”

- Remember that this issue is an extremely urgent one to women. When you sit down to talk tactics with your fellow activists, keep in mind that they may be willing to risk more to win your goals. Respect differences of opinion, and don’t assume that women are “overreacting.”

- Choose meeting times and locations that feel safe to women. Don’t choose spots that force participants to walk through secluded or poorly lit areas. Offer to walk women home if it is late at night.

- Don’t talk about anyone else’s experiences as survivors unless they bring it up, and be sure to maintain the confidentiality of survivors who come forward in the context of a group meeting.

- Speak to women the same way you would to men. Don’t use a different tone of voice when you speak to them. You may feel that using a more “gentle” tone will be considered less intimidating to women, but it usually comes across as patronizing.

- Anthropological studies of American culture have shown that in all-female groups, conversation tends to move forward on a rotating basis, with everyone speaking for about the same amount of time. In all-male groups, there is generally a competition for “dominance” of the conversation, and some men
speak much more than others. In mixed-gender groups, the male conversation style dominates, and men speak much more than women because most women stop speaking almost immediately upon interruption, while men are less likely to let an interruption stop them from finishing their thought. Keep these facts in mind as you design your meeting style. Be especially careful not to interrupt women, and consider ways to change the competitive conversational style that is likely to be used in your all-male activist groups.

- Think about whom you choose to facilitate meetings. Studies have shown that in a classroom environment, women tend to speak less when there is a male teacher. It is possible that this holds true in meetings as well. Consider using a female facilitator, or male and female co-facilitators.

- If you are straight, work to conquer your homophobia and fear of being perceived as gay. This is the single biggest weapon that will be used against you in attempts to keep you “in your place” (i.e., out of the anti-violence movement).

And finally…

Think of ways to put your privilege to the advantage of the anti-violence movement! Find ways to use the fact that people take you more seriously than they do women to help with your group’s work.
Understanding power and authority

Power: The ability to get what you want.¹

Authority: The ability to exact obedience.²

Power is a neutral term. Anyone can have it, and it can take many forms. You may have power because people respect you and want to make you happy. You may have power because you are a persuasive speaker. You may have power because you are strong enough to hurt someone if they don’t give you what you want.

As members of groups, we can also have different types of power. We may have power because we can control people’s access to information, because we benefit from racism or sexism, or because we have the ability to disrupt the normal course of business if our wishes are not honored. As progressive activists, we strive to have power and to use that power in ways that will be beneficial to society. We also work to make power democratic, so everyone has roughly the same influence over policies that affect them and the same ability to make decisions about their lives.

Authority is a type of power that is by definition undemocratic. Authority is what management has over employees, what a general has over soldiers and what an administrator has over you. Authority—from the point of view of activist organizing—is illegitimate because it is not given freely through democratic process, but through force or coercion.

As an activist, you will frequently find yourself trying to influence those with authority. In doing so, it is important to recognize that those with authority over you are not your equals, and that unless you bring a greater amount of power to the (real or metaphorical) negotiating table, authority will only give you what it wants to give you.

Some things to look out for in dealing with authority

Co-optation: “Would you like to join our committee to discuss this?”

It’s good to have a say in any discussions surrounding your issue, but that should never be your only tactic, and authority should never be trusted to give you what you want just because it agrees to listen to your concerns.

¹ Source: United States Student Association

² Source: American Heritage Dictionary
Intimidation: “You’re here on scholarship, aren’t you?”

Threats may be made toward you directly or they may be aimed at programs you support, like an existing rape crisis center. When authority threatens you, it is often effective to publicize the threat widely—this makes it much harder to carry it out.

Fragmentation: “You’re so reasonable and realistic. Is there any way I could just deal with you and not those radicals who won’t listen?”

Also seen in uglier tactics like encouraging ethnic tensions, fragmentation is deadly to progressive organizing. You will never agree completely with everyone who is working on your issue, but don’t forget who is on your side and who is in control.

Appeasement: “What if I just give $50,000 to the women’s center and we call it even?”

If authority is ready to buy you off, you probably already have the power to win much more.

Distraction: “Isn’t the debate over the campus minority-recruiting program more important?”

Student activists are often committed to more than one worthy cause. Don’t let authority distract you from your goals by taking advantage of this.

Stalling: “This requires some serious consideration. Why don’t we appoint a committee to write a report?”

They’re waiting for you to graduate.

Authority in organizing

Effective organizing leads to power, but it is important that organizers do not monopolize that power. Meaningful organizing provides an entire community with more power. It does not recreate an unfair hierarchy that denies people their voice. No matter how benevolent their intentions, when organizers keep information from their membership or make unilateral decisions that affect everyone, they have become authority themselves. It is important to work toward organizational structures that mirror our beliefs in democracy and fairness.

Some things to think about:

• How do you determine leadership?
• Who leads meetings?

• How are decisions made?

• How do you ensure that everyone takes part in decisions and is adequately informed?

• Have societal oppressions like racism, sexism or homophobia been recreated in your group dynamic?

Consensus

Consensus is one way of making decisions as a group, and it can be effective in preventing monopolization of power by those members who do the most work or have the strongest personalities. Consensus can be difficult, and it requires more time than some other ways of making decisions, but if it is done properly it builds leadership and increases members’ investment in the group. Consensus does not mean that everyone must agree completely with every decision the group makes, but that everyone has an equal voice in decision making, and that all opinions are respected. According to the anti-AIDS organization ACT UP:

[Consensus means] that in coming to that decision, no one felt that her/his position on the matter was misunderstood or that it wasn’t given a proper hearing. Hopefully, everyone will think it is the best decision; this often happens because, when it works, collective intelligence does come up with better solutions than could individuals. (ACT UP website)

Democratic decision-making can take many forms, and consensus may not always be the best system for your group, especially when minor decisions are being made or quick, specialized action is required. However, consensus is a flexible system, and many organizers have used it effectively.
Presenting your demands

If power is “the ability to get what you want,” the first step to gaining power is determining exactly what it is that you want. Demands are the specific set of changes your group will set out to win from a powerholder. An idealistic goal such as “an end to sexual violence” is not an effective demand. Effective demands relate to concrete circumstances that can be changed by a specific person or small group of people (powerholders).

Do

- **Ask for more than you need.** Activists are always bargained down from their original requests, and smart negotiators plan for this by asking for more than they actually want.

- **Be proactive.** Put your opposition on the defensive; don’t just respond to their agenda. There is a place for defensive maneuvering, as in the fight to preserve abortion rights or affirmative action. But those movements will slowly lose ground as long as conservative opposition doesn’t have something new to fight that will pull their attention away from past progressive gains.

- **Keep it simple.** Demands should consist of no more than 4 major proposals. When it makes sense strategically, you can elaborate on your demands in bullet points or a similar easy-to-read style.

- **Be realistic, but optimistic.** It’s important to be pragmatic about what you can realistically achieve, but activists often avoid work for ambitious gains because they don’t think powerholders want to give them. If you create new systems of power, powerholders can be pressured to give you what you want, regardless of whether they personally agree with you.

- **Ask for things that will create concrete, measurable improvements.** If a demand is concrete and measurable, there will be physical evidence of your victory.

- **Be democratic.** Effective activists will develop demands with help from people representing diverse segments of their constituency.

- **Have backup demands.** Because activists will be bargained down, they should have an alternative available if it becomes clear that the original demands can’t be won.
Don’t

- Change your demands without a compelling and strategic reason to do so. Clarifying and expanding is okay, but changing demands mid-course confuses powerholders and your constituency.

- **Call them demands (!)** Think of them as demands. Treat them as demands. Recognize that you deserve what you are asking for. But don’t call them demands—it can make you appear unreasonable.

**Turning a problem into a demand**

Many people see problems with the world. One of the important differences between organizers and everyone else is that organizers have the ability to propose practical and attainable solutions to these problems, and to mobilize people around those solutions.

There are many more potential solutions than there are problems. Issues may be addressed on a large or small scale, directly or indirectly. What matters is that the proposed solutions are concrete, measurable and attainable (which means there must be a powerholder who can give you what you want—otherwise, who would you ask?).

**Example**

Problem: There are lots of anti-queer hate crimes in my community.

- Potential Demand #1: “The town must increase funding for hate crimes prevention.”

- Potential Demand #2: “NBC must air two more shows featuring LGBTQ characters as positive role models.”

- Potential Demand #3: “Congress must legalize same-sex marriage.”

Each proposal would probably help reduce anti-queer hate crimes. Which proposal would be the best to pursue is a question of strategy. The best solution is the one that is winnable and can be expected to have the best long-term effects.

When it comes to improving a sexual assault policy, there are usually many problems to solve. Choose the most pressing issues and create a set of demands that will have a significant, measurable impact on the community.
Many students have asked us for an example of a good sexual assault policy. Some schools have good aspects to their policies, but of course none are perfect, and we aren’t comfortable enough with any one policy to use it as an example for others to follow. Besides, a policy that might work at a small private school in the Midwest might not be effective at a large state school in the South. SAFER’s Policies Database provides specific examples of sexual assault policy elements that SAFER supports. What we can provide here is a set of questions that you can ask about your policy, and a potential proposal (demand) that you might present to your administration to deal with each one. It’s important to remember that these proposals are just examples. They aren’t the only or the perfect solution, and they wouldn’t necessarily all be part of the same policy.

**Prevention efforts**

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<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Proposal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do prevention efforts exist?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts do not exist, a potential proposal would be: “x amount of funding for a prevention program meeting the following criteria;” In many cases, insufficient prevention efforts call for new paid staff. Student volunteers should never be responsible for the bulk of prevention efforts. These are the college’s responsibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are prevention efforts universal (do all students receive the training)?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts are not universal, a potential proposal would be: “Expansion of prevention efforts to reach all students at this college.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are they continuous (given throughout the year, not just during one event)?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts are not continuous, a potential proposal would be: “A mandatory semester-long class for all freshmen, in addition to x amount of funding for a poster campaign by the sexual assault prevention office each year.”</td>
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<td>Question</td>
<td>Proposed Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are they multifaceted (using many approaches, e.g. posters and presentations and class assignments, rather than only one of these)?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts are not multifaceted, a potential proposal would be: “Increase the prevention program from three presentations to two video showings, a poster campaign, a mandatory class, and funding for a performance by Mango Tribe.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do they challenge oppression (racism, sexism, homophobia, etc.) in meaningful ways?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts do not challenge oppression, a potential proposal would be: “Hire a full-time staffer trained in dismantling stereotypes and working with diverse communities to prevent sexual assault.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are they relevant to all student populations, including marginalized communities such as ethnic or religious minorities and the queer community?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts are not relevant to all communities, a potential proposal would be: “Hire a consultant to work with the current director of sexual assault prevention to broaden the scope of current programs.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are they well funded and fully staffed?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts are insufficiently funded or staffed, a potential proposal would be: “x amount of funding or x number of new staff members for the prevention program.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are they generationally relevant (entertaining and interesting to a student population)?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts are not generationally relevant, a potential proposal would be: “Create two permanent part-time work-study positions for students to work with the current director of prevention to make prevention programs more relevant to students.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Potential Proposal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are they properly executed as written in the policy?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts are not properly following policy, a potential proposal would be: “Provide for oversight of prevention efforts by a committee of students that is elected by the student body.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do prevention programs blame victims of sexual assault by focusing on what women should do to avoid being attacked rather than on the societal causes of sexual assault?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts blame victims of sexual assault, a potential proposal might be: “Remove campus security from the sexual assault education program, and fund a full-time rape crisis advocate with experience in prevention efforts to carry out this program.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do they reinforce sexist, racist, heterosexist, classist or ableist stereotypes?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts reinforce oppressive stereotypes, a potential proposal might be: “Fund mandatory anti-oppression training for all school officials dealing with sexual assault, to be repeated annually.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do they rely on scare tactics?</td>
<td>If prevention efforts use scare tactics, a potential proposal might be: “Fund mandatory annual sensitivity training by the local rape crisis center for all school officials dealing with sexual assault.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the school provide adequate night lighting on campus and enough “blue lights” (emergency checkpoints that contact security by pushing a button) so that one is visible from any location on campus and each is visible from the next?</td>
<td>If the school does not provide “blue lights,” a potential proposal might be: “Build ten emergency blue lights on campus.”</td>
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<td>Question</td>
<td>Proposal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the school provide an evening escort service for students who do not want to walk home alone?</td>
<td>If the school does not provide an evening escort service for students, a potential proposal might be: “Provide same-sex security officers to escort students home after dark.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do all students have telephone access in their rooms?</td>
<td>If students don’t have phones in their rooms, a potential proposal might be: “Provide room phones for students.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are residence halls and campus bathrooms adequately secure?</td>
<td>If residence halls and campus bathrooms are not secure, a potential proposal might be: “Provide a committee of students, faculty and administrators with a $50,000 budget to make improvements to residence hall and bathroom security.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are non-fear-based self-defense classes available free for students?</td>
<td>If non-fear-based self-defense classes are not available free for students, a potential proposal might be: “Make weekly self-defense classes available free for students.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are students who are at high risk for attack (those who are being stalked, have recently left an abusive relationship, etc.) provided, upon request, with a walkie-talkie or other form of instant communication with campus security?</td>
<td>If students at high risk for attack are not provided with instant communication with campus security, a potential proposal might be: “Provide all students who are at high risk for attack with a wearable GSM locator that they can press to alert campus security of a problem.”</td>
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### Crisis services

<table>
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<th>Question</th>
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<tr>
<td>Is crisis counseling, including access to trained sexual assault</td>
<td>If crisis counseling is not available on campus, a potential proposal</td>
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<tr>
<td>advocates, available on campus 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year?</td>
<td>might be: “Create, and fund for $250,000, a rape crisis center on campus, staffed by two full-time individuals, one male and one female, both holding a MSW or PhD in psychology. Also fund seven part-time work-study positions for students to serve as trained sexual assault advocates.”</td>
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<td>Are crisis counselors appropriately trained to counsel marginalized</td>
<td>If crisis counselors are not appropriately trained, a potential proposal</td>
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<td>populations such as ethnic and religious minorities, members of the</td>
<td>might be: “Fund mandatory annual training for all sexual assault crisis services providers, including at least 4 hours of training for each person in issues relating to same-sex sexual assault, hate crimes, racism and sexual assault, and sexual assault as it relates to the Native American and Muslim populations on campus.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queer community and disabled people?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Is emergency contraception available for free to sexual assault</td>
<td>If EC is not available, a potential proposal might be: “Make emergency contraception available for free to sexual assault survivors on campus. Publicize availability of this service in the student handbook, by announcement during orientation, on official bulletin boards and on a poster in the Office of Health Services.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>survivors?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are antibiotics and HIV prophylaxis available for free to sexual assault</td>
<td>If antibiotics and HIV prophylaxis are not available, a potential proposal</td>
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<tr>
<td>survivors?</td>
<td>might be: “Make antibiotics and HIV prophylaxis available for free to sexual assault survivors on campus. Publicize availability of this service using stickers on all campus phones, an email to all students and posters in the food court.”</td>
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**Definitions and disciplinary sanctions**

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<th>Question</th>
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<tr>
<td>Is a Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) available on campus?</td>
<td>If a SANE is not available, a potential proposal might be: “Train all Health Center personnel as Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners and provide them with sexual assault evidence recovery kits. Create an on-call system for these personnel.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is sexual assault clearly defined and broken up into categories to indicate severity?</td>
<td>If the definition of sexual assault is inadequate, a potential proposal would be: “Adopt the following definition of sexual assault: (your definition here).” For SAFER’s definition of sexual assault, see Appendix C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are possible disciplinary sanctions clearly determined for each category of sexual assault?</td>
<td>If disciplinary sanctions are not clearly determined for each category of sexual assault, a potential proposal would be: “Adopt the following table for mandatory disciplinary sanctions in cases of sexual assault: (your table here).”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do disciplinary sanctions include mandatory counseling for perpetrators who are not expelled?</td>
<td>If disciplinary sanctions do not include mandatory counseling for perpetrators, a potential proposal would be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘In cases that do not require expulsion, all students found to be in violation of the school’s sexual assault policy will be required to attend at least 20 one-hour counseling sessions with University counseling services, addressing prevention of future assaults. Failure to attend all counseling sessions will result in expulsion.’”</td>
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## Reporting

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
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<tr>
<td>Is there a system of “anonymous reporting,” whereby a student can notify the community that a sexual assault took place without giving identifying information of the parties involved or initiating campus disciplinary action?</td>
<td>In cases where anonymous reporting doesn’t exist, a potential proposal would be: “Create and publicize a system by which students, faculty, and administrators can make an anonymous report electronically, entering only the information necessary to prevent double reports of the same assault.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the university consult with all staff members who have responsibility for the welfare of students, as well as the local police department, to collect accurate statistics regarding the number of sexual assaults reported each year?</td>
<td>Federal law states that schools must consult with all staff with significant responsibility for the welfare of students, as well as the local police department, to collect accurate statistics regarding the number of sexual assaults reported each year. If a school is not in compliance, a potential proposal could be: “Comply with the Campus Security Act.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the university ensure that all students and staff receive a report at the beginning of each school year that lists the number of sexual assaults that have occurred on campus?</td>
<td>Same as above.</td>
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<td>Is there a simple, easy-to-initiate system for making a report to begin disciplinary procedures?</td>
<td>If it is difficult to initiate disciplinary proceedings, a potential proposal could be: “All University employees will be trained to inform survivors that a disciplinary procedure does exist for handling cases of sexual assault between students. Employees will refer survivors of sexual assault to the Office of Sexual Assault Prevention if the survivor wishes to initiate disciplinary action. Upon meeting with a staff member of the OSAP, disciplinary procedures will be initiated upon request.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do clear, specific disciplinary procedures exist to deal with incidents of sexual assault between students?</td>
<td>If no disciplinary procedures exist specifically for sexual assault, a potential proposal might be that the college accept a set of disciplinary procedures that you and your group write.</td>
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<td>Can a student easily understand exactly what will occur during a disciplinary proceeding by reading the campus sexual assault policy once?</td>
<td>If the disciplinary procedures are explained in dense, legalistic jargon, a potential proposal would be: “Include a student committee to rewrite the disciplinary procedures in plain language that is accessible to students.”</td>
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<td>Are disciplinary procedures adequately publicized (adequately means that most students know about and understand the procedures)?</td>
<td>If disciplinary procedures are not adequately publicized, a potential proposal would be: “Students should receive a special handbook at the beginning of every year describing the school’s disciplinary procedures. In addition, orientation programs should address the procedures.”</td>
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<td>Are complainants provided immunity from disciplinary action for minor offenses such as underage drinking or recreational drug use at the time of the assault?</td>
<td>If immunity is not extended to survivors, a potential proposal would be: “Accept and publicize the following resolution: ‘Those coming forward to report a sexual assault will not be punished for minor infractions such as underage drinking or recreational drug use at the time of the assault.’”</td>
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<td>Do complaints proven to have willfully been made falsely result in disciplinary action against the complainant?</td>
<td>If disciplinary procedures do not include a provision for disciplinary action against the complainant, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘If, during the course of these proceedings, it becomes apparent that intentionally false accusations have been made, the false complainant will be subject to disciplinary sanctions up to and including expulsion. In the absence of expulsion, those making false accusations will receive mandatory counseling in addition to other disciplinary sanctions imposed.’”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are complainants provided immunity from this type of disciplinary action in cases of inconclusive evidence?</td>
<td>If complainants are not protected from disciplinary sanctions in cases of inconclusive evidence, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘If, upon completion of disciplinary proceedings, evidence is inconclusive, neither the complainant nor the accused student(s) will be subject to disciplinary action.’”</td>
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<td>Are disciplinary proceedings heard by a panel large enough to prevent decisions based on the opinion of too few people, yet small enough to prevent an overly intimidating experience for survivors?</td>
<td>If disciplinary procedures involve a hearing panel that is too small or too large, a potential proposal would mandate choosing a panel of a given size from a pool of potential panelists. In general, somewhere between three and five panelists is appropriate, depending on whether decisions will be put to a vote or unanimity is required.</td>
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<td>Does the hearing panel include students?</td>
<td>It is important that a hearing panel include students, because students are more able to relate to the experience of survivors and accused students than older adults are. Note that administrators often argue that students should not be on these panels because they are not well qualified to hear the cases for one reason or another. Unless the school is so small that it is impossible to keep the hearing panelists from running into complainants and accused students, the benefits of having peers involved in the process outweigh the disadvantages. If students are not included in the hearing panel, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘All hearing panels shall consist of one administrator, one faculty member and two students.’”</td>
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<td>If the hearing panel includes students, does the policy ensure that hearing panelists will be unlikely to see complainants and accused students again?</td>
<td>If the hearing panel includes students but does not take steps to ensure that hearing panelists will not be in the same classes, etc. as complainants and accused students, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘The hearing panel shall be chosen from a pool representing a wide range of individuals. If the complainant, accused student, or both are in their first, second, or third year of classes, student hearing panelists will be seniors expected to graduate in the coming spring. If both the complainant and the accused student are seniors, student hearing panelists will be chosen”</td>
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<td>Is there a process whereby hearing panelists may be removed prior to proceedings due to knowledge of the complainant or the accused, or other factors that may unfairly affect their judgment?</td>
<td>If there is not process for removal of hearing panelists, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Prior to a hearing, both the complainant and the accused student will be given the pictures, names, organizational affiliations and departments/majors of hearing panelists. The complainant or accused may reject any hearing panelist on the basis of personal relationship, foreseeable future contact, or other factors which could reasonably be expected to unfairly affect the judgment of a panelist.’ ”</td>
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<td>Is the hearing panel pool large enough to allow for several concurrent disciplinary proceedings?</td>
<td>If the pool of potential hearing panelists is not large enough, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘The pool of hearing panelists shall be large enough to allow for at least three disciplinary hearings to occur simultaneously.’ ”</td>
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<td>Do hearing panelists represent a diversity of viewpoints and experiences?</td>
<td>If hearing panels are homogeneous, a potential proposal might be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Each hearing panel shall include an equal proportion of men and women, as well as at least one person of color and one member of the LGBTQ community.’ ” At schools with a large number of students who are members of a specific population, it is important that members of that population are present on the hearing panel.</td>
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<td>Are adequate steps taken to prevent retaliation against complainants?</td>
<td>If the policy does not include a statement prohibiting retaliation for complaints, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Retaliation against complainants is strictly prohibited. Any form of retaliation or intentional intimidation will be treated as a separate offense.”</td>
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<td>If attorneys are allowed in disciplinary proceedings, are impartial attorneys provided for students who cannot pay or do not wish to tell their families about the proceedings?</td>
<td>SAFER does not take a position on involvement of attorneys in disciplinary proceedings. A disadvantage of involving attorneys is that proceedings often become more contentious and traumatic for all involved. An advantage of involving attorneys is that it can decrease the likelihood of misconduct by a school. If attorneys are involved in disciplinary proceedings, it is essential that they are available to both parties, not just one.</td>
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<td>Are complainants and accused students allowed access to a support person of their choosing to accompany them during their disciplinary proceeding?</td>
<td>If complainants and accused students are not allowed access to a support person of their choosing, a potential proposal might be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Complainants and accused students shall have the right to bring one silent support person of their choosing to all disciplinary proceedings.’” Note: Federal law states that complainants and accused students must have the same right to bring others with them for support during disciplinary hearings. Neither one can be allowed to include support people if the other is not.</td>
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<td>Are hearing panelists adequately trained in issues of evidence evaluation in sexual assault cases, psychological effects of sexual assault and common manifestations of post-traumatic stress disorder, sexual assault as it relates to diverse communities, common stereotypes and misconceptions regarding sexual assault, and other relevant issues?</td>
<td>If hearing panelists are not adequately trained, a potential proposal might be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘All members of the hearing panelist pool shall receive at least 20 hours of training, including at least 3 hours of training in each of the following: evidence evaluation in sexual assault cases, psychological effects of sexual assault and common manifestations of post-traumatic stress disorder, sexual assault as it relates to diverse communities, and common stereotypes and misconceptions regarding sexual assault.’”</td>
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<td>Is there a clear appeals process for complainants and accused students?</td>
<td>If there is not a clear appeals process, a potential proposal might be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Upon completion of disciplinary proceedings, complainants and accused students have the right to appeal. Complainants may appeal on procedural grounds or on the basis of evidence that a hearing panel was unfairly biased. Accused students may appeal on procedural grounds, on the basis of evidence that a hearing panel was unfairly biased, or on the basis of new evidence relevant to the case.’”</td>
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<td>Does the appeals process utilize a full hearing panel instead of one administrator or a small group of administrators?</td>
<td>If the appeals process is reliant on only one individual, a potential proposal might be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Upon request for an appeal, a new hearing panel shall be convened to hear evidence related to the appeal.’”</td>
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<td>Do disciplinary proceedings include some kind of record-keeping to allow for an appeals process that does not require reintroduction of the same evidence?</td>
<td>If the disciplinary proceedings don’t include record-keeping to allow an appeals process that won’t require a repeat of the entire proceedings, potential proposals could include a mandate that a transcript, audiotape or videotape be made to record hearings. It is also important that provisions be made for destruction of these records.</td>
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<td>Are complainants given the opportunity to go through the hearing process using a closed-circuit television rather than making their statement in the same room as the accused?</td>
<td>If the disciplinary procedure doesn’t allow for use of a closed-circuit television, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Upon request by a complainant, disciplinary hearings may be conducted using a closed-circuit television. At no point in the proceedings will the complainant and the accused student be required to be in each other’s physical presence.’ ”</td>
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<td>If complainants may use a closed-circuit television, is the hearing set up so that both the complainant and the accused receive equal time in the actual presence of the hearing panel?</td>
<td>If closed-circuit televisions are used, it is important that neither party is relegated to a separate room for longer than the other, as their physical absence could bias a hearing panel. To ensure equal time, a potential proposal might be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘While they may not be in the presence of the hearing panel concurrently, each party will be physically present during presentation of his or her evidence, questioning of his or her witnesses, his or her own questioning and his or her final statement to the hearing panel.’ ”</td>
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<td>Do both the complainant and the accused have an opportunity to submit questions for witnesses and to provide the hearing panel with a closing statement?</td>
<td>If the complainant and the accused student do not have the opportunity to make their case, a potential proposal could be: “In addition to any questions by the hearing panel, both the complainant and accused student will have the opportunity to submit questions to be asked of each witness and to make a closing statement.”</td>
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<td>Are the standard of proof and the burden of proof clearly stated in the policy in terms that an average student can understand?</td>
<td>There are two possible standards of proof: a “preponderance of evidence,” and “clear and convincing evidence.” A preponderance of evidence means that more than half of the evidence supports the complainant’s claim. Clear and convincing evidence means that the truth of the complainant’s claim is “highly probable.” A potential proposal for a school without an explicitly stated standard of proof would be that it adopt and clearly state one of these standards. The advantage of the preponderance of evidence standard is that it is more likely to result in disciplinary action for perpetrators. The advantage of the clear and convincing evidence standard is that innocent students who are wrongfully accused are less likely to be disciplined, and the procedures will be more respected by conservatives as “unbiased.”</td>
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<td>Are complainants provided an adequate window of time to make a complaint?</td>
<td>If complainants are not provided an adequate window within which to make a complaint, a potential proposal might be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Disciplinary procedures may be initiated by a complainant at any time so long as the accused student is still enrolled.’”</td>
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<td>Are complainants and accused students notified of hearing panel decisions separately and in person, in a manner that ensures that they will not encounter each other at the time of notification?</td>
<td>Complainants and accused students should always be notified of the findings of a hearing panel separately and in person. If this is not the case, a potential proposal might be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Complainants and accused students will be notified of the hearing panel's decision immediately, in person. The complainant and the accused student will be notified of these results separately, and in a manner that will prevent them from encountering each other at the time of notification.’”</td>
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<td>When complainants are notified of a finding of inconclusive evidence, is this finding presented to them in a thoughtful manner?</td>
<td>If survivors are often notified of an inconclusive finding in an insensitive or thoughtless way, a potential proposal might be: “Mandatory training for hearing panelists will include instruction in the high percentage of legitimate sexual assault charges that lack sufficient evidence, and training in sensitive ways to notify a complainant of a finding of inconclusive evidence.”</td>
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<td>Are clear and reasonable timelines set and followed for disciplinary proceedings?</td>
<td>If there are no timelines for disciplinary proceedings, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: 'Disciplinary hearings shall be initiated within x days of a report. In the absence of extenuating circumstances, hearings shall take no more than x days, and any resulting disciplinary sanctions shall be imposed within x weeks.’”</td>
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<td>Is oversight of hearing panelists in place to prevent improper handling of cases?</td>
<td>If there is no oversight during disciplinary hearings, a potential proposal could be: “Hire two full-time staff people to coordinate sexual assault response on campus. Each staff person shall oversee disciplinary hearings to ensure that proper procedures are followed. At the end of each semester, a committee of student volunteers shall meet to analyze any disciplinary proceedings that have taken place over the past semester. The full-time sexual assault response coordinators will ensure that all information this committee receives will contain no information that might be used to identify complainants or accused students. Based on their findings, the committee will make recommendations to the student government, which will vote on any recommended changes to policy.”</td>
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<td>Is it possible to make a complaint using both university disciplinary procedures and the criminal justice system?</td>
<td>If the school does not allow survivors to use both university procedures and the police, a potential proposal could be: “Adopt the following resolution: ‘Complainants may pursue criminal charges and university disciplinary procedures concurrently. If a criminal trial is in progress, university disciplinary”</td>
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procedures will be suspended until completion of the criminal trial.’”

### Immediate follow-up

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<th>Does a policy exist that ensures mandatory compliance with requests from the Dean of Students or the Coordinator of Sexual Assault Response on the part of professors to extend deadlines or otherwise manage academic demands on survivors following an assault?</th>
<th>If a policy doesn’t ensure that professors will honor requests for leniency following an assault, a potential proposal might be: “Create a category of leniency instructions from the Dean of Students that professors must follow. The category should be broad enough so that the professor need not know that a student was sexually assaulted. Events that could prompt these instructions would include a death in the family, extreme physical illness, sexual assault and other violent assaults.”</th>
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<td>Is clear information on reporting an assault to the police made available to all students?</td>
<td>If students are not informed about how to make a police report in the event of an assault, a potential proposal could be: “Give all students a handbook, separate from the general student handbook each year that outlines the actions they can take in event of a sexual assault, including making reports to the police.”</td>
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<td>Are all potential responders to sexual assaults trained to provide survivors with clear, accurate information about crisis and counseling services, disciplinary procedures, police reports, anonymous reporting, medical care and other services?</td>
<td>If college personnel are not adequately trained to handle cases of sexual assault, a potential proposal could be: “Make mandatory an annual four-hour training by the local rape crisis center for any college staff members likely to receive an initial report of a sexual assault.”</td>
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<td>Are students adequately educated regarding evidence collection and actions they can take to preserve evidence after a sexual assault?</td>
<td>If students are not adequately educated about steps to take to preserve evidence in the event of a sexual assault, a potential proposal could be: “Hand out pamphlets regarding the basics of evidence collection in the event of a sexual assault at the first floor meeting of every dorm.”</td>
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**Long-term response**

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<tr>
<td>Does the school offer free unlimited long-term counseling for survivors of sexual assault on campus?</td>
<td>If the school does not offer long-term counseling, a potential proposal could be: “Offer free unlimited psychological counseling to sexual assault survivors through student counseling services.”</td>
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<td>Does the school offer support groups for survivors of sexual assault on campus?</td>
<td>If the school does not offer support groups for survivors of sexual assault on campus, a potential proposal could be: “Offer free support groups to survivors of sexual assault. Offer separate support groups for men and women, and offer separate groups for queer people and members of distinct ethnic and religious groups on campus.”</td>
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Choosing a strategy

Progressive change requires many types of contributions, both individual and collective. Among the tremendous diversity of contributions that individuals may provide, there are three basic elements that must be realized to successfully effect progressive change. All of the tactics we use, from lobbying an administrator to writing a press release to holding a sit-in, serve to fulfill one of these three requirements.

To maximize the effectiveness of an organization, it is often useful to choose one of these strategies and use it consistently. However, it is important to remain flexible in your approach and to recognize the unique and important contributions that others make using each of the three strategies.

1. Consciousness-raising

For example, educational organizations such as Men Can Stop Rape.

Consciousness-raising is important because educating people can change their actions within existing systems and move them to action in changing those systems that are unfair.

2. Activism Within Existing Systems of Power

For example, lobbyists or women entering powerful positions in the workforce and altering policies to improve gender equity as they rise through the ranks.

Activism within existing systems is important because external agitation cannot accomplish as much without sympathizers who understand and have access to the internal workings of systems of power.

3. Activism That Challenges Existing Systems and That Creates New Systems of Power

For example, workers on strike or organizations such as United Students Against Sweatshops.

Activism that challenges existing systems is important because activists outside the system don’t have as much to lose, and are free to use more powerful tactics and make more effective demands.

More information on activism within existing systems of power, i.e. lobbying, and activism that challenges existing systems follows in the next sections.
Lobbying for change: activism within existing systems of power

Lobbying is activism within existing systems—the use of whatever access to systems of power you already have. Like any other tactic, it is unlikely to be effective alone. Without the power provided by more confrontational collective action, it will result in little substantive change. It is a tactic that makes activists particularly vulnerable to manipulation by authority, and it does not provide members of the community with a sense of their own power. However, networking can be very useful, particularly when direct-action tactics have embarrassed powerholders, who are often too proud to admit that activists have pressured them into accepting demands. Activists who have created an image of themselves as “moderate” can negotiate their demands without drawing the same distrust and stubbornness that those activists associated with confrontational tactics might inspire.

Those who agree to serve as the networking/lobbying group will have several preliminary and long-term tasks:

**Preliminary Tasks**

1. Prevent fragmentation by ensuring that some of the most skeptical activists (those least likely to trust authority) are in charge of networking and lobbying efforts.

2. It is a common strategy of right-wing groups to infiltrate and control student civil liberties groups. Be careful that this does not happen at your school.

3. Beware of the same in the staff of your school newspaper.

4. Get to know existing student government representatives and work to get supporters into open positions.

5. Have supporters join the mailing lists of potential opposition groups.

**Long-term tasks**

1. Meet with administrators. It’s best to arrange at least two meetings: one in which you express general concern and nonspecific requests, and one in which you present concrete demands.
2. Meet with faculty. Ideally you should meet with as many undergraduate faculty members as possible to present them with some simple statement of support or faculty petition through which they can show their support for your goals.

3. Meet with trustees if possible. Do not expect decisions to be made in the course of these meetings. They should simply be used as a forum to inform the trustees of your concerns and goals.

4. Meet with your powerholder(s) often.

Guidelines for meetings with administrators

- Wear business-casual attire (look as if you are going to a business-casual interview). This means solid colors, clean and ironed clothes, very little jewelry and a freshly shaved face.

- When dealing with administrators, bring at least three people (to corroborate your version of what goes on in the meeting), but don’t bring so many as to be intimidating.

- Determine before each meeting what will be said and who will say it.

- Always have at least one concrete goal going into meetings—something you want the person you are meeting with to do for you.

- Be sure to follow up on any promises an administrator makes to you in writing. A brief, friendly email to “recap” your meeting can be a great way to confirm what they’ve agreed to.

- Always be polite.

- Always leave on a positive note.

- Never trust authority.

For more detailed help on meetings and negotiations, request a negotiation toolkit from the Dru Campaign, www.drucampaign.org.
Beyond lobbying: strategic tactics for grassroots organizers

A tactic is any single action that you take in pursuit of your goals (a long-term plan that consists of several tactics is called a strategy). Good tactics are a matter of creativity and strategic thinking. Part of the reason people’s movements can win despite monopolization of power by institutions is the fact that people have more flexibility than a system. A system must move slowly and act in a fairly predictable fashion. Activists, on the other hand, can do whatever they are creative enough to think of. By the time an institution figures out how to stop a movement’s tactics, a smart activist will have thought of new tactics that outsmart the system.

The first rule of tactics

An effective tactic moves you closer to your goals. This is the only measure of effectiveness you should ever consider. It doesn’t matter how uncomfortable it made your powerholder, or how many people showed up, or how much the administration praised your event, even though these factors may play a part in the overall effectiveness of your tactic. Your only concern should be whether the tactic you used moved you closer to your goals.

Other tips for good tactics

• Use tactics that are appropriate to your situation. Don’t take over a building just to announce your presence on campus, and don’t write a report when the administration is refusing to speak to you after months of work.

• Always go through traditional, respected channels first, and do so publicly.

• Use tactics that you are able to successfully carry out. A march or rally may be a wonderful idea, but if you only have five people willing to show up, it won’t be effective.

• Don’t be too afraid of making your powerholder(s) angry. They are not your friends.

• Don’t make your powerholder(s) angry for no reason. Your powerholder may not be your friend, but he or she isn’t your enemy either. Tactics are meant to win your goals, not antagonize people.

• Always have specific goals in mind as you execute a tactic.
Some generally successful tactics

Petitions: Petitions are a good starting point for actions—a way to show that popular support is behind you and to get your message out to students. Be sure to allow enough time and energy for a petition drive. It will probably take at least six months of active work during school months. Be sure to direct your petition’s requests at the powerholder or decision-making body that can give you what you want. Do not direct a petition at an ambiguous body such as “the administration.” To gain signatures, make appointments for your representatives to speak with as many student organizations on campus as you can manage (avoid expected opposition groups). Go through RAs to set up meetings with their residents, set up tables on campus during the school week, have a table at relevant events (like Take Back the Night), and go door to door in dorms.

Wearable Protests: Students at Columbia wore bands of red tape on their arms and bags for months to protest the bureaucracy (red tape) that the University used to prevent change in the sexual assault policy there. AIDS activists use the red ribbon; anti-Vietnam protesters wore black armbands. Whatever material you choose be sure you publicize it well and provide your community with the material for free.

Angry Alumnae/i Letters/Promises Not To Contribute: Very powerful, because alum contributions affect the U.S. News and World Report rankings and the college’s bottom line.

Parental Calls/Letters/Emails: A threat to powerholders’ jobs. Show up on parents’ weekend with flyers that shame the school and question their children’s safety. Have the flyer provide contact information for appropriate powerholders. Tell your membership to ask their parents to call or write as well.

Flyers For Touring Prospective Students: An embarrassing and very threatening action. Effective, but likely to anger administrators. Not to be taken lightly.

Question and Answer Sessions (Accountability Sessions): Arrange a public meeting with powerholders, then predetermine pointed questions for your membership to ask that will create an embarrassing, uncomfortable situation for the powerholders. You should only hold something like this if you can organize at least fifty people to come. It is also important to keep accountability sessions polite and orderly. Unnecessary rudeness will only anger your powerholders and give you a bad reputation on campus.

Publicity Stunts: This tactic can be as varied as you make it. For example, a school reporting zero rapes on campus offers great opportunities for media-worthy publicity stunts. Having a few survivors stand in front of the President’s office holding signs attesting to the inaccuracy of the statistic could create an embarrassing day for the school, especially if it occurs on parents’ weekend and several reporters are present.
Marches and Rallies: These can be effective, but students tend to spend a lot of energy on these actions and therefore pay less than adequate attention to other responsibilities. Marches and rallies may show popular support, but this is only useful if it serves to pressure your powerholder(s). Before arranging a march or rally, you should be certain that you can organize a large enough crowd and produce media or some other means of embarrassing your powerholder(s).

Sit-ins and General Student Strikes: Sit-ins are generally the act of civil disobedience that college activists prefer. Don’t attempt hardball tactics like this until you know you can successfully carry them out and only when there are no alternatives. General student strikes are even harder, and you will need a massive majority of students to make them work. In all cases of civil disobedience, you should undergo appropriate training well in advance (through activists from organizations like ACT UP and the Ruckus Society) and be aware of potential disciplinary or police action against you.

Questionable tactics

- **Hunger strikes:** Hunger strikes can be successful if they are carefully planned and executed, but with a constituency that includes many young women, hunger strikes can be dangerous due to the possibility that they could worsen eating disorders.

- **Polite requests from small groups of students:** Any form of negotiation must recognize the subordinate power-status of students in relation to administrators. You are not an administrator’s power equal, and administrators will not treat you as their equal unless you give yourself the power to deal with them on an equal basis. Reliance on the benevolence of authority is something we are taught early in life, and it’s a very good tactic for maintaining the current power balance. It is not a useful tactic for getting what you want.

- **Violence:** Not only is violence ineffective, its use runs counter to the goals of any progressive movement (especially an anti-violence movement).
Coalition building

While most student groups on campus have little political power on their own, by understanding the common problems that student groups on a given campus encounter and building coalitions around these concerns, groups can increase their power and win improvements that they otherwise would be unable to win. Coalition building can be an important step in student movements, but it is a difficult task and it should be handled carefully.

• Form coalitions if and when it will help you win victories that you otherwise would not be able to win.

• Before you begin, determine within your organization what you want out of the coalition and carefully choose which organizations you want to work with.

• Take your time—building a coalition is like building a relationship.

• Remember to include all groups that have a stake in the issue and agree with your goals. Don’t just form coalitions with the feminist or anti-violence groups on your campus. Remember the Black Women’s Alliance, the queer group, the progressive fraternity/sorority, etc.

• Ensure that all parties clearly state their expectations from the coalition at the start of your work together. Be sure that everyone involved understands the purpose, requirements and scope of your coalition.

• Allow the coalition some autonomy to act without explicit consent of the membership of all organizations involved. Determine beforehand how much autonomy is possible. Don’t allow a coalition so much freedom that it will undermine the missions of the member groups, but don’t micromanage. If a member organization is unwilling to give a representative the autonomy to make some independent decisions within the coalition, seriously reconsider the wisdom of building a coalition with that group.

• Always send the same representative to coalition meetings, and have member organizations agree to do the same. If your representative will be graduating soon, have the representative start bringing an underclassman to meetings to observe and later take over the responsibilities of being your group’s representative (be sure this is cleared with the other coalition members first).

• Find an independent, trained facilitator to head your meetings. This person should be someone all parties can trust and who will fairly mediate disagreements.
• Watch for re-creation of societal prejudices. Don’t allow male coalition representatives to silence women, or those representing mostly white organizations to force their views on members representing groups of other ethnicities. Ensure that meetings are disciplined enough to prevent the strongest personality from dominating and silencing others.

• Always create ground rules at the beginning of the first meeting of the coalition, and post them in the room at each meeting.
fourth, media

**Self-made publicity: communicating your message**

Self-made publicity is extremely important, because your group will have complete control over its content. Your campus may have some other means of communication available, but there are three basic types of self-made publicity available at any school: posters, flyers and creative handouts.

**Posters**

Posters are an excellent means of recruitment and communication on college campuses, but they are often neglected or poorly done.

All posters should be:

**Persuasive:** Your audience should walk away believing that you are right. Even better, they should be inspired to take action.

**Indisputable:** All facts you put forward should be checked and checked again. Don’t use controversial statistics.

**Non-Dogmatic:** Your audience will not respond well to self-righteousness or preaching. Give them information in a way that encourages them to come to desired conclusions.

**Educational:** All posters should include information that will further your audience’s understanding of the issue.
STUDENTS ACTIVE FOR ENDING RAPE

Clear: Your audience should be able to understand clearly what you are trying to convey within five seconds of reading the poster.

Uniform: Pick a visual format and stay with it. Your audience should immediately recognize the posters your group creates.

Brief: No matter how valid your points are, no one will read posters with many lines of text (unless they are used in bathroom stalls).

Entertaining: Your audience will not read posters unless they consistently offer an entertainment value worth their time. Evoke emotions like hope, humor, anger and empathy to keep your audience’s attention.

Prolific: You should put up 1 poster for every 10 undergraduate students at your school every single week! (That’s 100 posters for every 1000 students.) Fewer posters will not reach an effective level of saturation and people might ignore your message. To keep your audience’s interest, you should also create at least three new posters per week and use those posters to get your message out.

Flyers

Flyers can be used to convey information in more detail than posters can communicate. They can be handed out, slipped under doors or placed in piles in places where students gather.

Flyers should have all of the qualities that posters do (except brevity), but they should also offer a more in-depth understanding of your issue. Flyer can be an excellent way to explain the complex concerns that can arise with extremely dense and convoluted policies. People are generally more likely to read posters than flyers, so if it is possible to get a point across by using the shorter format, it is usually best.

Creative handouts

Creative handouts can take almost any form, and they can be an excellent way to get your audience’s attention. They should have all of the qualities of posters and flyers, but they may provide more entertainment value than conventional means of communication.

Some examples of creative handouts:

- Fake Advertisements
- Parodies of Campus Security or Administrative Announcements
- Humorous Questionnaires
- Stickers/Bumper Stickers
- Newsletters

**Sample posters**

Here are some samples of posters that fulfill the criteria described above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Where will you be November 12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>After years of postponement, Columbia University Senate will decide the fate of your Sexual Misconduct Policy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;, 12:15 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March to the Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnard Hall Steps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Students Active For Ending Rape)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0 is not Accurate.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>According to Federal Law, Columbia University is mandated to collect and publicize Accurate statistics regarding incidents of sexual misconduct reported to Any official responsible for the welfare of students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Students Active For Ending Rape)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FACT: Those responsible for carrying out the disciplinary procedures of Columbia’s Sexual Misconduct Policy receive only 15 minutes of training to address “psychological issues surrounding sexual assault.”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March to the Senate Meeting 12:15pm November 12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnard Hall Steps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Students Active For Ending Rape)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change Happens.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAFER</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Students Active For Ending Rape)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Using the media strategically

Media can be an important part of progressive movements’ success. Media can also be a movement killer. Propaganda is an important mechanism for societal control, and those who control the media have a tremendous amount of authority.

It is important to use the media to your advantage if possible, but you must recognize that each step of using the media requires careful strategic thought and that the media may turn on you easily. As a progressive activist, you should always expect that media might turn hostile toward you.

Strategic use of media requires four basic elements:

1. Getting coverage
2. Getting coverage with your spin (coverage that will pressure powerholders to give you what you want)
3. Getting coverage with strategic timing
4. Avoiding hostile coverage

The following sections provide some guidance for achieving these elements.

Media tip sheet

Basics

• Know your goals. In each interaction with media, you should have specific, measurable goals.

• Keep your answers simple and quotable, and never stray from your message. Always mentally review your key points before speaking with a reporter.

• Reporters like to chum it up with you before asking questions. Don’t trust reporters to be honest or straightforward no matter how friendly they seem.

• Never act rude toward reporters, no matter how hostile they are.

• Your group’s spokespeople should always be polite, friendly and clean-cut.

• Take down the contact info of every media representative you speak with in order to build your group’s press list and follow up on the story.
• Only speak on issues about which you are fully informed and that are relevant to your goals. Don’t go on record speculating or editorializing about unfamiliar events or issues.

• Keep perspective by regularly speaking to people outside of your group about how you are being perceived.

**Getting coverage**

• Get to know the reporters at your school newspaper, especially the editorial board. Collect a list of people willing to write sympathetic articles.

• Provide reporters with original research, photos or references that may make for an interesting story. For example, initiate a “stories project” to collect anonymous stories of sexual assault on your campus.

• Monitor media to find potentially sympathetic reporters or editorial writers and contact them personally.

• Carefully take advantage of existing stories to get your message out. Avoid appearing opportunistic when you do this.

• Don’t just look for coverage in the mainstream media. Represent yourself to a diversity of audiences. The LGBTQ community, for example, often turns to specialty news sources for information.

• Don’t call the press unless you have a story that you believe they will find worthwhile (they will start ignoring you if you call them without real news).

**Getting coverage with your spin**

• Set a time limit at the beginning of interviews (e.g. “I have class at 1:00, so is it okay if we finish by 12:45?”). Say that you need to leave at a certain time, and then do so.

• Carefully craft your message to be a clear, simple, easily reportable statement (frame your message).

• Find “respected authorities” who will publicly support your goals.

• Repeat yourself! If you have to, do it word for word. Reporters will ask the same questions many times in different ways in an effort to make you say something controversial. Your goal should be to find a way to repeat your framed message and four proposals as many times as possible.
• Turn questions you don’t want to or can’t answer into opportunities for promoting your goals. Politicians call this “bridging an issue” (finding a way to stay on message regardless of what you are asked.)

Getting coverage with strategic timing

• Coordinate media-worthy events to correspond with decisions being made by your powerholder.

• When possible, ask reporters or editorial writers whom you have a good relationship with to provide coverage at strategic points in your campaign.

• Find out the deadlines for media outlets and hold events at times that will be convenient for reporters.

• When possible, hold events on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays in the late morning.

Avoiding hostile coverage

• Know your strengths and weaknesses. What are the criticisms you are likely to face? Do any of your leaders have disciplinary or police records or have they said or done embarrassing things in the past?

• Know the strengths and weaknesses of opposition groups.

• Preempt criticism by addressing your potential weaknesses before they do—turn your weaknesses into strengths.

• Refer to the guidelines in this manual in the sections entitled “Dealing with misogyny,” “Sample hostile questions” and “The opposition.”

• Always speak respectfully of your opposition and their viewpoints. Don’t let your anger get the best of you.

• Before beginning an interview, ask reporters what their spin is and who else they are talking to. (These are standard questions. Don’t feel shy about asking.)

• Look for the “hidden statement” in reporters’ questions/statements (are they trying to get you to say something you don’t want to be quoted on?).

• Don’t try to change a hostile journalist’s mind.

• Treat hostile stories as if they are not news. Although there is a temptation to continually think of new arguments against your opposition, this only fuels
media controversy. Always maintain the same response to a controversy (the media will get bored and stop bothering you), and when you answer questions about it, begin with statements like, “as I have already stated several times in the past…”

- Respond to criticisms promptly. Don’t give your critics’ statements validity by leaving them unchallenged.

- Don’t let the negativity of the attack overshadow the important work you are doing.

- Don’t try for national news coverage unless you really need it. There are many national conservative organizations with much more money and power than your group. Some conservative think tanks have their interns comb through newspapers in search of a weak progressive target to attack. If they hear about your work, they may begin a hostile media campaign. Similarly, if you live in a large city with a local newspaper that is read nationally, you may consider focusing on school news coverage.

Key Terms

Press Release: A press release is a basic one to two page long summary of the story you would like to see reported. It should include the who, what, when, where, and why of your story.

Press Kit: Press kits are a more detailed way of communicating with journalists, and can be used as handouts for members of the media attending your events, or as outreach materials or background for reporters working on a story. A press kit should be brief but informative. Include your group’s statement of purpose, a brief background of the story and your group, your press release, the full text of any speech you make, copies of publishable pictures relevant to your story, and full contact information for people you would like the media to contact for further information (these contacts don’t all have to be members of your group—for example, you may want to refer a reporter to the local rape crisis center for a quote regarding the number of college students they see—just be sure to notify people before you provide their contact information).

Daybook: The Associated Press, Reuters and United Press International maintain listings of upcoming events of interest to news media. This is called a “daybook,” and it is an excellent way of publicizing an event with reporters. It’s a good idea to call and send a press release a week before and again two days before your event to be sure it is listed.
Op-ed: Op-eds are the long opinion pieces generally found next to the letters to the editor in a newspaper. They should contain no more than 750 words.

Letters to the editor: Letters to the editor should contain no more than 150 words.

B-roll: Basic video footage for television reports. It's a good idea to find a friendly film major who will take a few minutes of video at your event that can be provided to interested media outlets afterward. The video should show compelling visual images as opposed to talking heads—the reporter will probably supply a voiceover. Check with local stations for the format they prefer.

Education Desk/City Desk/National Desk/Women's Desk: Journalists are often divided into specialties within their media outlet. When you make cold calls to media, you should ask for the desk that is most likely to represent reporters interested in your story.
How to write a press release

1. Most releases begin with the following introduction: “FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE”.

2. Include an address and phone number where the media can contact you.

3. Title your release with a concise and attention-grabbing headline similar to those you would see in a newspaper.

4. The location and date of your event should be the first three words of your release.

5. Your first paragraph should be an introduction that covers all of your major points.

6. Go on to include quotes and facts that illustrate your main points.

7. Explain why the story is important, relevant and newsworthy.

8. Include further contact information if applicable.

The following is an example of a successful press release. It was used by living wage activists at Harvard to publicize their sit-in in April of 2001.
Press Release 4/18/01

For Immediate release 4/18/01 1:23 PM

HARVARD STUDENTS BEGIN SIT-IN FOR LIVING WAGES

At 1:23 today at Harvard University, approximately forty students and community supporters began a peaceful sit-in, demanding a living wage and benefits for all Harvard workers. The group locked arms and entered Massachusetts Hall, which houses the offices of Harvard's President.

The protesters insist that America's oldest and richest university pay all its workers at least $10.25 per hour, the same living wage paid by the City of Cambridge. This living wage would affect more than 1000 direct and subcontracted Harvard employees.

Harvard increasingly contracts out its security, meal service, and custodial work to firms paying as little as $6.50 per hour. According to a study by Wider Opportunities for Women, a family with two wage-earners and one child requires at least $11.41 per hour to live in the Cambridge area. Neighboring universities MIT, BU, and Northeastern pay all custodians at least $14 per hour. "The University is encouraging a social crisis on campus. They refused to listen to our petitions or the voices of Harvard workers. We can't stand by and let this happen," said Jane Martin, one of the protesters.

Harvard's endowment has swelled to over $19 billion, an increase of over $6 billion in the 2 years since the campaign began. A living wage policy would cost less than one half of 1% of the interest on that endowment.

Over the last two years, the University has consistently failed to address workers' conditions. The Harvard Corporation, the University's governing board, has refused to meet with members of the Living Wage Campaign. Although the University appointed a committee last year to investigate its employment policies, the committee spoke with only one worker during its 17 meetings and did not directly respond to Harvard's poverty wages. Last week, outgoing president Neil Rudenstine told members of the Living Wage Campaign that the University would not reopen the issue.

Twenty-seven student groups, including the undergraduate student government and the student newspaper, have endorsed the living wage. Additionally, over 90 Harvard faculty members, the Cambridge City Council, all 8 unions representing Harvard workers, and national figures including Julian Bond, Jesse Jackson, and Robert Reich have endorsed the campaign. "The living wage is a necessity," said one Harvard guard who asked to remain anonymous, noting that he works seventy-hour weeks.

"All we're asking is that Harvard live up to its own ideals," said Jennifer Wagner, one of the protesters. "The people who make Harvard work simply deserve a living wage."

What: Peaceful sit-in for a living wage plus benefits for Harvard employees
Where: Massachusetts Hall, Harvard Yard, Cambridge, MA
Contacts: (Phone number), or (Beeper number)
www.livingwagenow.com

Copyright 2001 Harvard Living Wage Campaign (used with permission)
How to write an editorial

Writing a guest editorial for your school or local newspaper is a powerful way to draw attention to your proposals for change. Like any other type of writing, editorials vary greatly depending on the writer's own style. The guide below offers help in composing a basic, straightforward persuasive writing piece; editorials will always benefit from a writer's own creative additions, such as compelling anecdotes and strong, impassioned language, particularly in the introductory and concluding paragraphs.

1. **Organize your thoughts.** Make sure you have a clear objective in mind when writing the piece. Carefully select your arguments and order them in a fashion that will guide your reader, step by step, to understanding your stance. Omit any tangential information that could be distracting to the reader in following your points and in ultimately concurring with your argument; remember that most readers are not as familiar with the issue as you are.

2. **State your argument in the introduction.** While flowery and creative introductions will help you grab and maintain the reader's attention, remember to clearly articulate your point right away, much like a thesis sentence that explicitly describes your stance. Example: “In turn, the University should/should not…”

3. **Make your points.** This is key, since it is based upon this information that the reader will or will not be persuaded by your overall argument. Evidence will make up the bulk of the body of the editorial, and you should make each point in a separate paragraph. Make sure that the points logically follow one another.

4. **Cite evidence.** Statistics or other authoritative information such as quotations can be helpful. The more legitimate, established and non-partisan the source, the more persuasive your argument. Avoid using clearly partisan sources such as politically-gear ed think tanks or other organizations with a clear political agenda. Although much can be gained by citing specific evidence, this may also be damaging. Make sure you are fully familiar with the studies you choose to cite, as citing faulty or discredited information may cost you your credibility.

5. **Anticipate the opposing arguments.** An editorial is much stronger when you meet the opposition’s arguments head on and debunk them, rather than dodging them and allowing them to go uncountered in the reader’s mind. After making your own points, dedicate at least one paragraph to debunking the opposition’s strongest and most well-disseminated argument. Do not intentionally mischaracterize these arguments if the readership is likely to be familiar with them. This may give the impression that you are unable to counter these arguments and will thereby dissuade the reader, regardless of how good your own points were. Outline the opposing argument (without
giving too much space or elaboration), and follow it with your counter-argument. Point out any flaws in the opposing argument’s reasoning or other inconsistencies, as well as making a content-based counterargument. For example, “The opposition claims….However, …”

6. **Go out with a bang.** A strong conclusion can be of great help in persuading a reader. Review your main points and restate your position, utilizing strong language and humorous or creative twists that will further convince and entertain the reader. Do not dwell too much on the details you have already explained, but demonstrate that all of your points together make a logical, coherent and convincing whole.
fifth, case studies

These case studies are intended to illustrate what can go right or wrong during an effort to reform sexual assault policies. Every movement is different, and each one will have its own mistakes and triumphs. You can learn from the experience of others, and we encourage you to reach out to students from other schools who are working on similar issues.

The movement at Columbia University

On an April night in 1998, Barnard and Columbia students gathered for the annual Take Back the Night march and speakout. Despite terrible weather, more than a thousand students attended. Chanting marchers paused outside of the darkened windows of University President George Rupp's house and raised their voices a notch. Their chant, "University silence perpetuates the violence," expressed a restless frustration building amongst students. Although everybody knew that sexual assault was disturbingly common at Columbia, the University had once again reported zero forcible sexual assaults in its annual count of on-campus crimes.

At the speakout, students heard the reason for this. One after the other, survivors stood up to tell stories of administrators who ignored and ridiculed their complaints. Rather than risk the tarnished image that would come with an acknowledgement of crime on campus, University officials disregarded complaints and encouraged survivors to leave school.

Those students who did manage to use University disciplinary procedures found themselves forced to jump through impossible bureaucratic hoops, and often never discovered the result of their complaint. The only survivor at the speakout who had "successfully" used the procedures found that her attacker, who had raped her twice, was punished with a suspension that was never carried out.
It was clear that something needed to change. In the Barnard-Columbia Rape Crisis Center, students began to organize. As crisis counselors, members of the center had seen firsthand the insensitivity of Columbia administrators and the systematic retraumatization of survivors who attempted to use University disciplinary procedures. A small group devoted to policy change quickly established itself.

The Policy Reform Organization (PRO) was a lobbying group, and throughout the 1998-1999 school year, members of PRO used all available administrative channels to promote a list of four suggestions for policy improvement. The group had meticulously researched the policy and the legal issues surrounding it, and armed with this knowledge, they brought their complaints, in the form of a petition, to any administrator who would listen.

The group found themselves stonewalled. Administrators insisted that the disciplinary procedures—which had fallen into total disuse by students due to their horrendous reputation—were flawless, often refusing to concede that even a single change was necessary. Requests for improved educational efforts were met with equal resistance and hostility.

Heads of the Rape Crisis Center began to express nervousness at pressure from above to cease the “political” activities of its student members, and to voice concern about the future of the Center’s funding. When members of PRO met with the head of Barnard security, he suggested that rape survivors would be best served by the elimination of the Rape Crisis Center.

In the face of an obviously resistant administration, students met with a professional lobbyist who had fought for changes to the policy years before. This former student activist now made her living as an attorney and lobbyist specializing in dealings with college administrators. Her experience had led her to one conclusion: any change to school policy that could affect the University’s monetary base would require intense pressure in the form of a large grassroots movement. In the case of the sexual assault policy, the changes proposed by students could result in higher report rates of sexual assault on campus, which could result in turn in lower school rankings and fewer applications.

In fact, Columbia’s approach to sexual assault was far from unique. Across the country, universities reported that few or no sexual assaults had occurred on their campuses each year. No college wanted to be the first to admit that sexual assault was occurring at crisis levels on its campus.

It became clear that change would require a large-scale student movement, and that the Rape Crisis Center, as a service-provider and administrative body, could not undertake organization of such a movement. A member of PRO volunteered to form a grassroots student group at the start of the next year.
The strategy of this campaign was carefully laid out in advance, based on a lesson learned from the women’s suffrage and civil rights movements. In these movements, change had required more moderate groups, focused on maneuvering existing systems to create change, and it had required more forceful groups, focused on organizing and direct action. Rather than allowing this to occur accidentally, members made a conscious choice to pursue such a strategy. PRO would become solely a lobbying group focused on working with the administration, while the new group would organize students and form a grassroots base.

In the fall of 1999, SAFER (Students Active For Ending Rape) was formed. The newly formed group would organize Columbia students to work for a better policy. SAFER claimed red tape (symbolic of the bureaucracy that students had encountered as survivors and of the administrative resistance to change) as its symbol, and decided that until the policy was changed, they would wear red tape on their arms and bags, and that all SAFER posters would be hung with red tape.

Students’ anger over the issue had been brewing for years, and as SAFER members hung the group’s first provocative posters, students literally ran after them and offered their help. By October, most undergraduate students at Columbia wore the red tape, and SAFER had expanded from its four founding members to a group of over 150 students.

By the time of SAFER’s founding, it had been three years since an administrative review of the policy had begun. The Task Force on the Sexual Misconduct Policy (a subcommittee of the Columbia Senate charged with the Policy’s review) would present its findings on November 12, 1999. The resolutions they would present would be the product of years of debate and consideration.

SAFER planned a student march to the Columbia Senate meeting on the 12th, hoping that the suggested changes to the policy would be positive, and that a large student presence would encourage their passage.

A week before the Senate meeting, the Task Force released its recommendations. They were worse than students had ever imagined. The recommendations were carelessly put together—full of typographical errors and poorly written. Worse, the “new” policy failed to address a single point on the petition, which, with the help of SAFER, had by then garnered more than 1800 signatures.

The march became a protest of the recommendations. On the 12th, Columbia’s 70 senators were accompanied by 400 angry students wearing red tape. Inside the meeting, members of PRO presented the nearly two thousand petition signatures to the head of the Senate, University President George Rupp. The packed room erupted in shouts and applause, and the silence surrounding sexual assault at Columbia had been broken.
The Senate debated the recommendations for four hours, finally discussing issues that had been ignored for years. President Rupp agreed that sexual assault had been “egregiously underreported here [at Columbia],” and provided the Task Force with a new mandate to address the problems facing the policy, even giving it license to hire a new staff member if necessary.

The next three months were full of extensive campus discussion on the policy. SAFER formed a coalition with other student groups including PRO, and created a detailed proposal for the Task Force. The proposal, which outlined specific suggestions for improvements to every area of the policy, was presented to the Task Force and circulated to all University Senators. Finally, a set of much-improved recommendations, supported by SAFER, was presented. Most of SAFER’s efforts now would be focused on getting the new recommendations passed by the University Senate.

One week before the vote, SAFER leaders underwent a publicized civil-disobedience training session. The group, wishing to avoid civil disobedience but aware that all other options had been exhausted, agreed that openly undergoing such training would serve as notice of students’ willingness to embarrass the school with an act of civil disobedience, while lessening the likelihood that they would have to do so.

The training enabled SAFER leaders to plan a highly organized act of civil disobedience. The few days before the vote were spent organizing the potential action and working on some last-minute lobbying. Three press releases were prepared—one to publicize the coming vote, one to publicize a victory by SAFER and one to publicize an action by SAFER. The first press release was sent to various news organizations a week before and the day before the vote. One of the other two would be used immediately after the vote.

With little to do but wait, SAFER members held a final meeting early on the morning of the vote. All agreed that they were willing to risk University discipline and arrest for the change that a better policy would bring. The rest of the morning was spent burning restless energy by handing out flyers.

Finally, the Senate meeting began. The mood in the meeting was tense. Columbia’s Office of Public Affairs placed a last-minute ban on media and forced all reporters off campus. Students, who again filled the Senate meeting to overflowing, were further agitated when the heads of the Senate, fearing civil disobedience, forced a student reporter to turn off her camera.

Debate on the policy lasted several hours. The Task Force presented each point and heard all questions or objections. Several harmful amendments were suggested and struck down. Finally, each resolution of the proposed policy was passed, all but one unanimously. It had been an exhausting campaign, but the improvements it brought were real.
That April, Columbia students again marched with Take Back the Night. This time, the tone was different. When students reached President Rupp’s house, they did not find darkened windows and a closed door, as they had every previous year. Instead, President Rupp stood outside his door, waiting for the marchers. He gave them a nod—acknowledging and supporting their presence, before he headed back inside.

**What did Columbia activists do that helped their movement?**

Of course, no movement always goes smoothly, but activists at Columbia did several things that strengthened their movement:

- They formed coalitions with other groups on campus, including a lobbying group with similar aims.
- They used a very visible and wearable sign of support (red tape).
- They used a combination of tactics that allowed them to escalate their protest as needed (from petitions to flyering to marches).
- They used the media strategically.
- Though they did not resort to civil disobedience, they underwent training for it, signaling their dedication to follow through on their demands.

**The movement at Brown University**

Brown University is very similar to Columbia. It is a fairly liberal Ivy League university in a metropolitan area. Brown University also had problems with their sexual assault policy. But when Brown students attempted to pursue a student movement to improve their policy, they met with disaster. The uproar over a single case many years ago still haunts the anti-violence movement at Brown. Improvements to the policy seem nearly impossible, with the only debate at this point being between administrators who desire less oversight and conservatives who want the policy to be virtually impossible to use. Activists at Brown estimate that the damage has been so great that survivors are unlikely to use Brown’s sexual assault disciplinary procedures for years to come.

At Brown, debate began over a single case. A student claimed that she had been raped; the University found the accused guilty of sexual misconduct and sentenced him to a semester of suspension. Later the charge was reduced to “flagrant disrespect” and the sentence changed to a two-semester probation. Students felt that the punishment was inadequate and began a protest of the policy. Some demanded the immediate
expulsion of the accused. Almost immediately, the campus became polarized. Some students supported the accused in his claims of innocence, others believed he was guilty and deserved nothing less than expulsion. When the media arrived, anti-violence activists were unprepared, and their goals came across as a desire to punish one student.

The most damaging moment in the Brown debacle came when John Stossel, a journalist known for his propensity to sensationalism and inaccurate reporting, brought the ABC news magazine “20/20” to Brown’s campus. Highlights of the exchange between Stossel and activists (as reported by the Brown Daily Herald [1/30/97] and activists at Brown) follow:

Stossel: What is your definition of rape? I think of rape as a situation in which a man is holding down a woman at gun or knife point.

(Heated exchange between Stossel and crowd takes place—Stossel insults activists, tells them to “fuck off,” and taunts them. One student pulls the plug on his equipment in anger.)

Rally Attendee: You’re trying to make this look like we’re divided by gender, and we’re not. Men aren’t victimized. Why don’t you look into the [sexual misconduct case the University Disciplinary Committee (UDC) refused to hear]?

Stossel: America doesn’t give a damn about the UDC. Why would I want to talk about the UDC on national television?

What is rape? Is it rape just because a woman is drunk?

(An activist begins to read Stossel the Brown University definition of sexual misconduct.)

Stossel: I’m glad that for $30,000 you’ve at least learned how to read.

(More arguing between Stossel and activists)

Stossel: What about if a woman is drunk? Doesn’t she have a responsibility to assess the situation?

(More arguing—rally attendees move away from Stossel and begin to chant “rape is not TV hype.” A group of men who have been observing crowds around Stossel.)

Stossel: Do students have a speech code? Is your speech limited?
Observer #1: They are drowning you out right now, so what does that say about the freedom to exercise opinions on this campus?

Stossel: Is there a certain way that Brown students are supposed to speak? Are there a sex police and a speech police?

(A criticism of anti-violence activists ensues)

Observer #2: As a black man, I can say that if a white woman on this campus accused me of rape, I would be gone within the week. That’s just how it is.

(Stossel proposes that men at Brown are treated unequally and that women get special privileges.)

Predictably, Stossel edited the piece to reflect his views. He edited out his own angry comments, his taunting of activists, and any intelligent responses activists could give to his questions. The final product made the rally look like a mob scene, with activists represented as unreasonable and hysterically angry. Stossel’s ultimate aim—to “prove” that political correctness had gone so far as to punish innocent men for rape—was the only one that his report served, and Stossel’s was the only opinion that was represented.

What mistakes were made by Brown activists?

The forces aligned against activists at Brown were much more powerful than a small group of students, and realistically students could not have prevented or effectively responded to the powerful conservative attack once the Right caught wind of their movement. But where were the weaknesses of the activists at Brown? What mistakes can future movements avoid?

• No efforts were made to control campus media.

• They did not frame their issue.

• They did not develop relationships with sympathetic media outlets.

• They didn’t use one spokesperson to represent them to the media. Instead, they relied on an undisciplined, angry group.

• They attempted to convince obviously hostile press of their points.

• They didn’t prepare for media coverage by researching the journalist who was reporting (with less than 10 minutes of Internet research, they would have known that John Stossel is hyper-conservative and has a questionable ethical
record. A few viewings of his reports would have given insight into his interviewing technique).

- Specific demands were not made clear.
- They allowed and encouraged focus on one case by trying to force punishment of a specific student.
- They did not show sensitivity to issues of ethnicity and race.
- They did not perform sufficient recruitment.
- They did not maintain control of their event (civil-disobedience training would have helped).
- They did not research and understand their opposition.
sixth, troubleshooting

Lots of things can go wrong, and will, during a movement to reform a school sexual assault policy. But if you’re prepared, you can prevent some obstacles from becoming insurmountable.

Treating survivors with sensitivity

Thinking about sexual assault can be painful. For women and many men, sexual assault represents a terrifying potentiality. For survivors, mention of sexual assault can bring up extremely distressing memories. On one hand, there is great risk in publicly speaking about sexual assault. On the other, the silence surrounding sexual assault is a crippling force. Silence leaves survivors feeling disconnected and alone, and prevents our society from facing the scope and nature of this epidemic. Breaking that silence is a powerful act. Finding a way to do so without increasing women’s fear of attack or causing survivors undue pain is a difficult task, but it is one we must face. In this section, we list some ways to address the issue with more sensitivity. The list is by no means exhaustive. Think for yourself and use good judgment.

• Never, ever, ever release the name of a survivor without his or her consent.

• Don’t focus on an individual case, even if the survivor has given you consent. This will place the survivor in the situation of constantly having to hear the details of his or her own assault from unaware strangers.

• Don’t make blanket statements about what survivors should or should not do (go to the police, etc.). Sexual assault places an individual in a situation over which he or she has no control. After an assault, it is important that a sense of agency be restored. Making demands of survivors hinders this, and perpetuates a system of victim-blaming.

• When survivors tell you their stories (this will happen eventually), do not press for details or demand anything of them. Simply listen well, and try to offer
them whatever information they are seeking. Sometimes it is a good idea to give the number for a local rape crisis center.

- Understand that different communities have different responses to sexual assault, and respond accordingly. Religion, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, class and any number of other factors affect perceptions of sexual assault. Work to communicate effectively with as many different types of people as possible.

- Be aware that sexual assault is very common and that many of the people you speak to will be survivors themselves. Expect unexpected emotional outbursts and awkward situations, and try not to be caught off guard.

Treating sexual assault with seriousness and sensitivity does not mean treating the issue “delicately.” In fact, doing so would lessen your effectiveness and ignore the seriousness of the problem. Sexual assault and the policies that condone it should always be challenged forcefully. Sensitivity simply means considering the emotional reactions that your actions could create. It does not mean treating the issue of sexual assault with less urgency, nor does it mean abandoning your sense of humor or your anger.

Dealing with misogyny

As soon as your movement picks up steam on campus, the Right will be looking hard for something to criticize. Although social convention prevents them from stating that they don’t believe that rape is a real problem, some people hold a belief that women are unpredictable and dishonest when it comes to accusations of sexual assault. These people believe that women often make false accusations and that feminists exaggerate the extent of sexual violence. They fear that sexual assault disciplinary procedures will become “witch hunts,” that persecute all men regardless of their actions.

While these fears are irrational for any number of reasons, in the course of your work you will encounter conservative attempts to stall your efforts. Although this cannot be completely avoided, SAFER has found some ways to reduce the amount of effective sexist opposition to anti-violence efforts.

Strategy tips:

- Be absolutely certain that no one in your group ever publicly refers to accused students in general as “he” or to survivors as “she.” By doing this, you avoid marginalizing male or lesbian survivors, and you postpone being labeled “anti-male.”

“I listen to feminists and all these radical gals - most of them are failures. They've blown it. Some of them have been married, but they married some Casper Milquetoast who asked permission to go to the bathroom. These women just need a man in the house. That's all they need. Most of the feminists need a man to tell them what time of day it is and to lead them home. And they blew it and they're mad at all men. Feminists hate men. They're sexist. They hate men - that's their problem.”

-Jerry Falwell
• Make it clear that your group is open to men. Recruit men. Try to have a man who can make effective public statements on behalf of your group. If your group is for women only, it will draw fire for being anti-male.

• If your reform efforts address school disciplinary procedures, don’t focus on efforts to make the procedures tougher on the accused. The best way to ensure fairness is not by tipping the scales in favor of the survivor, but by creating a system that has extensive oversight by people trained to understand the dynamics of sexual assault.

• Keep the focus on survivors and their experiences.

• Never focus on a specific case. This will immediately polarize your campus and paralyze your efforts. Bad handling of sexual assault cases is a social problem not an individual one.

• Even if you think of this as a “feminist” cause, publicly refer to yourself as an anti-violence activist, and your group as an anti-violence group. If you call your group feminist, you will alienate many potential supporters. Most people do not understand what feminism is and they may hold negative opinions of it. Besides, the scope of feminism extends far beyond what you will be trying to accomplish in this specific instance.

• Before you make your group public, do your research and have distinct goals. If you do not know everything you can about the law and the history of your school’s policy, it will damage your cause—perhaps irreparably. Have all possible arguments worked out in your mind before they take place. Anticipate points of difference and neutralize them before they polarize your campus.

• Keep the community informed. Find creative ways to dispel myths while you publicize your cause.

• If possible, try to have a few anonymous stories of mistreatment by the administration recorded in writing before you go public as a group. These stories will serve as proof that a problem exists, and will make it much more difficult for opposition to organize itself.

• Don’t mention potential dissenting opinions before they are voiced. Stress the necessity of your proposed changes and handle opposition as it comes.

• Consult a local rape crisis center to find more information about common myths and misperceptions surrounding sexual assault. This will allow you to anticipate criticism before it is leveled.
Opposition

The power of your opposition can greatly affect how successful you will be. It is important to understand the tactics of any group or individuals working against you so that you can successfully counteract those tactics.

While understanding opposition groups is important, it is equally important to understand that it is your powerholder(s), not your opposition, who can give you what you want, and it is your powerholder(s) who should receive most of your attention.

Know your opposition

Most people working to create safer campus communities are incredulous that anyone would spend a lot of time or resources to oppose such a seemingly uncontroversial cause. But the opposition to campus rape-prevention programs, rape crisis centers and sexual assault disciplinary procedures is in fact a highly organized, deeply funded, well-connected and media-savvy movement that you need to take very seriously from day one of your campaign.

The opposition to campus anti-rape programs and policies is a tiny piece of a much larger movement, powered by conservative foundations and think tanks, which we will call the “Anti-Political Correctness Movement.” This movement was spawned by a loose coalition of the Christian Right, free-market conservatives and libertarians, all seeking to resist imagined cultural threats from the successes of the feminist and civil rights movements in the 1960s and 1970s. The 1970s saw the founding of several New Right institutions that today make up the heavyweights of the conservative idea machine: the Heritage Foundation, the Free Congress Foundation, the National Journalism Center and the Leadership Institute.

The movement came into its own in the 1980s, ridiculing “multiculturalism” in school curricula, campus hate speech codes, affirmative action, diversity training programs, and sexual harassment and assault policies. Books like Profscam, Cultural Literacy and Illiberal Education, and articles like “The Tenured Left” and “The Campus: Island of Repression in a Sea of Freedom,” fueled a media image of campuses as out-of-control “commie strongholds” run by students and professors mired in endless identity politics.

Today, this successful movement is a strictly ordered machine of wealthy corporate funders, think tanks, leadership trainings, media networks, grassroots campus initiatives and legal foundations ready to pounce on any cookie-cutter case of campus “political correctness” with the full force of their resources.

Perhaps the most confounding success of the Anti-Political Correctness movement is its mastery of language and rhetoric that has traditionally been deployed by progressive organizers. A prime example of “stealth conservatism,” the Anti-PC movement appropriates the language of progressivism deliberately to confuse and divide...
moderates, make you appear extreme, take away the language you use to defend your work, and conceal their true agenda. This “stealth” strategy makes the Anti-Pcers even more difficult to counter.

The language that these organizations use in their names and titles gives insight into this strategy; upon looking at their titles, what would you imagine the goals of the following organizations to be?

The American Civil Rights Institute

The American Civil Rights Institute (ACRI) is headed by Ward Connerly, who, with backing from national right-wing leaders, effectively ended affirmative action in California with Proposition 209.

The Center for Equal Opportunity

Bush II nominee Linda Chavez heads the Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO). Chavez has played a major role in generating negative media spin around diversity policies for nearly two decades.

The Center for New Black Leadership

The Center for New Black Leadership (CNBL) identifies and promotes young black conservatives to serve as mouthpieces for conservative causes. CNBL has provided key spokespersons, such as Gerald Reynolds and Peter Kirsanow, for the Bush administration’s redoubled efforts to undermine the federal government’s commitment to civil rights.

The Independent Women’s Forum

The Independent Women’s Forum (IWF) has conducted wide-ranging campaigns against gender-inclusive practices at major institutions.

The Center for Individual Rights

The Center for Individual Rights (CIR) won the Hopwood v. University of Texas case, essentially ending affirmative action in the 5th Circuit, once a bastion of civil rights support. CIR co-founder Michael Greve candidly describes the group’s methodology: “We’ll sue you for punitive damages. We will attack your integrity. We will nail you to the wall.”

The Institute for Justice

Institute for Justice (IJ) head Clint Bolick has helped develop and hone the political and legal strategy for opposing diversity policies. The institute considers the AFL-CIO, the National Education Association, “much of the
civil rights establishment, and federal, state, and local governments
nationwide” as opponents.

Federalist Society Civil Rights Practice Group

The Federalist Society Civil Rights Practice Group has played a critical
networking role among the leaders of the right-wing legal establishment
to overturn diversity remedies. In its quest to achieve mainstream respectability,
the group has cultivated a moderate image to mask efforts to promote
breathtakingly radical changes to America’s constitutional structure.

Over the last decade, conservative organizations have enjoyed substantial success in
using this “stealth” strategy to dismantle policies that were designed to create full
opportunities for women and people of color to participate in their school, work and
political communities. Our consolation may be that this stealth conservatism is not
merely a ‘good’ strategy but in fact a necessary one: the values that we are working to
secure have become so mainstream that the conservative right is forced to hide behind
a progressive mask to continue its work. This mask is their Achilles heel—if you know
your opposition well, you can effectively expose their agenda for what it really is.

Some common opposition types:

Phony Civil Libertarian: These conservative organizations posing as mainstream
advocacy groups will focus on the “due process” of disciplinary procedures and insist
that your reforms would punish innocent men accused of sexual assault. By using legal
terms like “due process,” “guilty” and “trial,” they encourage people to view
disciplinary procedures as legal proceedings. These groups feel that women often lie
about sexual assault, and that therefore colleges should have no sexual assault
disciplinary procedures at all (they believe that only the criminal justice system should
handle such complaints, because it is very difficult to use). They are also suspicious of
any educational programs aimed at decreasing sexual assault, and will dismiss sexual
assault prevention programs as “politically correct” attempts to brainwash students.
They will refuse to recognize your more popular efforts to increase prevention and
education programs or crisis services, attempting to make you lose everything you are
working for by focusing on the most controversial aspect of your work.

“Men’s Rights” Advocates: These organizations claim that sexual discrimination
does take place, but that it is actually aimed at men, not women. For these groups, any
movement toward equality by women is a loss of rights by men. In the past, these
groups have opposed the Violence Against Women Act because it focuses on women,
Take Your Daughter to Work Day because they want sons to go as well, and Title IX
because it takes funds from traditional male sports to equalize resources between men’s
and women’s sports.
Groups that are on record as opposed to sexual assault policy reform:

- The Foundation for Individual Rights in Education [FIRE] (Phony Civil Libertarians)
- The Independent Women’s Forum (Pseudofeminists)
- The Heritage Foundation (Traditional Conservatives)
- The Eagle Forum (Traditional Conservatives)

**Pseudofeminists:** Like phony civil libertarians, pseudofeminists are “stealth conservatives.” By hiding their true political nature (hard-right conservative or conservative libertarian), they are able to fool progressives into fragmentation and sway more moderates. Pseudofeminists will focus on the “infantilization” of women that responses to sexual assault meant to be sensitive to rape victims cause. Pseudofeminists love to start their sound bites with the words, “As a feminist… (insert misogynist statement here).”

**Traditional Conservatives:** Traditional conservative organizations are likely to make claims that men are being unfairly targeted, that acquaintance rape doesn’t really happen, and that women must take responsibility for preventing sexual assault by limiting their activities.

**Opposition tactics:**

A common tactic by conservative opposition groups is the point-by-point dissection of a policy they do not like. Don’t engage in debate on this level. Reiterate your four proposals and promote your message rather than reacting to theirs.

Another tactic, common to phony civil libertarians, is to encourage conservative students to found or gain control of a student ACLU group. The ACLU is generally weak on college campuses, so the groups are small and easy for conservatives to manipulate. This tactic can be managed if caught early by ensuring that your school’s civil liberties organizations are controlled by actual civil libertarians rather than by the phony variety.

**Fight the Right**

If your campaign is targeted for attack, you will have to respond. Fortunately, enough is known about the Right that we can predict the tactics that they will use and counter them with strategic planning.

Most likely, the attack will come in the form of a backlash after you win your new sexual assault policy or rape prevention program, when you are burnt out and student support has waned.

The tips below will help you create a campaign that is resilient in the face of attacks, but nothing can alter the fact that the Right will be at an advantage. Your only advantage will be the strong base of student support you have built on your campus, which the Right will have trouble permeating. If you keep a sense of perspective, maintain your strong base of student support and frame a campaign that anticipates opposition, your new policy will weather the attack and you will emerge a seasoned organizer.
Preempting attacks by the opposition

1. Don’t be caught off guard! Make it harder for your opponents to attack you from day one of your campaign.

2. Expect to be attacked. Factor opposition into your strategy and don’t underestimate the power and viciousness of your opposition. Don’t let down your guard after you win your new rape prevention policy or program.

3. Own the language. Frame your issue from the beginning to preempt their attacks. Don’t let the opposition own neutral concepts like “liberty,” “rights” and “due process.”

4. Build alliances early. Don’t wait until the attack is underway to reach out to powerful allies in your community. As a student, you will have difficulty gaining respectful treatment in the media. With the help of professional adult supporters such as respected civil liberties attorneys, rape crisis center leaders and distinguished faculty, your media coverage may be improved.

5. Unmask their true agenda. Stealth conservatives are extremely threatened by the exposure of their true agenda. Publicly linking them to the far Right is a real threat to their success as an organization. This disrupts their strategy of pretending to be moderate and puts them on the defensive.

6. Ask SAFER for help. That’s what we’re here for.
Sample hostile questions & answers

Reporters and your opposition can ask tough questions, and it’s important to be prepared. Below are some of the more difficult questions you’re likely to face. Most are questions related to sexual assault disciplinary procedures (the most controversial aspect of policy reform), but they can easily apply to questions related to prevention efforts or campus services. Use these questions to grill yourself before media interviews or public events.

**Question:** “Would it be fair to say that you’re working on this issue from the perspective of the survivor?”

*Hidden statement:* “Say you are so I can discount you by saying that you are only concerned with survivors and don’t care about innocent men who are accused of sexual assault.”

**Answer:** In our society at large, when survivors come forward with a complaint of rape they have become the focus of scrutiny and mistreatment. Our goal is to construct a dialogue that includes everyone, with survivors also at the table.

*What not to say:* “Yes” (or “No”).

*What not to do:* Let them paint you as a one-dimensional political actor who does not care if innocent people are punished for sexual assault.

**Question:** “If I have sex with a woman when she is drunk, is that rape?” or “Kids get drunk and have sex all the time. Maybe they regret it. It’s stupid, but it’s not rape. Don’t you think you’re overreacting?”

*Hidden statement:* “Political correctness has unreasonably limited our freedoms, and fanatical feminists who hate men are attacking even the most innocent things we do. These man-haters think that women are always the victims and they want to punish men for nothing.”

**Answer:** “Obviously that depends very much on the situation” or “I don’t believe that we are overreacting. We are not talking about sex, we are talking about sexual assault.”

*What not to say:* “It is rape if a man has sex with a woman who is drunk.”

*What not to do:* Get entangled in an argument about precisely what situation constitutes sexual assault. The circumstances of sexual assaults are extremely varied and whether an individual interaction constitutes sexual assault depends completely on the situation. Hint: it may be useful to brainstorm a short list of situations which clearly constitute sexual assault, even to a conservative
mindset, but which do not include the use of weapons or fall into the stereotypical conception of sexual assault (e.g., having sex with an unconscious person, using body weight to hold someone down, telling someone that you won’t beat them if they have sex with you, etc.)

Question: “What if a woman is just making false accusations because her boyfriend broke up with her?”

Hidden statement: “Women are not to be trusted. They are always accusing innocent men of rape. If we don’t have very strict procedures to protect innocent men, women will ruin the lives of innocent people.”

Answer: “Cases like that would be extremely rare, but we are very concerned with protecting innocent people, and we believe that our suggestions for the disciplinary procedures would do more to protect innocent people who are accused of sexual assault than the current disciplinary procedures do.”

What not to say: “False reports don’t happen.”

What not to do: Give the impression that you have an unreasonable desire to punish men.

Question: “Do you think it’s more important to fight sexual assault or to protect innocent men?”

Hidden statement: The usual “you hate men.”

Answer: We think our proposal does both. We want a policy that emphasizes education while maintaining a fair and accessible complaint procedure. You don’t end sexual assault through zealous or unfair prosecution. Education is necessary to end sexual assault.

What not to say: That either one is more important.

Question: “Shouldn’t these cases just go to the police?”

Hidden statement: “There is a good chance that I am a phony civil libertarian! I believe that cases of sexual assault should only go through the police because I doubt the validity of most reports of sexual assault and I trust the criminal justice system to be more difficult to navigate. I would like to give the impression that I am taking sexual assault more seriously by insisting that it is a criminal offense and should be considered in a criminal court. I also want people to think that the college is arbitrarily considering only sexual assault cases in disciplinary procedures while other crimes would go through police.”
Answer: A college is like any other organization that you freely join. By joining, you agree to abide by its rules. Just as the college has rules prohibiting arson, assault and drug sales on campus and has disciplinary responses for such infractions, it has a responsibility to prohibit sexual assault between students. Without policies in place to deal with sexual assault, cases brought to the school’s attention can be badly botched.

What not to say: The criminal justice system is bad. (Don’t argue that cases of sexual assault should not be handled by the criminal justice system because it rarely successfully prosecutes these cases—this is an extremely radical argument and most people will disagree.)

What not to do: Give the impression that you are significantly challenging convention and going beyond what would normally be expected in reacting to crime on campus.

Question: “Is this a feminist cause?”

Hidden Statement: “Unless I’m calling from Ms. Magazine, there is a good chance that I am a traditional conservative! Feminism is bad, so please say you’re a feminist so I can ridicule you.”

Answer: I think that this is an issue for anyone who’s concerned with the tremendous effect that sexual assault is having on college campuses.

If you are pushed: “I believe that feminists are concerned with preventing sexual assault, but you do not have to be a feminist to be concerned about this issue.”

Other basic questions to prepare answers for:

• What was wrong with the old policy? Or: Why do we need a new policy?

• What changes are you lobbying for?

• What is the administration’s response to your proposed changes?

• What are most school policies like?

• How big is the problem of sexual assault on campuses in general? On our campus?

• Are you prepared to use civil disobedience to get your demands?
The importance of being “sex positive”

Too often, acquaintance rape is framed as a situation in which men pressure women to have sex, and a “fine line” is crossed between “normal” sex and sexual assault. Because of this false perception of coercive actions as normal sexuality and male dominance as equivalent to sexual pleasure, groups working against sexual assault are often seen as working against sex.

In reality, anti-sexual violence activists are working for sex, sex that involves no “fine line” because everyone is having so much fun that it is obvious that consent has been given. And, of course, working towards a world in which the assumptions that everyone is and must be heterosexual, and that men and women must always act out boring conformist roles, have been abandoned… in favor of lots of great sex!

Anti-violence activists understand this, but it is not often that the movement conveys it to the general public. If your movement makes the same mistake, many people will view your group as working against sexual pleasure. Who wants to volunteer for that cause?

A few ideas for making your group sex-friendly:

- Hold cool fundraisers.

  A sex toys seminar or a sex-positive poetry slam can be a great way to make money for your group while reminding everyone what you are working for. Note: if your campus is conservative, you may have to rein this in a bit.

- Talk about mutual pleasure more than you do about the legal definition of consent.

  It can be tempting to fall into debate over the fine points of definitions of consent when you are creating policy, but keep the big picture in mind when you step away from the negotiating table and address your constituency. Your main concern isn’t punishing offenders of sexual assault—it is preventing sexual assault and encouraging true sexual freedom by challenging patriarchal, sexually repressed norms.

- Work for prevention programs that emphasize good sex.

  Don’t let one more freshman sit through that lame orientation program in which they told you that the way to avoid sexual assault is never to drink (and then gave the women a whistle for protection). Useful prevention programs don’t just give cautionary lectures about sexual assault—they talk about sex in a positive way.
• Recognize homophobia as a direct and indirect cause of sexual assault.

Fear of queer people and queer sex is often a cause of sexual assault, in the form of hate crimes against LGBTQ people and as an expression of fear of appearing gay or effeminate. Policies that don’t address this link will fail to adequately address sexual assault on campus.

• Frame your opposition as anti-sex.

Your opposition will attempt to represent you as the uptight “sex police.” Beat them to the punch. After all, you are working for mutually enjoyable sex, and their stance generally centers on the concept that women must take more responsibility for preventing sexual assault by avoiding alcohol, sex, dancing, short skirts and pretty much anything the puritans would have objected to.

Ten quick ways to make sure no one comes to your meetings

We’ve given you tips on recruitment, but what if you prefer intimate, cozy meetings to those unruly movements that can get started if you’re not careful?

1. Dress like a stereotype.

The most effective style is one that avoids looking respectable to administrators and yet still looks lame to fellow students. Remember not to shower too often.

2. Talk like a stereotype.

Be sure to point it out whenever you notice that someone is using a product that promotes child labor, harms animals or damages the environment. After all, you never contribute to any of these problems yourself. It is also helpful to use esoteric, difficult-to-define phrases such as “the industrial-military complex” and “petit bourgeoisie ideals” as often as possible.

3. Convince yourself that nobody cares.

Get into a defeated state of mind right from the get-go. Keep reminding yourself that no one cares about this and everyone is apathetic on your campus. Tell yourself that you’re just one person and you don’t have any power to change things, and rest assured that your recruiting efforts will be totally ineffective.
4. **Judge people instead of trying to understand them**

   Just be glad that you are more enlightened than everyone else. That’s what matters.

5. **Keep your group’s goals nice and unfocused, so no one is quite sure what you stand for.**

   If this week’s meeting focuses on health care, next week talk about Zimbabwe. Mix it up. You don’t want people to get bored and start coming to your meetings.

6. **Use a controversial word in your group’s name.**

   “The Radical Feminist Anarchist Socialist Activist Communist Society in Solidarity with Marxism” has a great ring to it, and is sure to keep your meeting attendance level in the single digits.

7. **Have no sense of humor.**

   This is serious. You don’t need any shenanigans making people think your meetings might be fun.

8. **Act bizarre.**

   The only thing better than having no sense of humor is using tactics only those already in your group will understand. Incorporate canned meat products, clogs and yogurt into an interpretive dance to convince the administration that you need a rape crisis center. People will flock from your meetings.

9. **Insult your allies.**

   Just look at the excellent job PETA has done reducing its base of feminist support with a series of sexist advertisements. You too can reduce membership and alienate people with offensive comments that show your indifference to other progressive causes.

10. **Don’t pay any attention to how you are perceived by others.**

    If people don’t agree with you, that’s their problem. Create a single, unvarying speech that you will give to anyone you are trying to recruit for your group. Practice the speech on a block of wood.
seventh, policy reform in 21 steps

This manual is full of a great deal of information on building a movement to improve the sexual assault policy on your campus. We’ve heard from students that so much information at once can be overwhelming, and that they’d like a simple, step-by-step guide to reforming their policy. So we came up with one. Every movement is different, and every school has a different culture, set of rules and history, so you may or may not find this helpful. You may be further along in the process than the first step, or you might want to take a different route. Some groups will take longer than two years to finish every step. Use this only as a rough guide to show you a few concrete actions that you can take to begin building your movement.

Year 1

SEPTEMBER

Step 1: Go to your school’s website and type “sexual assault” into the search box. Print out whatever you find. Next, try searching for “sexual assault disciplinary procedures” and “annual crime statistics.” Read the materials you find and pick out a few things that you think are flaws in the school’s policies. You don’t need any expert advice—your opinion is what matters.

Step 2: With your new basic knowledge of the policy, recruit two friends to work on the issue with you. Tell them what you think is wrong with the policy, and ask if they want to help.

Step 3: Between you and your friends, split up the phone numbers of students you know are good activists on campus. Call these student leaders and ask if they are interested in reforming the policy. Explain the problems you see with it, and ask if they know anything about these problems. Ask if they would like to help organize a SAFER Teach-In on campus to address these problems. Once you have recruited at least three people apiece, schedule a date that you can all agree on. Contact SAFER and tell us that you want to hold a Teach-In.
STUDENTS ACTIVE FOR ENDING RAPE

OCTOBER

Step 4: Organize the Teach-In using the SAFER Teach-In Guide For Hosts.

Step 5: Take the list of names and phone numbers collected from the participants in the Teach-In to call a meeting for people interested in holding a SAFER Weekend Organizing Training.

NOVEMBER

Step 6: Organize the Weekend Organizing Training using the SAFER Weekend Organizing Training Guide For Hosts.

DECEMBER

Step 7: Take the list of names and phone numbers collected from the Weekend Organizing Training and the Teach-In to call the first meeting of a new student group. Also contact any student leaders who you think will be good activists for this cause but who have not gotten involved yet.

JANUARY

Step 8: Hold your first meeting. Decide together on a name for your group and a good weekly meeting time, and decide who will apply for funding and recognition through the student government. Have that person apply for this recognition before the next weekly meeting (If you can't get recognition, don't worry about it; just keep doing your work). If funding through the student government is not possible, discuss other ways to raise a little money (you shouldn't need more than $150 to get started, though of course more is better if you can get it).

Step 9: Hold your second meeting. Figure out who your powerholder is, and flesh out your specific demands with the group. (See pages 34-47.)

FEBRUARY

Step 10: Hold your third meeting. Talk about the resources your group has (people, money, connections, etc.), as well as those your powerholder can use. Decide together on a basic strategy for your group. Break off into two groups if necessary. (See pages 48-54.)

Step 11: Hold your fourth meeting. Decide on roles for each member of the group (e.g. media relations, making posters, lobbying administrators, fundraising, etc.). Remember that one person can do more than one thing at a time.
Step 12: Begin going through “proper channels” to change the policy according to your demands. Have your lobbyists meet with administrators to push for as much as you can get.

Step 13: Create a simple, low-risk and respectable way for students to show their support for change, such as a petition or a survey.

MARCH—MAY

Step 14: Get as many students to participate in your petition, survey, etc. as possible. Continue lobbying administrators.

Year 2

SEPTEMBER

Step 15: Have your grassroots organizing group declare the administration’s response to your demands inadequate (it doesn’t matter what they’ve done; in most cases it isn’t enough, and you will win more by saying it isn’t enough). Begin a major public-relations campaign and recruiting drive with students. (See pages 21-22 and 55-65.)

Step 16: Brainstorm some creative tactics for the next few months to get students involved, embarrass the school over this issue, etc. Begin implementing these tactics.

OCTOBER—SOMETIMES BETWEEN FEBRUARY AND MAY

Step 17: Continue lobbying and outside-the-system tactics. Respond to challenges as they arise. Call SAFER for a consulting session if you need advice.

Step 18: Continue to increase pressure on the administration with higher and higher pressure tactics until you win.

Step 19: Celebrate. We mean it. Don’t forget to plan for celebration, and don’t miss it because you’re the leader and you’ve got a million things to do. Enjoy your victory, because the backlash starts tomorrow.

Step 20: Formulate a response to any potential backlash from internal or external organizations.

Step 21: Hold a meeting to discuss the next round of goals for your group. If it is the end of the year, choose new leaders for the group and a set of tentative proposals for the coming year. (If you feel that more changes to the sexual assault policy are not possible yet, consider other related issues such as the sexual harassment policy, the wages of security guards, or the funding for ethnic studies and gender studies departments on campus.)
Appendices

Appendix A: What you should know about the Jeanne Clery Act

The Campus Security Act, also known as the Jeanne Clery Act, states that all post-secondary institutions receiving federal assistance must provide students and others with certain information about the prevalence and nature of criminal activity on their campus.

Sexual assault is among the offenses that must be reported. Schools must also provide information regarding the school’s response to sexual assault and any educational programs meant to raise awareness about sexual assault. Each college is required to develop and distribute a statement of policy regarding the school’s sexual assault programs, which should include prevention and procedures that the college follows once a sex offense has occurred. The Clery Act specifically calls for sexual assault policies that address the following areas: educational programs, sanctions, procedures that assaulted students should follow, and procedures for on-campus disciplinary action in cases of sexual assault, which must include a clear statement that the accuser and accused are entitled to the same opportunity to have others present during a campus disciplinary proceeding and that both shall be informed of the outcome. Additionally, the sexual assault statement must inform students of the options for authorities they can notify, must contain information regarding counseling for victims both on campus and in the community, and must inform students that they have the option of changing academic and living situations if requested and if such changes are reasonably available.

According to the law, each school must provide all students and employees with statistics regarding the number of sexual assaults that have occurred on campus or in or on any building or property (other than a branch campus) that is owned or controlled by the college or by a student organization recognized by the school. The statistics must also cover areas that are in the “same reasonably contiguous geographic area” to the college. Statistics must cover the most recent calendar year and the two calendar years preceding. The school must also provide a description of the procedures (this includes any disciplinary procedures) and educational programs created to deal with sexual assault. This information must be provided to all students each year by October 1. Student applicants must also be notified of the availability of the report.

The annual statistics are required to include offenses reported to “any official of an institution who has significant responsibility for student and campus activities.” The only officials who are exempted from the responsibility to report are those who qualify as “pastoral or professional counselors.” Counselors only qualify for this exemption if they are providing counseling as part of their official duties for the school.
Nonprofessional or informal counselors, such as coaches or advisers, do not qualify for exemption. At some schools, administrators have been known to improperly use the counseling exemption to avoid reporting crimes. Only research will tell whether this has been a problem at your school.

Your school must also maintain a daily campus police or security crime log and make the log readily available to the public. The log must provide information regarding any crimes reported to campus security and must be available during normal business hours. Schools are responsible for ensuring that offices are staffed and able to take requests during business hours.

Crimes reported must be added to the log within two business days. Logs must contain information regarding the nature, date, time and general location of each crime, and the disposition of the complaint if known. Schools may be obligated to include more information depending on state and local laws. Logs for the past 60 days must be readily available for public inspection. Logs older than 60 days must be made available to the public within two days upon request.

When a crime occurs on campus that is considered a threat to students and employees, the school is responsible for making a “timely report” to the campus community. Schools are only required to report those crimes that must be included in the annual crime statistics. These reports must be actively provided to the campus community. Schools are required to report hate crimes according to the category of bias that inspired them.

The U.S. Department of Education is solely responsible for the enforcement of the Clery Act. If a college substantially misrepresents the number, location or nature of any crimes that it is required to report, it may be fined up to $27,500 per violation.

A major hurdle in the enforcement of the Clery Act has been the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). 20 U.S.C. § 1232(g) (2000). FERPA gives students the right to have some control over the disclosure of records by an educational agency or institution that contain information directly related to them. Colleges have used FERPA as a basis for refusing to disclose campus police records about crimes in which students were involved. Department of Education reviews and judicial cases have confirmed that confidentiality requirements in sexual assault cases are not valid and that the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act does not supersede the Clery Act.

The Department of Education has clarified that that FERPA generally prevents redisclosure of information by one party in a disciplinary hearing about the other student without written consent of that student. However, “an institution of postsecondary education may disclose the final results of a disciplinary proceeding, if it determines that: 1) the student is an alleged perpetrator of a crime of violence or non-forcible sex offense; and 2) with respect to the allegation made against him or her, the student has committed a violation of the institution’s rules or policies. When an institution determines that an accused student is an alleged perpetrator and has violated
the institution rules, then there are no restrictions on disclosure or redisclosure of the final results of a disciplinary proceeding.” This enables students to be made aware when a fellow student has been found by the school to have violated the disciplinary code. Therefore, even if a survivor of sexual assault decides not to press criminal charges, the student body can still be warned that the incident occurred and informed whether the perpetrator is still on campus.

The Campus Security Act is important to anti-violence activists for several reasons. While simply reporting crimes to students is unlikely to affect the actual rates of those crimes, in order to put effective statistics-collecting mechanisms into place, an institution will usually have to create some method for appropriately dealing with sexual assault reports. As a result of the responsibility to describe their responses to sexual assault, schools may also feel obligated to create meaningful prevention and education efforts, and a workable disciplinary procedure. Forcing a school to comply with the Campus Security Act can be a good way to pressure it into creating a rape crisis center, improving a disciplinary procedure or training security guards more effectively.

Accurate collection of statistics is also important because it brings to public attention the offensively high sexual assault rate and breaks societal silence surrounding the issue. Once the problem is acknowledged, institutions are more likely to feel that a response is necessary.

The Campus Security Act is a powerful bargaining tool for anti-violence activists. Many schools are not in compliance with the Act, and huge fines can be levied against schools that are noncompliant. Read the entirety of the law, know it well and use it to your advantage.

References:


Appendix B: Relevant text of the Campus Security Act


(1) Each eligible institution participating in any program under this subchapter and part C of subchapter I of chapter 34 of Title 42 shall on August 1, 1991, begin to collect the following information with respect to campus crime statistics and campus security policies of that institution, and beginning September 1, 1992, and each year thereafter, prepare, publish, and distribute, through appropriate publications or mailings, to all current students and employees, and to any applicant for enrollment or employment upon request, an annual security report containing at least the following information with respect to the campus security policies and campus crime statistics of that institution.

(A) A statement of current campus policies regarding procedures and facilities for students and others to report criminal actions or other emergencies occurring on campus and policies concerning the institution's response to such reports.

(B) A statement of current policies concerning security and access to campus facilities, including campus residences, and security considerations used in the maintenance of campus facilities.

(C) A statement of current policies concerning campus law enforcement, including--

   (i) the enforcement authority of security personnel, including their working relationship with State and local police agencies; and

   (ii) policies which encourage accurate and prompt reporting of all crimes to the campus police and the appropriate police agencies.

(D) A description of the type and frequency of programs designed to inform students and employees about campus security procedures and practices and to encourage students and employees to be responsible for their own security and the security of others.

(E) A description of programs designed to inform students and employees about the prevention of crimes.

(F) Statistics concerning the occurrence on campus, in or on noncampus buildings or property, and on public property during the most recent calendar year, and during the 2 preceding calendar years for which data are available--
of the following criminal offenses reported to campus security authorities or local police agencies:

(i) murder;
(ii) sex offenses, forcible or nonforcible;
(iii) robbery;
(iv) aggravated assault;
(v) burglary;
(vi) motor vehicle theft;
(vii) manslaughter;
(viii) arson; and
(ix) arrests or persons referred for campus disciplinary action for liquor law violations, drug-related violations, and weapons possession; and

(ii) of the crimes described in subclauses (I) through (VIII) of clause (i), and other crimes involving bodily injury to any person in which the victim is intentionally selected because of the actual or perceived race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, or disability of the victim that are reported to campus security authorities or local police agencies, which data shall be collected and reported according to category of prejudice.

(G) A statement of policy concerning the monitoring and recording through local police agencies of criminal activity at off-campus student organizations which are recognized by the institution and that are engaged in by students attending the institution, including those student organizations with off-campus housing facilities.

(H) A statement of policy regarding the possession, use, and sale of alcoholic beverages and enforcement of State underage drinking laws and a statement of policy regarding the possession, use, and sale of illegal drugs and enforcement of Federal and State drug laws and a description of any drug or alcohol abuse education programs as required under section 1011i of this title.

(I) A statement advising the campus community where law enforcement agency information provided by a State under section 14071(j) of Title 42, concerning registered sex offenders may be obtained, such as the law enforcement office of the institution, a local law enforcement agency with jurisdiction for the campus, or a computer network address.

(2) Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to authorize the Secretary to require particular policies, procedures, or practices by institutions of higher education with respect to campus crimes or campus security.

(3) Each institution participating in any program under this subchapter and part C of subchapter I of chapter 34 of Title 42 shall make timely reports to the campus community on crimes considered to be a threat to other students and employees described in paragraph (1)(F) that are reported to campus security or local law
police agencies. Such reports shall be provided to students and employees in a manner that is timely and that will aid in the prevention of similar occurrences.

(4)(A) Each institution participating in any program under this subchapter [20 U.S.C. § 1070 et seq.] and part C of subchapter I of chapter 34 of Title 42 [42 U.S.C. § 2751 et seq.] that maintains a police or security department of any kind shall make, keep, and maintain a daily log, written in a form that can be easily understood, recording all crimes reported to such police or security department, including--

(i) the nature, date, time, and general location of each crime; and
(ii) the disposition of the complaint, if known.

(B)(i) All entries that are required pursuant to this paragraph shall, except where disclosure of such information is prohibited by law or such disclosure would jeopardize the confidentiality of the victim, be open to public inspection within two business days of the initial report being made to the department or a campus security authority.

(ii) If new information about an entry into a log becomes available to a police or security department, then the new information shall be recorded in the log not later than two business days after the information becomes available to the police or security department.

(iii) If there is clear and convincing evidence that the release of such information would jeopardize an ongoing criminal investigation or the safety of an individual, cause a suspect to flee or evade detection, or result in the destruction of evidence, such information may be withheld until that damage is no longer likely to occur from the release of such information.

(5) On an annual basis, each institution participating in any program under this subchapter and part C of subchapter I of chapter 34 of Title 42 [42 U.S.C. § 2751 et seq.] shall submit to the Secretary a copy of the statistics required to be made available under paragraph (1)(F). The Secretary shall--

(A) review such statistics and report to the Committee on Education and the Workforce of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate on campus crime statistics by September 1, 2000;

(B) make copies of the statistics submitted to the Secretary available to the public; and

(C) in coordination with representatives of institutions of higher education, identify exemplary campus security policies, procedures, and practices and disseminate information concerning those policies, procedures, and practices that have proven effective in the reduction of campus crime.

(6)(A) In this subsection:

(i) The term "campus" means--
(I) any building or property owned or controlled by an institution of higher education within the same reasonably contiguous geographic area of the institution and used by the institution in direct support of, or in a manner related to, the institution's educational purposes, including residence halls; and

(II) property within the same reasonably contiguous geographic area of the institution that is owned by the institution but controlled by another person, is used by students, and supports institutional purposes (such as a food or other retail vendor).

(ii) The term "noncampus building or property" means--

(I) any building or property owned or controlled by a student organization recognized by the institution; and

(II) any building or property (other than a branch campus) owned or controlled by an institution of higher education that is used in direct support of, or in relation to, the institution's educational purposes, is used by students, and is not within the same reasonably contiguous geographic area of the institution.

(iii) The term "public property" means all public property that is within the same reasonably contiguous geographic area of the institution, such as a sidewalk, a street, other thoroughfare, or parking facility, and is adjacent to a facility owned or controlled by the institution if the facility is used by the institution in direct support of, or in a manner related to the institution's educational purposes.

(B) In cases where branch campuses of an institution of higher education, schools within an institution of higher education, or administrative divisions within an institution are not within a reasonably contiguous geographic area, such entities shall be considered separate campuses for purposes of the reporting requirements of this section.

(7) The statistics described in paragraph (1)(F) shall be compiled in accordance with the definitions used in the uniform crime reporting system of the Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the modifications in such definitions as implemented pursuant to the Hate Crime Statistics Act. Such statistics shall not identify victims of crimes or persons accused of crimes.

(8)(A) Each institution of higher education participating in any program under this subchapter and part C of subchapter I of chapter 34 of Title 42 shall develop and distribute as part of the report described in paragraph (1) a statement of policy regarding--

(i) such institution's campus sexual assault programs, which shall be aimed at prevention of sex offenses; and

(ii) the procedures followed once a sex offense has occurred.

(B) The policy described in subparagraph (A) shall address the following areas:
(i) Education programs to promote the awareness of rape, acquaintance rape, and other sex offenses.
(ii) Possible sanctions to be imposed following the final determination of an on-campus disciplinary procedure regarding rape, acquaintance rape, or other sex offenses, forcible or nonforcible.
(iii) Procedures students should follow if a sex offense occurs, including who should be contacted, the importance of preserving evidence as may be necessary to the proof of criminal sexual assault, and to whom the alleged offense should be reported.
(iv) Procedures for on-campus disciplinary action in cases of alleged sexual assault, which shall include a clear statement that--

(I) the accuser and the accused are entitled to the same opportunities to have others present during a campus disciplinary proceeding; and
(II) both the accuser and the accused shall be informed of the outcome of any campus disciplinary proceeding brought alleging a sexual assault.
(v) Informing students of their options to notify proper law enforcement authorities, including on-campus and local police, and the option to be assisted by campus authorities in notifying such authorities, if the student so chooses.
(vi) Notification of students of existing counseling, mental health or student services for victims of sexual assault, both on campus and in the community.
(vii) Notification of students of options for, and available assistance in, changing academic and living situations after an alleged sexual assault incident, if so requested by the victim and if such changes are reasonably available.

(C) Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to confer a private right of action upon any person to enforce the provisions of this paragraph.
(9) The Secretary shall provide technical assistance in complying with the provisions of this section to an institution of higher education who requests such assistance.
(10) Nothing in this section shall be construed to require the reporting or disclosure of privileged information.
(11) The Secretary shall report to the appropriate committees of Congress each institution of higher education that the Secretary determines is not in compliance with the reporting requirements of this subsection.
(12) For purposes of reporting the statistics with respect to crimes described in paragraph (1)(F), an institution of higher education shall distinguish, by means of separate categories, any criminal offenses that occur--

(A) on campus;
(B) in or on a noncampus building or property;
(C) on public property; and
(D) in dormitories or other residential facilities for students on campus.

(13) Upon a determination pursuant to section 1094(c)(3)(B) of this title that an institution of higher education has substantially misrepresented the number, location, or nature of the crimes required to be reported under this subsection, the Secretary shall impose a civil penalty upon the institution in the same amount and pursuant to the same procedures as a civil penalty is imposed under section 1094(c)(3)(B) of this title.

(14)(A) Nothing in this subsection may be construed to--

(i) create a cause of action against any institution of higher education or any employee of such an institution for any civil liability; or

(ii) establish any standard of care.

(B) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, evidence regarding compliance or noncompliance with this subsection shall not be admissible as evidence in any proceeding of any court, agency, board, or other entity, except with respect to an action to enforce this subsection.

(15) This subsection may be cited as the "Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act".

*Subparagraph 20 USC (f)(1)(I) effective October 28, 2000
Appendix C: A definition of sexual assault

As it stands now, almost every school has a different definition of sexual assault. Many schools fail to define sexual assault or have unclear or incomplete definitions that confuse students and discourage reporting. Here we offer a sample definition of sexual assault that goes beyond the few sentences that most schools provide. In addition, we include a “plain-language definition,” that is easier to understand. We feel that a plain-language version of a school’s definition of sexual assault, as well as its disciplinary procedures, should be included in every student handbook at every college.

Sample college definition of sexual assault and sexual exploitation

Sexual assault is nonconsensual, intentional physical contact of a sexual nature, such as unwelcome contact with a person’s genitals, buttocks or breasts.

Consent is the mutual or simultaneous initiation of specific sexual acts, or freely given verbal agreement to engage in specific sexual contact. Silence, previous sexual relationships, current relationships, or the use of alcohol and/or drugs cannot be taken as an indication of consent. The use of force, threat of force, threat of immediate or future harm, or use of physical intimidation to secure compliance with sexual activity implies a lack of consent. Lack of consent can also be implied by circumstances other than physical resistance or verbal refusal. Lack of consent is implied by objective evidence that would be recognizable to a reasonable person of the physical or mental incapacity of an individual. For instance, someone who is asleep or unconscious is incapable of providing consent. An individual who is significantly impaired by alcohol or drugs may also be considered incapable of providing consent.

Although consent may initially be given, it may be revoked at any point, either verbally, through physical resistance, or by losing consciousness. Failure to respond promptly to a withdrawal of consent constitutes sexual assault.

This college divides sexual assault into two categories: first- and second-degree sexual assault.

First-degree sexual assault includes:

- Any attempted or completed act of nonconsensual sexual penetration, as well as attempted or completed nonconsensual oral intercourse or digital contact with genitals. Sexual penetration is any degree of insertion of any object into a person’s anus or vulva, or any degree of insertion of genitalia into the mouth.
• Any nonconsensual physical assault during consensual sexual contact, such as punching, choking, burning or otherwise intentionally causing serious physical harm without the consent of a partner.

Second-degree sexual assault is intentional, nonconsensual physical contact of a sexual nature that does not constitute first degree sexual assault. This includes but is not limited to intentional and unwelcome physical contact with an individual’s buttocks or breasts, and unwanted kissing, fondling or groping.

Sexual exploitation is nonconsensual, abusive sexual behavior that does not otherwise constitute sexual assault or sexual harassment. Many instances of sexual exploitation are serious enough to be treated as equivalent to first degree sexual assault under this policy.

Examples of sexual exploitation include intentional, nonconsensual tampering with or removal of condoms or other methods of birth control and STD prevention prior to or during sexual contact in a manner that significantly increases the likelihood of pregnancy or STD contraction by the nonconsenting party, nonconsensual video- or audiotaping of sexual activity, allowing others to watch consensual or nonconsensual sexual activity without the consent of a sexual partner, peeping tommerly, trafficking people to be sold for sex, and inducing incapacitation with the intent to sexually assault another person.

Sample plain-language college definition of sexual assault and sexual exploitation

Sexual assault is when you touch someone sexually without that person agreeing (consenting) to that sexual contact.

You will know that your partner has consented to a sexual activity because he or she will do one of three things: he or she will initiate the activity, he or she will actively and willingly participate in the activity with you, or he or she will tell you that he or she wants to participate in the activity. If your partner doesn’t say no, that doesn’t necessarily mean he or she has given consent for an activity. He or she also has to initiate, actively and willingly participate, or tell you that he or she wants to participate. Being in a relationship doesn’t mean you automatically have consent for sexual activity. Your partner still has to initiate, actively and willingly participate, or tell you that he or she wants to participate in a sexual activity. If your partner is drunk or high, that doesn’t mean you automatically have consent for sexual activity. Your partner still has to initiate, actively and willingly participate, or tell you that he or she wants to participate in a sexual activity.

It is sexual assault if you engage in sexual activity with someone by:
• Using force (such as holding someone down or using your body weight to stop him or her from moving) to make someone engage in a sexual activity with you.

• Telling someone that you are going to use force to make him or her engage in sexual activity with you if he or she doesn’t cooperate.

• Telling someone that you will hurt him or her or someone else if he or she doesn’t engage in a sexual activity with you.

• Making the other person feel afraid that you will hurt him or her if he or she doesn’t engage in a sexual activity with you.

It is also sexual assault if you engage in sexual activity with someone who can’t give consent. For instance, if someone is asleep or unconscious, it is sexual assault to engage in sexual activity with that person. If someone is so drunk or high that he or she doesn’t know what is happening, it is sexual assault to engage in sexual activity with that person. In general, you can tell that someone is too drunk or high to know what is going on because he or she is doing things like having hallucinations, slurring speech, vomiting, having trouble walking, or staring without speaking for long periods of time. If a person is so drunk or high that he or she can’t actively participate in a sexual activity or doesn’t know that it is happening, it is sexual assault to engage in sexual activity with that person.

If someone gives you consent, he or she can still change his or her mind at any time during sexual activity. If the person tells you to stop an activity, or uses any physical resistance to try to make you stop, or if he or she passes out or falls asleep, you have to stop right away. If you continue with the activity after he or she tries to make you stop or loses consciousness, it becomes sexual assault.

This college divides sexual assault into two categories; first- and second-degree sexual assault.

First-degree sexual assault includes:

• Putting any body part or object into someone else’s vulva or anus against his or her will, or attempting to do this.

• Putting your genitals in or on someone else’s mouth against his or her will, or attempting to do this.
• Putting your genitals on another person or in his or her hands against their will, or attempting to do this.

• Touching someone else’s genitals against his or her will, or attempting to do this.

• Seriously hurting your partner during sex without their consent. For example, punching, choking or burning your partner during sex without asking if it’s okay.

Second-degree sexual assault includes intentional, nonconsensual physical contact of a sexual nature that does not constitute first degree sexual assault. This usually means doing things like kissing, fondling or groping someone without his or her consent.

**Sexual exploitation** is any nonconsensual, abusive sexual behavior that isn’t sexual assault or sexual harassment.

There are too many kinds of sexually abusive behavior to list them all, but the most common kinds are video- or audiotaping sex without telling your partner, letting your friends watch you having sex without telling your partner that they are watching, taking pictures of people in the shower or when they are getting undressed without telling them, and intentionally giving someone drugs or alcohol with a plan to make that person pass out so you can have sex with him or her when he or she is unconscious.

It is also sexual exploitation to tamper with or remove condoms or other methods of birth control and STD prevention without your partner’s consent before or during sexual activity in a way that significantly increases your partner’s chances of becoming pregnant or contracting an STD. For example, taking off a condom during sex and then continuing without telling your partner that you removed the condom.

Sexual exploitation can be just as serious as sexual assault. Under this policy, some cases of sexual exploitation will be treated in the same manner as first-degree sexual assault.
Appendix D: How to get involved with SAFER

SAFER doesn’t have campus affiliates the way most national groups working on campus do. If we did, we’d have to come up with rules for those affiliates, and we think that you should come up with your own rules. Instead, we help students win improvements to their policies with our Teach-In, Weekend Training and other programs. We don’t change your policy for you—we give you the help you need to change your policy for yourself.

Even if you can’t be a SAFER affiliate, there are lots of ways to help us continue to offer our important services to students.

Organize a V-Day for SAFER!

Many campuses across the country hold benefit performances of The Vagina Monologues on or around Valentine’s Day (V-Day). SAFER can come to your campus on V-Day to conduct trainings, provide materials or perform mini-workshops adjusted to the needs of your campus community.

Hold a fundraiser on your campus for SAFER!

A fundraiser can be a great way to publicize your group. If you don’t need all that you raise, why not donate it to SAFER? A donation of just $200 allows us to produce 20 organizing manuals for students like you!

Donate to SAFER!

All donations to SAFER are tax-deductible and help us continue our important work. Checks can be made payable to Students Active For Ending Rape, and sent to: SAFER, 338 4th Street, Brooklyn NY 11215. You may also donate online by visiting www.safercampus.org.

Join the SAFER team!

SAFER’s volunteer structure makes room for students, graduates, administrators and everything in between. If you’re interested in volunteering, interning, becoming a SAFER Organizing Trainer, or joining our Board of Directors, we encourage you to contact us.
Appendix E: Facts about college sexual assault

“Rape is the most common violent crime committed on college campuses.”

The National Crime Victimization Survey found that about 3% of college women are raped each academic year, usually by someone they know. The National College Women Sexual Victimization study estimates about 20 to 25% of college women are victims of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault during their college years.

College students, because of their age, are a group at high risk for sexual assault, and some researchers believe that college women are more vulnerable than their non-student peers. The National Crime Victimization Survey found no statistical differences in rape and sexual assault rates between women at college and women of the same age who are not students. The finding of higher risk is based on the National College Women Sexual Victimization survey, which used a different methodology.

“Women ages 16 to 24 experience rape at rates four times higher than the assault rate of all women,” making the college (and high school) years the most vulnerable for women.

About 9 in 10 college women who are victims of rape or attempted rape know their assailant.

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Less is known about the sexual assault of men, but research suggests that up to 10 percent of campus acquaintance rape victims are men, usually raped by other men.\textsuperscript{12}

The first few weeks of the first and second years of college is the period when college students are most at risk of being sexually assaulted.\textsuperscript{13}

Only one in five of female college rape victims reported sustaining additional injuries, most often bruises, black eyes, cuts, swelling or chipped teeth.\textsuperscript{14}

Nearly 70\% percent of female victims of attempted rape and 55\% of female victims of rape reported using physical force against their assailant to protect themselves. Most also told the person to stop.\textsuperscript{15}

34\% percent of rapes and 45\% of attempted rapes of college women take place on campus. Almost 60\% of the rapes that take place on campus occur in the victim's residence, 31\% occur in another residence, and 10\% occur in a fraternity.\textsuperscript{16}

Private colleges and major universities have higher rates than the national average, while religiously affiliated institutions have lower than average rates.\textsuperscript{17} Students at two-year institutions (15.6\%) were more likely than those at four-year institutions (11.1\%) to report they had been forced during their lifetime to have sexual intercourse.\textsuperscript{18}

College women fear stranger rape more than acquaintance rape, and do more to protect themselves from it, though acquaintance rape is much more prevalent.\textsuperscript{19}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{11} Fisher, Francis and Turner (2000)
\textsuperscript{14} Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000)
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibid.}
\end{flushleft}
In a 1985 survey of 6,159 students from 32 colleges and universities, one out of every 15 male students admitted they had raped, or tried to rape, a female student during the preceding year.\(^{20}\)

In studies in the early 1980s and 1990s, approximately one-third of college men reported they would rape a woman if they knew they would not get caught.\(^{21}\)

We do not know how many college rapists repeat their crime, since most go unpunished. Koss et al.’s survey found 187 rapes to have been committed by 96 men.\(^{22}\)

**Impact**

Survivors of sexual assault often suffer academic difficulties and are more likely to leave school.\(^{23}\)

40% of victims acquire a sexually transmitted disease as a result of rape.\(^{24}\)

80% of victims suffer chronic physical or mental health problems.\(^{25}\)

**Reporting**

Campus sexual assault is hugely underreported to authorities, with fewer than 5 percent of college women who are victims of rape or attempted rape reporting it to police.\(^{26}\)

Part of the problem is that many survivors do not call their experience rape, though it

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meets the legal criteria, but colleges also often encourage victim-blaming through prevention programs that focus exclusively on risk-reduction behavior by potential victims (such as avoiding alcohol, going out in groups or carrying a whistle). Drug and alcohol abuse policies that do not include some immunity for victims of sexual assault can also hinder reporting. Not having access to confidential or anonymous reporting also reduces the number of victims who will come forward, as will a belief that the assailant will not be punished. Fear of reprisal by the assailant or others also prevents victims from reporting, as does fear of going through the legal process.

Only half of the schools included in a recent survey provided the option of anonymous reporting. Less than half tell students how they can file criminal charges.

The law

Schools are required by federal law to have and to disseminate a written sexual assault policy that addresses prevention of sex offenses and informs students of their rights and services available to them, should they be assaulted.

Federal legislation requiring reporting of crime statistics and mandating certain campus policies was a step forward, but a recent study found only 37% of campuses’ reports were fully compliant with the law.

Security on Campus argues that Title IX requires colleges to eliminate the hostile environment caused by campus sexual assault. Finn (1995) also argues that a college can be held liable for not protecting students against a foreseeable crime, such as acquaintance rape.

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
Appendix F: Suggestions for further reading


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