Margo Okazawa-Rey/Gwyn Kirk

Maximum Security*

Abstract: Okazawa-Rey and Kirk argue that the term *maximum security*, used in the context of the prison system, is an oxymoron. Jails, prisons, and other 'correctional' facilities provide no real security for communities, guards and other prison officials, or inmates. Imprisoning two million people, building more prisons, identifying poor and working-class youth of colour as 'gang members,' and criminalizing poor Black and Latina women does not increase security. Rather, the idea of security must be redefined in sharp contrast to everyday notions of personal security that are based on the protection of material possessions by locks and physical force, as well as prevailing definitions of national and international security based on a militarization that includes the police, border patrols, and armed forces such as the Navy, Army, Marines, and Air Force. To achieve genuine security, we must address the major sources of insecurity: economic, social, and political inequalities among and within nations and communities. The continual objectification of 'others' is a central mechanism underlying systems of oppression—and insecurity—based on class, race, gender, nation, and other significant lines of difference.

Keywords: global issues; prisons; insecurity; equality—inequality; community organization.

Hochsicherheit

Zusammenfassung: Okazawa-Rey und Kirk stellen die These auf, dass es sich bei dem Begriff der *Hochsicherheit*, wie etwa in einem ‚Hochsicherheitsgefängnis', um ein Oxymoron handelt. Justizvollzugsanstalten und andere sogenannte ‚Besserungsanstalten' bieten keine wirkliche Sicherheit für Gemeinden, Wärter und andere Angestellte oder Insassen. Zwei Millionen Menschen einzukerkern, neue Gefängnisse zu bauen, einkommensschwache Jugendliche of Colour aus der Arbeiterklasse als ‚Bandenmitglieder' zu bezeichnen und einkommensschwache schwarze und lateinamerikanische Frauen zu kriminalisieren führt nicht zu mehr Sicherheit. Die Vorstellung von Sicherheit müsste vielmehr neu definiert werden: In deutlicher Abgrenzung zu einem alltäglichen Verständnis von persönlicher Sicherheit einerseits, welches sich auf dem Schutz materiellen Eigentums durch Schlösser und physische Kraft gründet, und weit verbreiteten Definitionen nationaler und internationaler Sicherheit andererseits, die auf Militarisierung durch Polizei, Grenzschutz, und bewaffnete Streitkräfte wie Navy, Army, Marines, und Air Force basieren. Um echte Sicherheit zu schaffen, müssen die wichtigsten Quellen von Unsicherheit bekämpft werden: ökonomische, soziale und politische Ungleichheiten innerhalb und zwischen Nationen und Gemeinden. Die anhaltende Objektifizierung von ‚Anderen' ist ein zentraler Mechanismus hinter Systemen der Unterdrückung – und der Unsicherheit, die sich an Klasse, *race*, Geschlecht, Nation und anderen einflussreichen Unterscheidungslinien generiert.

Schlagwörter: globale Problemstellungen; Gefängnisse; Unsicherheit; Gleichheit/Ungleichheit; community organization.

The Term *Maximum Security*, used in the context of the prison system, is an oxymoron. Jails, prisons, and other 'correctional' facilities provide no real security for communities, guards and other prison officials, or inmates. Imprisoning two million people, building more prisons, identifying poor and working-class youth of color as 'gang members,' and criminalizing poor Black and Latina women does not increase security.

Rather, we argue that the idea of security must be redefined in sharp contrast to everyday notions of personal security that are based on the protection of material possessions by locks and physical force, as well as prevailing definitions of national and international security based on a militarization that includes the police, border patrols, and armed forces such as the Navy, Army, Marines, and Air Force. To achieve genuine security, we must address the major sources of insecurity: economic, social, and political inequalities among and within nations and communities. The continual objectification of 'others' is a central mechanism underlying systems of oppression—and insecurity—based on class, race, gender, nation, and other significant lines of difference (Mies/Shiva 1993; Plumwood 1993).

Many people worldwide—in rich and poor countries—lack food, clean water, adequate housing, or a means of livelihood. Others have been dislocated and scarred, physically and emotionally, by war, the threat of war, or preparations for war. Many suffer abuse at the hands of family members. Environmental degradation and an economic system that puts profits before human needs affect us all. The intensification of global economic connections, leading to the widening gap between rich and poor, is a life-threatening process for many people, and for the physical environment. At root, this global economic system does not value people or the nonhuman world. How, then, do we think of security?

A more sustainable and secure future means rethinking current economic systems and priorities, and emphasizing ecologically sound production to meet people's basic needs. At a local level it implies support for community gardens, farmer's markets, credit unions, and small-scale worker-owned businesses and markets. It implies local control over transnational corporations and the reduction of poor countries' foreign debt. It means living more simply; recycling materials; mending clothes, shoes, and appliances; bartering for some of the things we need; and buying directly from farmers and craft workers. It means valuing unpaid domestic and caring work, a key aspect of sustaining home and community. It requires a broader definition of wealth to include everything that has the potential to enrich people and their communities: health and well-being, physical energy and strength, safety, time, skills, talents, wisdom, creativity, love, community support, a connection to one's own history and cultural heritage, and a sense of belonging. It is important to separate the *quality* of our lives from the *standard* of our living. Frugality originally meant fruitfulness (Filemyr 1995).

False Faces of Security

Prevailing conceptualizations of security rely on strength and force. Security involves domination and subordination, control and power over the environment, 'other' people, and nations. It manifests itself in locks, gates, fences, prisons, and borders—keeping some people in and others out. It relies on weapons, from an individual's use of mace or guns to a nation's stockpiling of arms, high military budgets, and the international arms trade. Security is promoted as something one can buy. It also involves the accumulation of material wealth and state-controlled legal relationships like marriage. We call these the 'false faces' of security because, although they may appear to or indeed provide an economic and personal foundation for individuals, they are all ways of separating people and maintaining inequalities between haves and have-nots—between those in the center and the others on the margins. Moreover, they are short-term gains. They cannot address most sources of human insecurity.

Individualism: We are urged to think of ourselves as independent and invulnerable even though most of what we accomplish is not done independently, but through the support of a complex network of connections to others—many of whom we do not know. The idea of mutual aid as a central principle of social cohesion and development has been put forward by many thinkers (Kropotkin 1955), but competitiveness is a core cultural value, especially in the U.S. and Western Europe, and is rapidly becoming more so in many other societies.

Traditional Family Values: Patriarchal notions of womanhood separate 'good' women, those who conform to culture-specific female ideals, from 'bad women,' those who challenge or transgress these standards. The 'patriarchal bargain' promises a great deal to good women, especially when they enter the marriage contract (Stacey 1996). The promises include economic security and personal protection to wives and mothers. Yet the incidence of violence and sexual abuse in families, particularly against women and children, puts the lie to the idea of the family as a "haven in a heartless world" (Lasch 1977). In fact, although outlawed in 37 states, rape within marriage is still not taken seriously.

Rape now is recognized as a conscious act in war making because it keeps up the troops' morale by providing sexual release and by humiliating the men considered 'enemies.' Although it is an act of aggression and hostility against women of the enemy group or country, it is aimed, through them, at their husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers (Brownmiller 1976). Well-documented examples come from the use of rape in the Vietnam War (Enloe 1983) and the systematic, mass rape of Muslim and Croatian women by Serbian soldiers and U.N. 'peacekeeping' forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina (MacKinnon 1993; Pitter/Stilmayer 1993; Tax 1993). In Okinawa, Japan, and South Korea, military violence against women has become routine for U.S. troops based overseas (Enloe 2000; Kirk/Okazawa-Rey 1998a), even when these countries have not been directly involved in war.

Corporate Capitalism: Even in the U.S., materially the richest country in the world, 36 million people are hungry or unsure of where their next meal will come from and 14 million of these are children (Glickman 1999); each night approximately 750,000 or two million people per year are homeless (National

Alliance to End Homelessness n.d.); over 43 million have no health insurance (Families USA 2000), 20% of children live in poverty, and 33% will be poor at some point in their lives (Children's Defense Fund 2000). Economic restructuring—automation, downsizing, and moving jobs to places where workers will accept lower pay—has created 'economically surplus people' worldwide. Corporations have no loyalties to the communities they leave behind. This reality forces us to confront fundamental contradictions that affect the way many people think about work:

- How are we going to make a living?
- What should count as work?
- How should work be rewarded?
- How should those without paid work, many of them women, be supported?
- How can the growing inequalities within and between countries be justified?
- Is continually expanding consumption necessary? Is it a mark of success?

Individuals and communities are pressured to buy into a scarcity mentality that is fundamental to capitalist economic systems, as opposed to a belief that there is enough, even more than enough, to provide for people's basic physical needs and more. Beyond a certain point, material goods do not provide security.

Getting an Education: Formal schooling is often assumed to be a source of security for individuals and their families. For many people in industrialized countries, however, education no longer guarantees a reliable job. Some young people in the United States, especially those in inner-city areas, already know this and drop out of school, believing it to be irrelevant to their lives. This raises crucial questions concerning the purpose of education and what people need to know. Industrialization and economic development devalue and wipe out other literacies, such as knowledge of local plants and their uses, or basic food production.

Corporate Medicine: The Western medical model separates physical, mental, and emotional well-being and focuses on illness rather than on the wholeness of people's lives. Its emphasis on drugs, surgery, and other high-tech procedures, which earn high profits for drug companies and the manufacturers of medical equipment, has severely skewed the range of treatments available. Western medicine is medicalizing natural processes such as pregnancy and menopause. Although many people benefit from vaccines, antibiotics, drug treatments, and surgery, this form of medicine does not cure chronic conditions, is not preventive, is a source of iatrogenic disease, limits people's knowledge and ability to care for themselves, and is expensive, whether the costs fall on individuals or are shared by society as a whole.

Bigger Prisons, Stronger Borders: Security systems based on locks, high walls, and secure borders assume that threats come from 'others,' from 'outsiders.' In the current U.S. context, this means African Americans, Latinos and

Latinas, and Central and Latin American immigrants. In contrast to stereotypical portrayals of uncontrollable men of color lurking in dark alleyways in urban centers, violent crime, in general, and crimes committed by African Americans, in particular, have declined steadily since 1973, when official records first began to be kept (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1999). Yet local and national politicians have voted to add more police officers in urban 'trouble spots,' to build more prisons and jails than ever before, and to arrest and imprison increasing numbers of people of color.

Congress has enacted more restrictive immigration policies, and state and local governments have adopted punitive social policies such as denying health care and social services to undocumented immigrants and certain classes of legal immigrants. At the same time, undocumented workers are freely exploited in U.S. sweatshops and by U.S. agribusiness. Immigration to the United States is the result of economic and foreign policies—past and present—that have distorted or destroyed local economies and created political unrest, which often results in civil wars and the militarization of these foreign countries. As long as there are severe inequalities in wealth and opportunity among nations, there will always be pressures for immigration.

Strong Defense: The inequalities mentioned above are a major source of instability in the world. Rather than adopting meaningful redistributive policies, governments increase their spending on the military. In 1994, the world's governments spent more than $700 billion on their militaries. The United States spends more on its military than the next 13 countries combined: Russia, China, France, Great Britain, Germany, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Cuba (Sivard 1996). Half the world's governments spend more to guard their citizens against military attack than to protect them against all the enemies of good health (Waring 1988). For every 100,000 people in the world, there are 556 soldiers, but only 85 doctors. Worldwide, the average amount spent per soldier is $22,000; the average amount spent per school-age child is $380 (Sivard 1996). Weapons and military strategy do not address the major sources of people's misery: hunger, poor health, joblessness, discrimination, hate, and violence. Military spending exacerbates these problems by tying up precious resources that could otherwise be used to solve them.

Militarism also relies on a militarized notion of manhood that involves individualistic heroism based on physical strength, emotional detachment, the capacity for violence and killing, and the appearance of invulnerability (Enloe 1993). Boys in many parts of the world are socialized into this kind of manliness from early childhood through adventure stories, cartoons, competitive sports, war toys, computer games, and the news media. This routine gender socialization is taken further in military training. Many teenage boys are currently involved in wars. In fact, in many parts of the world, they are much more likely to be given weapons training than job training.

Redefining Security

The 'false faces' of security, then, cannot address most sources of human insecurity. To redefine this concept, we draw on Betty Reardon's human security paradigm (1993). She argues that security is primarily derived from the expectation that these four fundamental conditions will be met:

- The environment in which we live can sustain human and other natural life.
- Our basic survival needs for food, clothing, shelter, education, and health care will be met.
- Our fundamental human dignity and personal and cultural identities will be respected, as will various cultural expressions such as art, music, and dance.
- We will be protected from avoidable harm.

By these standards, there are no truly secure societies in the world and none that are fully committed to achieving human security. The present state-centered paradigm gives priority to protection against harm from others over all other sources of human well-being. The militarized international security system is maintained at the expense of the natural environment, the economic and social needs of many people, fundamental human rights, and protection against ill health, poor infrastructure, accidents, and disasters.

Reardon's model is useful at four levels of analysis and interaction: interpersonal, community, national, and global. It allows one to evaluate current policy and practice, and to determine strategies for change. The following questions are useful for conducting an assessment of where things stand in a specific community and may be used to evaluate conditions at national and global levels as well.

Environmental Security: What is the status of the natural environment in your area? Are the air and water clean and health sustaining? How is your community affected by environmental issues? How is your family affected? How does your community affect the environment of others? If there are environmental problems in your area, what are their causes? Do they affect the population equally? Are there ways in which women, particularly, are affected?

Basic Needs: Are the basic needs for food, clothing, and shelter being adequately met for everyone in your community, family, state, and country? Are there groups who systematically lack these survival supports? Does everyone have access to quality education, medical care, and the information necessary to obtain the benefits available? Are there any who enjoy affluence while others suffer poverty? Are there ways in which women, particularly, are affected? What percentage of public expenditures goes to military purposes? How does this compare with expenditures for economic and social purposes?

Human Dignity and Identity: Are human rights universally enjoyed in your community, state, and country? What circumstances, policies, or values obstruct the universal and equal enjoyment of these rights? Are the rights of all

children and women respected equally with the rights of men? Are there particular groups that are systematically denied some or all of these fundamental rights? Are these denials based on cultural beliefs and values, political policies, economic structures, social customs and practices, or a mix of these factors? Do all groups, including women and men, participate equally and fully in policy-making regarding human rights and security? Have 'national security,' military, or strategic interests been used to justify or explain the denial or violation of human rights?

Protection from Harm: Which threats are most likely to bring harm to most people in your community, state, and nation? How are those threats dealt with? Do women and men face different threats? Are there other groups who face specific threats? What threats to people's security are given the highest priority by government, politicians, or the media? Are these the threats that most undermine the daily security of most people? How actively involved is the military in responding to potential harm? What alternatives to military activity might be proposed? What institutional and cultural changes would be needed to move to a less violent and a more just global system to assure human security? For each issue area, questions to evaluate current practices would include:

- What is the nature and level of government—federal, state, county, and city—commitment to addressing this issue?
- What policies and practices are in place?
- What changes are needed?
- What resources—time, knowledge, skills, money, and materials—are available for addressing this issue in your area?
- Which groups and organizations are already working on this?
- What are their goals?
- How effective are they in terms of a human security approach?
- What else is needed on the micro-, meso-, macro-, and global levels?

Values and Principles of Genuine Security

Exploring these four basic conditions leads to a very different understanding—of connection rather than separation. Some of these principles have been in place for centuries, but have been eroded by the imposition of profit-driven systems and relationships. Others, like genuine democracy, have never been fully developed by nation-states, despite their rhetoric.

Valuing Life

- Valuing people and having confidence in their potential to live in lifeaffirming ways;
- Valuing the complex web of the nonhuman world that sustains human beings and of which we are a part;

- Building a strong personal core to enable people to work with 'others' across lines of significant difference through honest and open dialogue;
- Relying on spiritual values that allow us to make connections to others;
- Creating relationships of care in which children and young people are needed and gain respect for themselves and each other through meaningful participation in community projects, decision making, and work;
- Valuing the caring that people do for one another;
- Redefining manhood to include nurturing and caring for others, and changing the gendered division of labor so that men become more actively involved in parenting; men's sense of well-being, pride, belonging, competence, and security should come from institutions and activities that are life-enhancing.

Democracy and Justice

- Eliminating oppression based on sexism, racism, classism, heterosexism, anti-Semitism, able-body-ism, and other significant differences;
- Respecting differences based on gender, race, and culture, rather than using these attributes to objectify and create 'others';
- Valuing cooperation over competition;
- Eliminating gross inequalities of wealth between countries and between people within countries;
- Building genuine democracy—locally, nationally, and internationally— with local control of resources and appropriate education.

In addition to profound structural and institutional change, the process of democratization will require sincere apologies from dominant groups for their participation in oppressive institutions and structures, both current and past. This includes all forms of exploitation. Asking for forgiveness must also include genuine recognition of the sovereignty of this country's indigenous peoples, including Native Hawai'ians, and some form of reparation for those who have been wronged.

Building the Future Today

Many practical projects embody this vision and will provide the building blocks of a genuinely secure and sustainable future. Examples include conflict resolution programs in schools, rape crisis lines and shelters for victims of domestic violence, antisexist men's projects that work to eliminate violence against women, community gardens and kitchens, international cooperation among workers, and alternative economic projects that do not rely on the whims of corporate investment. The following are examples of such successful, sustainable projects.

Community Food Security Coalition (U.S.A.) brings together communitysupported farms, farmers' markets, food banks, and community activists to meet

the food needs of low-income people and to increase a community's food selfreliance. A community food-security analysis examines such questions as access to grocery stores, food prices, transportation, personal income, ownership of stores, factories, and farms, and environmental sustainability. Food-security programs confront hunger and poverty with creative community-based solutions that feed people while also creating the means for permanent solutions to hunger and poor nutrition.

Save Our Sons and Daughters (SOSAD) was founded in Detroit, Michigan, in January 1987 by mothers who had lost children in street violence. Forty-three children 16 years and younger had been killed, and 365 were shot in the previous year. SOSAD started with grief and bereavement counseling, then expanded its activities to include a crisis hotline, crisis intervention, violence prevention programs, and a pressure group for handgun control. Members have organized memorials, marches, and rallies, and have developed a school curriculum on peace education and conflict resolution.

Ganados Del Valle (Los Ojos, New Mexico) is a community-based nonprofit, economic development project located in a small town that was losing its population due to lack of jobs and economic opportunity. Shepherding and farming have been the basis of the local economy and one of the aims of this project is to insure that shepherding remains a way of life for local people. Ganados has established a flock of Churro sheep, a hardy breed well suited to local conditions, but which had almost become extinct as commercial ranchers favored other breeds. Since 1983, Ganados has created over 30 new jobs and increased income to local families through its businesses. Tierra Wools produces hand-woven rugs and clothing. Pastores Collections produces a line of wool comforters and pillows. Rio Arriba Wool Washing cleans and dyes the fleeces. Pastores Feed and General Store sells craftwork made by local people. Pastores Lamb raises sheep to be sold as chemical and additive-free lamb. Otra Vuelta recycles used tires into floor and vehicle mats.

Food from the Hood (Los Angeles, California) and Urban Herbals (San Francisco, California) are projects that train young people to garden and market salad dressings, vinegars, jams, salsas, honey, and other products made from urban gardens. The wider aim of these projects is to empower young people, teach gardening and business skills, and to strengthen local communities and economies.

Asian Youth Advocates (Richmond, California) is a project of the Asian Pacific Environmental Network. The program works with Laotian girls and young women organizing for economic, social, and environmental justice in a town dominated by industrial facilities that generate 179,000 tons of hazardous waste annually. These young women also learn about their history and culture, cultivate a community garden, and educate and train their peers about reproductive health and other personal issues. One recent result of the group's activism was Chevron's installation of an early-warning system for their toxic incinerator in languages used in the community.

Ithaca Money (New York) is a community currency project that was started in 1991 and has been the inspiration for many other like programs across the

United States. Participants trade their time and skills for Ithaca HOURS, where one hour is equivalent to $10. In effect, participants buy goods and services with their own labor. Some $50,000 worth of Ithaca HOURS have recirculated in the local community, buying goods and services worth an estimated $2,000,000. This system helps people to connect with one another rather than making them into competitors.

New Alchemy Institute (Cape Cod, Massachusetts), founded in 1969, is a research center for the ecological design of food production, energy, and shelter. The institute has developed intense gardening techniques, aqua culture, and solar and wind energy supplies and will ultimately be a self-sufficient enterprise. The Institute's data on water purification and recycling, soil management, and renewable energy systems can be applied to a variety of locales, both urban and rural.

Diverse Women for Diversity (international), established in 1997, is a network that supports women's campaigns that work to protect women's diverse lives, cultures, and ecosystems. Participants are concerned with issues of hunger, food supply, intellectual property rights, genetic engineering, and biotechnology.

Buklod Center (Philippines) was founded in 1987 to work with bar women who sexually serviced U.S. military personnel at Subic Bay Naval Base. The center offered night-care services for the children of bar women, temporary shelter, and other crisis interventions. When the base closed in 1992, the women needed new ways to make a living. Now, Buklod provides informal education and training for former bar women and other poor women, educational scholarships for some of the member's Amerasian children, training in skills such as sewing and developing small businesses, and a community-based medical clinic.

Okinawa Women Act against Military Violence (Japan) was formed after the rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl by U.S. military personnel in September 1995. Members argue that military security will never provide security for women and children. They are campaigning to eliminate U.S. bases in Okinawa, to force the military to clean up the land and water polluted by the bases, and to convert the land to civilian uses beneficial to the local people.

Green Belt Movement (Kenya) was started in 1977 by biologist Wangari Maathai to address and resolve the diminishing supply of fuel wood in rural Kenya. Through the program, women grow trees from seeds or cuttings and transplant them to permanent sites. This project has spread to many countries in Africa and has generated paid work for a number of women. Its wider aims are to develop knowledge and confidence so that people can take part in sustainable, not destructive, development.

Cultural Survival Enterprises (U.S.A.) is a nonprofit trading organization that purchases non-timber rain forest products such as fruits, nuts, oils, essences, pigments, spices, and fibers for international sale. The goal is to buy products from people living in tropical rain forests who are managing undisturbed forests, creating sustainable agroforestry, or reforesting areas of degraded land.

Shifting the Security Paradigm

These projects all involve ideas of interconnectedness, respect, and responsibility among people, and in some cases, between people and nonhuman species. Activists seek to maintain these connections or to remake them where they have been severed. Together, such projects draw on visions of secure and sustainable living, however small-scale and fragile they might be at present. At root, these programs are about taking on the current economic system and the systems of power—personal and institutional—that maintain and benefit from the oppressive, unequal status quo. The challenge is to develop more projects like these, so that more people can take their resources and energies out of nongenerative or purely profit-driven concerns. Such change requires initiative, information, skills, support, courage, creativity, hope, and the stubborn conviction that things can be different.

If the money, time, resources, creativity, and brainpower the world currently devotes to the military were redirected, everyone could have clean water, adequate food, basic health care, good childcare, decent housing, and worthwhile education. We could clean up and begin to regenerate areas that have been used for industrial and military operations, waste dumps, uranium mining, and weapons testing. We could revitalize polluted waterways and infertile land. We could draw on the collective wisdom and knowledge of the many people worldwide who know how to live in harmony with nature. There could be funding for artists — painters, mural artists, poets, writers, sculptors, performance artists, actors, dancers, musicians, weavers, potters, mask makers, fabric artists, and quilt makers.

This process will involve challenging the 'false faces' of security in our writing, teaching, conversations, and political activity. It means putting forward a lifeaffirming philosophy of human security based on justice and democracy. It means supporting the many projects that embody this vision. We have the whole world to gain—for the new millennium and beyond.

Correspondence Adresses

Margo Okazawa-Rey
Barbara Lee Distinguished Professor of Women's Leadership
Vera Long 115, Mills College, Oakland, CA, USA
mokazawa@mills.edu

Gwyn Kirk
Women for Genuine Security
965 62nd Street, Oakland, CA, USA
gkirk@gwynkirk.net

Resource List

Asian Youth Advocates (AYA), Asia Pacific Environmental Network, 310 8th Street, Suite 309, Oakland, CA 94607.

Buklod Center, 23 Rodriquez Street, Mabayuan, Olongapo City 2200, Philippines.

Community Food Security Coalition, P.O. Box 209, Venice, CA 90294.

Cultural Survival Enterprises, 96 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

Diverse Women for Diversity, 10 Jewett Lane, South Hadley, MA 01075.

Food from the Hood, c/o Crenshaw High School, 5010 11th Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90043.

Ganados del Valle, Los Ojos, NM 87551.

Green Belt Movement, Moi Avenue, P.O. Box 67545, Nairobi, Kenya.

Ithaca Money, Box 6578, Ithaca, NY 14851.

Okinawa Women Against Military Violence, 402, 3–29–41, Kumoji, Naha, Okinawa, Japan 900–0015.

Save Our Sons and Daughters (SOSAD), 2441 W. Grand Boulevard, Detroit, MI 48208.

Urban Herbals, San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners (SLUG), 2088 Oakdale Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94124.

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