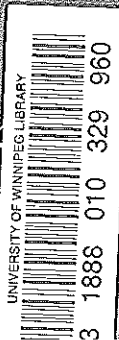


*This book is my attempt to answer some of the big questions of my life: Where does oppression come from? Has it always been with us, just "human nature"? What can we do to change it? What does individual healing have to do with struggles for social justice? What does social justice have to do with individual healing? Why do members of the same oppressed group fight each other, sometimes more viciously than they fight their oppressor? Why do some who experience oppression develop a life-long commitment to fighting oppression, while others turn around and oppress others?*

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Bishop

Becoming an Ally

# Becoming an Ally

## Breaking the Cycle of Oppression

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Anne Bishop

## Images: Competitive Oppressions

I am watching a video of the Gay Pride March in New York. On the sidewalk a young Black woman screams at the top of her lungs, over and over again: "The wages of sin is death!"<sup>1</sup>

A feminist friend sighs about her gay boss: "We can't get him to listen to the problems facing women in this organization. All he says is we're not as oppressed as he is."

During a march commemorating victims of the holocaust, a group of gay men who came in memory of those who died for their sexual orientation is forced out of the memorial.<sup>2</sup>

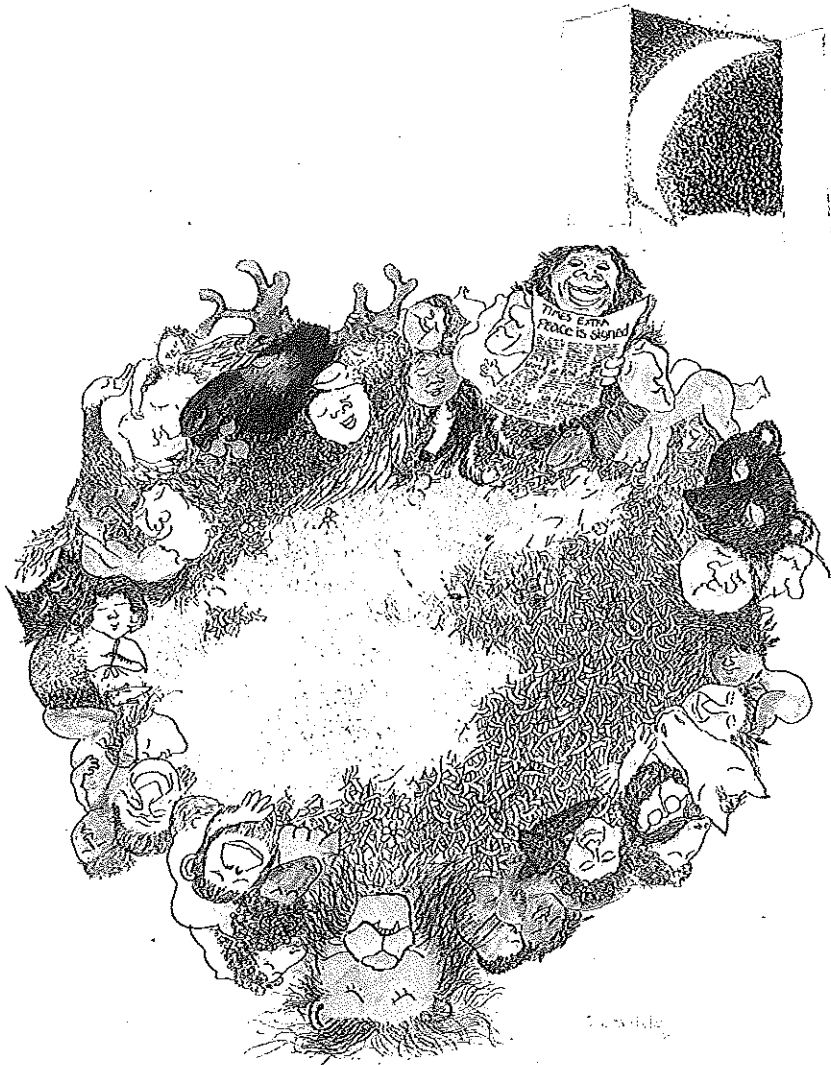
I am sitting at lunch with several friends listening to one member of our party, who is Black, talk on and on about how white women are reaping incredible benefits from pay and employment equity and are ignoring the Black people they are leaving behind. I remember other verbal attacks on white women, particularly white feminists, made by Black women.

During the summer of 1990, we hold a series of rallies in support of the Mohawks who are facing the Canadian army at Oka. The Mohawks are trying to protect their ancient sacred place from becoming a golf course. During his speech, a local First Nations leader attacks all Québécois, calling them "those Frenchmen."

We have an international visitor. A group of low-income single mothers is telling her about some of their organizing work. "Poverty?" she says. "What do you know about poverty? This is nothing."

### Endnotes

1. This video clip, only a few seconds long, was shown as part of an introduction to a program on issues facing gay and lesbian people. The program was part of the series, "Out in America," U.S. Public Broadcasting System, September 1990.
2. This incident took place in Austria, and is reported in Buchi Emecheta, "Natural Gestures." *The New Internationalist* 201 (November 1989): 11-12.



## CHAPTER ONE

### Why Write a Book About Becoming an Ally?

My first reason for writing this book is a dream. This dream is a deep, driving force in me, and I know many others share it. The dream is a vision of the world I would like to live in, a world based on co-operation, negotiation, and universal respect for the innate value of every creature on earth and the Earth herself. This is a world where no one doubts that to hurt anyone or anything is to hurt yourself and those you love most, a world where everyone works to understand what the effects of everything we do will be on future generations.

I am what is called an “activist.” I like to live my commitment to my dream. I am tired of hearing my favorite words—“respect,” “co-operation,” “justice,” “equality,” “the people”—co-opted by exploiters. However, it is time for me to converse with a wider network than those I can know face to face. I have something I want to say.

I have a vision of how my dream can come about. It is not detailed, because it is not for one person to predict the path of consensus. In general, though, I long to see all of us who are giving our work, ideas, energy, and lives to a society which benefits the rich and powerful, rise up together and say: “No more”; “We can develop social, political, and economic structures that benefit everyone, and we will”; “We want to take on the challenge of moving towards equality, and we will”; “We are by far the majority; we can change things.”

Between my dream and me stands a high wall. Its name is “Divide and Conquer.” We have learned all too well to despise and distrust those who are different from us. Ironically, we have also been taught to despise and distrust people like us. This is because we have been divided even from ourselves. We distrust ourselves. Rather than looking within, to our own

thoughts and experience, we accept the word of "the experts."

The second reason for writing this book is anger. Again and again I see examples of division among oppressed people, as in the images at the beginning of this chapter. Incidents like these rob me of hope. How can we take back our world and reorganize it to benefit everyone if we cannot even talk about our different forms of oppression without getting tangled up in the net of competition?

When I see people competing, claiming their own oppression as the "worst" or "most worthy of support," I see us all running on a treadmill. As long as we try to end our oppression by rising above others, we are reinforcing each other's oppression, and eventually our own. We are fighting over who has more value, who has less, instead of asking why we must be valued as more or less. We are investing energy in the source of all our oppressions, which is competition itself.<sup>1</sup>

The truth is that each form of oppression is part of a single complex, interrelated, self-perpetuating system. The whole thing rests on a world-view that says we must constantly strive to be better than someone else.

Competition assumes that we are separate beings—separate from each other, from other species, from the earth. If we believe we are separate, then we are able to believe we can hurt another being and not suffer ourselves.

Competition also assumes that there is a hierarchy of beings. Those who "win" can take a "higher" position, one with more power and value than those who "lose." It is a short step from accepting hierarchy as natural to assuming that exploitation is just. It becomes right, even admirable, for those who have more power and value to help themselves to the labour, land, resources, culture, possessions, even the bodies, of those who have less power and value. The result is a class system, where power and privilege increase as you go up the ladder, and those standing on each rung take for granted their right to benefit from the labour and resources of those below them. Class will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

As long as we who are fighting oppression continue to play the game of competition with one another, all forms of oppression will continue to exist. No one oppression can be ended without all ending, and this can only happen when we succeed in replacing the assumptions of competition, hierarchy, and separation with co-operation, an understanding that each being has value beyond measure, and the knowledge that we cannot harm anyone or anything without harming ourselves.

The connection between different forms of oppression is often seen in the liberal sense which denies differences, ignores history, and blames individuals—"We're all the same, all equal, everyone has problems, let's just decide to get along." I have found it difficult, when speaking in public,

to say that all oppressions have one root without my audience hearing me say that all oppressions are the same, or equal. People often feel that their oppression has been belittled. But I am not saying that all oppressions are the same or equal; equality means nothing in this context, for how would you measure? I certainly am not saying that we all have problems and should just learn to get along; this denies a long, complicated history and all the terrible scars that need healing, collectively, before we can live together in peace. What I *am* saying is that all oppressions are interdependent, they all come from the same world-view, and none can be solved in isolation. We can either perpetuate a society based on competition, where some win and some lose, or we can work toward a society based on co-operation, where winning and losing become irrelevant. In the first scenario, oppression will continue to exist for almost everyone; in the second, it will fade away, since it serves no purpose.

The idea that one form of oppression, or even one person's oppression, can be solved independently, is of great benefit to the rich and powerful. This belief is enough to keep oppressed people fighting and jostling in competition with each other, never reaching a point of unity where we can successfully challenge those with more than their share.

Reverend Martin Niemöller, a Nazi prison survivor, recognized this:

First they arrested the communists—but I was not a Communist, so I did nothing. Then they came for the Social Democrats—but I was not a Social Democrat, so I did nothing. Then they arrested the Trade Unionists—and I did nothing, because I was not one. And then they came for the Jews, and then the Catholics, but I was neither a Jew nor a Catholic, and I did nothing. At last they came and arrested me—and there was no one left to do anything about it.<sup>2</sup>

I regain hope every time I see someone reach out past the boundaries of their own oppression to understand and support someone else's struggle. Hope is my third reason for writing this book.

I have a fourth reason for writing about becoming an ally. Through my own journey of recognizing first my oppression, then my role as an oppressor, I found written work that helped me understand my own oppressions and the process of liberation from each one.<sup>3</sup> I found excellent literature on unlearning racism,<sup>4</sup> and good workshop materials for unlearning heterosexism.<sup>5</sup> I also found a few writers who are working to understand and communicate the complex interrelationship of racism, sexism, heterosexism, and class,<sup>6</sup> and a growing literature of personal accounts by individuals coming to grips with their role as oppressors.<sup>7</sup>

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What I have not found is a critical analysis of the relationships among all forms of oppression, or of the journey from fighting one's own oppression to forming an alliance with others. Not everyone who is active against his or her own oppression breaks out of the competitiveness and learns to support others. For those who do, what is the process?

In *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*, bell hooks asks for more discussion of the roots of racism in white people, and the process of becoming anti-racist:

One change in direction that would be real cool would be the production of a discourse on race that interrogates whiteness. It would just be so interesting for all those white folks who are giving blacks their take on blackness to let them know what's going on with whiteness. In far too much contemporary writing—though there are some outstanding exceptions—race is always an issue of Otherness that is not white; it is black, brown, yellow, red, purple even. Yet only a persistent, rigorous, and informed critique of whiteness could really determine what forces of denial, fear, and competition are responsible for creating fundamental gaps between professed political commitment to eradicating racism and the participation in the construction of a discourse on race that perpetuates racial domination. Many scholars, critics and writers preface their work by stating that they are white, as though mere acknowledgment of this fact were sufficient, as though it conveyed all we need to know of standpoint, motivation, direction. I think back to my graduate years when many of the feminist professors fiercely resisted the insistence that it was important to examine race and racism. Now many of these very same women are producing scholarship focusing on race and gender. What process enabled their perspectives to shift? Understanding that process is important for the development of solidarity; it can enhance awareness of the epistemological shifts that enable all of us to move in new and oppositional directions. Yet none of these women write articles reflecting on their critical process, showing how their attitudes have changed.<sup>8</sup>

Knowledge of this process is crucial to overcoming all types of oppression. If we understand how and why some people choose to give up privilege and become allies, we will have an important insight into social change.

The need to understand this process is behind my effort to generalize

## Why Write a Book About Becoming an Ally?

from my own experience, and that of others around me, and begin to create a theory of how one becomes an ally to other oppressed people. Becoming an ally is a liberating experience, but very different from liberating your own people and, in some ways, more painful. I want to provide a resource for, and open up a conversation with, others who are traveling this road with me.

In my experience, there are six steps involved in becoming an ally. They are:

1. understanding oppression, how it came about, how it is held in place, and how it stamps its pattern on individuals who then turn around and recreate it;
2. understanding different oppressions, how they are similar, how they differ, how they reinforce one another;
3. consciousness and healing;
4. becoming a worker for your own liberation;
5. becoming an ally;
6. maintaining hope.

The remaining chapters will expand on each of these steps.

## Endnotes

1. For an interesting discussion of competition, see: Alfie Kohn, *No Contest: The Case Against Competition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986). See the Glossary for comments on the term "separation".
2. John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations: A Collection of Passages, Phrases and Proverbs Traced to Their Sources in Ancient and Modern Literature* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1980): 824. Bartlett lists this quotation as "attributed," which means he could not trace it to its source.
3. There are many, many books and articles discussing steps to liberation, in general and in relation to specific forms of oppression. I cannot begin to list them here; however, the key to my own understanding of the process was the work of Paulo Friere:  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Cultural action for freedom* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Education for critical consciousness* (New York: Seabury, 1973).  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (New York: Seabury, 1974).
4. Some resources for unlearning racism are:  
Nancy Brown, "Conditions Under Which Racial Learning Occurs." *NTL Reading Book for Human Relations Training* (NTL Institute, 1982).  
CUSO, *Racism: A CUSO Cooperant Preparation Workshop* (Ottawa: CUSO, 1990).  
Carl James, *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Race, Ethnicity and Culture* (Toronto: Sheridan College, 1989).  
Judith Katz, *White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-racism Training* (Norman:

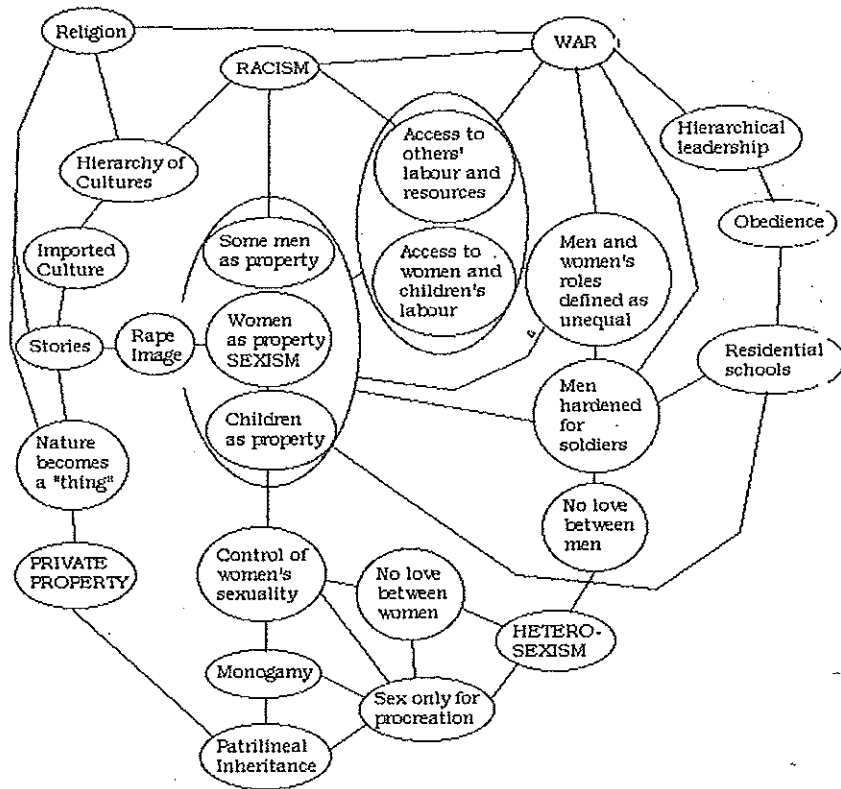
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- University of Oklahoma Press, 1978).
- Enid Lee, *Letters to Marcia: Anti-racist Education in School* (Toronto: Cross Cultural Communication Centre, 1985).
- Tim McCaskell, "Racism as a white problem." *Facilitator's Handbook for Students' Multicultural/Multiracial Camp* (Toronto: Toronto Board of Education, 1988).
- Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack." *Independent School* (Winter 1990).
- Vicki Obedkoff, *Exploring Racism: Workshop Materials for Congregational Groups* (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1989).
- Barb Thomas and Charles Novogrodsky, *Combating Racism in the Workplace: A Course for Workers* (Toronto: Cross Cultural Communication Centre, 1983).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Combating Racism in the Workplace: Readings Kit* (Toronto: Cross Cultural Communication Centre, 1983).
- Barb Thomas, "Principles of Anti-racist Education." *Currents: Readings in Race Relations*, 2:3 (Fall 1984).
5. A key resource for unlearning heterosexism is the organization, The Campaign to End Homophobia (The Campaign, Box 438316, Chicago, IL, 60643-8316, U.S.) and their publications:
- Kathy Obear, *Opening Doors to Understanding and Acceptance: A Facilitator's Guide to Presenting Workshops on Lesbian and Gay Issues* (Cambridge, MA: Campaign to End Homophobia, 1990).
- Cooper Thompson, *A Guide to Leading Introductory Workshops on Homophobia* (Cambridge, MA: Campaign to End Homophobia, 1990).
- Also see Warren J. Blumenfeld, ed., *Homophobia: How We All Pay the Price* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).
6. Writers I have found who are trying to relate racism, sexism, heterosexism and class are bell hooks, Audre Lorde, Suzanne Pharr, and the "structuralist" school of social work, including Maurice Moreau, Gisèle Legault, Pierre Racine, and Peter Leonard. Here are partial lists of the work of these authors:
- bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1981).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Feminist Theory: From the Margins to the Centre* (Boston: South End Press, 1984).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminism, Thinking Black* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1988).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Yearning: Race Gender and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1990).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sisters of the Yam: Black women and Self-Recovery* (Boston: South End Press, 1993).
- Audre Lorde, *From a Land Where Other People Live* (Detroit: Broadside Press, 1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Black Unicorn: Poems* (New York: Norton, 1978).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Cancer Journals* (Argyle, N.Y.: Spinsters Ink, 1980).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Chosen Poems, Old and New* (New York: Norton, 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sister Outsider* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1984).

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- \_\_\_\_\_, *Apartheid U.S.A.* (New York: Kitchen Table Women of Colour Press, 1985).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *I Am Your Sister: Black Women Organizing Across Sexualities* (Latham, N.Y.: Kitchen Table Women of Colour Press, 1985).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Our Dead Behind Us: Poems* (New York: Norton, 1986).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Burst of Light: Essays* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Firebrand Books, 1988).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Uses of the Erotic* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1990).
- Suzanne Pharr, *Heterosexism: A Weapon of Sexism* (California: Chardon Press, 1988).
- Maurice Moreau, "Practice Implications of a Structural Approach to Social Work." Publishing pending in *Catalyst, A Socialist Journal of the Social Services*.
7. Excellent examples of white people coming to terms with racism are the Katz, McCaskell and McIntosh references in note #4, above.
- Also see: Letty Cottin Pogrebin, "Ain't We Both Women? Blacks, Jews and Gender," in *Deborah, Golda and Me: Being Female and Jewish in America* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1991).
- Good examples of men writing on sexism are:
- Blye Frank, "Hegemonic Heterosexual Masculinity." *Studies in Political Economy*, 24 159-170. (1987).
- Michael Kaufman, ed., *Beyond Patriarchy: Essays By Men on Pleasure, Power, and Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- Ned Lyttelton, "Men's Liberation: Men Against Sexism and Major Dividing Lines." *Resources for Feminist Research* 12:4 (December/January, 1983/84):33-34.
- Jon Snodgrass, ed., *A Book of Readings for Men Against Sexism*. (Albion, CA: Times Change Press, 1977).
- Andrew Tolson, *The Limits of Masculinity* (London: Tavistock, 1977).
8. bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Between the Lines 1990): 54.

Web Chart: Conquest of a Peaceful Culture



CHAPTER TWO

Step 1: Understanding Oppression—  
How did it come about?

Sometimes when I am teaching about the dynamics of power and oppression, I have participants do an exercise in small groups. We discuss different value systems and how they shape societies. We define separation and connection, hierarchy and equal value, competition and co-operation. They are then given this task:

You are a society with a social structure based on *separation*, *hierarchy*, and *competition*. In keeping with your beliefs, you have conquered another nation and taken possession of their land and resources.

The conquered nation has a society based on *connection*, *equal value*, and *co-operation*. Before you came along, they lived in peace, and each person, regardless of gender, age, and ability, had the right to self-determination and everything they needed to live. Since all species and all elements of nature were included in their understanding of connection, equal value, and co-operation, nothing could be owned or exploited the way you do it in your society.

For the time being, you are forcing your system on them, which is not difficult, since they were not prepared to defend themselves; war was incomprehensible in their belief system. However, you do not want to invest in armed occupation forever. You want their next generation to think and behave the way you do, and therefore be able to assimilate into your society.

For simplicity sake, you will assume both societies have the same skin colour.

In order to accomplish the task, I give them flipchart paper and markers. On the first sheet, they list, in two columns, some of the characteristics they would expect to find in the conquered society and the contrasting characteristics of their own imaginary competitive society.

Next participants decide on a first step to begin the task of assimilation. We use a technique called the "web chart." They write their first tactic near the centre of the paper and circle it. Then they work backwards from this first step, that is: "In order to do this, first we must do this." Each idea is written in a new circle and connected to the last one by a short line. They continue for as many steps as they can imagine. Then they go back to all of their circles and work forwards, that is: "If we do this, then this will happen." They continue this process as far as they can. Finally, they look at all the steps, forwards and backwards, and use lines to connect any that are related.

It is fascinating to watch groups work on this task. They start with different tactics. Some, especially if there are First Nations people present, start with residential schools. Groups with feminist women in them sometimes start with taking away women's property rights, or introducing the men in the conquered society to the idea of violence against women. Other groups begin with introducing private property, or racism, or control of sexual and emotional expression.

Wherever the group begins, by the time they have worked their way through all the requirements for and results of their first tactic, many other possible tactics are present on the page. In a very short time, most groups complete a large portion of the whole jigsaw puzzle of oppression. They discover for themselves that no one form of oppression can stand alone without the others, and as long as the basic assumptions of competition, separation, and hierarchy are present, everything else follows.

Here is an example. Let us follow a group that began by introducing the idea of private property. Their final drawing is reproduced on page 16. Working backwards they came up with the list of steps which follows:

In order to introduce the concept of private property, it will be essential to introduce a belief system which portrays the earth, animals, plants, and resources as "things," separate from large ecological systems, with no feelings and no value except what they can be used for by their owners. This might require some cultural action, perhaps some stories that glorify the killing, conquest, and domination of nature and the benefits of these activities. What about portraying nature as female and her conquest as rape? A religion which sets up humans as superior to nature would be useful, too.

Writers, playwrights, performers, and media people who can write and disseminate these stories may have to come from our culture at first.

We must set up systems to import culture.

In order to have rape work as a positive image for oppressors, we must set up its reflection in the society. We must make women into "things" with no feelings, to be conquered and dominated, and make sure men get benefits from doing this. The most effective benefit would be to make women the property of men once they are "conquered" by rape, and give the man the right to use the woman's labour to make his life easier and wealthier.

Why stop at making women into things to be conquered and used? What about children? The elderly? All those too weak to be conquerers themselves? This idea of defining people as "things" connects back to defining the natural world as "things."

Even men could be property in some cases, but we must be sure that there are clear distinctions between those who can own and those who are designated as property. Easily identifiable differences would be best—like skin colour, height, eye shape, accent when speaking. The owning of other men must give the owners the same benefits as the owning of women—access to their labour. The owners could also take possession of the conquered men's land and resources. This could eventually be developed into full-blown racism.

At this point, the group returned to the circles already on the page and began to work forward from each one:

If we import culture, the result will be a better grasp of a hierarchy of cultures—our's is superior to their's, others must also be judged and placed in the hierarchy. It would be good to label some as inferior to their's so they get to take out their frustration at being inferior to us on someone else. This connects back to racism.

Once the idea of getting possession of the labour, land, and resources of "inferior" cultures is firmly established, the next thing we need our conquered people to do is go to war and conquer someone else.

If they go to war, they will have to stop valuing all their people equally and begin to put more value on physical strength, aggression, and mobility, less on nurturing, home-making, and gentleness. This will tend to give greater value to men for their physical strength, and devalue women's roles of bearing and breast-feeding children. Men and women will become more role-defined and unequal.

If women become defined by the "hearth and home," and men by war, women and those they nurture—children, the weak and elderly—will become thought of increasingly as in need of men's protection. This helps reinforce the idea that women and other weaker people are men's property and men can rightfully benefit from their labour. In return, men offer weaker folk protection.

When men go to war they must be hardened. Masculinity must be defined as toughness and violence. Men must be able to kill. They also must be able to withstand seeing their companions maimed and killed. They must be able to just step over the body and go on. This will require the bond between men to change from the friendships they experienced as part of a peaceful culture. They must bond with each other as "brothers" or "comrades" in an abstract sense only. They must not love each other as individuals. This means that love between men must be strongly discouraged. A method of doing this would be to make men who love men one of those male groups that is owned by other men and defined as female, like all other possessed people, and therefore subject to rape and conquest. Now we have part of heterosexism added to the picture.

Another way to make men fight and kill is to establish an absolute hierarchy of leadership and reward only obedience. This will also give the mobility and speed of response required by war. Hierarchical leadership connects back to a number of other circles. The process of teaching people to value obedience must apply to all the possessed people—women, children, slaves. Also, hierarchy and obedience among individuals reinforces the notion of a hierarchy among peoples inherent in racism.

Some other elements of heterosexism come from the concept of women and children as property. If women and children are the property of men, then each man must be able to control his woman's (or women's) sexuality. This gives him control over her and an assurance that her children are his. The best way to do this would be to stress male-dominated monogamous or polygynous marriage. These types of marriage would be useful in establishing a patrilineal system of inheritance, necessary to allow all of the family property to be passed down from father to son. Men's property rights will be reinforced generally.

Another important step in allowing men to control women's sexuality will be to limit sex to procreation. This is where we connect to the heterosexism circle again. Same-sex love, even friendship, must be suppressed among women as well as men, and sexuality-for-procreation-only gives a justification for destroying both.

Going back to the circle which defines children as possessions, child-rearing and education must be done in such a way that this whole network of values is deeply internalized. Children must be taught obedience. They must experience violence so that they will be angry enough to practice violence on others when they can. When they take this step, they must experience the rewards of controlling others through violence. Boys and girls must learn their roles, and children from the dominant culture and other cultures must learn their relative values by reproducing the whole society in the home and school settings. The best way to do this,

particularly at first, will be to establish residential schools and remove the children completely from any nurturing elements in their families. Even after the conquering culture is firmly established, residential schools will continue to be a good way to ensure that the ruling elite of men is thoroughly taught the values and practices of competition, separation, and hierarchy.

This example shows how a group starting with private property discovered the necessity of introducing sexism, racism, ageism, adultism, heterosexism, and ableism. I am sure the reader can see how a group starting with something else—residential schools, for example, or the elimination of women's property rights—would also eventually uncover the whole system.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes I ask the group to reflect on elements that would be added to their assimilation strategies if the conquered people had a different skin colour from the conquerers. Many more aspects of racism emerge from this discussion.

In my experience, this exercise leaves everyone completely depressed. Participants discover how much they know about oppressing others. It is important to remind people that just knowing the dynamics of oppression well does not mean we are somehow evil. We are children of this network of values. We have learned how it works from our first days, often unconsciously. It is also important not to leave participants before they have had an opportunity to use what they have learned to build strategies for dismantling the whole system.

However, before going on to strategy-building, I risk deepening the depression for a short time by having the group reflect on the likelihood of the conquered society resisting these tactics. They usually conclude that at first it would be very difficult, because their social structures, technology, values, and behaviour are all organized around co-operation. They would be most likely to welcome the conquerers as friends and discover the exploitive intentions too late. Later they would likely develop organized resistance, but in order to do that successfully, they would have to reorganize their culture to include the conquerer's competitive values, war technology, and social structures. The resistance might go on for years, or even centuries, but the essential nature of the co-operative society would be severely damaged or lost altogether.

The purpose of the exercise I have described is to learn about the complex and necessary interrelationships among different forms of oppression. The scenario is extremely simple and would be unlikely to occur in such a "pure" form. However, there are signs in history, mythology, and archeology that versions of the dynamics described by this educational exercise have happened, in different times and places, all over the world.

No one knows where competitive, conquering societies began, but the earliest archeological evidence of such societies dates from roughly 3500 BCE.<sup>2</sup> This is not very long ago for a species that was living in groups, creating art, and using tools by at least 35000 BCE.

Wherever and however the notion of competition/conquest began, there are numerous stories of contacts between conquering peoples and peaceful co-operative ones, where the co-operative society was eventually transformed by processes resembling the ones my classes draw on sheets of newsprint. These dynamics also occur within a society when a class or group with competitive social structures becomes strong enough to extend its control to other parts of its own society.

I must leave thorough study of these dynamics to scholars of history, mythology, and archeology, but I want to give three brief examples, based on other's work. The first two illustrate contact between conquering and co-operative peoples, one in Europe from 4300 to 2800 BCE, and the other in North America in the sixteenth century. The third example is of one class of people expanding their influence to other parts of the society they live in. It took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this time in England.

I am taking my first example, that of Europe between 4300 and 2800 BCE, from Riane Eisler's book, *The Chalice and the Blade*.<sup>3</sup> I have also taken information from Marija Gimbutas' books, *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe*<sup>4</sup> and *The Language of the Goddess*,<sup>5</sup> both used as sources by Eisler along with the work of several other archeologists.

Marija Gimbutas is an archeologist whose life-work has been unearthing the remains of the Neolithic period (7000 to 3500 BCE) in what she calls "Old Europe," the area stretching north from the Adriatic and Aegean Seas to former Czechoslovakia, southern Poland, and western Ukraine. She has organized the thousands of objects found in this area, particularly art objects, to reveal the basic world-view of Old Europe. Using the archeological work of others, she has extended her analysis of the artifacts to include western and northern Europe (where the Neolithic was later, 4500 to 2500 BCE), the Mediterranean, and the Middle East. In *The Language of the Goddess*, she makes the links between her work with artifacts and studies of mythology, folklore, languages, and ethnography.

What emerges is a picture of a complex and advanced civilization farming in rich river valleys. The social organization was complex, with sophisticated religious and governmental organizations, and extensive specialization of crafts and roles. They used metal and had written communication.

Above all, she finds that the Old Europeans lived in peace and equality. Their cities were located close to good water and soils, with a

view over an area of agricultural land. No attention was paid to defensible locations, nor were there walls and fortifications. There is no sign of damage from warfare, or portrayal of warfare in art. Metal was used for art objects, decoration, and tools, not for weapons. According to the artwork, women played leading roles in every area of life, along with men, and a study of grave-goods and housing reveals no difference in wealth to be found between men and women, or between classes of people. There are many indications that the society was matrilineal. Eisler has developed the term "gylanic" (by combining *gy* from *gyne*, for woman, and *an* from *andros*, for man) to describe these gender-equal societies. The greatest deity for the Old European peoples was a mother-goddess, the earth mother, whose gifts included birth, sustenance, and natural death. Her worship is much older than the Neolithic. She and her symbols, as catalogued by Gimbutas, can be traced back to Paleolithic art, beginning around 35000 BCE.

However, the peaceful, egalitarian civilizations of Europe were not able to survive. Another people, with a very different world-view, were growing in strength just to the north-east of them, in the area between the Caspian and Black Seas. Gimbutas calls these the Kurgan people, after the round burial barrows (*kurgan* in Russian) which cover the funerary houses of their important males. She identifies them as part of what is called "Proto-Indo-European" culture. The Indo-Europeans are also called the "Aryans."

Kurgan culture was also agricultural, but was centred on animal breeding and grazing. The Kurgan people had domesticated the horse, an animal unknown in the Old European cultures, and they were semi-nomadic. They had also developed weapons and war. The horse and weapons featured prominently in their religion, where the central deity was a fierce, angry male warrior who lived in the sky. Images of the warrior-god always show him holding a sword or axe, his belt hung with daggers. They were also male-dominated, hierarchical, authoritarian, and patrilineal.

The Kurgan people began to move across Europe conquering the peaceful sedentary population there. Gimbutas has identified three "waves" of invasion—4300 to 4200 BCE, 3400 to 3200 BCE, and 3000 to 2800 BCE. The archeological records show how the life of old Europe began to be transformed. In some Kurgan camps in Europe, the bulk of the female population was not Kurgan, but rather women captured from conquered towns in Old Europe. Men were buried with not only immense wealth arrayed around them, including weapons, but the bodies of their sacrificed wives, children, slaves, and animals as well.

The highly-developed culture of Old Europe disappeared. The large

towns, the paintings, written scripts, temples, sculptures, and thousands of female figurines found in earlier levels are absent in later levels. Settlements became much smaller and were built in defensible positions, with fortifications.

What Gimbutas describes as "hybrid cultures" begin to appear, showing aspects of both the Old Europe and the Kurgan cultures, although the Kurgan culture dominates. She speculates that this reflects the assimilation of the conquered culture into the conquering one.

A great transformation accompanied the Kurgan invasions into Europe. The indigenous culture, centred on the power to give and nurture life, was gradually changed into a culture dominated by the power to take life. A gender-equal, relatively classless society gradually became a highly stratified, male-dominant one. Although the real, historical process was long and complicated, it seems to reflect some of the dynamics which the simple classroom exercise described earlier identified as the origins and interrelationships of different forms of oppression.

My second example took place in North America, during the colonization of North America's First Nations by European invaders. The whole story, again, is long and complicated, and the documentation required to make a complete account would fill rooms and take years to study. I want to give only one quote, albeit a long one. It comes from *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions*, by Paula Gunn Allen. She, in turn, quotes extensively from the journal of Father Paul LeJeune, a mid-sixteenth century Jesuit missionary among the Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi) of the St. Lawrence Valley. LeJeune seemed to see clearly the necessity of undermining the power of women, introducing interpersonal violence, changing the treatment of children, and establishing authoritarian male leadership in order to "civilize" (that is, dominate) the "savages." He even foresees the residential school system which did not appear until three centuries later:

The Jesuits, under the leadership of Fr. Paul LeJeune, . . . determined to convert the Montagnais to Christianity, resocialize them, and transform them into peasant-serfs as were the Indians' counterparts in France centuries earlier.

To accomplish this task, the good fathers had to loosen the hold of Montagnais women on tribal policies and to convince both men and women that a woman's proper place was under the authority of her husband and that a man's proper place was under the authority of the priests. The system of vassalage with which the Frenchmen were most familiar required this arrangement.

In pursuit of this end, the priests had to undermine the status

of the women, who according to one of LeJeune's reports, had "great power. . . . A man may promise you something and if he does not keep his promise, he thinks he is sufficiently excused when he tells you that his wife did not wish him to do it." Further, the Jesuit noted the equable relations between husbands and wives among the Montagnais. He commented that "men leave the arrangement of the household to the women, without interfering with them; they cut and decide to give away as they please without making the husband angry. I have never seen my host ask a giddy young woman that he had with him what became of the provisions, although they were disappearing very fast."

Undaunted, Paul LeJeune composed a plan whereby this state of affairs could be put aright. His plan had four parts, which he was certain, would turn the Montagnais into proper, civilized people. He figured that the first requirement was the establishment of permanent settlements and the placement of officially constituted authority in the hands of one person. "Alas!" he mourned, "If someone could stop the wanderings of the Savages, and give authority to one of them to rule the others, we would see them converted and civilized in a short time." More ominously, he believed that the institution of punishment was essential in Montagnais social relations. How could they understand tyranny and respect it unless they wielded it upon each other and experienced it at each other's hands? He was most distressed that the "Savages," as he termed them, thought physical abuse a terrible crime.

He commented on the "savage" aberration in a number of his reports, emphasizing his position that its cure rested only in the abduction or seduction of the children into attendance at Jesuit-run schools located a good distance from their homes. "The Savages prevent their [children's] instruction; they will not tolerate the chastisement of their children, whatever they may do, they permit only a simple reprimand," he complains.

What he had in mind was more along the lines of torture, imprisonment, battering, neglect, and psychological torment—the educational methods to which Indian children in government and mission schools would be subjected for some time after Conquest was accomplished. Doubtless these methods were required or few would have traded the Montagnais way for the European one. Thus his third goal was subsumed under the "education" of the young.

Last, LeJeune wished to implement a new social system

## Becoming an Ally

whereby the Montagnais would live within the European family structure with its twin patriarchal institutions of male authority and female fidelity. These would be enforced by the simple expediency of forbidding divorce. He informed the men that in France women do not rule their husbands, information that had been conveyed by various means, including Jesuit education, to other tribes such as the Iroquois and the Cherokee.<sup>6</sup>

This single example of the observations of Father LeJeune contains several steps in the transformation of a co-operative, connected, egalitarian social system into a competitive, hierarchical society based on separation. These themes appear over and over again in accounts of the European colonization of North America, particularly those written from a First Nations point of view.

My third example is of one class establishing its dominance over the classes it exploited. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a time of rapid transformation of English society; major changes occurred in the economic base, class relations, gender relations, and social and religious values.

My first contact with the story of this period was a song, *The World Turned Upside Down (The Diggers' Song)*, by Leon Rosselson.<sup>7</sup>

In 1649 to St. George's Hill,  
A ragged band they called the Diggers  
came to show the people's will.  
They defied the landlords; they defied the laws.  
They were the dispossessed reclaiming what was theirs.

"We come in peace," they said, "to dig and sow.  
We come to work the lands in common  
and to make the waste ground grow.  
This earth divided we will make whole,  
So it will be a common treasury for all.

The sin of property we do disdain.  
No man has any right to buy and sell the earth for private gain.  
By theft and murder they took the land.  
Now everywhere the walls spring up at their command.

They make the laws to chain us well.  
The clergy dazzle us with heaven  
or they damn us into hell.

## Oppression—How did it come about?

We will not worship the god they serve,  
The god of greed who feeds the rich while the poor folk starve.

We work, we eat together, we need no swords.  
We will not bow to the masters or pay rent unto the lords.  
Still we are free, tho' we are poor.  
You Diggers all stand up for glory, stand up now."

From the men of property, the orders came.  
They sent the hired men and troopers  
to wipe out the Diggers' claim.  
Tear down their cottages, destroy their corn.  
They were dispersed, but still the vision lingers on.

You poor take courage, you rich take care.  
This earth was made a common treasury  
for everyone to share  
All things in common, all people one.  
"We come in peace," the order came to cut them down.

Intrigued with the Diggers, I began to search for information. They were a radical Christian sect that emerged in a time when a number of other small groups emerged, including the Society of Friends (Quakers).<sup>8</sup> They identified sin with private property and tried to re-establish the right of poor people to make a living from the land. They were resisting what is now called the "enclosure movement," an action by the wealthy classes to claim as their own land which had previously been seen as a community resource. This description of the time and its dramatic changes comes from two sources: *Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers*, by Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English,<sup>9</sup> and "The Burning Times: Notes on a Crucial Period of History," in *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics*, by Starhawk.<sup>10</sup>

English society was stratified into classes at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and subject to almost continuous warfare, but there were many remnants of the ancient, co-operative societies that existed before the series of invasions that brought conquering peoples to Britain. For example, although the land belonged in name to the lords, and tenant farmers paid rent, there was a complex system of "rights of common" that gave peasants access to the resources of the fields, marshes, pastures, and forests. Many peasants still worked the land communally, making decisions and owning equipment in common, and dividing the harvest. The majority of the population were Christian, but communal festivals still

reflected an earlier time—celebrations of seasonal cycles dated back to Neolithic, and some even to Paleolithic times. Wise women and men, or witches, who practiced ancient methods of healing, preventive public health, and midwifery, were not only the peasant population's "doctors," but also held important leadership positions in the community. Many kept up the rituals of the ancient traditional religions of Europe. Their knowledge was learned orally, and was often extensive. The witches discovered many medicines that are still in use today.

In the sixteenth century several things happened to cause the landlords to want the people removed from the land. Europe was flooded with gold and silver from the Americas, causing extreme inflation and making the peasants' low rental payments almost worthless. At the same time, demand was growing for wool in the newly-organized English textile industry and in other European countries. There were profits to be made from raising sheep. The landowners began to pressure for enclosure, or fencing, so that they could use the land for raising sheep, cattle, and crops for sale. They had the land transformed from a resource with multiple uses for the whole community to private property for private profit.

Predictably, enclosure created a large class of peasants, who had lost their independence along with their access to land with its life-sustaining resources. They wandered the roads searching for work, living in deepening poverty, unable even to hunt for food in the forests and marshes because these were being cut down and drained to increase grazing land. Also predictably, groups of peasants resisted in various ways. There were riots in Somerset, Cornwall, Wiltshire, Gloucester, North Devon, and many other areas of the country. Fen dwellers destroyed drainage systems. The Diggers were part of this resistance.

One tactic used to reduce the unity of peasant communities was to attack the people's traditional festivals and celebrations, and destroy the indigenous leadership, the witches.

In Europe the Christian church had been spreading its control gradually over more and more of the population. During the early Middle Ages there were escalating persecutions of the Jews and the Moors, who were both Islamic and Black. Communities that practiced variations on Christianity, such as the Waldensians and Cathars, were labelled heretics, and were tortured and burned at the stake. When these "enemies" had been for the most part eradicated, attention turned increasingly to the witches. In 1484 the Pope declared witchcraft a heresy and gave the Inquisition the power to hunt, torture, and kill witches. In 1486 two Dominican Inquisitors published a guide to witchhunting, the *Malleus Maleficarum*. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, witchhunting reached its peak.

No one knows how many witches died, but there were many. Also,

death did not come easily. To obtain confessions, the Inquisitors used tortures as extreme as anything the world has known, sometimes for days.

The witchhunt reached England in the sixteenth century. It had the effect of spreading terror in peasant communities, destroying the unity that made resistance to enclosure possible, and making people afraid of each other, for anyone could accuse someone of being a witch. It also resulted in people channelling their despair and anger—arising from their growing poverty—towards women. For this reason, although almost half of the witches were men, the witchhunts were directed almost entirely at women.

Another trend of the time caused and benefited from the destruction of the witches. A new class of professionals was emerging for the first time, and universities were created to educate them. Knowledge, like land, was being redefined as private property.

One of the first areas of knowledge to be privatized for profit was medicine. Doctors, who charged for their services, came into direct competition with the witches, who healed illness and delivered babies without charge. Witches were also a problem to the doctors because the former practiced preventive public health—doctors stood to make more profit from curative medicine. It was very useful to these new professional healers to have the traditional healers denounced as heretics and destroyed. It seems ironic to modern readers to discover that witches were not condemned for quackery, but for successful healing. At that time, doctors were bleeding and purging patients and spreading infection. The witches' methods, which used cleanliness, herbs, slower natural treatments, and building up the patient's strength, were often more successful. Their crime had nothing to do with the well-being of the patient, but with the right of the church and the universities to decide who could heal and who could not.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have given us a legacy of property, gender, and class relations that persist into modern times. The story, again, although far more complex than the brief summary I have provided here, shows some of the same processes in operation that appear whenever people with competitive, hierarchical, separation-based values come into contact with people who practice a more connected, co-operative way of life. The end result is that the more co-operative group eventually is forced to absorb and live by the competitive values. The essence of this transition is a transformation in the forms of power used in a society.

Like most other people of my gender and class, I have been afraid of power most of my life. I thought power was automatically evil, and that co-operation depended on the refusal to use power. This, I finally realized,

is because, like most people formed by a competitive society, I thought power could only mean power over others.

I encountered a much deeper understanding of power in the work of *\*Starhawk*.<sup>11</sup> She defines three kinds of power. "Power-over" is domination or force, the power I had been afraid of. "Power-over" also includes its flip side—rebellion. Rebellion is the reaction of people trying to protect themselves, or get some control of a situation where they are being hurt by a person or system with power over them. Rebellion can be a dramatic fighting back, or can take the form of quiet manipulation. It is the "power of the powerless" used, for example, by children to control adults even though adults are stronger and, in this culture, are the "owners" of the children. If rebellion succeeds, the roles simply reverse and the situation of "power-over" continues.

There are, however, forms of power which have nothing to do with the domination of others. The first is "power-within." This refers to one's own centredness, one's grounding in one's own beliefs, wisdom, knowledge, skills, culture, and community. The second is "power-with," or power exercised co-operatively among equals. The third is "authority," that is, the wisdom, creativity, or expression of a group's energy which is recognized and agreed to by others as right at a certain time.

The history of conquest by patriarchal cultures is a lesson in the relationship between "power-over" and "power-with." Co-operative cultures practice "power-with," along with "power-within" and "authority." Decisions are made by consensus, among equals. If one person's views have more weight, it is because of wisdom, experience, or an insight that sums up the group spirit at that time. These unequal forms of power vary in strength, shift from person to person, and can be earned and lost, although they do tend to accumulate with age.

When a culture practicing "power-with" meets a culture which practices "power-over," the former group does not stand much of a chance. People from a co-operative culture tend to trust others, make themselves vulnerable, and give with the knowledge that something of value will come back in due time. They assume a connection with others that makes injuring or killing another person very rare. They do not accumulate goods. They do not think in terms of self-defense or distrust. The two cultures are not evenly matched.

On a smaller scale, in an organization, even one person who needs control and uses the methods of "power-over" can often destroy an experiment in consensus methods. In my experience, when the controlling manipulations begin, the other members of the group have to choose among three options. The first choice is to band together in complete unity to resist the person's attempt to take over. In the second case, one or more


members lead the resistance, entering into a power-struggle, which in turn demands the use of "power-over" tactics and ends the co-operative nature of the group. The third option is to break up for the time being.

The first choice is a good one, but the total agreement required is very difficult to achieve, especially if there is discontent in the group, or the person initiating the take-over has done some groundwork and convinced others to support the effort or, as is often the case, people are simply not able to figure out what is happening. Often the person seeking control is not even conscious of what is happening, making it even more difficult for others to see the dynamics.

The second choice is very similar to the usual result of a co-operative culture facing conquest. The resistance may be successful, but the egalitarian, consensus-based nature of the group is sacrificed.

The third option is by far the most common.

Too many organizations, successful in establishing internal co-operation for a time, have faced this painful choice. The interaction of "power-over" and "power-with" in groups is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Oppression is an inevitable result of "power-over." In order to end it, our challenge is to discover how we can restore the skills, methods, and culture of "power-with." 

## Endnotes

1. An account similar to this one, which unravels the net of social values woven around war-making, can be found in Starhawk, "The Dismembering of the World," in *Truth or Dare: Encounters With Power, Authority, and Mystery* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987): 47-67.

There is also interesting material on some of the other connections made in this account:

On the relationship between heterosexism and sexism, see:

Judy Grahn, *Another Mother Tongue: Gay Words, Gay Worlds* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984).

Suzanne Pharr, *Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism* (Arkansas: Chardon Press, 1988).

"Pride and Prejudice: Homosexuality." *New Internationalist* 201 (November, 1989).

On the relationships among heterosexism, sexism, conquest, and war, see:

Denis Altman, "Fear and Loathing." *New Internationalist* 201:18,19.

Kathleen Barry, "Social Etiology of Crimes Against Women," in *Victimology: An International Journal* 10, 1985:164-173.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Female Sexual Slavery* (New York: Avon Books, 1979).

Brian Easlea, "Patriarchy, Scientists and Nuclear Warriors," in Michael Kaufman, ed. *Beyond Patriarchy: Essays by Men on Pleasure, Power, and Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You: The Militarization of Women's Lives* (Boston: South End Press, 1983).

Birgit Brock-Utne, "The soldier and the mother." Paper prepared for UNESCO experts meeting, New Delhi, July 11,12, 1981.

Brock-Utne quotes George Gilder writing of training in a Marine boot camp: [*Sexual Suicide* (New York: Quadrangle Press, 1973)]

"From the moment one arrives, the drill instructors begin a torrent of misogynistic and anti-individualist abuse. The good things are manly and collective; the despicable are feminine and individual. Virtually every sentence, every description, every lesson embodies this sexual duality, and the female anatomy provides a rich metaphor for every degradation."

Brock-Utne adds the comment: "When you want to create a soldierly group of male killers, that is what you do, you kill the woman in them."

Another reflection of the relationship between heterosexism and war is the inscription on the tombstone of Leonard Matlovitch, who died of AIDS in 1988. The stone stands in the military cemetery in Arlington, Virginia: "They gave me a medal for killing five men, and a dishonourable discharge for loving one."

On the 16th of February 1992, p. 16, the *Halifax Daily News* reported that scientists working on non-lethal weapons were running into resistance from those at the Pentagon who think that non-lethal weapons are not manly enough, because masculine means killing; see: "A Kinder, Gentler Kind of Warfare; The Pentagon is Currently Studying the Potential of Non-lethal Weapons."

A similar connection appeared in the Halifax paper, *The Mail Star*, 28 September 1992, p. A2. "The Tailhook Affair: U.S. Navy Lands Its Biggest Scandal," describes the rape and harassment of female officers, and some civilian female passers-by, at a party held to thank troops for their work in the Gulf War. Some of the high-ranking Navy personnel quoted feel that to curb such behavior would demoralize the male officers.

Some references on men conquering other men by rape can be found in: Walter Barnett, *Homosexuality and the Bible* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1979).

Susan Cole, *Pornography and the Sex Crisis* (Toronto: Amanita, 1989).

Jalna Hanmer and Mary Maynard, eds. 1987. *Women, Violence and Social Control* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanity Press International, 1987).

Seymour Kleinberg, "The New Masculinity of Gay Men," In Michael Kaufman, ed., *Beyond Patriarchy: Essays by Men on Pleasure, Power, and Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987):131.

Catherine MacKinnon, *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

Richard Troiden, *Gay and Lesbian Identity: A Sociological Analysis* (Dix Hills, N.Y.: General Hall, 1988).

2. Riane Eisler, *The Chalice and the Blade* (San Francisco: Harper, 1990): 49, and Starhawk, *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1982): 38.

3. Riane Eisler, *The Chalice and the Blade* (San Francisco: Harper, 1990): 42-54.

4. Marija Gimbutas, *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982): 9-10, 17-18.

5. Marija Gimbutas, *The Language of the Goddess* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989): xix - xxi.

Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1993): 122-123, 129-130.

6. Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986): 38-40. The quotations from Father Paul Lefeune come from R.C. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 71 volumes (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1906):2:77. There is a similar, but more recent and scientific account contrasting the high status of women and the gentle rearing of children in a "primitive" society with the subservience of women and punishment of children in Western "civilization" in Bronislaw Malinowski's classic anthropological study of Triobrand society (Papua New Guinea) in *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927):25-39.

7. Leon Rosselson (Wembley Park, Middlesex, U.K.: Fuse Records, 1975). The song can be heard on Rosselson's recordings *For the Good of the Nation*, and *That's Not the Way It's Got to Be*. It is also on Dick Gaughan's, *A Handful of Earth*, Billy Bragg's, *Between the Wars*, and the tape *Aya! A Benefit Tape for AIDS Vancouver*, by the Vancouver trio, Aya (Slim Evans Records and Tapes, 2149 Parker St., Vancouver, B.C. V5L 2L6).

8. Starhawk, *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1982): 209.

9. Barbara Ehrenreich and Dierdre English, *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1973).

10. Starhawk, "The Burning Times: Notes on a Crucial Period in History," *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1982): 183-219.

The process of breaking people's connections with the earth and the resources they need for life continues, of course, to this day. For a powerful account of the modern "enclosure movement," and the meaning of the bonds that are broken, see: Vandana Shiva, "Homelessness in the Global Village," in Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1993): 98-107.

11. Starhawk, *Truth or Dare: Encounters with Power, Authority, and Mystery* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987): 8-20.