

THE BIG PHONE DEAL: WHAT IT MEANS FOR YOU

# Newsweek

October 25, 1993

\$2.95

# SEXUAL

PLUS SUSAN FALUDI, SUSAN ESTRICH AND MARY MATALIN

# CORRECTNESS

Has It Gone Too Far?

#BXBCMDG\*\*\*\*CAR-RT-SORT CR97

#000054858270018#0C94 N6-R

BLAN JOHNSON

P00235X

1861 WOODFILL WY

#023792

LOUISVILLE KY 40205-2433

# SEXUAL Correctness

## Has it gone too far?

**T**HE WOMEN AT BROWN UNIVERSITY play hardball. Three years ago, fed up with an administration that wasn't hopping into action, they scrawled the names of alleged rapists on the bathroom stalls.

Brown woke up, revamped its disciplinary system and instituted mandatory sexual-assault education for freshmen. But that really hasn't calmed the siege mentality. This fall, Alan S., class of '94, returned to Brown after a one-year suspension for "non-consensual physical contact of a sexual nature," the first student to come back after such disciplinary action. And two weeks ago, all over Brown—on the doors of dorms, on bulletin boards, by the mailroom in Faunce House—posters cropped up. Under a mug shot cut from a class book, it read, "These are the facts: [Alan S.] was convicted of 'sexual misconduct' by the UDC, was sentenced to a one-year suspension; he has served his term and is back on campus." It was signed "rosemary and time." As these posters go, it was low-key. But that doesn't matter. Alan S. had been publicly branded as an "assaulter."

No big deal, said senior Jennifer Rothblatt, hanging out in the Blue Room, a campus snack bar. "As a protest against the system, it's valid and necessary," she said, brushing her long, golden-brown hair off

*Watch what you say,  
watch what you do.  
Will the new rules of  
feminist politics set  
women free—or set  
them back?*

her face. Besides, she added, the posters simply state the facts.

Well, wait. What are the facts? Who is the victimizer here and who is the victim? In the ever-morphing world of Thou Shalt Not Abuse Women it's getting mighty confusing. Crimes that hurt women are bad; we know that. But just as opportunities keep expanding for women, the list of what hurts them seems to grow, too. A Penn State professor claims Goya's luscious "The Naked Maja," a print of which hangs in her classroom, hurts her ability to teach; it sexually harasses her. A Northwestern University law professor is trying to make street remarks—your basic "hey baby" stuff—legally punishable as assaultive behavior that limits a woman's liberty. Verbal

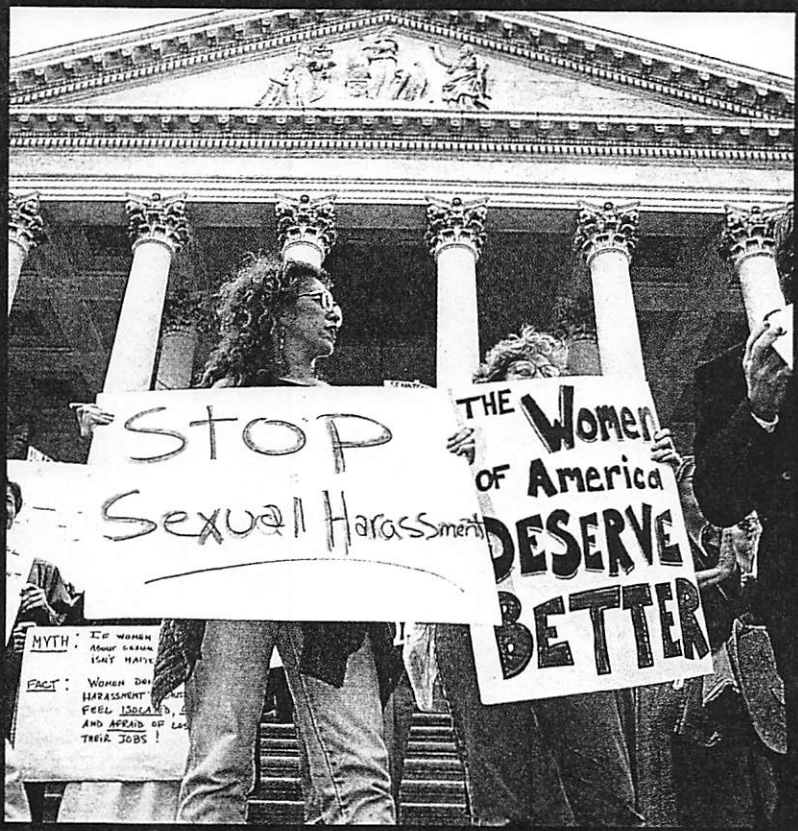
coercion can now constitute rape. But what is verbal coercion—"Do me or die"? Or, "C'mon, Tiffany, if you won't, I'm gonna go off with Heather." If the woman didn't want it, it's sexual assault. And thanks to nature, he's got the deadly weapon.

Feminist politics have now homed in like missiles on the twin issues of date rape and sexual harassment, and the once broad-based women's movement is splintering over the new sexual correctness. "The Morning After: Sex, Fear and Feminism on Campus," a controversial new book by Katie Roiphe, argues that issues like date rape reduce women to helpless victims in need of protective codes of behavior. The much-publicized rules governing sexual intimacy at Antioch College seem to stultify relations between men and women on the cusp of adulthood. Like political correctness on campuses, there's pitifully little room for debate or diverse points of view. For expressing her ideas, Roiphe has received threats. A NEWSWEEK photographer at Antioch—a woman who had permission to photograph—was attacked by a mob of students and, yes, sexually harassed by several who exposed themselves.

The workplace, the campuses and the courts are the new testing grounds of sexual correctness. Complaints of harassment on the job have ballooned in the last three years (page 57) as men and women try to sort out when they can and cannot flirt,

BY SARAH CRICHTON

PHOTOS ON FACING PAGE: LYNN JOHNSON—BLACK STAR. KAREN KASMAUSKI—MATRIX. ART RESOURCE. ILENE ERHLICH. ROB CRANDALL—PICTURE GROUP. GAMMA-LIAISON. ABC—GAMMA-LIAISON. LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK (2). STEPHEN SHAMES—MATRIX. WALLY McNAMEE FOR NEWSWEEK



The feminist battlefield (counterclockwise from above): Clarence Thomas and protesters at his 1991 confirmation hearings, mother and child, Justice Ginsburg, rape accuser Patricia Bowman and William Kennedy Smith, Goya's 'Naked Maja,' prom pair, working mom and son, Antioch students, Boston rape-crisis center

at  
or,  
go  
n't  
to  
ke  
id  
d-  
ng  
ne  
on  
a-  
be  
d  
n-  
cy  
ns  
of  
on  
or  
k-  
d  
n-  
to  
r-  
al  
e  
al  
on  
ee  
o  
t,  
H.  
21.  
EK

flatter, offer a friendly pat. Too many rules? Maybe. The obsession with correct codes of behavior seems to portray women not as thriving on their hard-won independence but as victims who can't take care of themselves. Will the new rules set women free? Or will they set them back?

Young men and women used to be sent off to college with a clear sense of how it would be. Back in the dark ages, when guys still wielded mighty swords and girls still protected their virtue (which is to say, the mid-1960s), in a military school overlooking the Tennessee River, a colonel gathered his graduating cadets for the everything-you-need-to-know-about-sex lecture.

"Gentlemen," he drawled, "soon you'll go off and get married and before you do, you need to understand the differences between men and women."

He began to draw a chart on the blackboard. At the top of one column he wrote MEN, at the top of another, WOMEN. It looked like this:

MEN  
love  
SEX

WOMEN  
LOVE  
sex

"That's what men and women believe in," he said, and then went on to describe a typical wedding night. When the bride finally climbs into bed and sees the groom, he warned, "chances are she'll scream and probably throw up. Don't worry: this is perfectly natural."

Bette Midler had a name for a night like that. Back in the early '70s, she sang of romantic disappointment in a little ditty called "Bad Sex." Everyone had bad sex back then and, to hear them tell, survived just fine. Now feminists on campus quote Andrea Dworkin: "The hurting of women is . . . basic to the sexual pleasure of men."

Rape and sexual harassment are real. But between crime and sexual bliss are some cloudy waters. To maneuver past the shoals, corporations and universities try a two-pronged approach: re-education and regulations. Some rules make sense: "It is unacceptable to have sex with a person if he/she is unconscious." Others seem silly. After attending mandatory sexual-harassment seminars at Geffen Records where she works, Bryn Bridenthal is rethinking every move she makes. "Everybody is looking for anything to be misinterpreted." Bridenthal used to quite innocently stroke the arm of a man who had a penchant for wearing luxuriously soft cashmere sweaters. "I never thought anything about it, but through the seminars I realized that I shouldn't do that," she says. "It's not worth doing anything that might be construed by anyone as sexual harassment."

If it's chilly in the workplace, it's down-

right freezing on campus. No school has concocted guidelines quite as specific as Antioch College's. Deep among the cornfields and pig farms of central Ohio in the town of Yellow Springs, Antioch prides itself on being "A Laboratory for Democracy." The dress code is grunge and black; multiple nose rings are *de rigueur*, and green and blue hair are preferred (if you have hair). Seventy percent of the student body are womyn (for the uninitiated, that's women—without the dreaded men). And the purpose of the Sexual Offense Policy is to empower these students to become equal partners when it comes time to mate with males. The goal is 100 percent consensual sex, and it works like this: it isn't enough to ask someone if she'd like to have sex, as an Antioch women's center advocate told a group of incoming freshmen this fall. You must obtain consent every step of the way. "If you want to take her blouse off, you have to ask. If you want to touch her breast, you have to ask. If you want to move your hand down to her genitals, you have to ask. If you want to put your finger inside her, you have to ask." Well, Molly Bloom would do fine.

How silly this all seems; how sad. It criminalizes the delicious unexpectedness of sex—a hand suddenly moves to here, a mouth to there. What is the purpose of sex if not to lose control? (To be unconscious, no.) The advocates of sexual correctness are trying to take the danger out of sex, but sex is inherently dangerous. It leaves one exposed to everything from euphoria to crashing disappointment. That's its great unpredictability. But of course, that's sort of what we said when we were all made to wear seat belts.

What is implicit in the new sex guide-

### Roiphe condemns feminist hysteria

AMY ARBUS



Where we live,  
where we park,  
where we walk—  
America's women must weigh their personal safety against the increasing odds of criminal attack.

**I Refuse To Be A Victim.**

*Susan Howard is an active women's issues activist and one of the Women of the NRA.*

**You Can, Too.**

*"There is no freedom for women who are afraid to walk alone."*

So what that's wrong. There is no freedom for women who are afraid to walk alone. Free choice is of opportunity and risk is of the routine joys of life. We can take back our neighborhoods and our lives.

That's why the Women of the NRA offer you the expert guidance of our famous To Be A Victim Course. It's a 3-hour confidential seminar for women, by women. You don't have to join the NRA, and you certainly don't have to buy a gun. You only have to choose to take responsibility for your own protection by developing a personal safety strategy.

Just as you can provide for your economic well-being, you can provide for your physical and emotional well-being. You can regain the dignity of personal confidence every woman deserves. You can reclaim your independence from the tragic fear that has become the shameful plague of our times.

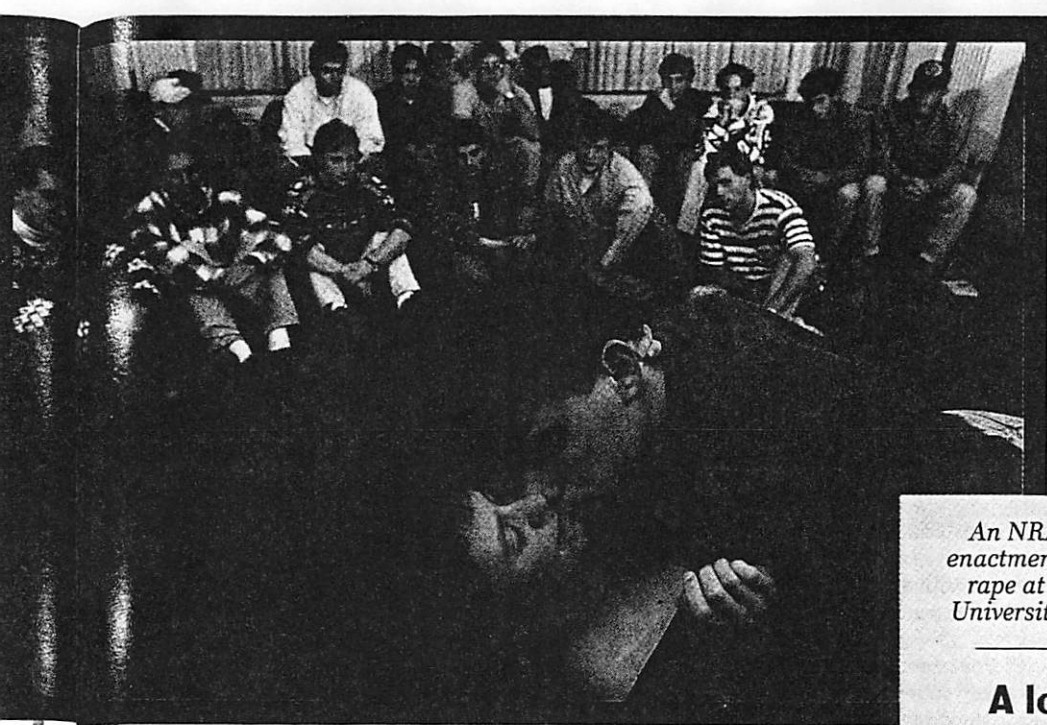
You can refuse to be a victim. Just call 1-800-951-1165 now.

*Susan Howard*  
Susan Howard  
The Women of the NRA

lines is that it's the male who does the initiating and the woman who at any moment may bolt. Some young women rankle at that. "I think it encourages wimpy behavior by women and [the idea] that women need to be handled with kid gloves," says Hope Segal, 22, a fourth-year Antioch student. Beware those boys with their swords, made deaf by testosterone and, usually, blinded by drink.

Drink—the abuse of it, the abuses that occur because of it—is key. In up to 70 percent of acquaintance rapes, alcohol plays a role, says Manhattan sex-crimes prosecutor Linda Fairstein, author of "Sexual Violence: Our War Against Rape." And because alcohol poses such a powerful problem, it is the rule at almost every school (and the law in most states) that "consent is not meaningful" if given while under the influence of alcohol, drugs or prescription medication. If she's drunk, she's not mentally there, and her consent counts for zip. If the man is just as drunk as the woman, that's no excuse. Mary P. Koss is a professor of psychology at the University of Arizona and the author of a highly regarded, if controversial, survey of rape and college-age students. "The Scope of Rape" indicates that one in four college-age students has been the victim of a rape or an attempted rape. In those numbers Koss includes women who have been coerced into having sex while intoxicated. "The law punishes the drunk driver who kills a pedestrian," she argues. "And likewise, the law needs to be there to protect the drunk woman from the driver of the penis."

"Men and women just think differently," Antioch president Alan Guskin says, "and we've got to help the students understand the differences." It's a policy, he says, designed to create a "safe" campus environment. But for all the attempts to make them



NINA BERMAN—SIPA

feel secure, a lot of young college women just feel like sitting ducks. "As a potential survivor . . ." a Barnard student said to a visiting reporter. As a *what?* Potential survivor equals an inevitable victim. Every Wednesday night at Dartmouth, a group of undergraduate women gather to warn one another about potential date rapists. At the University of Michigan, and several other schools as well, when sorority women attend frat parties, a designated "sober" monitor stands guard over her friends. "Whenever people start going upstairs, you go up to them right away," says Marcy Myers. "You ask, 'Do you know this guy? You're drunk, do you want to go home? You can call him tomorrow.'" "My friends won't go to parties at Dartmouth without other women," says Abby Ross, and before they leave the dorm, they check each other's outfits, too. No one wears short skirts. "You should be able to wear whatever you want. But the reality is that you're not dealing with people who have the same set of values," says Ross.

This defensive mind-set is at the heart of the escalating battle over date rape. Critics charge feminists with hyping the statistics and so broadening the definition of rape that sex roles are becoming positively Victorian. Women are passive vessels with no responsibility for what happens; men are domineering brutes with just one thing on their minds. "People have asked me if I have ever been date-raped," writes Katie Roiphe in "The Morning After." "And thinking back on complicated nights, on too many glasses of wine, on strange and familiar beds, I would have to say yes. With such a sweeping definition of rape, I wonder how many people there are, male or female, who haven't been date-raped at one point or another . . . If verbal coercion constitutes rape, then the word 'rape' itself expands to

include any kind of sex a woman experiences as negative."

Roiphe, 25, a Harvard graduate and now a doctoral candidate at Princeton, argues that a hysteria has gripped college campuses, fomented by "rape-crisis feminists." "The image that emerges from feminist preoccupations with rape and sexual harassment is that of women as victims, offended by a professor's dirty joke, verbally pressured into sex by peers. This image of a delicate woman bears a striking resemblance to that '50s ideal my mother and the other women of her generation fought so hard to get away from. They didn't like her passivity . . . her excessive need for protection . . . But here she is again, with her pure intentions and her wide eyes. Only this time it is the feminists themselves who are breathing new life into her."

**R**OIPHE IS GETTING WHOMPED FOR her provocative, though too-loosely documented, book. A "traitor," says Gail Dines, a professor of sociology and women's studies at Wheelock College, who lectures about rape and pornography. She calls Roiphe the "Clarence Thomas of women," just trying to suck up to the "white-male patriarchy." She thinks Roiphe will get her comeuppance. Warns Dines, in a most unsisterly fashion: "[When] she walks down the street, she's one more woman."

So how much of a threat is rape? What are women facing on dates with acquaintances or on the streets with strangers?

An NRA ad, re-enactment of a date rape at a Brown University seminar

**A lot of young college women today just feel like sitting ducks**

Throughout her book, Roiphe wrestles with Koss's one-in-four statistic. "If I was really standing in the middle of an epidemic, a crisis," she asks, "if 25 percent of my female friends were really being raped, wouldn't I know about it?"

Heresy! Denial! Backlash! In an essay in *The New Yorker*, Katha Pollitt fired back: "As an experiment, I applied Roiphe's anecdotal method myself, and wrote down what I knew about my own circle of acquaintance: eight rapes by strangers (including one on a college campus), two sexual assaults (one Central Park, one Prospect Park), one abduction (woman walking down street forced into car full of men), one date rape involving a Mickey Finn, which resulted in pregnancy and abortion, and two stalkings (one ex-lover, one deranged fan); plus one brutal beating by a boyfriend, three incidents of childhood incest (none involving therapist-aided "recovered memories"), and one bizarre incident in which a friend went to a man's apartment after meeting him at a party and was forced by him to spend the night under the shower, naked, while he debated whether to kill her, rape her, or let her go."

Holy moly. Pollitt is one of the wisest essayists around; a fine poet, too. And far be it for us to question her list. So what does the list prove? Well, that even wise feminists fall precisely into the same trap as Roiphe: you can't extrapolate from your circle of acquaintance; friends don't constitute a statistical average. What's more, Pollitt is almost 20 years older than Roiphe; her friends presumably have lived more years, too. Still, Pollitt's litany is shocking. It's punch-my-victim-card time: How full's yours?

"When one woman is raped on campus, all women are afraid to go to the library and finish their chemistry homework," Pat Reuss, a senior policy analyst with the NOW Legal Defense Fund, told a workshop at the NOW National Convention this summer. Today, college students are handed, as part of their orientation programs, pamphlets that spell out the threat and, over and over, the same dire figures appear: As Penn State's Sexual Assault Awareness pamphlet reads, in can't-miss-it type: "FBI statistics indicate that one in three women in our society will be raped during her lifetime."

Except there are no such FBI figures. The figures the FBI does have to offer are

both out-of-date and so conservative that most people dismiss them. The FBI recognizes rape only as involving forcible penetration of the vagina with a penis. Oral sex, anal sex, penetration with an object—these do not officially constitute rape. It doesn't matter to the FBI if a woman was made incapacitated by alcohol or drugs, and the agency certainly isn't interested in verbal coercion. Rape is as narrowly defined by the FBI as could be imagined.

So, in the rape-crisis mentality, the numbers keep being bloated. Which is crazy, considering the fact that even the most conservative numbers are horrifying. College students are a high-risk group. The No. 1 group to be sexually assaulted in this country are 16- to 19-year-olds. The second largest group hit are the 20- to 24-year-old age bracket. Women are four times more likely to be assaulted during these years than at any other time in their lives. Forty-five percent of all rapists arrested are under 25. And as for the most conservative, yet trustworthy, numbers: according to the National Victim Center survey last year—a survey that did not include intoxication—13 percent of adult women are victims of forcible rape. That's one in seven.

**T**HAT'S A LOT. BUT IT DOESN'T mean all women are victims—or survivors, as we are supposed to call them. And it sure doesn't mean all "suffering" warrants attention or retribution—or even much sympathy. When New York state Assemblyman Harvey Weisenberg misspoke during a speech and said "sex" instead of "six," he covered up his error by looking at Assemblywoman Earlene Hill (Democrat of Hempstead) and joked, "Whenever I think of Earlene, I think of sex." Another brutish colleague wouldn't move his legs so she could get to her seat and made her climb over him. Sexual harassment, she cried, saying: "If I don't speak up, then they won't realize it's wrong and there will be a new victim." Oh, please. A student at the University of Virginia told *The New York Times* that she favored a ban on all student/faculty dating because "One of my professors asked me out and it made me really uncomfortable." So tell him to bug off. Artist Sue Williams plopped a six-foot-in-diameter piece of plastic vomit on the floor of the Whitney Museum as her protest against the male-dominated beauty-obsessed culture that makes women stick fingers down their throats. Tell them to get some therapy and cut it out. You want to talk victimization? Talk to the mothers all over America whose children have been slaughtered in urban cross-fire.

"I'm sick of women wallowing in the victim state," says Betty Friedan. "We have empowered ourselves. We are able to blow the whistle on rape. I am not as con-



JEFFREY LOWE

cerned with that as I am with violence in our whole society."

It does seem ironic that the very movement created to encourage women to stand up and fight their own battles has taken this strange detour, and instead is making them feel vulnerable and in need of protection. From the grade schools to the workplace, women are asking that everything be codified: How to act; what to say. Who to date; how to date; when to mate. They're huddling in packs, insisting on a plethora of rules on which to rely, and turning to authority figures to complain when anything goes wrong. We're not creating a society of Angry Young Women. These are Scared Little Girls.

For all the major advances in the status of women in the last 25 years, the shifts in attitudes don't seem to have percolated down to our kids. Parents still raise girls to become wives, and sons to be sons. "I think to some extent we're dealing with a cultural lag," says Janet Hansche, a clinical psychologist and director of the Counseling and Testing Center at Tulane University. "Society still trains women to be pliant, to be nice, to try to avoid saying no, and my guess is that that's most everywhere."

And we're not doing any better raising boys. Obviously something's still screwy in this society. Boys are still being brought up to believe it's the height of cool to score—as if ejaculation were a notable achievement for an adolescent male. Young men still "get tremendous status from aggressiveness," says Debra Haffner, executive director of SECUS (the Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S.). "But no one teaches them how to live in the real world." It is a weird real world when "nice" boys in a "nice" community, good students, good athletes, good family, rape a mentally handicapped girl with a broomstick handle and a plastic baseball bat, and

try to claim it was consensual. "Aren't they virile specimens?" Don Belman boasted to a *New York Times* reporter about his three Spur Posse sons, one of whom was awaiting trial for allegedly trying to run over several girls with a pickup truck while another had been arrested on sexual charges.

All right. Not all boys turn into Glen Ridge, Spur Posse, Tailhook-grabbing beings. But when it comes to human sexuality, the messages that are being sent to kids—male and female—remain cloaked in myth. In 1993, girls who want sex are still sluts, those who don't are still teases. And those who finally make it to college are completely befuddled.

Which is why it's time for everyone who doesn't have a serious problem to pipe down. What is happening on the campuses is scary, because it is polarizing men and women. Rather than encouraging them to work together, to trust one another, to under-

stand one another, it is intensifying suspicion. Brown sophomore David Danon complains, "Women have all the power here on sexual conduct... It's very dangerous for us." If women are so profoundly distrustful of men, how will they raise boys? And if men are so defensive about women, how will they raise little girls? The most pressing problem the majority of American women face isn't rape or sexual harassment. It's the fact that, in addition to holding down full-time work, they still are burdened with the lion's share of parenting and housework responsibility. Add it up, says sociologist Arlie Hochschild, and it comes to a full month's worth of 24-hour days. Line up the 100 most involved fathers you know and ask one question: what size shoes do your children wear?

Real life is messy, rife with misunderstandings and contradictions. There's no eight-page guide on how to handle it. There are no panels of mediators out there to turn to unless it gets truly bad. Those who are growing up in environments where they don't have to figure out what the rules should be, but need only follow what's been prescribed, are being robbed of the most important lesson there is to learn. And that's how to live.

With DEBRA ROSENBERG in Providence, STANLEY HOLMES in Yellow Springs, Ohio, MARTHA BRANT in New York, DONNA FOOTE in Los Angeles, NINA BIDDLE in New Orleans and bureau reports

Prosecutor Fairstein says alcohol plays a huge role in date rapes

**If she's drunk, she's not mentally there, and her consent counts for zip**

# Abused and Confused

*Though sexual-harassment complaints have soared from office to schoolyard, complex legal definitions make settlements tough*

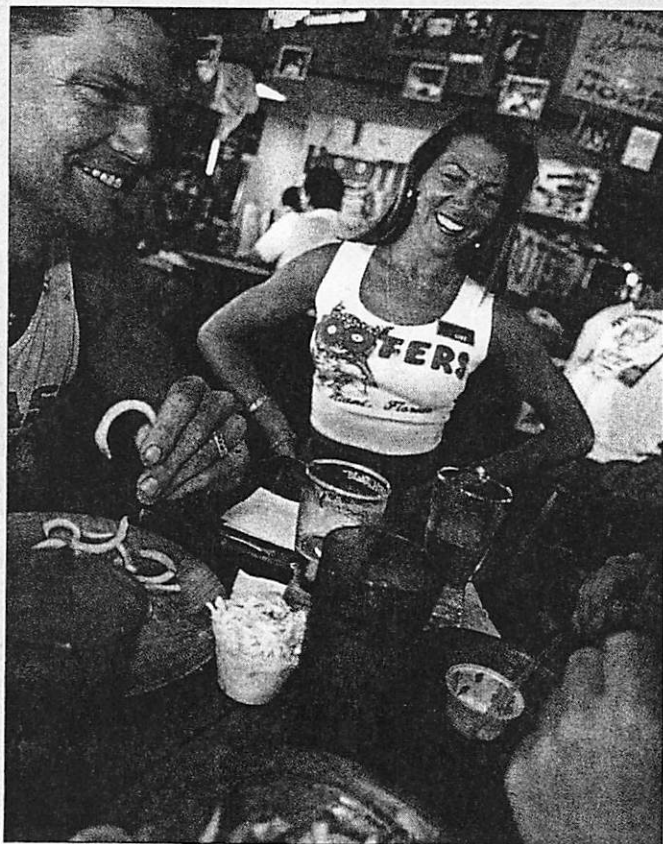
IT WAS ONLY THE SECOND TIME IN history that the Supreme Court took on the question of sexual harassment—but the first time with new Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg on board. In terms of plain speaking, that made all the difference in the world. While lawyers and justices wrangled over the dense legalities of what constitutes sexual harassment, Ginsburg cut to the quick in characteristic no-nonsense fashion. Why, she asked impatiently, can't there be a simple standard for wrongdoing: conduct that, on the basis of sex, makes it more difficult for one employee than another to do a job. "How about just saying that?" said Ginsburg, who built her early legal career charting new ground on women's rights. "Is it really more complex?"

For now it is. But that's quickly changing as sexual harassment becomes central to the courts, corporations and even schools. Two years after the confirmation hearings of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas spurred a national teach-in on the issue, record numbers of women are stepping forward with allegations. The number of complaints filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and state agencies has nearly doubled, from 5,694 cases in 1990 to 10,900 cases in the first eight months of this year. "Are women getting better treatment? Yes. Is harassment lessening? No. But more are reporting it and more are talking to people about it," says Ellen Bravo, executive director of the 9to5 National Association of Working Women. Yet bosses and judges still have trouble separating harassment from merely oafish behavior. And confusion abounds over legal remedies as well as the limits of the law.

In the case before the Supreme Court, manager Teresa Harris charged that Charles Hardy, the president of Forklift Systems, Inc., of Nashville, Tenn., had overstepped the bounds with her. She says that he'd suggest, "Let's go to the Holiday Inn to negotiate your raise." He'd call her a "dumb-ass woman." He'd ask her and other women to put their hands in his pants pocket to retrieve change. According to a lower court, Hardy's behavior was "annoying and insensitive" but wasn't harassment because Harris didn't prove it caused her "severe psychological injury."

Ironically, the Supreme Court itself created the confusion over the definition of sexual harassment. Seven years ago the

court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 protects workers from sexual harassment that fosters a "hostile environment," whether it's from boss to employee or worker to worker. But the justices didn't spell out the mechanics for proving it. Some lower courts insist women show the harassment interfered with their jobs, while others demand measurable psychological injury. It's rarely clear-cut. In a harassment suit brought against Hooters restaurants, several former waitresses argued that just because they agreed to wear the chain's body-baring uniforms, they didn't sign on for the overtures they claim came from bosses and customers. "The company can't merely say, 'Yes, we're sexist, everyone knows it, in-



JANET JARMIN—MIAMI HERALD

**'The company can't merely say, "Yes, we're sexist, everyone knows it . . . " That's like saying, "We're racist, so get used to it".'**

*A hoot? Or harassment? For some Hooters waitresses, the uniform is no joke.*

BY MICHELE INGRASSIA



RON THOMAS—REUTER

Harris after Supreme Court hearing

## Separating harassment from oafish behavior confounds bosses and judges

cluding the women who work here,'” says Lori Peterson, the women’s Minneapolis attorney. “That’s like saying, ‘We’re racist so get used to it.’” Hooters vice president Mike McNeil insists the point of the uniforms is sex appeal, not sexual harassment.

Despite new awareness of harassment, a Working Woman magazine survey shows that just 26 percent of women who say they’ve been harassed report the incident. Many women are just too afraid of retribution, and often their fears are justified.

FBI agent Suzane Doucette says that’s why she announced last week she was quitting her job. Doucette, who became an agent in 1984, says her boss, Herbert H. Hawkins Jr., sexually assaulted her in a Tucson, Ariz., hotel four years later. (Hawkins, now retired, denies the allegation.) Doucette claims she didn’t complain because he threatened to bar her husband’s transfer from an FBI job in New York to Arizona, where she was stationed. But though she’d become a highly commended agent, she says harassment from other colleagues continued. Last April, Doucette filed a discrimination complaint with the Justice Department. A month later, as she was to testify before a Senate committee about her treatment by the FBI, she learned she was the target of what she calls a bogus criminal investigation into allegations that she’d passed unspecified classified documents to an attorney.

“The FBI was an organization I trusted,” she said. “I expected they’d say, ‘Sue Doucette, you’re a loyal worker and we’ll help you.’”

In corporate America, nearly all large companies now have policies against harassment. But simple economics may be doing more to stem harassment than political correctness ever could. Sexual-harassment cases cost a typical Fortune 500 company more than \$8 million a year, including lost productivity and talent, says consultant Freada Klein of Cambridge, Mass. Programs to sensitize workers cost 36 times less. Most firms also have “slush funds” to quietly settle suits that could otherwise result in messy public trials. “They’re willing to pay substantially to avoid that,” says Michael Duffy, chairman of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. Experts say the numbers can easily reach six figures—but that’s a bargain next to the multimillion-dollar judgments that juries typically award in harassment cases.

**School policies:** In probably the boldest turn in the post-Thomas era, feminists are now taking the harassment battle from boardrooms to elementary and junior-high schools. “Peer harassment is an issue that’s just coming out of the closet,” says Pat Callbeck Harper, a Montana “gender equity specialist.” A Seventeen magazine survey this year found that 89 percent of young girls said they had been the target of the most common harassment—sexual comments, gestures and looks. Yet Minnesota and California are the only states that have separate laws barring sexual harassment in schools and requiring school policies covering peer harassment.

Distinguishing a joke from assault can be difficult, especially among hormonally charged adolescents. For them, it can be paralyzing. That’s the claim in one of the most closely watched cases in the country, brought by a 12-year-old girl at Kennilworth Junior High in Petaluma, Calif. She began to be teased by two pubescent boys. “I hear you have a hot dog in your pants,” they’d say. The taunts soon came from girls, too. Even the haven of the classroom was punctured when a boy asked, “Did you have sex with a hot dog?” After two years, the girl’s parents sent her to another school, but the ugly joke followed. Now she attends a private high school—and she’s suing the Petaluma school district for \$1 million. A federal judge has ruled that taunting is peer-to-peer harassment if it creates a “hostile environment,” but he also said that to win damages, the girl would have to prove, “discriminatory intent” by officials.

Are the courts getting mired in frivolous charges? When a 15-year-old boy fondled the breasts of two 13-year-old girls at Longfellow Intermediate School in Fairfax County, Va., last year, he landed not in the

principal’s office, but at the police station. Clark University law professor Christina Hoff Summers asks, “Why call it harassment when the real problem is discipline?”

The next battleground could be the streets. Northwestern University law professor Cynthia Bowman argued in a Harvard Law Review article last January that the remarks and catcalls that rain down on women from construction workers and investment bankers alike can be “assaultive.” She wants women to fight back in the courts, even if the proposal does run headlong into the First Amendment. Isabelle Katz Pinzler, director of the Women’s Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union, says streets must be protected as free “marketplaces” of ideas. “Having to endure unpleasant speech is the price we pay in order to preserve free speech, and some people feel that price more keenly than others.” Then there are the practical aspects of taking on an abusive hard hat. “What do you do,” asks Pinzler, “stop the person who’s harassing you and ask for their name and address so you can sue them?” Women still have to pick their battles and, for now, they’re standing up to the boss. And they’re finding some success—even in a chaotic legal landscape.

With MELINDA LIU in Washington,  
CARL HOLCOMBE in San Francisco,  
SEEMA NAYYAR in New York and bureau reports



DENNIS COOK—AP

Doucette feels forced to leave the FBI

## Many women are just too afraid of retribution, and often their fears are justified

# Whose Hype?

*Date-rape revisionists attack the victim mind-set.  
But victimization of women is no fantasy.*

**D**ID YOU GET THE SAME irksome feeling of *déjà vu* as I did reading about Katie Roiphe's book, "The Morning After," that much-ballyhooed attack on so-called victim feminism? You're not imagining things. You may have read an excerpt from the book "Rape Hype Betrays Feminism," in the June 13 New York Times Magazine, or you may remember Roiphe's "Date Rape Hysteria" on the Times's op-ed page of Nov. 20, 1991. Or maybe you saw a reprint of her op-ed piece—in Playboy. Strange times we live in when Playboy finds its best misogynist fare in the pages of the Times.

Or maybe you didn't enter the Roiphe echo chamber but just read one of the many recent features that deem acquaintance rape a nonproblem and paint feminists as "neo-Victorian" prudes terrorizing gals with rape tall tales. What you probably missed was the coverage that viewed acquaintance rape as legitimate. Not your fault; it went by in a flash. When the media discover a feminist concern, it gets less than five minutes of serious consideration; then comes a five-year attack. Most stories have raised a doubting eyebrow: "Crying Rape" or "Date Rape, Part 2: The Making of a Crisis" (complete with cartoons).

Roiphe and others "prove" their case by recycling the same anecdotes of false accusations; they all quote the same "expert" who disparages reports of high rape rates. And they never interview any real rape victims. They advise us that a feeling of victimization is no longer a reasonable response to sexual violence; it's a hallucinatory state of mind induced by witchy feminists who cast a spell on impressionable coeds. These date-rape revisionists claim to be liberating young women from the victim mind-set. But is women's sexual victimization just a mind trip—or a reality?

Roiphe's book says the feminist assertion that one in four women is a victim of rape or attempted rape can't be right because, "If 25 percent of my women friends were



GWENDOLEN CATES—SYGMA

*Faludi debunks the debunkers*

**Stand-tall new  
feminists use wit,  
not whining, to  
make their point**

being raped—wouldn't I know it?" Roiphe must've skipped Statistics 101: one's friends don't constitute a scientific sample. She then bases her entire argument on the "findings" of University of California professor Neil Gilbert. Gilbert has actually never done any research on rape, but he's denounced feminist scholarship on rape in such conservative periodicals as *The Public Interest*. And he's not a neutral academic; he successfully campaigned to cancel a California school sex-abuse prevention program and is now crusading against federal funds for rape prevention. He argues that the one-in-four rape/attempted rape figure is based on a "radical feminist" study that labeled anything from "the slightest pressure" to "sweet talk" as rape. The real number, he says, is one in 1,000.

Gilbert gets this figure from the National Crime Survey (NCS), a poll that even its

own researchers fault for undercounting rape. Until recently, the NCS asked the people polled if they had experienced just about every crime *but* rape; victims had to volunteer it on their own. The survey uses an old definition of rape that doesn't fit current laws; for instance, the NCS doesn't term forced oral or anal sex as rape. And the one-in-1,000 figure is based on rapes and attempted rapes in a six-month period; the one-in-four figure reflects how many occurred since a college-age woman turned 14.

Despite Gilbert's claim, the one-in-four figure does not include women who felt sweet-talked into sex. It's true the survey (funded not by a feminist cabal but by the National Institute of Mental Health) asked women if they ever felt pressured into sex, but that data was not included in the final count. Numerous other studies bear these figures out. The bottom line: the number of sexual assaults in the FBI files has risen four times as fast as the total crime rate in the last decade.

The date-rape revisionists claim a feminist-provoked rape hysteria is causing young women to "wallow in victimhood." According to a Senate report, at least 84 percent of rapes go unreported. So where exactly have these chroniclers of "rape hype" spied hordes of victim-emoting gals anyway? Maybe in Hollywood films or on TV where "women in jep" clot the screen. Maybe in the fashion ads featuring wan, cowering waifs. But not in feminist circles where the most striking recent development has been a massive influx not of hanky-clutching neo-Victorians but of such stand-tall feminist groups as Riot GRRRL, Guerrilla Girls, WHAM, YELL, and, my personal favorite, Random Pissed Off Women. These new feminists use wit, not whining, megaphones, not moping, to deliver their point.

There is indeed a national "hysteria" over this new forceful feminism—but it's *male* hysteria. The real cultural fear is not that women are becoming too Victorian but that they're becoming too damn aggressive—in and out of bed. Let's recall where this victimhood argument first surfaced: in conservative journal articles by men. Nearly two years before the Times printed Roiphe's "Rape Hype," Commentary published Norman Podhoretz's seven-page denial of date rape. This "brazen campaign" by feminists, he warned, will deny men their privilege of "normal seduction" and "male initiative." "The number of 'wimps' ... will multiply apace," as will—drum roll—"the incidence of male impotence."

Now I ask you, just who's spouting hype?

*Faludi, author of the best seller "Backlash," is writing a book on the "masculinity crisis."*

**B Y S U S A N F A L U D I**

# Stop Whining!

*The feminist fringe frets about oppression, but mainstream women want economic equality*

**T**HE FEMINIST MOVEMENT has a problem: it has lost control of its message and its image. American women still feel a need for a strong women's movement, yet an overwhelming majority reject the feminist label. This paradox is the result of feminist extremists who have come to define the whole movement (not unlike a few vocal homophobes and bigots who rendered the whole GOP an ugly, intolerant caricature in 1992).

Perceptions die hard. In an insightful Atlantic article, "Feminism's Identity Crisis," Wendy Kaminer notes that "the popular image of feminism as a more or less united quest for androgynous equality . . . is at least 10 years out of date." Ask any woman why she's not a feminist and she's likely to say: I don't want to emulate men to succeed—I like being a woman; I respect the right of women to stay home; I don't hate men.

Though feminist leaders are mostly aligned with those sentiments, they can't separate their quest for economic equity from the inane political correctness of their extremist sisters. Mainstream women, who still make only 76 cents for every \$1 of male earnings, are dispirited by a movement that seems to have abandoned the objective of economic equity for fuzzy-headed forays into cultural P.C.

It is feminist heresy to speak out against these cultural crackpots, but the consequences of permitting their lunacy to continue unchecked are dire not just for the women's movement but for all women.

These extremists have tragically transmuted the energizing battle cry "I am woman, I am strong" to the neurotic "I am woman, I am oppressed, victimized, powerless." These women do not represent people like us. For women like you and me, to paraphrase a 1992 political cliché, "It's economics, stupid."

Women want equality. Equality in a capitalist society means economic equality. Money is power. Power is equality.

Men always understood money is power.



AMY ARBUS

*Matalin is tired of the P.C. police*

**Get those moody girls a prescription of Motrin and water pills, quick**

Though feminist leaders profess an economic-empowerment agenda, their efforts are diluted by the proponents of victimization and their sensationalized tales of endless, inescapable oppression at the hands of testosterone-mad, women-loathing, capitalist-pig, Cro-Magnon brutish men.

A right-wing reaction, a backlash sellout, you say? Let's go to the Mecca of P.C. feminism: the "womyn's movement" on college campuses. For a recent Mother Jones article, Karen Lehrman "toured the world of women's studies," where she found classes operating off of several regressive principles: "Women were and are oppressed . . . Men, capitalism and Western values are responsible for women's problems." Victimized women are elevated; individual merit is downplayed. A few campus radicals? No, activists whose theories become policies hyping nonexistent

problems, shifting attention from real ones.

The latest trendy, anti-man, women-as-victim, anti-individual-responsibilities P.C. policy is institutional "courtship management." Students at Antioch College must get verbal consent before any act of intimacy—from kissing to sex—or risk expulsion.

This policy is premised on the overhyped problem of campus date rape. The hype is based on the man-hating extremist notion that all heterosexual males are testosterone-mad, uncontrollable rapists (and we get mad at them for asking about PMS!). Feminists claim one of four coeds is a victim of rape or attempted rape. As Katie Roiphe, author of "The Morning After," rightfully notes, the campus feminists propagating these statistics "were not presenting facts. They were advertising a mood." Well, get these moody girls a prescription of Motrin and water pills, quick.

What does this feminist P.C. policy teach young people? (A) Laws are made to be broken. Sorry. It was ever thus: when electric connection is in the air, neither he nor she is gonna whip out a three-ring binder and record for campus police the actual recitation of consent to kiss. (B) Women are powerless, innocent victims; men are overpowering, sex-crazed barbarians; both are infants who, without written instructions, are incapable of mature communication. (C) Individuals have no free will or responsibility for their actions. Roiphe notes that 73 percent of the "rape victims" in the coed study did not initially define their experiences as rape. They affirmed they had intercourse when they didn't want to because a man gave them drugs or alcohol. Warping the statistics trivializes the far fewer but *real* cases of acquaintance rape.

The feminist hype follows young women into adulthood. Remember the screamer headlines: SUPER BOWL SUNDAY WORST DAY OF YEAR FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN. This *invented* fraudulent data impairs the efforts to help *real* battered women. Meanwhile, in the workplace, the P.C. police are busy ferreting out male pigs. Since 1991, the EEOC reports a 58 percent increase in harassment claims. Spurred on by the proponents of victimization, frivolous claims clog the system while real cases go unremedied.

Mainstream feminists, get a grip. There's a reason 63 percent of those you purport to empower spurn you. We are not victims; our daughters are not infants; our sons are no brutes; our men are not monstrous pigs. The extremists have hijacked your bully pulpit; your hard-earned successes are being mutilated by their excesses. They redefined the last 30 years—don't let them define the next.

*Matalin, political director of the Bush campaign, cohosts cable TV's "Equal Time."*

**B Y M A R Y M A T A L I N**

# Balancing Act

*She says rape, he says she's lying. How can the rights of both victim and accused be preserved?*

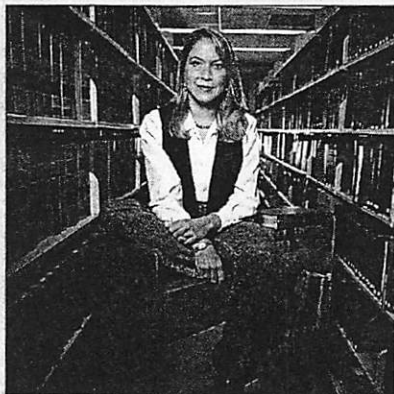
**J**OHN AND MARY ARE COLLEGE classmates. They go out on a date. He comes back for a drink. She asks him to leave. He refuses. He kisses her. She tells him to stop. He pushes her down, pulls off her clothes, forces himself on her.

Is it rape? Five or 10 years ago most prosecutors wouldn't have touched the case, even if they believed her. Today they would. That's a major step forward. There's just one problem. What if she's lying?

There were no witnesses, of course. There were no bruises, no beatings. It's a case of she says, he says. So how does John defend himself without destroying her? And how do we protect his right to defend himself without giving every man accused of rape the right to humiliate his truthful accuser?

Date rape, increasingly, is rightly being viewed as rape. The legal definition of rape turns on force and nonconsent, not on the relationship between the accuser and the accused. That doesn't mean that all or nearly all heterosexual sex is rape—a straw man initially constructed by a few radical feminists and conveniently embraced by the media cave men and their neofeminist friends. Men are not expected to be mind readers, and regrets the next morning do not make sex rape. But men are expected to take no for an answer, and if they don't, and overpower the woman instead, it's no longer a defense that she was asking for it by going on a date or coming back for a drink. If deterrence works at all, dating should be safer today than it used to be. As for sexual harassment, while the lines remain fuzzy, there is a growing consensus that the more extreme forms of harassment that used to come with the job today come with a right to compensatory damages.

William Kennedy Smith's lawyers and Clarence Thomas's defenders did not argue, as they might have a few years before, that no means yes, or that sexual harassment is a trivial complaint. Instead they argued that Patty Bowman and Anita Hill were liars, and they sought every opportu-



GWENDOLEN CATES—SYGMA

*Estrich offers advice about consent*

## Nuts and sluts is the new defense of choice in sexual-abuse cases

nity to portray them as sexually permissive and psychologically unstable.

Nuts and sluts is the new defense of choice in sexual-abuse cases because in many cases, it's the only choice. If you can't argue that date rape isn't really rape, or that sexual harassment comes with the job, then you have to argue that the woman is lying. If culpability isn't an issue, then credibility may be the only game in town.

But destroying the credibility of an adult woman is no easy task. In the old days you could argue that women lied about sexual abuse because they were ashamed of their sexual urges. Today, if you're trying to destroy a woman's credibility, you argue that she's sexually permissive (so she consented) and unstable (so she lied about it). Why else would a grown woman consent to sex and then turn around and endure all of the difficulties of a rape prosecution?

The traditional feminist viewpoint is that the privacy of the woman must be protected, that rape shield laws prohibiting inquiries into a woman's sexual past must be strictly construed. Which makes perfect sense if you put yourself in the shoes of a woman who really has been abused (or of her father or brother). Why should guilty men go free by humiliating their victims a second time? Why go back to the old days, when the victim was put on trial instead of the accused? No wonder many feminists see a disquieting trend in recent court decisions nibbling at, if not wholly eviscerating, protections once taken for granted.

They're right, as long as you assume that all men accused of rape are guilty. That's an assumption I can't make.

**Credibility contest:** No study has ever found that women lie about rape more often than men do about other crimes. Quite the contrary, the larger problem seems to be that women who really have been raped are understandably afraid to come forward. But even if it's only one man in a thousand who is wrongly accused, our system demands that the innocent man has a right to defend himself. And how do you defend yourself in a credibility contest if you don't have the tools to destroy the credibility of your opponent?

Two years ago the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court held that the defendant in a rape case had a right to examine the psychiatric records of his accuser. The particular case was full of the kind of troublesome facts that help explain the court's unease: the man and woman were college friends; they remained close friends after the alleged attack, she even invited him to join her at her family's home. Maybe she really was unstable. Maybe he really was an innocent man. The problem is that the court's decision applies to everyone. Instead of a careful balance between the rights of accuser and accused, the court declared open season on all victims.

When I was raped, nearly 20 years ago, there was only one kind of rape. A stranger held a gun or a knife to your throat. The police were more likely to be persuaded if the stranger was black. That was rape. The rest was your fault. That's changed, but sadly, it may be just as difficult today for the woman sitting in the back of the police car.

The challenge is to get the balance right: to protect innocent women and innocent men. But even in the best of situations, even with the best balancing, rape prosecutions will not be easy for women because, fortunately for all of us, we live in a system that prefers to free 10 guilty men rather than punish a single innocent one.

*Susan Estrich, author of "Real Rape," is professor of law and political science at USC.*

**B Y S U S A N E S T R I C H**

## The Urge to 'Startle People'

**Ideas:** Nobels for two maverick economists

**I**F YOU HEARD AN ECONOMIST SAY THAT slavery, despite its immorality, is a profitable and efficient system, you'd expect it to touch off a thunderclap of protest. That, in fact, is exactly what happened 19 years ago when University of Chicago economist Robert W. Fogel coauthored "Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery." But last week Fogel heard more welcome noise—a round of applause from Sweden. At 67, the iconoclastic scholar was named a winner of this year's Nobel Prize in Economics.

In fact, Fogel is one of two mavericks who will share the \$825,000 prize. The Academy also honored Douglass North, a Washington University professor who has criticized traditional economics for its failure to recognize the role government plays in economic development. "Both Bob and Doug like to startle people," says Peter Tem-



CHARLES BENNETT—AP

**Sweet reward:** Winner Fogel with his wife, Enid

in, a professor of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "They like to take controversial opinions and argue them articulately. The debates they spark lead to research, and in that sense they've been very helpful to the field."

The revisionists have lit sparks around some of the profession's most widely held ideas. North, 72, spent more than 50 years pondering the question "Why do some countries become rich, while others remain poor?"; in recent years he has counseled leaders of developing countries in Eastern Europe and South America. Fogel conclud-

ed that slavery languished because of politics, not economics, and that slaves were treated better than historians had thought. He also argued that railroads had little significance on America's economic growth in the 19th century.

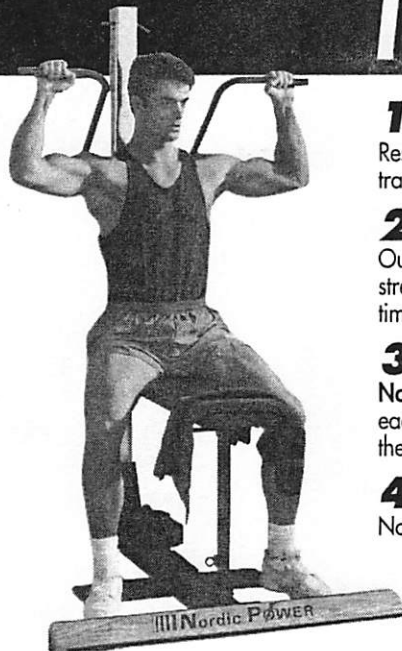
Last week's announcement marks the first time the Nobel Committee has chosen economic historians for its award. Both Fogel and North have been credited with founding the discipline of cliometrics, the application of economic theory to history, a subject traditional economists have large-

ly ignored. The two say they hope the prize will draw more attention to the field they helped pioneer. "Economic history has a lot to contribute to understanding how the world works," says North. Other experts agree that the recognition helps show that there's more to economics than mere numbers. As Donald McCloskey, professor at the University of Iowa, puts it, "A lot of the awards in economics have gone to people for work done on the blackboard." This time the highest award of all went to two men who weren't afraid to scratch on it.

ANNETTA MILLER with CAREY MONSERRATE

# NORDICPOWER IS 4 WAYS BETTER THAN SOLOFLEX!

**SAVE \$295 vs. Soloflex®**



### 1. BETTER WORKOUT!

Research proves that the isokinetic resistance offered by the NordicPower® strength trainer develops lean muscle more efficiently than isotonic-resistance machines like Soloflex®.

### 2. FASTER RESULTS!

Our patented isokinetic-resistance mechanism automatically adjusts to match your strength level and maximize your strength-training results. And that means your changeover time between NordicPower exercises is 40% faster than Soloflex.

### 3. SAFER RESISTANCE SYSTEM!

NordicPower provides resistance only during the positive (the pushing or pulling) phase of each exercise. By eliminating resistance during the negative (the return) phase, it minimizes the training injuries and muscle soreness you get with isotonic strength-training systems.

### 4. SUPERIOR PAYMENT PLAN!

Now, for the first time, you can own a NordicPower for just 12 monthly payments of \$58.33!\*\*

**Best of all...it's from NordicTrack! 30-day in-home trial!**

**CALL FOR A FREE VIDEO AND BROCHURE!**

**NordicPOWER 1-800-441-7890 Ext. 43KJ3**

©1993 NordicTrack, Inc., A CML Company • All rights reserved.  
Soloflex is a registered trademark of Soloflex Inc. \*Comparison based on phone conversation with a Soloflex representative, August 23, 1993 on Soloflex model #01050, plus two attachments (curl tube and dip bar) priced at \$995.00. \*\* Shipping and handling and applicable tax will be added to first payment.

**or write: NordicTrack, Dept 43KJ3  
104 Peavey Road, Chaska, MN 55318-2355**