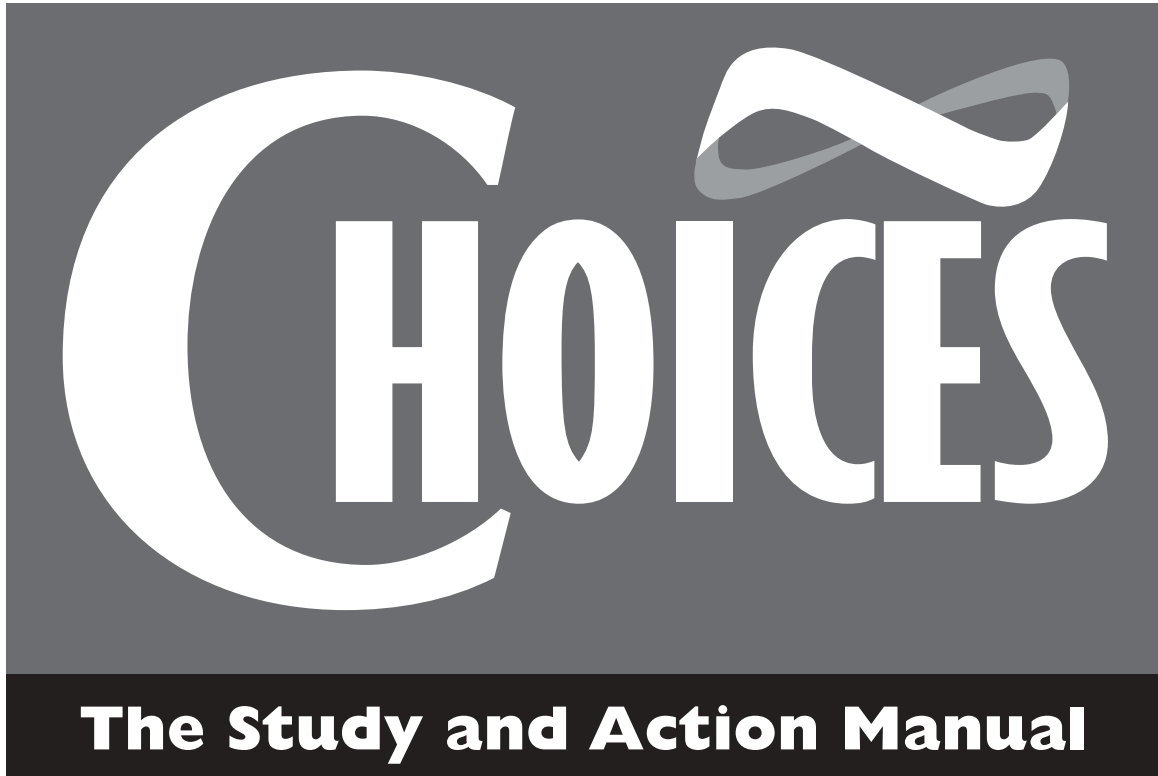


Feminist Majority Foundation Presents



A Campus Campaign of the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliances

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Welcome

Envisioning Choices

Welcome to the *Study and Action Manual (SAM)* of the *Choices* campaign! The innovative SAM provides materials for Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance meetings as well as event and action suggestions that will enable your Leadership Alliance to proceed with an optimum level of activity and accomplishment. The two components – study and action – grow out of the Feminist Majority Foundation’s philosophy that effective action is anchored in ongoing research and learning. The following pages provide information on how to use the material and implement the strategies included in the SAM. Before reviewing this process, however, we would like to share with you information about our organization and the vision behind the *Choices* campaign.

The Feminist Majority Foundation

THAT NAME: THE FEMINIST MAJORITY

The Feminist Majority Foundation, a research and educational organization, and our sister organization, the Feminist Majority, an advocacy group, were both founded in 1987 by Dr. Eleanor Smeal, President, and Peg Yorkin, Chair of the Board. Our name, “Feminist Majority,” a consciousness-raiser, comes from a 1986 Newsweek Gallup public opinion poll that showed a majority of women (56%) in the United States self-identified as feminists. Most polls since then, including our Women’s Equality Poll of 1995 (which was conducted by Peter Harris Associates and analyzed by Louis Harris, the dean of American pollsters), reveal that this majority has only become larger, with over two-thirds of young women (ages 18-24) self-identifying as feminists. Also encouraging, most men, especially young men, view themselves as supporters of the women’s rights movement.

Our definition of the “F” word, “feminism,” is simple yet broad: “the policy, practice or advocacy of political, eco-

nomic, and social equality for women.” A feminist is any person – woman or man, girl or boy – who advocates feminism; but, our work and the principles of the Feminist Majority Foundation are even broader than this definition. We view the feminist movement as a movement that includes women and men who believe in equality between the sexes and seek to eliminate discrimination of all kinds – sex, race, sexual orientation, age, religion, national origin, disability, socioeconomic and marital status. Moreover, feminists since the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when usage of the term began, have advocated nonviolence and worked to eliminate social and economic injustices.

Most importantly, the feminist movement is global. Everywhere, women are struggling to eliminate centuries of discrimination. We, in the Feminist Majority Foundation, see ourselves allied with women and men worldwide seeking to eliminate sexism, racism, and horrendous poverty. For example, one component of our global program seeks to eliminate sweatshops in Southeast Asia as well as in Los Angeles and other U.S. cities.

MAJOR PROGRAMS

The Feminist Majority Foundation operates several research and advocacy projects. The following are a few of our major programs:

- National Clinic Access Project
- National Center for Women and Policing
- Feminist Majority Foundation On-Line – Women’s Worldwide Web
- Campaign for Women’s Health and Mifepristone
- Campaign for Afghan Women and Girls
- Global Empowering Women’s Program
- *Choices* Campus Leadership Program

PRINCIPLES

The FMF is a non-profit organization and the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance is a division of the FMF. Although the Leadership Alliance has its own constitution for campus use, it shares the principles of the FMF. The FMF and the Leadership Alliances are committed to:

- Equality between women and men and boys and girls, and support of constitutional and statutory measures to gain equality locally, statewide, nationally, and globally.
- Safe, legal, and accessible abortion, contraception, and family planning, including Medicaid funding and access for minors.
- Achieving civil rights for all people, including affirmative action programs for women and people of color.
- Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender rights.
- Non-discrimination on the basis of sex, gender, race, sexual orientation,

socioeconomic status, religion, ethnicity, age, marital status, national origin, or disability.

- Nonviolence and the elimination of violence against women.
- Programs directed at the preservation of the environment, clean air and water, the elimination of smog, toxic and hazardous waste, chemical and nuclear weaponry.

THE FEMINIST MAJORITY FOUNDATION ON CAMPUS

The Foundation of the Campus Program

From our inception, the Feminist Majority Foundation has invested in programs for young people. For example, our efforts have resulted in The Princeton Review ranking our internship program in the Top 100 nationally every year since 1994.

However, our internship program, based in the greater D.C. metropolitan area and Los Angeles, is just one part of our many campus activities. We successfully mobilized on college campuses in Oregon in 1990 to defeat two anti-abortion initiatives on the state ballot, including a punitive parental notification initiative. The Feminist Majority Foundation again expanded its college campus program in 1992. This time, in Iowa, our efforts mobilized hundreds of students to work at the polls on Election Day for passage of a state Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and helped spur the largest turnout of young voters in Iowa’s history. Although the state ERA was narrowly defeated, huge majorities of young people, especially young women, voted overwhelmingly in support of the Iowa State ERA in 1992.

In 1994, we decided to double the number of our internships by developing a field program for interns to participate in our National Clinic Access Program. Interns were stationed in field offices in

seven states. They served in the field as organizers who trained local volunteers and as key members of the local clinic defense teams who worked along-side the Feminist Majority Clinic Access Staff. The field program was so successful that in 1995, at the request of interns, we expanded again and established Feminist Majority units on 10 campuses.

Meanwhile in 1995, we launched our award-winning Internet website aimed especially at reaching students on campuses nationwide. Today our website receives more than 8 million hits per month, approximately 80% of which are from campuses and students 18-24 years of age. Because of the high usage by students, the Internet is a major mode of communication among the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliances. The Feminist Majority Foundation On-Line (www.feminist.org) received a 5-star rating (the highest) from Luckman Interactive, which produces the Official Interactive World Wide Yellow Pages. The site has received numerous other awards including a Platinum Award from Netguide; Best Overall Non-profit Website from the Non-profit Online Conference; P.C. Magazine's Top 100 Sites and Top 5% of the Web.

In 1996, we, once again, dramatically increased our work on college campuses. From the fall of 1995 through the fall of 1996, our President, Eleanor Smeal, spoke on some 110 community, private, and state campuses nationwide. This major recruitment effort mobilized thousands of young activists for both Expo '96 and for Freedom Summer/Fall '96. Of the 3,000 people who attended Expo '96 during a blizzard, 1,200 of the attendees were college students. Moreover, for Freedom Summer/Fall '96, we expanded the concept of field programs for interns and recruited some 350 full-time volunteer interns to work to defeat Proposition 209, the anti-affirmative action initiative on

California's November '96 ballot. These student interns worked on almost all California campuses, including community colleges, to register students to vote and to recruit campaign workers. In total, thousands of students, with some 750 volunteering significant blocks of time, worked in the campaign through the Feminist Majority Foundation program.

Finally, the Feminist Majority has spread a pro-choice message to students through our Rock-for-Choice project. Featuring concerts and compact discs with young popular musical artists – including the Indigo Girls, Nirvana, and L7, who speak out in support of abortion rights, the Rock-for-Choice project has reached tens of thousands of young people. Concerts sponsored by college students on campus have been especially effective in registering students to vote and distributing "Take Action" information to counter current attacks on abortion rights. Rock-for-Choice recently teamed up with SONY to distribute a Rock-for-Choice holiday compact disc. The CD featured "Take Action" materials and a brief history of the fight for abortion rights.

The Launch and Growth of the Campus Program

In 1997-98, the Feminist Majority Foundation hired our first team of Campus Organizers to energize, mobilize and recruit feminists on college campuses across the country. Their work began with the 10 Feminist Majority Foundation campus units launched in 1996 and grew from there. Campus units were named Feminist Majority Leadership Alliances (FMLAs), and by 2002 FMF had more than 100 FMLAs in 35 states across the country. The 2002-03 academic year saw the first full team of Campus Organizers stationed in FMF's West Coast office, making the Campus Program bicoastal and better able

to develop feminist activism on campuses in every state in the nation.

The Feminist Majority Foundation continued to do other work in conjunction with and supporting the Campus Program. Feminist Majority Foundation Online (feminist.org), our award-winning website, receives up to 8 million hits per month, mostly from young women ages 18-24, and our Internship program is ranked as one of Princeton Review's top 100 internships. In 1999, a sister site – www.FeministCampus.org – was launched and now receives almost 1 million hits per month.

In 2000, FMF built upon our successful 1996 Feminist Expo to produce Feminist Expo 2000 for Women's Empowerment. The event mobilized 7,000 feminists worldwide in support of women's rights and reproductive health, including more than 2,000 student attendees.

In 2001, we launched the Save Roe Campaign to educate students about the threat to legal abortion and the process whereby a Senate filibuster could block an anti-choice nomination to the Supreme Court.

In 2002, FMF gave FMLAs structured national campaigns to help them better develop feminist activism on their campuses. Activities centered around three campaigns: Prescribe Choice: A Campaign for Women's Reproductive Health, including an Emergency Contraception Over-the-Counter initiative; Never Go Back: Understanding the Threat to Legal Abortion; and Get Out Her Vote (GOHV) 2002 – a campaign developed from our successful 2000 GOHV work on college campuses.

Our Prescribe Choice campaign, launched in 2001, is an initiative designed for students to demand full access to all reproductive health services, including emergency contraception (EC) and mifepristone, on college campuses.

FMF's Never Go Back campaign was

formally launched in 2002 as we distributed our Never Go Back video to more than 100 campuses across the country to kick off the public education and grassroots mobilization campaign about the judicial threats to abortion rights. Approximately 75 of our student groups used the video as part of their 29th and 30th anniversary *Roe v. Wade* programming, often in conjunction with other events.

In the fall of 2002, we tested a Never Go Back tour, during which FMF President Eleanor Smeal visited four college campuses in three states to warn communities about the threat an anti-abortion Supreme Court justice poses to *Roe v. Wade*. FMF Campus Organizers helped our student groups on these campuses work in coalition with other student and community groups to bring audience members, including local leaders and politicians, to the tour events. The tour was expanded in 2003 to 7 additional states, reaching feminist activists in every region of the country.

To train and mobilize students for the Never Go Back campaign, we began 2003 with the first national student conference to commemorate the 30th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. Approximately 300 students from more than 30 states gathered in Washington, DC, on January 22nd and 23rd to learn new strategies and tools for advocating for reproductive rights on their campuses from the leaders of nearly every major women's and reproductive rights organization. Students also participated in workshops on topics ranging from "Understanding the legislative threats to *Roe v. Wade*" to "Know your opposition – anti-abortion activism." On the 23rd, students participated in a morning speak-out for abortion rights and then had the opportunity to meet with their US Senators and make their voices heard in support of abortion rights.

The Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance

WHY THE FEMINIST MAJORITY LEADERSHIP ALLIANCE?

Currently, the right wing is allocating massive amounts of money, time, and staff to campus organizing. For example, The Campus Crusade for Christ employs a staff of some 14,200 internationally and is currently building a world headquarters in Orlando, Florida expected to employ some 1,000 people. At this time, the The Campus Crusade for Christ has organized units on almost 200 colleges and universities in the United States. The Collegiate Network, which provides technical assistance and funding for the establishment of independent right-wing college newspapers, has launched 54 collegiate newspapers, with a combined annual circulation of over two million. Moreover, American Collegians for Life and the National Right to Life Committee are both organizing on college campuses. In order to maintain the historically high levels of support from student activists, we know it is imperative that the feminist movement begins organizing more aggressively on college campuses.

Through the FMF's efforts to protect a woman's right to reproductive health care, provide internship opportunities for college students, save affirmative action, stop sweatshops, and mobilize individuals for major rallies and events, we have worked very closely with feminist activists on college campuses nationwide.

The Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance provides an opportunity for student activists and the Feminist Majority Foundation to take their relationship to the next level of organizing. Together, we can fight the current backlash against women's and civil rights from the radical right, which is taking place not only on

national and global levels, but also on college campuses throughout the country.

THE BENEFITS OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE FEMINIST MAJORITY LEADERSHIP ALLIANCE *Nationwide Feminist Network*

Your Leadership Alliance is a program of the Feminist Majority Foundation. This program enables the Feminist Majority Foundation to expand and strengthen our nationwide network of young, feminist activists working toward social, economic and political equality for all women. Through coordinated actions nationwide and a strong information and communications network, including emails, list-servs, and actual campus visits, the Leadership Alliance works to help you and your participants reach personal goals, as we work together to reach the goal of full equality for all women.

Leadership Training and Development

The Feminist Majority believes that feminists must be at the decision-making table at all levels of society in order to achieve full equality for all women. On campus, decisions affecting the lives of feminist students are made daily — sometimes with feminist representation, and sometimes without it. Whether the campus decisions are made through the Student Government Association, the Board of Trustees, or the Budget Committee, the Leadership Alliance works to put feminist students at the table. As Leadership Alliance participants, you are afforded an opportunity to hone leadership skills through the carefully designed leadership development program, including event planning, public speaking, and team organizing. In addition to learning how to acquire these critical leadership and organizing skills, we provide the opportunities to practice them.

Resources

As a Leadership Alliance participant, you will have access to cutting-edge research and materials as well as the experienced staff of the Feminist Majority Foundation to help create change on a local level, while moving toward equality nationally and globally. The innovative *Study and Action Manual (SAM)* not only provides materials for meetings, but also offers event and action suggestions which enable us to proceed with an optimum level of activity as well as accomplishment. Additionally, the Leadership Alliance can access and utilize the Feminist Majority Foundation's award-winning website to research feminist issues and share experiences and ideas.

Career Building

The Leadership Alliance provides information about and opportunities for careers in feminist activism, media, law enforcement, medicine, and law – to name a few. The program also includes training in networking techniques, resume development, and seeking informational or job interviews.

Mentor Opportunities

The Leadership Alliance program has a dynamic approach to intergenerational feminism: mentoring. You have the opportunity to participate in and assist with the development and implementation of an important mentoring program for high school students. You will outreach to area high school students to create a feminist environment and foster feminist activism in local high schools. College feminists also act as role models for younger feminist students.

Create Change

For many students, participation in the Leadership Alliance sparks a lifelong commitment to feminist activism and

public awareness. When you join or establish a Leadership Alliance, you become part of a growing network of mobilized feminists who work toward equality on campuses and in communities worldwide. Feminists working together in a coordinated effort to address the issues of political, social, and economic equality for women represent a powerful force for change. Through the Leadership Alliances, you can join the millions of other feminists around the world who together work for women's social, political, and economic equality.

Learn Feminist Issues

As one of the leading feminist research and policy organizations in the nation, the Feminist Majority Foundation strongly believes that effective action is anchored in ongoing research and learning. In a time when the women's movement is fighting a backlash from the Radical Right, we must create and utilize cutting-edge information to further our efforts toward women's equality.

The learning component of the Leadership Alliance builds upon research, which utilizes information from a variety of organizations throughout the world, including government, public, and private institutions. In order to promote knowledge as a foundation for action, the Feminist Majority Foundation created the SAM as a tool to aid the learning process throughout the academic year.

Put Knowledge into ACTION

Knowledge becomes power with action. We included in the SAM some very real actions, which you can carry out with maximum efficiency and results. Actions include chalk-talks, speakers forums, *Adopt-A-Clinic*, *Adopt-A-High School*, poster campaigns, and much more. Combining the information provided in the SAM with



innovative and manageable actions enables you to enhance women's choices and improve your own life.

The *Choices* Campaign

HOW DOES CHOICES WORK?

Choices is the first of the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance's campus campaigns. *Choices* follows a two-step building process known as the study and action format, which promotes knowledge as a foundation for action. We created the SAM as the tool that guides this process throughout the academic year. The study component of *Choices* builds upon research conducted by the Feminist Majority Foundation that utilizes information from a variety of organizations throughout the world, including government, public, and private institutions. The second step, action, enables the activists in your Leadership Alliance to put their knowledge to use.

In both the study and action components, the *Choices* campaign broadens the definition of "choice" to include the following four areas of focus:

- Reproductive Choices
- Leadership Choices
- Career Choices
- Saving Choices: Fight the Backlash

These four broad areas of focus are broken into ten units in the SAM, and each unit contains a study component and an action component. The topics of the units follow:

UNIT 1

LEADERSHIP CHOICES: KNOW YOUR CAMPUS

This unit focuses on building leadership opportunities for feminists on campus. A study of decision-making bodies on

campus and their gender composition is included and serves as the how-to for becoming a part of these entities. Additionally, you will explore the gender dynamics of the faculty and staff as well as services available to women, people of color, and gay and lesbian students. The action component of this unit includes ideas for publicizing campus needs and improving existing conditions.

UNIT 2

REPRODUCTIVE CHOICES: THE STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE

This unit examines the historical context of reproductive rights and abortion in the United States. Landmark legislation, the development of the birth control pill, the road to safe and legal abortion, and current reproductive health issues are covered in this unit. As the action component of this unit, you may establish a reproductive choice speakers bureau for educational outreach and conducting teach-ins for campus organizations, dorms, Panhellenic groups, and classrooms throughout the year. Presentations include viewing of educational videos such as *Never Go Back*, *Abortion Denied*, and *Abortion for Survival*, as well as the use of any educational materials or approaches developed by the Pro-Choice Public Education Project (PEP).

UNIT 3

SAVING CHOICES: COUNTER THE VIOLENCE

This unit addresses the epidemic of anti-abortion and anti-family planning violence. This unit analyzes the results of the Feminist Majority Foundation's National Clinic Violence Surveys and reports of both Planned Parenthood (PPFA) and the National Abortion Federation (NAF). The Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE) is studied as well as recent Supreme Court rulings on safety-buffer

zones. *Adopt-a-Clinic* is the major action component of this unit. Leadership Alliance participants have the opportunity to contact and set up meetings with a reproductive health clinic to establish a relationship. You may be trained for local volunteer clinic defense and escorting services and/or research and become familiar with local extremists' violent activity.

UNIT 4 **SAVING CHOICES: KNOW THE OPPOSITION**

In this unit, you will learn about various anti-abortion think tanks, public policy centers, funding sources, and, most importantly, extremist groups and individuals. It analyzes organizing strategies, ideologies, and violent tactics. Your goal is to identify related campus and local organizations. The action components include identifying anti-choice groups posing as local abortion or family planning clinics and exposing the “fake” clinics through the campus newspaper or through a visibility action such as leafleting. Leadership Alliances will challenge the anti-choice student group to a debate on campus.

UNIT 5 **REPRODUCTIVE CHOICES: MOBILIZE THE PRO-CHOICE MAJORITY**

In this unit, you examine the pro-choice messages and research, including those developed by the PEP. Also, this unit examines public opinion polling over the last two decades. You will examine various visibility strategies and techniques for grassroots organizing, including leafleting, postering, chalking, and picketing. This unit highlights the importance of all forms of media for political organizing and includes training materials on working with the media. The action component for this unit includes a broad based visibility campaign on campus during women's history month (March)

to increase awareness of pro-choice reproductive issues. The visibility efforts may include: a pro-choice postering campaign, a pro-choice signature ad in the campus newspaper, and chalking of pro-choice messages on campus, as well as planning and hosting a Rock-for-Choice™ concert for the campus community.

UNIT 6 **REPRODUCTIVE CHOICES: MAKE THE GLOBAL CONNECTION**

This unit addresses the current climate for reproductive health and family planning from an international perspective. This unit examines a wide variety of countries, including those where family planning and abortion is severely restricted or nonexistent. United States and United Nations International Family Planning policies are reviewed. The action components for this section include incorporating information on global reproductive health issues into the presentations, conducting visibility events, and coordinating speaker panels.

UNIT 7 **LEADERSHIP CHOICES: MENTOR FOR THE FUTURE**

This unit features a mentoring program, which examines issues pertaining to young women such as college preparation, financial aid and scholarship information, sexual assault, eating disorders, and self-esteem building. Additionally, the Leadership Alliance will survey access to the local community's reproductive health services and identify and familiarize students with local family planning services and parental consent laws wherever relevant.

UNIT 8 **LEADERSHIP CHOICES: WIN A SEAT AT THE TABLE**

A review of women in decision-making positions in state legislatures and Congress

is included in this unit. Also, you will review how gender affects political involvement at all levels – national, local, and on campus. Leadership Alliance participants will learn how to run for public office or to assume leadership at all levels.

UNIT 9 **CAREER CHOICES: EMPOWER WOMEN** **IN THE WORKPLACE**

This unit reviews career choices in both the public and private sectors. You review careers in a host of areas, such as health care, domestic violence, law enforcement, law, medicine, and academia. The actions for this unit include hosting a feminist career fair and feminist career panels, as well as improving campus career resources for women.

UNIT 10 **CHOICES IN CAREERS: FIND A** **FEMINIST CAREER**

This unit helps students develop strong resume writing and interviewing skills as well as explore methods for finding internships and jobs in the non-profit and activist sectors. Students will visit the Feminist Majority Foundation's on-line career center and investigate fundraising strategies to support internship and conference participation.

These unit topics were carefully designed to broaden your knowledge of important current as well as historical feminist issues. In one manual, of course, it is impossible to cover the breadth of feminist issues and history, so we encourage your Leadership Alliance to explore other areas and incorporate them into your meetings. Be sure to share your ideas, information, and actions with your Campus Organizers, so we can share them with Leadership Alliances on other campuses!

SPECIAL CHOICES PROJECTS **Get Out Her Vote**

Women's votes have never been so

critical in electing feminist officials at every level of government. The gender gap, or the difference in the way in which men and women vote, continues to grow with each passing election and will be the deciding factor in many important elections in the future. The Leadership Alliance on your campus can help mobilize the feminist vote by registering students to vote in the November elections and by providing transportation to the polls.

Never Go Back

Never before has the right to safe, legal abortion been in greater jeopardy. The most recent Supreme Court case on abortion rights was decided with a razor-thin 5-4 pro-choice vote. A vacancy could occur at any time, giving President Bush the opportunity to nominate a replacement. Under the Constitution, the Senate has a role equal to the President's in the judicial confirmation process. A filibuster strategy is the reproductive rights movement's most viable strategy to preserve a woman's right to safe, legal abortion and the *Roe v. Wade* decision. A filibuster permits unlimited debate on the Senate floor and requires only 41 Senators to sustain it, blocking a vote on an anti-reproductive rights nomination. The Leadership Alliance on your campus can join the Never Go back campaign to inform the public about the impending threat to legal abortion, the role of the Supreme Court in affirming or overturning *Roe v. Wade*, and the importance of the filibuster as a winnable strategy for stopping anti-abortion judicial nominees.

Prescribe Choice

What does your campus health center do for women? What should it be doing? Health centers on college campuses are often the only source of health care for many college students. And yet, these

centers may or may not offer birth control, emergency contraception, abortion services and referrals, lesbian health services, and effective rape kits. These services, if they are offered, may or may not be covered by the health insurance your school offers. By participating in the Prescribe Choice campaign, the Leadership Alliances will play a vital role in expanding health services for women of all ethnicities, economic backgrounds and sexual orientations on college campuses. The Leadership Alliance on your campus can host forums for students to voice their concerns about women's health services on campus, develop Did You Know campaigns to educate the campus about necessary reforms in campus health care, and effectively lobby school officials for these changes.

Emergency Contraception Over the Counter: EC OTC

Emergency contraception is a combination of hormones that, when taken within 72 hours of unprotected sex, can reduce the risk of becoming pregnant between 75-88%. This drug has minimal side effects and is statistically less likely to cause adverse reactions than aspirin, and yet it is only available by prescription in all but three states. The Leadership Alliance on your campus can help make emergency contraception available over the counter to women everywhere through an aggressive petitioning campaigns, rallies and campaigns to educate your campus about emergency contraception.

Anniversary of Roe v. Wade

January 22 is the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. We believe this day should be observed as the anniversary of this historical decision. Your Leadership Alliance, while conducting Choices, will plan reproductive choice issue events and

activities during the month of January. Most importantly, we will seek to make the anniversary extremely important, alive, and relevant to your college campus.

Anniversary of Seneca Falls

The year 1998 marked the 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention, which adopted the Declaration of Human Sentiments of 1848. The Seneca Falls Convention, organized by Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, is widely viewed as the event and the resolution that launched the drive for women's suffrage and the first wave of feminism in the 19th Century. Commemorated widely by Women's Studies departments and Women's History Month every year on campus, the anniversary provides organizing opportunities for your Leadership Alliance participants.

The Study and Action Manual

STUDY

The Feminist Majority Foundation is one of the leading feminist research organizations in the United States. Eleanor Smeal personally participates in the development of all of the materials and reports of our organization. Smeal, a trained political scientist, was the first to identify the "gender gap" – the difference in the way women and men vote – and popularized its usage in election and polling analyses to enhance women's voting clout. The research team at the FMF produces a National Clinic Violence Survey Report, which is used by law enforcement, the FBI, and the Department of Justice in understanding and combating anti-abortion terrorism. We have produced "kits" that report on the status of Women in Business, Women in Sports, Women in Philanthropy, and Women in Medicine. Additionally, the

FMF produces reports on the benefits of mifepristone (the French abortion pill known as RU 486). Currently, we are researching corporations utilizing sweatshop labor. We are also working to restore the rights of women in Afghanistan.

The material contained in the SAM reflects the FMF's commitment to cutting-edge, well-researched, and well-documented information. The SAM provides valuable educational materials for your weekly meetings and information upon which you can build actions. Additionally, it includes extensive bibliographies. So whether you are writing a paper, preparing a speech, or just want to learn more about a particular topic, the bibliographies provide current data by leading researchers and authors in the field.

ACTION

In addition to the Feminist Majority Foundation's excellent research abilities and resources, our staff also has extensive experience as event and field organizers. Smeal, who began her activism integrating movie theaters while a student at Duke University, has been on the frontlines fighting for women's equality for nearly three decades. As President of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Smeal led the drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, the largest nationwide grassroots and lobbying campaign in the history of the modern women's movement. Additionally, members of our staff have played key roles in the major mass mobilizations of the feminist movement throughout the past 25 years including an abortion rights campaign in Oregon, major marches and rallies in Washington, D.C., clinic defense campaigns in over 13 states, and an affirmative action campaign in California. Our staff members, young and old, are dedicated and trained field organizers who are available to help you with action planning and event strategies.

The action items we developed for the SAM are both exciting and manageable. Included are a variety of action items for your Leadership Alliance to undertake, which range from quick and easy poster campaigns to more complex actions such as Rock-for-Choice™ concerts. For each unit, we included several action ideas, and one that we fully explain. The following areas are incorporated for each major action item:

- Introduction, which describes the goals of and strategies for the event.
- Committees/People, which explains approximately how many people are needed to prepare for the event and important event planning committees.
- Materials/Equipment, which delineates any special equipment this particular action needs, ranging from safety pins for ribbons to a PA system for speeches.
- Timeline, which gives an approximate schedule of tasks to be completed in the days leading up to the event and includes "day of" event activities.
- Budget, which covers items you should consider because they may cost money, including room rental, copying expenses for flyers, and posters.
- Advertising, which describes the who, what, when, and where of the event; press; and publicity information.
- Helpful Hints, which is a miscellaneous section filled with important information.

Conducting successful actions on your campus will create visibility for your Leadership Alliance, educate the campus on critical feminist issues, and foster a special camaraderie among Leadership Alliance participants. Please share your success stories with your Campus Organiz-

ers at the Feminist Majority Foundation! We would love to include them on our internet site and in our newsletter, so send pictures as well.

HOW TO INCORPORATE THE STUDY AND ACTION MANUAL INTO YOUR MEETINGS

When you begin your Leadership Alliance, explain carefully to the other Leadership Alliance participants the four focus areas and the topics for each of the ten units. After reviewing this information, ask participants to volunteer as presenters for units. People can work together on unit presentations, incorporating the information from the SAM, guest speakers, videos, and other creative aids to make the material come alive. Some units will require a couple of meetings because of their complexity and length. Each unit will launch a new action item, some of which are one-time activities, such as chalk-talks, and some that are long-term like *Adopt-A-Clinic*. After the material presentation during your weekly meetings, address questions people may have. Then, move on to the action items.

For example, Unit 2 addresses the history of reproductive rights beginning in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and ending with contemporary reproductive rights issues, such as abortion accessibility and the fight to bring RU 486 into the United States. Prior to the meeting, each participant should familiarize her/himself with the information, so s/he can actively participate in the discussion. If, for instance, the presenters of Unit 2 developed discussion questions about Margaret Sanger or showed a video about the struggle for abortion rights before *Roe v. Wade*, Leadership Alliance participants should be able to fully engage in an informed dialogue. When the discussion winds down and the end of the study component is reached, the presenters can lead the group in action development. For Unit 2, the major suggested action is the establishment of a speaker's bureau, which would send speakers prepared with information and videos from Unit 2 into dorms, theme houses, and classrooms.

ACTION

THE FIRST GENERAL MEETING

The first meeting of the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance and *Choices* includes a welcome and an overview of the entire program. We suggest that first the acting core group introduce itself and ask the participants in the room to introduce themselves. Then the acting chair introduces the group to the Feminist Majority Foundation and its sister group the Feminist Majority by distributing materials, such as the *Feminist Majority Report*.

The review of the Feminist Majority Foundation follows the “Study” section of this Unit. Divide the review among core group members, ensuring a variety of speakers and constant energy. Topics include:

- That Name: The Feminist Majority
- Major Programs
- Principles
- The Feminist Majority Foundation on Campus

After your core group reviews the Feminist Majority Foundation, answer any questions the audience may have. Remember, if you do not know the answer, let your questioner know that you will contact your Campus Organizer and get back to her/him.

Next, review the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance. Again, cover the topics detailed in the study component of this Unit including:

- Why the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance
- The Benefits of Membership in the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance.

Answer questions if you are able. If not, contact your Campus Organizer for clarification.

Also, review the constitution and the structure of the Leadership Alliances. At this point, hand out the constitution to review. The major areas to cover in the constitution include:

- Name
- Purpose
- Principles (already discussed)
- Local Campus Unit Standards
- Executive Committee
- Meetings and Procedures
- Removal of Officers
- Amendments
- Parliamentary Authority



Make Your Move!

At this point, it is important to introduce and thoroughly explain the Profile for Activists. Hand out a Profile to each person and go over every question on the Profile together, explaining why it is important. Encourage people to fill out their Profiles at the end of the meeting, but set a time and place for the group to turn them in should they need additional time.

The next section for review is the *Choices* campaign. Again, for diversity of speakers, have each core group member discuss different portions of each one of the following sections:

- How Does *Choices* Work?
- Special *Choices* Projects

This is a very substantive part of your meeting and may require more time — take it! Answer questions then move to the final section, the Study and Action Manual.

The Study and Action Manual Section explains how the SAM works. Make sure people understand the Feminist Majority Foundation philosophy that effective action grows out of research and knowledge. The following are the topics to include in your discussion:

- Study
- Action
- How to Incorporate the Study and Action Manual into Your Meetings

HELPFUL HINTS

This meeting tends to run a little longer than most because the material is new and people are just learning about the program. Try to keep it under two hours, an hour and a half ideally. Reserve the other half-hour for people who want to stay behind to ask more questions. Be sure you pass around a sign-in sheet. Additionally, provide snack food and drinks. Keep the atmosphere informal, but make everyone aware that there is an agenda. Do not spend too much time on any one question. Ask the questioner to stay after the meeting if you find yourself involved in a long question and answer session. At the end of the meeting, announce the time and place of the next meeting, and ask everyone to come back with a friend. In the next day or two, call and email people who expressed interest in the program and gauge their interest in becoming a core member of the group.

Good luck! Each step of the way, in all activities, you will have the support and assistance of the Feminist Majority Foundation. Your Campus Organizers are available by phone, email, and fax if you need to contact them. Be sure to let us know how the first meeting goes, so we can share your success with other Leadership Alliances nationwide!

Unit 1

Leadership Choices: Know Your Campus

By now, you have had a few Leadership Alliance meetings and read through the prologue of the Study and Action Manual (SAM). Excited to begin creating feminist change, you are ready to launch the *Choices* campaign! The first step in creating that change involves taking a closer look at your college campus – what we call “Know Your Campus.” **Feminists who “know” their environments are feminists ready to effectively change those environments, their surrounding communities, and our world.** By learning which choices you do and don’t have on campus, you are prepared to win the choices we all deserve.

In order to create lasting and profound change, feminists, regardless of their respective campuses, communities, or countries, must utilize all available resources. As feminist activists on campus, this means understanding your college environment on several levels. Know what resources are available for your use and what resources are still badly needed. Know who holds the power on campus and how you can influence their decision-making processes. Finally, begin to critically re-examine your college environment and its policies in terms of Reproductive Choices, Leadership Choices, Career Choices, and Saving Choices. Determine if it does or does not embody the feminist change you are working to create through the Choices campaign.

In the study component of this unit of the SAM you will first learn about how colleges and universities traditionally divide decision-making power among influential **boards, administrators, faculty, and student groups**. Moreover, you will be alerted to the consistent under-representation of women and people of color in these power positions. After gaining a national perspective on campus leadership, you will be introduced to the **Campus Feminist Agenda**. This model of feminist change on campus will help prepare you to envision change on your campus.

In the action component of the unit, you will get to “Know Your Campus” – the first step in applying the change you envision. This exercise involves a thorough investigation of your campus to determine the extent of its feminist-friendliness. Finally, after “Know Your Campus,” you will be given a number of ideas to help you share your findings with the rest of your campus community, help you direct efforts toward improvements, and prepare you to utilize this knowledge during the rest of the Choices campaign.

Decision-Making Bodies on Your Campus

Each campus employs its own decision-making hierarchy, has different administrative offices and boards, and incorporates student input in a unique manner. There are several avenues of influence common to most colleges and universities. Becoming familiar with these offices and organi-

zations, as well as their respective spheres of influence, is the first step in understanding how your campus works and taking a leadership role.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

The office of the president is perhaps the most visible position of power common to all colleges and universities. The college or

university President is the spokesperson for the institution, representing the opinions and policies of the institution to people and organizations within the campus community and beyond. The college President is not simply a figurehead, but has a variety of responsibilities and powers that enable her or him to greatly influence campus policy and student life.

Among these responsibilities, the President of a college or university:

- is Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the college institution;
- is Chief fundraiser for the college or university;
- conveys all recommendations from general faculty assemblies to the Board of Trustees;
- sits on the Board of Trustees;
- sits on general faculty assemblies;
- is entitled to attend any meeting of any subordinate committee in the college;
- supervises the work of all college faculty and may suspend any member of the faculty;
- grants leaves of absence;
- prepares an annual budget for the institution to be presented to the finance committee of the Board of Trustees;
- represents the college to all institutions outside the college

Presidents of colleges and universities wield a tremendous amount of power and influence on their campuses. The decisions they make affect everything from program funding, curriculum planning, and faculty appointments, to student life. Presidents must voice and understand the concerns of their student and faculty constituencies.

In 2002, women made up only 21% of all college presidents nationwide and just 18% of presidents of 4-year colleges. Minority presidents led just 13% of colleges. In stark contrast, women made up less than 40% of faculty and senior staff and minorities were 15% of faculty and senior staff (American Council on Education).

College presidents clearly did not reflect the gender make-up of their student bodies with women accounting for 58% of all undergraduates in 1996 (National Center for Educational Statistics). This imbalance is even more striking when you consider that just 13% of women Presidents oversee doctorate-granting universities. (American Council on Education). Furthermore, in 1990 almost a third of all women Presidents led women's colleges and over half of the African American college Presidents led historically black institutions (The Fund for the Feminist Majority 3).

Women are clearly not presiding over our nation's major higher education institutions. White male leaders are still running the overwhelming majority of large coeducational, multicultural institutions of higher learning.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Members of the Board of Trustees, while less visible on campus than the President, are every bit as powerful. The Board of Trustees has ultimate authority over all administrative decisions on campus, and plays an instrumental role in setting the institution's agenda and establishing future goals. While each Board has slightly different responsibilities, they all have influence over the same general areas. Request a copy of your college bylaws in order to find out the exact jurisdiction of the Board at your college or university. The following is a list of some functions common to many college and university Boards of Trustees. It is an

Unit 1 ■ Leadership Choices: Know Your Campus

example based on the Oberlin College Bylaws (1997).

The Board of Trustees usually controls:

- all college finances, including the setting of tuition and the annual budget;
- all college investments;
- all physical property and material assets belonging to the college or university;
- curricular issues including course changes, and the creation or dissolution of academic divisions, programs, and departments;
- the welfare, conduct, and discipline of students;
- faculty and administrative appointments;
- changes in tenure status, salary, rank, and retirement of faculty and administrators;
- all lawsuits and legal questions asked of the college;
- nominations for positions on the Board of Trustees;
- all buildings and grounds for the college;
- specific enrollment affairs.

Board of Trustee members nationwide, like college presidents, poorly reflect the gender and racial make-up of their colleges and universities. According to the latest figures on Boards of Trustees compiled in 1991, **women comprised 23% of all Board of Trustee members at independent colleges**, while people of color were only 9% of those board members (Ingram, "Governing Independent Colleges" 369). Boards of Trustees at **public colleges were only marginally more representative of their students, with 27% women and 17% people of color sitting on boards** (Ingram, "Governing Public Colleges" 386). Those individuals

making the final decisions on issues of critical importance to students, therefore, only rarely share their perspective.

In an effort to incorporate student input, however, the Boards of Trustees at some schools have created observational or voting student seats. These student representative positions offer an excellent entry point for student opinion. Your Board of Trustees must have exposure to feminist input, so make sure that there is feminist student representation on the Board at your school!

FACULTY POSITIONS AND FACULTY BODIES

Of all of the decision-makers on campus, faculty members have the most consistent contact with students. Their influence on students is tremendous. Faculty turn students on to new subjects. They expose students to new ideas, scholarship, and career possibilities. Still, faculty influence on campus extends beyond what is taught in the classroom and how papers are graded. College faculty help make decisions that influence their students' academic careers well beyond the doors of their classrooms.

Faculty members:

- design and teach classes;
- head academic departments;
- provide academic advising and counseling;
- participate in and advise student-run extra-curricular activities;
- help make departmental and university-wide curriculum decisions;
- help plan student programming;
- sit on scholarship and awards committees;
- grant internship credit;
- affect the academic standing and reputation of the university.

While faculty members hold some of their power on campus as individuals and through their departments, they also work collectively in decision-making bodies to exert greater influence on campus policy. Generally, faculty members at a college or university are organized into several different types of decision-making bodies. One such group is likely to be a general faculty assembly. This general faculty assembly makes decisions regarding faculty and student conduct, course approval, and academically oriented student associations. The general faculty assembly is often divided into committees and sub-committees, which handle different issues.

Some common faculty committees that directly affect student life include:

- an affirmative action committee or taskforce;
- a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issue committee;
- a branch of the Judicial Board;
- a curriculum steering committee;
- specific scholarship or grant committees.

We should be concerned, then, that women and people of color make up a disproportionately small number of college and university faculty members. In 2002, **women constituted only 40% of all faculty members at post-secondary institutions, and people of color were 15%** (American Council on Education).

These numbers don't tell the whole story. College faculty, like all other large institutional staffs, are given decision-making power based on their place within a hierarchical structure. At universities, that faculty hierarchy consists of full versus part-time appointments, tenured versus non-tenured faculty, department chairpersons, and deans. The more prestigious the

appointment, (i.e. a full-time, tenured chairperson of a department), the more influence that person has over academic and student life. The higher up on that ladder one looks, however, the harder it is to find women and people of color.

Breaking down the percentages of women in college faculty further reveals their compromised position in higher education. In the 1998-1999 academic year, only 52% of women faculty members had tenure, compared with 71% of male faculty members (USDE, "Digest"). Women of color were only 4.6% of full-time faculty in 1993 (USDE, "1993 National Study"). Overall, as the status of faculty positions increases, the number of women, and particularly women of color, occupying those positions decreases.

Among tenured or tenure eligible faculty in 2001, women were most well represented among assistant professors and least well represented among full professors. Women made up 46% of assistant professors, 36% of associate professors, and 21% of full professors. Male full professors made up 28 percent of all faculty (men and women combined); female full professors accounted for 7%. Male associate professors made up 18% of all faculty; female associate professors accounted for 10%. Male assistant professors made up 14% of all faculty; female assistant professors accounted for 12%. Men who were instructors, lecturers, or in unranked positions make up for 5% of all faculty, while women who were instructors, lecturers, or in unranked positions accounted for 6% of all faculty (American Association of University Professors).

Women and people of color aren't only kept out of the highest faculty positions in U.S. colleges and universities, but they are also simultaneously siphoned into traditionally female areas of study, less prestigious schools, and non-tenure track posi-

tions. For example, **98.5% of full-time faculty in nursing are women, while engineering professors are only 6.1% female and 2.2% women of color** (USDE, “1993 National Study”).

In 2001, women were most well represented at institutions without rank and least well represented at doctoral-level institutions. Women made up 50% of faculty at institutions without rank, 48% of faculty at 2-year colleges with rank, 40% of faculty at general baccalaureate institutions, 38% of faculty at comprehensive institutions, and 31% of faculty at doctoral-level institutions (American Association of University Women) These inequalities are particularly disturbing because they are not simply the product of past prejudicial hiring practices, but reflect a continuation of such practices today.

Although women are teaching at the college level more now than ever before, they are being hired into lower, less permanent positions. Women make up a greater portion of the part-time faculty (44.6% in 1993) than they do the full-time faculty at institutions of higher education (USDE, “1993 National Study”). Part-time, non-tenure-track teaching status means fewer classes to teach, a smaller salary, and less job security.

In 2001, full-time male professors of all ranks earned an average of \$80,860, while full-time female professors of all ranks earned only \$71,419. Female faculty at every level earn less than their male counterparts. At the lowest faculty rank, the average male lecturer earns \$41,486, while the average female lecturer earns \$37,503 (American Association of University Professors).

Although women faculty and faculty members of color are underrepresented, under-promoted, underpaid, and occupy less influential positions than do their male counterparts, they are making head-

way. **Between 1975 and 2000, the percentage of full-time women faculty members rose from 24.7% to 35.6%.** This increase is more than six times the rate of increase for male faculty during the same time period (American Association of University Professors). However, the rate of growth has slowed in the past decade.

The increasing numbers of feminist women faculty have made a visible difference on college campuses, by incorporating gender, class, and race perspectives into the curriculum. The growth of new progressive areas of study such as Women’s Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Queer Studies largely reflects this influence.

Since the first Women’s Studies program was created in 1970, there has been constant growth in the number of colleges offering coursework in Women’s Studies. By 1977, just seven years after their inception, Women’s Studies Programs were on 276 campuses nationwide. In 1988, 519 colleges reported having Women’s Studies Programs. Today, there are approximately 700 programs nationally. (National Women’s Studies Association). This reflects the increasing value universities place on women’s scholarship, teaching, history, and perspectives.

Despite their popularity among students and academics, these interdisciplinary studies, such as Women’s Studies, are often the target of right-wing attacks on campus. Inaccurately portrayed by anti-feminists as being “less academic” than the more traditional disciplines, these areas of study are frequently criticized in conservative campus papers, or excluded from core curricula. They are often the first to suffer budget cuts during times of economic stress. **Consequently, many Women’s Studies Programs don’t have adequate resources to fully implement their programs.**

Women’s Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Queer Studies also tend to be “Programs”

rather than “Departments,” which means that they receive less funding, fewer (or no) full-time faculty appointments, and diminished status on campus. They are, as a result, in difficult positions to defend themselves and lobby for greater resources. Regardless of their relative infancy, Women’s Studies Programs have made an impressive impact in university scholarship by introducing feminist perspectives. Students and faculty on college campuses nationwide, in courses from Feminist Theory to Physics, feel this impact every day.

STUDENT GOVERNMENT AND STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

The most visible student-run organization on campus is usually the Student Government or Student Legislature (the name varies widely). The precise role of the Student Government differs from campus to campus, as does the extent of its interaction with the general student body. Nonetheless, it is often the most powerful student body on campus and is largely viewed by faculty, administrators, and outsiders as the “voice” of the student body. Consequently, the Student Government is given the power to determine and articulate the official student stance on a variety of issues. The following are some of the most common responsibilities and privileges allotted to Student Governments and their officers.

Student Governments:

- allocate money to all other student groups (these student activities budgets often exceed over 1 million dollars annually);
- make decisions on the funding and development of student facilities such as recreation centers and student unions;
- coordinate student services like legal

aid, financial aid, health care, and housing;

- plan major campus events and community activities.

Officers of the Student Government:

- often get seats on faculty committees or decide who will represent the student body on committees such as the athletic board, the judicial board, educational policy committees, or the affirmative action committee;
- have access to other influential campus figures, including administrators, the president, and prominent faculty;
- receive remuneration on some campuses, especially at the larger universities.

As this list demonstrates, Student Governments have considerable influence on campus. Student Government officer “privileges” benefit these leaders as they work to create change on campus, and also prove helpful as these leaders graduate. Even on campuses where the Student Government is perceived as inactive or out of touch, members tend to have frequent contact with college administrators, and input regarding significant campus decisions. Still many Student Governments have a long way to go before being fully integrated. **Progressive feminist opinion is often left out of Student Government debate and policy making.** In these cases, student “representatives” may not be representative of students at all.

It is vital that feminists, who work to ensure social, political, and economic equality for all women, are involved in representing their student body through active participation in the Student Government. While Student Governments at many colleges and universities are viewed as “conservative” or “not progressive,” the polls

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indicate that the overwhelming majority of college-aged students are progressive and feminist. **Fully 63% of women under age 30 self-identify as “feminist,”** while an even larger number agree with the definition of feminism, “the advocacy of the social, political, and economic equality of women” (Feminist Majority Foundation). If your Student Government does not reflect the diversity and open-mindedness of your student body, see to it that it does!

The Campus Feminist Agenda

INTRODUCTION

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal...”

[But] he has denied her the facilities for obtaining a fair education—all colleges being closed against her...As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.”

Women’s Rights Convention, Seneca Falls, New York, 1848

“The effects of an educational system that discriminates against women have not only damaged those who have pursued teaching as a profession but also have been devastating for many women...In textbooks, classrooms, and gymnasiums, women have been taught to undervalue themselves. At every level, they have been offered more limited options than men; they have been denied the training that would enable them to enter higher paying, more rewarding fields of work...With so few women in leadership positions, it is not surprising that women students are often inadequately prepared for the world of work.”

National Plan of Action, National Women’s Conference, Houston, Texas, 1977

By now it should be clear that women have made significant gains on college campuses throughout the country, but are still highly underrepresented in decision-making bodies. The above quotes, while

spoken years ago, still ring true. Feminist women and men have always recognized, and continue to recognize, the importance of establishing a strong feminist presence on college campuses.

In 1977 some 20,000 women participated at the National Women’s Conference convened by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women’s Year. The conference, sponsored by the federal government, was the largest, most representative body ever to draft a comprehensive feminist plan of action.

This Campus Feminist Agenda is based upon the 1977 plan, the 1988 Project on the Status and Education of Women recommendations, and the Feminist Majority Foundation’s 1990 Feminization of Power Campaign. By actively supporting the Campus Feminist Agenda through conducting the actions in the Choices campaign, your Leadership Alliance will help finish work that was started by feminists before you, and will create further critically needed change.

THE CAMPUS FEMINIST AGENDA SUPPORTS Equality

- The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution to ensure equality for women in education and employment;
- Vigorous enforcement of and compliance with Title IX of the Education Amendment of 1972;
- Equal representation for women and people of color in governance and decision-making, including students, faculty, and staff;
- Non-discrimination in education and employment on the basis of gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, physical disability, or age.

Economic Justice

- The right of workers to collective bargaining, a livable minimum wage, decent health and safety standards and pension rights;
- Pay equity— elimination of the salary gap by race and gender;
- Parental leave and on-site, affordable child-care for all campus employees and students;
- Comprehensive plan to increase the percentage of women and people of color in senior administrative positions, tenure tracks, and department chairs;
- Equality in scholarships (both athletic and academic), financial aid grants, work/study jobs, college loans for students, fellowships, teaching/research assistantships.

Reproductive Freedom

- Provision of abortion and women's health services;
- Adequate counseling programs for contraception, AIDS, and pregnancy;
- Full health insurance which covers ob/gyn services for students, faculty, and staff;
- Increase in contraceptive and health research.

Diverse Curriculum

- Integration of the perspectives, contributions, achievements, and experiences of women and people of color into all aspects of the curriculum
- Use of non-biased, feminist textbooks and primary sources
- Expansion of African American, Latina/Latino American, Asian American, Ethnic, and Queer Studies

- Establishment of a fully funded Women's Studies department which provides internships, scholarship and research opportunities, and major and minor degree programs

Recruitment and Admissions

- Elimination of standardized tests such as the SAT which discriminate on the basis of gender, race, ethnicity, and culture;
- Active recruitment programs to increase the number of women and people of color in traditionally male or anglo-dominated fields;
- Strong affirmative action programs to attract a diverse student body;
- Non-discrimination in the admission of students needing financial aid.

Safe and Secure Campus

- Self-defense courses and safety-awareness programs, and grievance procedures for rape, sexual harassment, sexual assault, and battering;
- Establishment of specific policies to punish assailants and rapists;
- Emergency telephones with lights and well-lit buildings, paths, and parking lots;
- Free 24-hour safety-escort service.

Peace and Disarmament

- Substantive shift in research budgets to decrease emphasis on military and increase spending on social and health fields;
- Independent curriculum to promote peace education and alternative conflict resolution.

Civil Rights

- Elimination of racial and ethnic discrimination of all kinds;

- Divestment of college funds from companies that use sweatshop labor or otherwise violate human rights;
- Workshops to combat racism, sexism, and homophobia.

Lesbian and Gay Rights

- College policy for non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation;
- Institutional policies to stop harassment based on sexual orientation;
- Full recognition and university funding of campus lesbian and gay groups.

Rights of the Disabled

- Barrier-free access to all campus facilities, transportation, housing, communication, and special events.

The Environment

- Campus recycling, waste reduction programs, and environmental consciousness education;

- Programs directed at the preservation of the environment, clean air and water, the elimination of smog, toxic and hazardous waste, chemical and nuclear weaponry.

Student Activities

- Gender, racially, and culturally balanced student programs, especially those featuring major speakers, performers, and artists;
- Sports programs for women and men that have equal funding, promotion, facilities, and opportunities for participation;
- Fully funded women's resource center on campus to provide information, assistance, and support programs;
- Non-discrimination and equal representation in campus media publications and programs for women and people of color.



Know Your Campus Survey

You now have a national perspective on university decision-making bodies and the individuals who are a part of them, as well as an idea of the changes feminists seek. How can you apply this knowledge to your own campus? More specifically, who are the people that hold power and make decisions on your campus? Are they feminist? How can you gain access to them? What institutional policies and resources are available to women, people of color, and feminist community members? In what ways does your campus support or neglect the feminist agenda?

These are just some of the questions the “Know Your Campus” survey will help you answer. There are many creative and innovative ways to find the answers to the questions put forth in the Know Your Campus survey. We encourage you to work in teams and experiment with your investigative techniques. Solicit the help of your faculty advisors, as well as the leaders of other progressive organizations on campus as you complete the survey.

The Know Your Campus Survey is quite comprehensive, covering a broad range of campus departments, services, and programs. But don’t be overwhelmed. It is not intended to be completed in its entirety at this stage of the *Choices* campaign. Rather, **try finding the answers to the most intriguing questions, while using the others for discussion purposes or further thought.** Return to those incomplete portions of the Know Your Campus Survey as you need them throughout the rest of the *Choices* campaign.

In addition to finding out some interesting and perhaps startling facts about your college or university, the Know Your Campus survey will help you learn *how* to get information on your campus. This unit will help prepare your Leadership Alliance to access the university system and make it work for you as you conduct the *Choices* campaign. “Know Your Campus” is about understanding what “choices” (in leadership, careers, reproductive rights, and other areas) exist on campus, so you may use and expand those “choices” throughout this and future campaigns.

KNOW YOUR CAMPUS SURVEY

President

- Is your current president a feminist? Pro-choice, pro-affirmative action, pro-gay and lesbian rights?
- How can you access your college or university president?
- Have there been any women or people of color who occupied the presidency at your school?
- Who were your historically progressive presidents and what policies did they enact?

Board of Trustees

- What is the gender and racial breakdown of your Board of Trustees? What about their average age?
- Do Board members represent a prevailing political ideology?

- Are there any members receptive to feminist issues? Which ones and how can you contact them?
- Is there an official system for student input on the Board? Are there student seats on the Board? If so, who occupies those seats and how were they chosen?
- What is the system for student input?
- Are meetings publicized or open? How can you get an item on the agenda?

Faculty

- How do faculty break down by gender and race?
- How is the gender and racial breakdown affected by subject area; tenure status; status as full or part-time, associate or full professor; department chairs?
- Do students have input in the faculty selection or tenure process? In the course approval process?
- Are there any openly gay or lesbian professors on campus? How do faculty and students treat them?
- Do faculty members advise and mentor students regularly? Are they given extra time in their schedules for this, financial or other compensation, service credit, or space?
- Are students required to fill out evaluation forms on faculty members and their courses? How are these evaluations reviewed and by whom?

Courses

- Are majors and minors available in Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Queer Studies?
- How many introductory and upper-level Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Queer Studies courses are offered at your school?
- Are these and other progressive disciplines funded as departments or programs (departments tend to get a lot more money)? Do they have endowed chairpersons and full-time, tenured faculty members?
- Does the core curriculum or general distribution requirement at your school include courses in Women's Studies or other progressive fields?
- Are issues of gender, class, race, and sexual orientation fully integrated into the general curriculum? What about books written by women and people of color?
- What courses does your school offer in leadership?

Student Government/Student Committees

- What is the racial and gender composition of the Student Government general body? What about the executive committee or other committee chairs?

- Do feminists hold any influential seats?
- Who are the most powerful figures in your student government? Are any of them feminist?
- Does your student government break up into any sub-committees? Do these committees respond to the needs of women, people of color, and gay and lesbian students?
- How are students appointed to these committees?

Administration

- What is the gender and racial breakdown of your upper administration- the Dean of Students and other deans, the Director of Student Activities, provosts, vice-presidents, etc.? What about the age of most administrators?
- Are there any openly lesbian or gay administrators?
- Is the gender and racial imbalance more prevalent among the higher administrative offices, or in certain areas of the administration?
- Who are the most influential staff members and administrators on campus? Are any of them feminist?
- How accessible are the administrators? How can students give input?

Student Affairs and Activities

- What is the composition of your student body by gender, race and ethnicity, age, and geographic area?
- Is your university taking proactive steps to foster diversity and its appreciation on campus? Does the university provide funding for multicultural events, speakers, dining options, and living groups?
- Does your university fund programming specifically geared towards women on campus?
- How can student organizations apply for funding? Do progressive groups receive less money than conservative, academic, or pre-professional groups?
- Are there right-wing groups on your campus? Which ones are they and how are they funded? Which national organizations are they affiliated with? Do their web sites have links to nationally known radical right organizations?

Judicial Board

- Who sits on your college or university Judicial Board? Are women and people of color equally represented?
- Do students sit on the board? Do they have voting and questioning power during hearings (especially when charges are brought against faculty or other students)?
- How are judicial board members chosen?
- Are certain students and faculty given unfair leniency (like student athletes or honors students)?

- Does your university have official policies concerning sexual harassment, sexual and physical assault, rape, and hate crimes? What are they?
- What steps does your university take to ensure that members of the campus community know about these policies? Are members of the judicial board trained to respond to cases involving these policies?

Health Insurance

- What is included in employee health insurance coverage? Does health care cover contraception, abortion, ob/gyn exams, confidential and anonymous HIV testing?
- Do domestic partner benefits extend to lesbian and gay couples?
- What about coverage for people with disabilities or terminal illnesses?
- What does student coverage include?

Child Care

- Does your university or college provide adequate child care for faculty, staff members (part and full-time), and students?
- If so, is this child care on the premises? Can staff who use public transportation access the child care easily? What about staff with disabilities?
- Is the child care costly? Is there a sliding fee based on ability to pay?

People with Disabilities

- Does your campus comply fully with the Americans with Disabilities Act?
- Are major events such as sporting events, concerts, and speakers accessible to people with disabilities?
- Does your university take steps to encourage students with disabilities to attend?

Housing

- How diverse is housing on campus? Are women and people of color concentrated in certain dorms?
- Is there a Women's Studies dorm or a Lesbian and Gay friendly living area?
- Can any student initiate a special interest house? What is the process?
- Does the first year housing questionnaire include a question about openness to living with a lesbian or gay roommate?

Admissions and Financial Aid

- What are the official admissions and financial aid policies at your school? Is admissions need-blind? Are scholarships both need-based and merit-based?
- What is your college or university's affirmative action policy?



Make Your Move!

- Does your school actively recruit athletes? Honors students? International students?
- Are these recruits balanced in terms of gender and ethnicity?

Public Safety/Police and Security Policies

- What is the gender and ethnic breakdown of campus police officers? What about the police administration?
- Do officers receive special training to respond to rape, sexual assault, harassment, and hate crimes?
- How safe is your campus? Is there sufficient lighting? Are there emergency phones in all isolated areas of campus? Do dorms lock or require campus identification for entry?
- Is there a free 24-hour student escort service?
- Are campus crimes publicized and are alerts put out in response to violent crimes on campus?
- Who keeps the crime statistics for your campus? What are they?
- What is the relationship between campus police and local law enforcement? What about the relationship between campus police and support services for victims of rape and sexual assault?

Newspapers and Publications

- What is the gender and racial breakdown of the writers, editors, and photographers of your campus newspaper?
- Who are the key figures in all of the major campus publications and how can you contact them?
- Which press members are feminist?
- What is the prevailing political ideology of each paper?
- How frequently and in what manner do the front pages feature women, people of color, and/or progressive issues?
- Who funds your major campus newspaper? Does the funding source have a political interest?
- Are there anti-choice ads in the newspaper? If so, who funds them? (Often these ads are masked in headlines such as, "Pregnant and Need Help?")
- How can you apply for free student group advertising?

Women's Health Resources

- Is there a women's health clinic on campus? (If not, use your student health clinic as the basis for answering these questions.)
- Are services free and confidential?
- Do women and people of color work at the center? Are they doctors?

- What resources does it provide? Does it provide free contraception, the morning after pill, ob/gyn care, reproductive health options counseling including information on abortion? What about help finding an abortion provider in your area, or help finding transportation to the clinic?
- Is the women's health center involved in any sexual assault or harassment prevention programming? Safer sex programming?
- Is there a 24 hour hotline for victims of sexual violence?

Women's Center

- Is there a women's center on campus? Does it receive university funding?
- What resources and services can it provide to students? Does it have a library or career center for student use? Are there computers available with web access?
- How knowledgeable is the staff? Can staff provide appropriate referrals?
- Where is the women's center located and is it in a safe and easily accessible area?
- How can students give input regarding programming and services?
- Is the women's center introduced to incoming first year or transfer students?
- Does the women's center have a website? Does it produce any publications or literature?

Library

- How knowledgeable is the staff regarding feminist research, women's and multicultural literature?
- Does your library receive a mix of women's and multicultural periodicals and newspapers?
- Does your library have much of the groundbreaking and newest feminist literature?
- How can students petition the library to purchase literature?

Career Development Center

- How knowledgeable is the staff regarding nonprofit, alternative, and feminist careers?
- Is there a good career advisor for Women's, Ethnic, and Queer Studies graduates entering the workplace?
- Does the center carry information on feminist friendly corporations and companies that actively recruit women and people of color?
- Does the career center library include publications on feminism in the workplace or non-profit work?
- Do campus career fairs include non-profit or activist organizations?
- Do campus career fairs include organizations that discriminate on the basis of gender, race, or sexual orientation? What about corporations that are not unionized or use sweatshop labor?



Make Your Move!

- Does the center include information on summer and semester activist internships? What about information on graduate scholarships for women and people of color?
- Does the center hold career panel discussions that equally represent women and people of color?

First Year Orientation

- Is there a first year orientation program at your college or university? Who runs it?
- What students or campus organizations are involved in the program? How can students participate?
- Does the orientation include workshops or information on sexual assault, sexual harassment, sexuality tolerance, and date rape? Does it review campus policy on these issues and on hate crimes?
- Do students receive information about campus resources for women, people of color, and LGBT students? About campus safety?
- Is there a first year women's mentoring program? How can students become involved?
- Are there any programs included in the orientation that encourage student leadership?
- Are there first year Resident Advisor (RAs)? Do these RAs receive training on how to deal with rape and sexual assault, hate crimes, eating disorders, and other feminist issues?

Women's Athletics

- What women's sports teams exist at your school?
- Does your school fully comply with Title IX? Are women's athletic teams receiving the same funding and resources as men's athletic teams?
- Does your college or university recruit female athletes as actively as it recruits male athletes? Is scholarship money equally allocated?
- Are women's and men's sports teams given comparable practice space, time, advertisement, and media coverage?

FOLLOW-UP ACTIONS

You have likely found out some interesting and perhaps frustrating facts about the state of your college or university. Don't be discouraged— get organized! Use the information gathered in the Know Your Campus Survey to carry out the actions in the *Choices* campaign effectively on your campus. In doing so, you will improve conditions for feminists on campus today and pave the way for even greater strides in the future. Here are some immediate suggestions to get you started:

1. First and most critically, examine your findings broadly in terms of the four areas of choice outlined in the campaign. Get the big picture as it relates to the *Choices* campaign. Here are some questions to think about as you approach each section of the SAM:

Leadership Choices

- Where is your campus strongest in feminist leadership? Where is it weakest?
- What programs, faculty, and administrators encourage such leadership?

Reproductive Choices

- Which offices, resources, and academic programs explore the issue of reproductive rights?
- How do they deal with it?
- Where does anti-choice activity and propaganda on your campus come from?

Career Choices

- Is your campus a feminist friendly employer for faculty and staff?
- Does your campus encourage students to enter feminist and progressive careers?

Saving Choices

- Who is leading the anti-choice backlash on your campus?
 - Who on your campus is actively fighting the radical right? Which staff, faculty, administrators, students, programs, and offices can you mobilize to protect choice?
- 2.** Compare the results of your “Know Your Campus” action with the FMF’s Feminist Campus Agenda. This will help you identify those areas in which your campus is most feminist friendly, as well as those areas in which your campus needs the most work. Identifying the good with the bad is vital, as successful examples of feminist policy and procedure on campus can be emulated in other areas.
 - 3.** Publicize your most impressive and startling findings through letters to editor, an editorial, or an investigative article in your campus paper.
 - 4.** Conduct visibility campaigns, including flyering, chalking, and poster campaigns, to further publicize your results.
 - 5.** Take steps to respond immediately to some concrete issues. For example, if safety on campus is a problem, request a “Walk-Thru” of campus with the head of your campus police unit. If access to women’s health services is a problem, start a petition for a women’s health clinic. Encourage your campus newspaper to cover the results of the event.



Make Your Move!

CONCLUSION

In completing this unit of the SAM, you have begun taking steps to “Know Your Campus” on a different level, share your information with others on campus, and create positive change where it is most needed. Most importantly, you are preparing yourself and your fellow activists with the know-how to be effective and innovative in carrying out the rest of the *Choices* campaign. In fostering a keener awareness of the workings of your institution, you are placing yourself in a better position to use all of its resources – apparent and hidden. Additionally, you are making your school a friendlier place for future activists.

Throughout the *Choices* campaign, as you read about the history and progress that feminists have made through the years, think about the ways in which those feminists have benefited from “knowing” their environments. Moreover, as you learn about all of the work that still remains to be done, focus on the ways in which your new knowledge can help you accomplish your goals.

Think of your work in this Unit as trail-blazing. You are prepared to create exciting feminist change on campus now and increase the possibility of future feminist action. The headway you are making is more than your own.

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Unit 2

Reproductive Choices: The Struggle for Change

The movement to achieve reproductive choice has been, and is, hard fought. People working for choice have had to challenge restrictive legislation, a well-financed right-wing religious and political movement, and cultural taboos to obtain the right to safe and effective contraception and the right to choose an abortion. Women have had to fight male-dominated structures, economic hardships, misinformation, and the suppression of credible information. The struggle began with **Margaret Sanger** and her historic work toward the development of accessible and safe birth control. **Oral contraception** was legalized for single people in 1972, but restrictions on contraception, such as excessive cost and the lack of federal funding, continue to limit reproductive choice for women. The movement to achieve **abortion rights**, including safe procedures and availability, faces ever increasing challenges. Many states impose restrictions, such as parental consent and notification laws, despite landmark Supreme Court cases legalizing a woman's fundamental right to an abortion. The right to reproductive choice remains a struggle, but the progress outlined in this unit provides both education and insight for taking action today.

Birth Control

THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT (1900s–1940s)

The Comstock Laws

At the turn of the century, the use and prescription of contraceptives was illegal under the restrictive anti-obscenity laws spearheaded by crusader Andrew Comstock in 1872. The Comstock laws classified contraceptives and abortifacents as obscene and prohibited the sharing of contraceptive information (Blanchard 13). However, these restrictions were considered absurd in many circles since many American women were already using “home remedies” to “bring on a period” (McLaren 228).

Unplanned pregnancies and the dire health consequences of illegal, unsafe abortions and “home remedies” caused physical, economic, and emotional stress, especially for low-income women. These grave consequences made apparent the

need for safe, legal and reliable tools with which women could control their own reproduction.

Margaret Sanger

During the early years of the 20th century, feminists, suffragists, and other civil libertarians argued that women's freedom to control their own bodies was fundamental to women's fight for social, economic, and political equality.

Margaret Sanger, the “mother” of the birth control movement, was born in 1879 to a Catholic family of 11 children (Reynolds 48). Her mother had eighteen pregnancies, seven of which resulted in miscarriage (Reynolds 48). Sanger herself married early and, in addition to being a busy activist, was the mother of three. Working as a nurse in New York City, Sanger saw firsthand the effect that unplanned pregnancies had on all women, especially low-income women and their families, and the desperate and dangerous

Sanger gained organizing experience in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) strikes of 1912. Her close circle of socially active and progressive friends included anarchist and reproductive rights activist Emma Goldman. In 1913, Sanger traveled to France where she learned about contraceptive methods and “recipes” that French mothers had been teaching their daughters for centuries (Reynolds 53).

Upon her return to the U.S. in 1914, she began to publish the magazine, *The Woman Rebel*, in which she gave detailed information about contraceptives and coined the phrase “**birth control**.” Sanger was subsequently arrested for violating the Comstock Laws (Planned Parenthood, “Margaret Sanger”). Instead of pursuing her own defense, however, Sanger worked on her next publication, a pamphlet entitled *Family Limitation* (Reynolds 54). In 1915, when Sanger’s case came to trial, all her appeals for postponement were denied. Sanger fled to Canada and then Europe, where she visited a French birth control clinic (Reynolds 55).

Upon her return in 1916, and with financial support from feminist philanthropist **Mabel Dodge** (Reynolds 58), Sanger opened America’s first birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York. Advertisements were printed in English, Italian, and Yiddish.

Ten days after opening, and after serving 488 women and men, police shut down the birth control clinic (Planned Parenthood, “Margaret Sanger”). Sanger served prison time for violating the “little Comstock law” that “prohibited giving contraceptive advice for any reason” (Reynolds 60). Sanger’s sister, **Ethel Byrne**, went on a highly publicized hunger strike after being sentenced for her role in the operation of the clinic. Byrne grew weaker, was force-fed through a stomach tube, and was only released when Sanger accepted

the governor’s pardon on her sister’s behalf (Reynolds 60). Sanger’s illegal clinic serves as the effective beginning of the **Birth Control League of America** (Blanchard 23), the precursor to **Planned Parenthood**.

Sanger and Eugenics

Margaret Sanger believed in a woman’s right to control her own body – a very radical idea for her day. Sanger worried about poor women. She believed that they had the right to control their births and to improve their families’ ability to survive. As Ellen Chesler stated in her biography of Margaret Sanger, Sanger condemned the class bias of many eugenic writings, which called for “the regulation of human reproduction to improve the biological characteristics of humanity” (Chesler 122). She firmly believed that birth control would give poor women economic and educational opportunities.

Sanger was extremely concerned with racial questions. She believed that any clinic in Harlem must be led and run by African Americans. In 1930, Sanger opened a family planning clinic in Harlem, staffed by an African American doctor and social worker. The clinic was also endorsed by *The Amsterdam News* (the powerful local newspaper), the Abyssinian Baptist Church, the Urban League, and the black community’s elder statesman, **W.E.B. DuBois**. Also involved in the project were **Mary McLeod Bethune**, founder of the National Council of Negro Women, **Adam Clayton Powell Jr.**, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, and **Eleanor Roosevelt**.

Sanger was a committed opponent of racism and anti-Semitism. **Martin Luther King, Jr.** said of her:

There is a striking kinship between our movement and Margaret Sanger’s early efforts... Our sure beginning in the struggle for equality by nonviolent direct action may not

have been so resolute without the tradition established by Margaret Sanger and people like her (King 1966).

However, Sanger held views now opposed by modern-day feminists and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA). Sanger was so eager to attract support from the scientific community that “she deliberately courted the power of eugenically inclined academics and scientists to blunt the attacks of religious conservatives against her” (Chesler 216).

Within her movement for birth control, Sanger, like many great thinkers and agents of change, was influenced by her peers. Many “progressives” of the day favored the forced sterilization of the mentally and physically disabled, which they argued could not make birth control decisions for themselves. Such progressives lauded the opinion of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. and Louis Brandeis along with the majority of the Supreme Court who voted in *Buck v. Bell*. In that case, the Court upheld a Virginia statute authorizing the involuntary sterilization of institutionalized inmates, saying: “Three generations of imbeciles are enough.” As Sanger biographer Ellen Chesler wrote, “Without any apparent concern for the potential of abuse, Margaret supported these initiatives and argued for the compatibility of this kind of eugenics and birth control” (Chesler 216).

Meanwhile the “most prominent leaders” of the eugenics movement remained opposed to birth control because they feared this radical idea would undermine their credibility. These men viewed Margaret Sanger as an advocate for women and the poor. In the end, Sanger paid a high price for the support of a few eugenicists and scientists. Eugenics declined in popularity by the end of the 1920s, and with the

rise of the Nazis in Europe in the 1930s was essentially placed in the dustbin of history. Nevertheless, Sanger’s small foray into eugenics gave her opponents on the right, and even on the left, an opportunity to discredit her work (Chesler 215-217).

While there is no denying that Sanger allowed herself to become caught up in the eugenic zeal of her time, her principal intent remained as it had been earlier, to redress economic and gender inequality and to promote healthier, happier families. Sanger remained steadfast that reproductive decisions be made on an individual not a social or cultural basis, and repudiated the racial stereotyping of the Immigration Act of 1924, arguing that “inherited traits varied by individual and not by group” (Chesler 215).

Post WWI

After the First World War, the movement to legalize birth control gained a wider acceptance. Doctors, in an effort to legitimize the study of contraception, sought more control over a political movement that until this time had been championed largely by feminists, suffragists, and eugenicists. In 1923, gynecologist Robert Latou Dickenson founded the Committee on Maternal Health (Critchlow 26) and in 1937, the **American Medical Association** endorsed contraception.

Margaret Sanger came to support physician control of contraception “because she realized that the birth control movement would not progress without it” (Reynolds 62). In 1917, Sanger started the scientific journal *Birth Control Review* (Reynolds 61) and in 1923, she founded the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau to treat patients and keep accurate records in order to expand interpretation of the Comstock law. Sanger eventually withdrew from her Birth Control League of America in order to work at the Clinical

Research Bureau and at her Committee on Federal Legislation (Critchlow 3). As she was advised throughout the late 1920s, Sanger attempted to cultivate a more conservative image “as a married mother lobbying among legislators and professional elite” (Critchlow 34). In 1942, Sanger’s Birth Control League of America dropped its “controversial” title to become the **Planned Parenthood Federation of America** (Blanchard 23).

To achieve popular support for birth control, Sanger built “a national political campaign for birth control by organizing the country from the bottom up, mobilizing volunteers and constituents by congressional district and in turn by state and region” (Chesler 324). Moreover, Sanger mounted a lobbying campaign between 1931 and 1936. She hired Hazel Moore, a tough professional lobbyist from the American Red Cross, who worked alongside Sanger lobbying Congress for a birth control bill for six straight legislative sessions.

Financial backing for the birth control movement came from the organizing efforts of Sanger and her colleagues. The main source of financial support came from women, “predominantly in New York and its environs, where Margaret’s loyal lieutenant, **Ida Timme**, solicited contributions in increments of \$1,000 and up” (Chesler 324). Sanger and Timme also ran a direct mail program, which brought in hundreds of gifts of \$25 or under. Margaret Sanger’s name and her organizing capabilities provided legitimacy and donors to the birth control movement.

Birth control and family planning also began to gain the support of political moderates. The Comstock Laws were significantly liberalized in 1939 with the *U.S. v. One Package of Japanese Pessaries* case. The Supreme Court announced that contraceptives were not obscene, stating that “Congress, in enacting the Comstock

Act, had not been fully informed about the dangers of pregnancy and the usefulness of contraception” (Critchlow 4).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PILL

Katherine McCormick, a friend of Margaret Sanger and a philanthropist, subsidized the scientific research into oral contraceptives. In 1950, McCormick inherited more than \$15 million dollars from her husband and consulted Sanger on how to “put it to good use” (Chesler 431). As one of the first female graduates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, McCormick was able to make knowledgeable decisions about funding research. She gave several thousand dollars to a research fund established by Planned Parenthood, which was then contributed to the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology “for preliminary investigations in the hormonal contraception being conducted by **Dr. Pincus** and his collaborator, **M. C. Chang**” (Chesler 432).

In 1951, **Carl Djerassi** and a team of chemists at the University of Mexico synthesized the first orally active progestin from yams. Building upon his research, Pincus and Chang determined that “oral administration of [progesterone] had a 90 percent rate of effectiveness” (Chesler 432). Following these preliminary discoveries, Katherine McCormick met with Dr. Pincus in 1953 and promised a contribution of \$10,000 – a commitment that would grow exponentially by the end of the year (Chesler 432). Katherine McCormick contributed more than \$2 million dollars to Dr. Pincus and his colleagues and left them more than \$1 million in her will. With her dedication and her vision, she was a financial key to the development of oral contraception.

Subsidized by McCormick, Drs. Pincus and Chang worked in Massachusetts under the auspices of **John Rock**, a Catholic but

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pro-birth control gynecologist from Harvard, who was chosen by Planned Parenthood to experiment with the new drug on patients in Boston. In 1956, large-scale clinical trials were undertaken in Puerto Rico and Mexico (McLaren 240). Finally, in 1960, “**Enovid-10**,” an estrogen/progesterone ovulation inhibitor, and the first birth control pill (Reynolds 114), was approved by the Food and Drug Administration (McLaren 240) and began to be manufactured by Syntex (Critchlow 42).

LEGALIZATION OF BIRTH CONTROL

Although widening public acceptance of birth control led some states to liberalize their Comstock laws, it took a U.S. Supreme Court decision to fully legalize contraceptive devices.

In 1964, the Supreme Court, in ***Griswold v. Connecticut***, legalized the prescription of birth control pills to married couples, announcing “The Connecticut statute forbidding use of contraceptives violates the right of marital privacy which is within the penumbra of specific guarantees of the Bill of Rights.” The decision was based on the Right to Privacy implied by the Bill of Rights and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, elaborated by constitutional law scholar Thomas Emerson.

In 1972, ***Eisenstadt v. Baird*** extended the contraceptive access rights won for married people in *Griswold* to single people. This decision was based on the Right to Privacy and the Equal Protection Clause.

OPPOSITION TO BIRTH CONTROL

With the advent of the contraceptive pill, conservative and religious forces were forced to re-address the issue of contraception. Pope John XXIII formed a birth control commission in 1962 to examine the **Catholic Church’s** position. This diverse group of theologians, doctors, and

sociologists favored a change in the Church’s stance on contraception. In 1966, Pope Paul VI added fourteen cardinals and bishops “naming them the official commission and redefining all other members solely as ‘experts’” (McClory 3). After thorough debate, eight of the fifteen members of the commission agreed to submit to the Pope a Majority Report recommending that the Church change its condemnatory position on the contraceptive pill. Despite the majority opinion from his appointed commission, Pope Paul VI issued the *Humanae Vitae* in 1968. This encyclical “categorically reaffirmed the prohibition of contraception,” (McClory 6) and subsequently fostered growing public division over family planning in religious circles as well as the general public.

The **National Right to Life Committee** (NRLC) was constituted in the 1960s from the U.S. Catholic Conference Family Life Division, administrated by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Formed in response to the development of the Pill, NRLC’s express purpose was to fight the advent of effective birth control, and later, legalized abortion.

Although not opposed to contraception, the **Food and Drug Administration** also impeded research and development of oral contraceptives by imposing “a multi-tier requirement for animal testing of female contraceptive agents (requirements that had never before been considered for any other drug)” (Djerassi, *The Pill*, 133). These requirements included two-year, multi-dose toxicity studies in rats, dogs, and monkeys before substantial human clinical experiments could be performed, followed by seven-year toxicity studies in beagle dogs and ten-year studies in monkeys. The FDA used extreme caution in approving a new drug that millions of women would be taking, but scientifically the menstrual cycles of rats and dogs are

too different to be extrapolated to women (Djerassi, *The Pill* 134). The primate requirement was dropped in 1987, but the dog testing was not abolished until 1991.

In 1970, Senator Gaylord Nelson held a series of Senate Subcommittee hearings, known as the Nelson Hearings, to investigate whether the public was properly informed of the Pill's alleged health hazards. The result was the FDA requirement that package inserts explaining the Pill's side effects must be included in every container of oral contraceptives. The Hearings curtailed much of the family planners' victory by prompting restrictions on the distribution of contraceptives. The sensational press coverage of the Hearings alarmed the American public by focusing on health risks associated with the Pill without clarifying the benefits. **If the same standards were applied to aspirin as are applied to the birth control pill, the insert for aspirin would need to be longer and more cautionary than for the birth control pill.** Public concern prompted by the hearings was one of the reasons the pharmaceutical industry decreased spending in the contraceptive field. "These hearings, more than any other single factor, have slowed down the development clock of new contraceptive methods" (Djerassi, *The Politics* 100).

RESTRICTIONS ON CONTRACEPTION

Excessive Cost of Birth Control

According to Planned Parenthood Federation of America, women must have one yearly gynecological visit, complete with a pelvic exam, Pap Smear, breast exam and blood pressure check in order to obtain a prescription for birth control pills. This yearly exam at Planned Parenthood costs between \$100-\$150 plus an additional \$60 test for sexually transmitted infections (STIs). (Some Planned Parenthood locations offer discounts for younger women of up to 50%.)

A yearly gynecological exam at a doctor's office costs between \$80-\$220, depending on the doctor or clinic. As in Planned Parenthood clinics, this includes a pelvic exam, Pap Smear, breast exam and blood pressure test. Many doctors also require a pregnancy test before prescribing birth control pills, which costs between \$10-\$20.

The cost to produce a monthly cycle of oral contraceptives is only \$.15 through bulk purchase by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), but the typical consumer price is \$20- \$35 per month (Brown). Generic brands cost \$10 less, at around \$15-\$20. This \$15-\$30 per month fee is only in addition to the cost of a gynecological exam required before a prescription for birth control pills can be issued. **The minimum cost of oral contraceptives for one year, including the cost of the Pill and the examinations, is around \$250 and the maximum can range as high as \$640.** Additionally, very few insurance companies will provide for birth control pills that are used for birth control purposes.

Norplant costs about \$350 for the device and \$150-\$650 for counseling and insertion, although many clinics no longer offer this birth control device. An intrauterine device (IUD) costs about \$400 for an examination, the device, and its insertion.

Emergency Contraception ("The Morning After Pill" 1-888-NOT-2-LATE)

Emergency contraception (EC) is a method of preventing pregnancy after unprotected sexual intercourse - when a condom breaks, after a sexual assault, or any time unprotected sexual intercourse occurs. EC does not protect against sexually transmitted infections. There are two types of emergency contraceptive pills. One type, called PrevenTM, uses hormones that are the same type and dose as hormones used in some kinds of ordinary

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birth control pills. These hormones are called estrogen and progestin. The other type of EC pill, called Plan B(r), contains only the hormone called progestin. It is more effective than the first type, and the risk of nausea and vomiting is also lower. EC pills are often called “morning after pills,” but can be taken immediately after unprotected intercourse. Each dose is 1 to 5 pills, depending on the brand. Most women can safely use EC, even if they cannot use birth control pills as their regular method of birth control.

While EC has often been referred to as the “morning-after pill,” this phrase is misleading because EC can be taken up to 72 hours after unprotected intercourse, not just the next morning. The hormones in EC can delay or prevent ovulation or interfere with fertilization. Neither a pelvic examination nor a pregnancy test is required before treatment. Overall, EC pills lower a woman’s risk of becoming pregnant by 75-88%. When taken within 24 hours of unprotected intercourse, EC is up to 95% effective. EC has minimal side effects, the most common being nausea. However, anti-nausea medication can be taken an hour before the first dose of EC pills to reduce such side effects.

Emergency contraception is an important backup method of birth control because it increases women’s control over their reproduction. According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, there are 3 million unintended pregnancies in the US each year. EC has the potential to cut the number of unintended pregnancies in HALF and prevent as many as 800,000 abortions each year.

Many college health centers do not offer EC or are closed on the weekends, leaving women unable to find an off-campus EC provider within 72 hours. Despite the fact that EC pills are extremely safe and over 70 medical and women’s

health organizations, including the American Medical Association, have advocated making them available over the counter, Washington, California, and Alaska are currently the only states that allow women to obtain EC without a prescription. Some pharmacies have outright refused to fill prescriptions for EC pills (Wal-Mart, among others). EC can prevent thousands of unintended pregnancies in the US each year, but it must be taken within 72 hours. Young women must receive greater access to EC. The Feminist Majority Foundation is currently leading a nationwide campaign to allow women to access Emergency Contraception without a prescription, as “over-the-counter.”

Insurance Coverage

A recent study by the Women’s Research and Education Institute found that 67% of women in their reproductive years rely on private, employment-related coverage to provide for their health care needs. Unfortunately, a majority of these plans do not cover contraception, creating a 68% gender gap for out-of-pocket medical expenses, primarily due to reproductive health costs (Alan Guttmacher, “Uneven and Unequal”). Looking at large-group insurance plans, 97% cover prescription drugs, but only 33% of these plans provide for the birth control pill.

When analyzing the same large-group insurance plans, 97% provide for prenatal care because the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 requires coverage of maternity care for employment based groups with 15 or more employees. Due to this federal regulation, most women who are unable to receive contraception under their employment insurance are supported if or when they decide to have children. Women’s reproductive needs are otherwise not provided for by two-thirds of large-group plans (Alan Guttmacher, “Uneven and Unequal”).

The **Equality in Prescription Insurance and Contraceptive Coverage Act** (EPICC, S.766) introduced by Senator Olympia Snowe (R-ME) and Representative James Greenwood (R-PA) is a federal bill designed to promote family planning services that are neglected by many insurance plans. Insurance policies are required to cover prescription contraception drugs and services, including outpatient medical services (NFPRHA Report 5/21/97). This bill has been regularly introduced and is pending in Congress. It would ensure that insurance groups cover contraceptive related health services for women.

Medicaid

Medicaid, Title XIX of the Social Security Act of 1965, provides health care services to those individuals whose income is not sufficient to pay for medical expenses. Medicaid accounts for 58% of federal expenditures on contraceptive services and covers 7% of all family planning visits. Because Medicaid is a joint federal-state program, the federal government matches 90% of state expenditures for family planning (Brown). Health care professionals are reimbursed for medical services provided to eligible individuals. Requirements cover individuals who receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), single women who already have a child or are pregnant, and those who are 50% below the poverty line. Medicaid does not typically cover teenagers for family planning services because they do not meet these requirements (Planned Parenthood, “Medicaid Funding for Abortion”). For individuals who are eligible, finding an obstetrician-gynecologist is difficult since only 50% accept Medicaid reimbursement for contraceptive visits (Forrest and Samara).

Title X

Title X is part of the Public Health Service Act of 1970 signed by President Nixon to reduce unintended pregnancies by providing contraceptive and reproductive health services to low-income and young women. **Title X is designed to increase access to family planning services for low-income and young women not eligible for Medicaid.** Individuals using Title X clinics are charged fees based on their ability to pay. Women below the national poverty line receive free service. Teenagers are charged fees based on their income (rather than their parents’ income) for confidential and affordable care. This act establishes the only federally funded program exclusively dedicated to family planning services. Title X funds are distributed to reproductive health services that comply with their guidelines: about 58% of spending goes to state and local health departments, 17% to Planned Parenthood, and 25% to hospitals.

Title X requires that women faced with an unintended pregnancy be given “nondirective counseling on all legal and medical options including abortion” (Planned Parenthood, “Title X”). The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG) developed the minimum standards of care that must be practiced by all health providers receiving Title X federal money. They require that:

- patients have various contraception options;
- no one is coerced into a particular method;
- all services are related to reproductive care;
- fees are based on ability to pay;
- no funds are used for abortion.

Title X clinics face decreasing funds combined with an increasing number of patients and clinic costs. They must comply with medical regulations and meet the growing need for contraception services, without the necessary increase in spending. In fact, while the number of women receiving care at Title X clinics increased 17% between 1981-91, the funding decreased 65% between 1980 and 1994 (NFPRHA 6/24/97). According to the Institute of Medicine, when spending decreased, unintended pregnancy began to increase. Ironically, Title X opponents in recent years often use the increase of unintended pregnancies to claim that these clinics are ineffective, not underfunded (Alan Guttmacher, "Issues in Brief").

Every public dollar spent on contraceptive service saves an average of \$4-\$20 on public costs according to several researchers, "depending on the horizon of health and social consequences included in the analysis" (Stewart). In 1994, federal and state funding for contraceptive services accounted for a total of \$715 million. Title X and the maternal and health social service block grants accounted for 31%, Medicaid contributed 46%, and individual states covered the remaining 23% of costs.

Parental Consent

There are no laws that directly prevent doctors from prescribing contraception to minors, but 35% of obstetrician-gynecologists refuse to provide contraceptives to minors without parental consent (Forrest and Samara). Additionally, most teenagers cannot visit a gynecologist without their parents' knowledge because they need help paying for the appointment. Title X clinics are designed without parental consent requirements for minors and are constantly under attack by anti-choice legislators. In 1981, the Reagan Administration attempted to pass a mandatory

parental notification guideline for clinics receiving Title X funds, but fortunately the Federal District Court declared this legislation unconstitutional. Fifteen years later, anti-choice legislators still try to prevent minors from receiving reproductive health care by introducing parental consent bills and refusing to authorize Title X.

Parental consent guidelines for Title X clinics contradict the very reason the clinics were created, which was to provide reproductive health care for low-income and young women. Requiring teenagers to obtain parental consent denies most minors access to necessary services. A Family Planning Perspectives study found that 86% of minors who use services funded by Title X are sexually active, and half had sex for the first time more than 11 months prior to visiting a clinic. A study in the *Journal of Pediatrics* found that 85% of teens would not seek care for sexually transmitted infections (STIs) if required to have parental notification or parental consent.

Catholic Hospitals

Catholic hospitals and their policies concerning emergency contraception and reproductive services also impede the availability of contraception information. Fifty-seven mergers and acquisitions between Catholic and non-Catholic hospitals have occurred since 1990. According to *The Catholics for a Free Choice*, ten Catholic hospitals have eliminated their reproductive services, six have legally separated their reproductive clinics, and "about one-third of the hospitals that have merged or affiliated with Catholic providers refuse to give information on their reproductive health care policies" (*Catholics for a Free Choice*).

SEX EDUCATION

United States

Comprehensive sex education in our public schools is essential to provide young

women and men with the ability to make mature, informed decisions about their reproductive needs.

- Only 10% of American students receive comprehensive sex education.
- Thirty-two states require that schools provide sex education, yet most school systems with sex education fail to provide comprehensive information.
- Sex education programs can have limited effectiveness due to state policies prohibiting or not requiring the discussion of certain topics related to pregnancy and STI prevention.
- A majority of state guides have incomplete coverage of contraceptive options.
- Only 40% percent of teenagers were told in their sex education classes where to obtain contraception (Planned Parenthood, “Sexuality Education”).
- Twelve states mandate that sex education classes teach abstinence but do not require them to teach contraception.
- Eleven states require that sex education cover both contraception and abstinence, three states mandate contraception coverage at the junior and senior high schools, and only five states are required to educate about condoms (NARAL, “Who Decides?”).
- Eighty-nine percent of parents want sex education in the school and 73% support having contraceptives available at school (Planned Parenthood, “Sexuality Education”).

The Clinton Administration promised to increase federal support for effective sex education programs at the local level, but it also supported a restrictive and misleading abstinence-only program (Transitions 1997). A Health and Human Services

document from 1996 recommends five reportedly successful sex education programs, but not one of these programs meets the abstinence-only guidelines. Abstinence-only education programs promote gender-role stereotypes, use scare tactics with misinformation, and also omit information about contraception and the prevention of Sexually Transmitted Infections (Planned Parenthood, “Sexuality Education”).

Europe

Contraceptives are free, by and large, as part of most National Health Systems in **Western Europe**. The Netherlands, which has the lowest percentage of adolescent pregnancies, provides its citizens with comprehensive sex education in its school system and in the mass media. Additionally, three out of four Dutch children claim to receive information about sex at home. Family planning services are provided both by general practitioners and by specialized clinics, which increases accessibility.

Teenage Pregnancy Rates (age 15 to 19):

Netherlands	14 per 1,000
Sweden	35 per 1,000
France	43 per 1,000
Canada	44 per 1,000
England/Wales	45 per 1,000
United States	96 per 1,000

Abortion

ABORTION RIGHTS MOVEMENT (LATE 1960s – 1990s)

Making the Procedure Safe

Before the advent of sophisticated medical technology in the 1960s, the abortion mortality rate was very high. In fact, abortion techniques are much safer today than in the past. Thus, states previously felt justified in regulating abortion

due to the life-threatening nature of the abortion procedure (Blanchard 17-18).

By 1970, however, this argument had lost its legitimacy. Still, by 1972 therapeutic abortion was only legal in four states: New York, Colorado, California, and North Carolina, with various combinations of restrictions such as:

1. Approval by a panel of doctors
2. Approval of a psychiatrist
3. A state residency requirement for the woman (usually six months)
4. Parental or spousal consent
5. State-sanctioned “informed” consent (Blanchard 16).

Today, the risk of complication from an abortion in the first trimester is considerably less than a woman faces giving birth. In fact “[a]bortion is safer than taking an injection of penicillin,” according to Dr. David Grimes (*Abortion for Survival* 7). Abortion today is the most common invasive surgical procedure in the United States.

Sherri Finkbine

Sherri Finkbine of “Romper Room”, one of the leading children’s television shows, was a T.V. personality in the 1960s. During the second month of Finkbine’s pregnancy, she ingested thalidomide, a sedative known to cause fetal deformities. Finkbine decided to have an abortion and even obtained the mandatory doctor and hospital approvals. Unfortunately, both parties subsequently relinquished their support due to the mass of publicity surrounding the case. Furthermore, the law in her home state of Arizona stipulated that abortions could only be performed if the pregnancy threatened the life of the woman. Eventually, Finkbine obtained an abortion in Sweden. Her situation pro-

pelled the abortion debate to the national forefront (Blanchard 22-3).

Model Penal Code Law (German Measles)

In 1964, German measles, or rubella, swept the United States. This epidemic was a great concern for pregnant women because of the risk of birth defects associated with rubella. Subsequently, there was a surge in demand for abortions, and “the disparity between their actual practices and the state laws governing them led some doctors to begin pressuring state legislatures for change” (Blanchard 23). In 1959, the American Law Institute revised the abortion section of the Model Penal Code, “which became the model for most of the state revisions in the late 1960s” (Blanchard 23). Although still mandating the approval of two doctors, this model law permitted abortions in instances where the woman’s life or mental health was endangered, when pregnancy resulted from rape or incest, and when fetal deformities were present.

LEGALIZING ABORTION

In the early 1960s, the movement to legalize abortion caught fire due to the intense media coverage of the Sherri Finkbine case (1962) and the German measles or rubella epidemic (1964). The campaign to liberalize abortion laws, which included underground abortion networks, civil disobedience, and legislative campaigns, along with initiative and referendum efforts, expanded in response to a variety of economic and demographic factors. Organizations were also formed, such as the **National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws** (NARAL), which convened in 1969. NARAL brought together feminists, physicians, lawyers, population control advocates, and religious groups, with the goal of legalizing elective abortions (Jackman “Feminism, Direct Democracy, and Power” 79-80).

SUPREME COURT LEGALIZES ABORTION

Roe v. Wade (1973)

In *Roe v. Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court legalized abortion by ruling 7-2 that the right to privacy extended to a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy. Argued by Attorney Sarah Weddington, *Roe* was brought as a class action lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of a Texas law that prohibited abortion except to save the woman's life.

Delivering the opinion of the Court, **Justice Blackmun** stated:

"The right to privacy, whether it be founded in the Fourteenth Amendment's concept of personal liberty and restrictions upon state action, as we feel it is, or, as the District Court has determined in the Ninth Amendment's reservation of rights to the people, is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy. The detriment that the State would impose upon the pregnant woman by denying this choice is altogether apparent. Specific and direct harm medically diagnosable in even early pregnancy may be involved. Maternity, or additional offspring, may force upon the woman a distressful life and future. Psychological harm may be imminent. Mental and physical health may be taxed by child care. There is also the distress, for all concerned, associated with the unwanted child, and there is the problem of bringing a child into a family already unable, psychologically and otherwise, to care for it. In other cases, as in this one, the additional difficulties and continuing stigma of unwed motherhood may be involved. All these are factors the woman and her responsible physician necessarily will consider."

However, *Roe v. Wade* fell short of declaring a woman's absolute right to abortion. The opinion continued,

".... [But] the privacy right involved ... cannot be said to be absolute and must be

considered against important state interests in regulation ... It is reasonable and appropriate for a State to decide that at some point in time another interest, that of the health of the mother or that of potential human life, becomes significantly involved. The woman's privacy is no longer sole and any right of privacy she possesses must be measured accordingly."

The Court established a **trimester framework** for defining the grounds on which the state could regulate the provision of abortion services to women. During the first trimester of pregnancy, the state could only require abortions be performed by a licensed physician. According to *Roe*, additional regulations could be placed on abortions in the second trimester only for the purpose of protecting a woman's health in which the state had a compelling interest. The Court ruled that at the point of viability the state also had an interest in protecting fetal life and could establish regulations accordingly, in the third trimester. However, this interest did not supercede an abortion to "preserve the life or health of the mother."

In *Roe v. Wade*, the Court also assigned much of the right in abortion decision-making to the physician. The Court ruled, "The decision vindicates the right of the physician to administer medical treatment according to his [sic] professional judgment up to the points where important state interests provide compelling justifications for intervention. Up to those points, the abortion decision in all its aspects is inherently, and primarily, a medical decision, and basic responsibility for it must rest with the physician." Immediately following *Roe*, the Supreme Court invalidated a variety of other restrictive state laws.

Doe v. Bolton (1973)

In *Doe v. Bolton*, a companion case to *Roe*, the Court invalidated a Georgia law

The Medical Uses of Mifepristone

ABORTION & FERTILITY CONTROL

Mifepristone works by blocking the action of progesterone, which is necessary to sustain a pregnancy. A woman can take mifepristone as soon as she knows she is pregnant. Mifepristone is administered orally, is non-invasive, requires no anesthesia, and bears less risk of infection than surgical abortion. Many women prefer mifepristone because the procedure is more private and allows them greater psychological control in ending a pregnancy. Administered with a single dose of a misoprostol (a prostaglandin given orally), mifepristone has been proven to be highly successful in terminating pregnancy within the first nine weeks. Studies also show that mifepristone is a safe, effective emergency contraceptive. Preliminary studies also indicate that mifepristone can act as both a male and female contraceptive.

MENINGIOMAS

Meningiomas account for 15% of all primary brain tumors and 12% of all spinal cord tumors. Meningiomas occur two times more frequently in women than men. Meningiomas may enlarge or become symptomatic during the menstrual cycle or pregnancy, and are positively associated with breast cancer. These facts suggest that estrogen and progesterone, which are at elevated levels during these cycles, influence tumor growth. By binding with progesterone receptors, mifepristone may inhibit the growth of, or actually reduce meningiomas. The Feminist Majority Foundation currently operates a Compassionate Use Program in which about three dozen meningioma patients, with special FDA approval, are being treated with mifepristone under their physician's care. Many of these patients report that mifepristone has eased their pain and suffering. Some have said that the drug is saving their lives.

ENDOMETRIOSIS & FIBROID TUMORS

Ten to twenty percent of American women of childbearing age have endometriosis. Mifepristone shows promise as a treatment for endometriosis, which is a chronic, painful, long-term disease that can affect women throughout their entire reproductive years. Mifepristone is a non-competitive anti-estrogen. As such, mifepristone blocks the capacity of the endome-

trial tissue to grow in response to estrogen, making mifepristone a possible hormonal treatment for endometriosis. In addition, researchers believe that mifepristone is a promising treatment option for uterine fibroid tumors. Fibroid tumors, which afflict about 30% of women, are a leading cause of hysterectomies.

BREAST, ENDOMETRIAL, & OVARIAN CANCERS

As an antiprogestosterone, mifepristone may be effective in treating progesterone-dependent forms of breast cancer. Experts estimate that mifepristone may be an effective treatment of 40% of breast cancer tumors. The majority of endometrial cancer tumors are both estrogen- and progesterone-dependent. In vitro studies have shown that mifepristone may inhibit endometrial cancer cells. In a recent study of 34 ovarian cancer patients whose tumors were resistant to other treatments, 26.5% responded to mifepristone treatment; three patients had a complete response and six had a partial response.

PSYCHOTIC DEPRESSION AND CUSHING'S SYNDROME

Researchers at Stanford University have found that patients with psychotic major depression who are treated with mifepristone show significant reductions in symptoms. In a multi-center, Phase II clinical trial, two-thirds of patients improved within 7 days as a result of mifepristone treatment. Mifepristone is proving to be an effective treatment for psychotic major depression because as an anti-glucocorticoid it blocks the action of cortisol. High levels of cortisol can cause extreme symptoms of depression such as hallucinations and paranoia. Cushing's Syndrome, a sometimes fatal adrenal disorder, also results from an overproduction of the cortisol. An important National Institute of Health (NIH) study has shown that when people with inoperable Cushing's Syndrome were treated with mifepristone, more than 50% experienced reversal and control of the disease as well as complete regression of the Syndrome's physical features. Mifepristone also may prove effective in treating several other conditions and diseases that are caused by elevated levels of cortisol. These health problems include depression, alcoholism, substance abuse, HIV virus, anorexia nervosa, ulcers, diabetes, Parkinson's, multiple sclerosis, and Alzheimer's.

that allowed abortions to be performed by a physician only in cases where continued pregnancy would endanger a woman's life or injure her health, if the fetus would be likely to be born with a serious defect, or if the pregnancy resulted from rape. Argued by Attorney **Marjorie Pitts Hames**, the case against the Georgia law was brought by an indigent woman who was denied an abortion in her eighth week of pregnancy. Several Georgia physicians and other health professionals joined the challenge to the state law.

The law, enacted in 1968 as a part of abortion law reform, further stipulated that two additional physicians must concur with the woman's physician before an abortion could be performed, that abortions could only be performed in accredited hospitals, and that the abortion receive approval from a hospital staff abortion committee. The Court found that these requirements were "unduly restrictive" of both the rights of the patient and her physician's rights to practice medicine. In his ruling for the Court, Blackmun wrote, "...the medical judgment may be exercised in the light of all factors – physical, emotional, psychological, familial, and the woman's age – relevant to the well-being of the patient. All these factors may relate to health. This allows the attending physician the room he [sic] needs to make his [sic] best medical judgment."

Both *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* sanctioned a woman's fundamental right to have an abortion. The ultimate decision to have an abortion, however, rested upon a doctor's "professional medical judgment."

MIFEPRISTONE: A MEDICAL BREAKTHROUGH

After a twelve-year campaign led by the Feminist Majority Foundation, the FDA approved mifepristone – formerly known as RU 486 – for use in the United States on September 28th, 2000. Hailed as a land-

mark victory for the advancement of women's health, mifepristone is a medication that provides women with a safe and effective method of early medical (non-surgical) abortion. Beyond its use as a method of early abortion, preliminary studies indicate that mifepristone shows promise as a treatment for fibroid tumors, endometriosis, Cushing's Syndrome, meningiomas, some breast and ovarian cancers, and a myriad of other serious diseases and medical conditions that primarily affect women.

The Fight For Mifepristone

Over a twelve-year period, the Feminist Majority Foundation (FMF) waged a massive, multifaceted campaign to make mifepristone available in the United States. The Campaign for Mifepristone and Women's Health Research included meetings in Europe with the original RU 486 patent holders; countless meetings in the U.S. with the Population Council and Danco, Roussel Uclaf and Hoechst AG; innumerable briefings and strategy sessions with other abortion rights and women's rights organizations; participation in dozens of conferences in the U.S. and abroad to urge support for mifepristone; demonstrations on both East and West Coasts; and testimony before Congress, FDA, and state legislatures among other strategies. The following tells the story of this remarkable campaign:

1988

RU 486 becomes available in France in October 1988, after the French Minister of Health declares RU 486 "the moral property of women" and orders Roussel Uclaf to return RU 486 to the market following the company's decision to withdraw the drug in the wake of anti-abortion pressure. Anti-abortion forces threaten Roussel Uclaf's parent company, Hoechst AG, with

economic reprisal if RU 486 is marketed in the United States. FMF meets with leading scientists and reviews scientific literature to ascertain the safety, efficacy, and benefits of RU 486.

1989

In March, Hoechst informs abortion opponents that “it is not our intention to market or distribute RU 486 outside of France.” The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) bans importation of RU 486 for personal use in response to anti-abortion Congressional pressure.

FMF launches the Campaign for RU 486 and Women’s Health Research, a massive public education campaign to generate petitions to the European manufacturers of RU 486 urging licensing of RU 486 in the U.S. and begins the drive to win support from women’s, scientific, and medical organizations.

1990

The ten-member FMF delegation of feminist leaders, including FMF President Eleanor Smeal, Chair Peg Yorkin, and Research Director Jennifer Jackman, Ph.D., and prominent scientists travels to Europe to meet with officials of Roussel Uclaf and Hoechst AG. The delegation, which is the first-ever American group to meet with Roussel Uclaf CEO Dr. Edouard Sakiz, presents over 115,000 petitions from American citizens in support of RU 486. The meeting forges a long-lasting relationship with Dr. Sakiz and his colleagues that proves key over the course of the next decade to removing obstacles to RU 486 availability.

Congressman Ron Wyden (D-OR) holds a series of hearings on RU 486 before the House Small Business Committee. Scientists and FMF President Eleanor Smeal testify that the import alert has hindered research on non-abortion RU

486 indications, including its use as a possible treatment for cancer.

1991

The American Association for Advancement of Science (AAAS) endorses the testing and use of RU 486. Having secured AAAS support, the Feminist Majority Foundation successfully pursues RU 486 endorsements from almost every major scientific and medical organization in the country. FMF collects over 3,000 individual scientists’ petitions.

New Hampshire becomes the first state in the nation to pass a resolution urging the commencement of clinical trials of RU 486 in that state. FMF testifies before the New Hampshire legislature, and successfully urges other states to adopt resolutions based on the New Hampshire model.

FMF Board Chair Peg Yorkin announces an historic \$10 million dollar endowment and gift to the Feminist Majority Foundation and Fund. The donation is especially targeted for the Foundation’s Campaign for RU 486 and Women’s Health Research.

1992

A second FMF delegation, led by Smeal, Yorkin, and Jackman, meets with officials from Hoechst AG to urge U.S. marketing of RU 486, delivering an additional 110,000 petitions supporting RU 486.

FMF announces its Web of Influence Campaign to educate the public on U.S. companies and institutions that do business with Hoechst AG and Roussel Uclaf and to encourage those companies to ask that RU 486 be distributed here. FMF holds an RU 486 picket at the Treviera Twosome race in New York City, sponsored by Hoechst Celanese and Nike.

In the first direct challenge to the FDA import alert on RU 486, a pregnant American woman, Leona Benten, returns from

Europe with a prescription of RU 486. Customs officials seize the RU 486 upon the arrival of Benten and Larry Lader of Abortion Rights Mobilization at JFK Airport. Smeal joins Lader and Benten at JFK for a news conference condemning the ban.

Bill Clinton is elected President of the United States. After his election, FMF documents Clinton's campaign statements supporting RU 486 and prepares a memo urging steps that the new Administration could take to help make RU 486 available. FMF sends letters to Roussel Uclaf and Hoechst AG informing them that with Clinton's election and the election of more women and pro-choice members of Congress, the political obstacles to RU 486 in this country had effectively been removed.

1993

President Clinton issues an Executive Order instructing the FDA to re-evaluate the RU 486 import alert and directing the Secretary of Health and Human Services to "assess initiatives... [that can] promote the testing, licensing, and manufacturing of RU 486 or other antiprogestins."

Lader, along with Smeal, announces a strategy to remove Roussel Uclaf's patent on RU 486, using an existing law that allows Congress to remove patents on products not being marketed in the U.S. Lader also announces that the RU 486 compound has been replicated by scientists in New York State. Rep. Ron Wyden promises to hold a Congressional hearing on removal of patent rights if there is no agreement to commence U.S. trials in three months.

Shortly after, Hoechst AG and Roussel Uclaf say they will allow the Population Council to test and manufacture RU 486. However, Hoechst AG continues to prohibit Roussel Uclaf from selling RU 486 to a U.S. distributor in the interim, while an American manufacturer is established and gains FDA approval. FMF sends a letter,

with 100,000 more petitions, to Hoechst AG CEO Wolfgang Hilger urging the company to permit the sale of RU 486 to the U.S. during the interim period.

FMF outnumbers RU 486 opponents by 5-1 at a demonstration in front of the French Embassy called by Operation Rescue. Negotiations to allow the Population Council to seek FDA approval for RU 486 stall. The Feminist Majority continues its "No More Delays" petition campaign.

1994

Marking the tenth month of negotiations between the Population Council and Roussel Uclaf, the FMF sends another 50,000 petitions to Hoechst AG on the 20th anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

U.S. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala sets May 15 as the deadline for the conclusion of Population Council and Roussel Uclaf negotiations. Congressman Wyden schedules a May 16 RU 486 hearing.

On May 16, Roussel Uclaf assigns its U.S. patent rights for RU 486 without remuneration to the Population Council. The transfer of patent rights is attributed not only to the Clinton Administration, but also to the FMF's ongoing campaign. Roussel Uclaf's Dr. Sakiz wrote to Smeal, "it is mainly your own determination and that of all of the Feminist Majority Foundation's members and other pro-choice supporters that largely contributed to this successful issue."

FMF, in cooperation with the Population Council, announces the establishment of a revolving fund to raise money for mifepristone clinical trials and future anti-progestin research.

1995

With the award of U.S. patent rights to the Population Council, the Feminist

Majority Foundation spends the next five years working to end delays in arrangements for the manufacture and distribution of mifepristone, to prevent Congressional interference, and to keep women's groups and women's interests at the table throughout the long process of making mifepristone available to U.S. women.

1996

The Population Council submits to the FDA a New Drug Application (NDA) for mifepristone as an early abortion method. FMF President Eleanor Smeal serves on board of Advances in Health Technology, the initial non-profit organization created to represent women's groups in mifepristone distribution.

The FDA Advisory Committee on Reproductive Health Drugs holds a mifepristone safety and efficacy public hearing. FMF organizes testimony from women's and scientific organizations in favor of mifepristone. After hearing testimony, the Advisory Committee recommends approval of mifepristone.

The FDA takes the next step in the approval process by issuing an "approvable" letter in September to the Population Council in response to mifepristone NDA application.

1997

Hoechst AG turns over worldwide (non-U.S.) patent rights for mifepristone to Dr. Edouard Sakiz, whose new company, Exelgyn, will distribute the compound as a method of early abortion and will begin testing on the drug's other indications.

1999

Under agreement with Exelgyn, Population Council, and the Danco Group, the FMF is awarded sole responsibility for distributing mifepristone for compassionate use patients who suffer from serious or

life-threatening diseases and conditions for which no other treatment is available, such as meningioma (brain tumors).

2000

The FDA issues a second "approvable" letter in February. Final approval is anticipated later in 2000.

FMF leads the campaign with other major women's rights and medical organizations to oppose restrictions on mifepristone under FDA consideration that would have severely restricted the drug's availability. Final approval of mifepristone set the less onerous requirements that physicians be able to diagnose gestational age and ectopic pregnancy and that they be trained to provide surgical abortion or to refer patients to other physicians capable of performing this procedure.

Mifepristone is approved by the FDA on September 28 and is marketed by Danco Laboratories under the trade name Mifeprex. FMF declares a "total victory for U.S. women. At long last, science trumps anti-abortion politics and medical McCarthyism."

2001

In his confirmation hearing, Secretary of Health and Human Services Tommy Thompson said he might conduct a review of mifepristone. Later, Thompson backed away from his threat. During the 2000 campaign, President Bush pledged to sign any legislation restricting mifepristone.

The Feminist Majority Foundation launches the *Prescribe Choice* campaign to expand the availability of emergency contraception and mifepristone through campus health centers at colleges and universities nationwide.

2002

A study conducted in the United Kingdom and China found that

mifepristone has the potential to be used as a low-dose daily oral contraceptive.

The Journal of Biological Psychiatry published a study by Stanford University researchers finding that mifepristone is effective in treating psychotic depression. In a multi-center, Phase II study, two-thirds of patients showed dramatic improvement within 7 days of treatment. As an anti-glucocorticoid, mifepristone blocks the action of cortisol. High cortisol levels can cause extreme symptoms of depression such as hallucinations and paranoia. The FDA has placed mifepristone on the fast track for approval as a treatment for psychotic major depression.

Anti-abortion groups including Concerned Women for America, the American Association of Pro-Life Obstetricians and Gynecologists, and the Christian Medical Association submitted a 90-page petition to the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) asking for an immediate ban on mifepristone.

Danco announces that in the two years since FDA approval, 100,000 women have used mifepristone to terminate a pregnancy. Over 1 million have used mifepristone in Europe since its approval in France in 1988.

President Bush reconstitutes the FDA Reproductive Health Drugs Advisory Committee, which recommended approval of mifepristone in 1996. The panel now includes Dr. W. David Hager, who authored the Christian Medical Association petition to remove mifepristone from the market. The Feminist Majority Foundation and other women's organizations protested the appointment of Hager, who was initially slated to chair the committee but then was only appointed as a member.

Looking Towards the Future

Eighty-six per cent of U.S. counties and 95% of rural counties do not have an

abortion provider. The approval of mifepristone has the potential to increase the number of abortion providers by enabling doctors who do not currently perform surgical abortions to administer the medication from their private offices. Many doctors who do not perform surgical abortions have said that they would prescribe mifepristone for medical abortion. An increase in the number of doctors providing medical abortion will make it harder for anti-abortion extremists to target specific abortion providers and also improve women's access to safe abortion procedures.

The next step in the Feminist Majority Foundation's Campaign for Mifepristone & Women's Health Research is to mobilize the public and the scientific community to demand that clinical trials on mifepristone move forward. In the 1990s, anti-abortion politics brought mifepristone research to a virtual standstill. With FDA approval, supplies of the medicine are now available in the United States. The FMF will be leading the fight to urge the National Institutes of Health (NIH) – the largest funder of medical research in the world – and other research institutions to sponsor clinical trials on mifepristone's many promising indications.

RESTRICTIONS ON ABORTION

Parental Consent/Notification

Parental consent laws exist in 30 states, but the degree of parental involvement differs in definition from state to state. Fifteen states require the consent of one or both parents and 15 require notification of one or both parents. Eight states currently have parental consent or notification laws that have been enjoined and therefore are not in effect (Alan Guttmacher, *Issues in Brief*). Some states, such as Wisconsin, North and South Carolina, Iowa, and Delaware, allow for a close relative, counse-

lor, or physician (besides the one performing the abortion) to consent or be notified in place of a minor's parent.

All states with a mandatory parental consent law are required by the U.S. Supreme Court to have a **judicial bypass**. This provision allows minors to bypass the parental consent requirement only if a judge finds the teenager to be mature enough to make this decision (NARAL, "Executive Orders"). The judicial bypass does not take into consideration the position judges have on abortion or a minor's ability to attend a court hearing. The American Medical Association Council on Ethical and Judicial Affairs, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and other medical groups do not support parental consent laws because of the **increased risks to a minor's health from both delay and illegal alternatives** (NARAL, "In the Courts").

Becky Bell was a victim of the Indiana parental consent law requirement. In 1988, she chose to have an illegal abortion and died from massive infections at age 17. Parental laws do not reduce the need for teenage abortion. Minors often travel to surrounding states that do not have parental consent laws. This sometimes delays the procedure until the second trimester and increases the health risks for minors. Eleven percent of all abortions are performed after twelve weeks of pregnancy, 22% of the 11% are women under age 15, and 9% are women over the age of 20 (Brown).

Anti-choice legislators often argue that a minor is unable to make mature decisions about medical procedures, but most states consider a teenager "emancipated" for maternity care and surgery decisions made during delivery. Thirty-three states and the District of Columbia do not require parental permission if a minor decides to give up her child for adoption. Also, according to a 1995 survey, a teenage

mother has the authority to make health care decisions for herself and her child in 28 states and the District of Columbia (Alan Guttmacher, "Uneven and Equal").

Informed Consent/Waiting Periods

The 1992 *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* upheld mandatory 24-hour waiting periods. This case defines "informed consent" as information a woman should have about fetal development prior to having an abortion. The *Casey* decision provided states with legal backing to pass legislative restrictions on abortion. The number of states enforcing a mandatory waiting period has increased by 450%, from 2 to 11. Thirty-six states have abortion specific "informed consent" laws that require a woman to receive lectures on fetal development, prenatal care, and adoption. Eleven of these 36 states enforce a waiting period after a woman's consultation. The waiting periods differ in length, from 1 to 24 hours (NARAL, "Who Decides?").

As of 1992, 94% of non-metropolitan counties did not have an abortion provider, while 85% of women lived in non-metropolitan areas. Sixteen percent of women traveled 50 to 100 miles, while 8% traveled more than 100 miles for a non-hospital abortion. Women in North and South Dakota have only one abortion provider in each state (*Abortion Denied*). Mandatory waiting periods present serious financial barriers to low-income women that live in areas without abortion providers. Many women are unable to afford the travel expenses incurred by hotel, transportation, child-care (for mothers), and time off from work. The effects of mandatory delays increase women's health risks by delaying the procedure usually much longer than 24 hours.

Cutting of Medicaid – Hyde Amendment

The Hyde Amendment, first introduced in 1977 by U.S. Representative

Henry Hyde (R - IL), prohibited Medicaid funding of abortions. The amendment was passed as a rider to an annual funding measure for the Department of Health and Human Services and signed into law by President Carter. **By 1979, the U.S. Government had forbidden the use of federal dollars for abortions.**

The Hyde Amendment banned the use of Medicaid federal spending on abortions. The only exception, an abortion to save a woman's life, was added in 1981. Sixteen states and the District of Columbia continue to use state Medicaid funds to cover abortion, but only for women who are citizens of those states who meet eligibility requirements. Congress expanded Medicaid abortion coverage in 1993 to cover cases of rape and incest. In December of 1993, the Clinton Administration ordered six states to comply with the new law. Twelve lawsuits are currently pending concerning states' refusal to follow federal regulation (Planned Parenthood, "Medicaid Funding for Abortion"). **Rosie Jimenez**, a single mother in Texas on welfare with a five-year old daughter, was the first victim of the Hyde Amendment. Jimenez was saving money to attend college, and rather than spending the money on a legal abortion, she decided to have a back-alley abortion. She feared that if she gave up her tuition money, she would never make it off of welfare. Rosie Jimenez died in 1977 from this illegal abortion.

ADDITIONAL SUPREME COURT CASES

Bellotti v. Baird (1976) and Bellotti v. Baird II (1979)

In a series of decisions based on a Massachusetts parental consent law, the Supreme Court ruled that **young women do not have the same constitutional protection of access to abortion as adult women.** In *Bellotti v. Baird*, the Court held that a Massachusetts law requiring consent from both parents before a minor could obtain

an abortion would be constitutional as long as the state instituted a judicial bypass procedure. In 1979, the Court ruled in the subsequent *Bellotti v. Baird* (Bellotti II) decision by 8-1 that state parental consent laws must permit a minor to seek a judicial waiver of parental consent. The Court further stated that **judicial permission for an abortion must be granted if the judge finds that the minor is mature or that the abortion is in the best interests of the minor.** Later decisions reaffirmed the judicial bypass requirement on parental consent and notification measures.

Harris v. McCrae (1981)

Several Supreme Court decisions allowing states and municipalities to restrict the use of public dollars and public facilities for "elective" abortions culminated in the Court's 1981 *Harris v. McCrae* ruling upholding a ban on federally funded abortions, except to save the life of the woman. In the Harris decision, which upheld the 1977 Hyde Amendment, the Court ruled that "although government may not place obstacles in the path of a woman's exercise of her freedom of choice, it need not remove those not of its own creation" such as economic deprivation. In other words, **the Court said the government has no affirmative obligation to provide public funds to provide the legal right of abortion to poor women.** The Court upheld additional abortion restrictions following *Harris*.

Thornburg v. American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (1986)

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled against a restrictive Pennsylvania law in a 5-4 decision. The Court struck down sections of the law requiring the provision of anti-abortion information to patients. The provisions specified the use of procedures to preserve the life of the fetus in post-

viability abortions even if the procedures jeopardized the woman, and mandated the presence of a second physician in post-viability abortions.

Writing for the Court, Blackmun more explicitly framed the right to choose an abortion in women's terms:

"Our cases long have recognized that the Constitution embodies a promise that a certain private sphere of individual liberty will be kept largely beyond the reach of government... That promise extends to women as well as to men. Few decisions are more personal and intimate, more properly private, or more basic to individual dignity and autonomy, than a woman's decision - with the guidance of her physician and within the limits specified in Roe - whether to end her pregnancy. A woman's right to make that choice freely is fundamental. Any other result, in our view, would protect inadequately a central part of the sphere of liberty that our law guarantees equally to all."

Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (1989)

In a major setback for abortion rights advocates, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, upheld in a 5-4 ruling a Missouri law restricting abortion. The case was brought by five health professionals employed by the state, the Reproductive Health Services clinic, and Planned Parenthood of Kansas City. The law declared that life begins at conception, prohibited public employees from performing or assisting abortions not necessary to save the woman's life, outlawed the use of public facilities for abortions not necessary to save the life of the woman, and required physicians to perform fetal viability tests.

Anticipating that the Court's decision would invite more state restrictions on abortion, Blackmun concluded in his dissent: "For today, at least, the law of abortion stands undisturbed. For today, the women of

this Nation still retain the liberty to control their destinies. But the signs are evident and very ominous, and a chill wind blows."

Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey (1992)

Without overturning *Roe*, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* upheld almost all of the abortion restrictions contained in the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act (1989). The only part of Pennsylvania's abortion law that the Court struck down was the mandatory spousal consent provision for married women seeking abortions. The Court failed to repeal restrictions including informed consent, 24-hour waiting period, and publicly accessible statistical data on provision of abortion services.

Stenberg v. Carhart (2000)

In a narrow 5-4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that abortion procedure bans that anti-choice abortion forces call "partial-birth" abortion bans are unconstitutional, as they create an "undue burden" on women seeking abortions. The court's ruling struck down the Nebraska law along with similar laws which had been enacted in 30 other states. The majority of these bans did not include exceptions for the life or health of women, nor did they provide clear guidelines to physicians about which specific abortion procedures the bans prohibited.

In fact, "partial birth" abortion is not a medical term and does not identify any particular abortion procedure. It is a deliberately vivid and inaccurate term invented by anti-choice extremists that has been refuted by doctors all over the country. These bans that are more correctly called abortion procedure bans could actually prohibit safe and common abortion procedures used in the 2nd and even 1st trimester of pregnancy.



Unit 2 ■ Reproductive Choices: The Struggle for Change

These abortion procedure bans represent yet another anti-choice attempt to chip away at *Roe v. Wade*. Though unsuccessful, with anticipated retirements of U.S. Supreme Court Justices in the next few years and the very real possibility that

George W. Bush will nominate anti-choice justices to replace pro-choice justices, the very narrow 5-4 pro-choice majority that affirmed *Roe* in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* and *Stenberg v. Carhart*, could tip to a 5-4 anti-choice majority.

Feminist Majority Foundation Campaigns

The Feminist Majority Foundation Choices Campus Leadership Program is currently working on two national campaigns: Prescribe Choice (including our Emergency Contraception Over-the-Counter Initiative) and Never Go Back.

PRESCRIBE CHOICE AND EMERGENCY CONTRACEPTION OVER-THE-COUNTER

Campaign to improve women's health services on campus, increase campus availability of emergency contraception and mifepristone, improve health center services for sexual assault survivors, and make emergency contraception available over-the-counter in the U.S.

NEVER GO BACK

Public education campaign about the impending threat to legal abortion, the role of the Supreme Court in affirming or overturning *Roe v. Wade*, and the importance of the filibuster as a winnable strategy for stopping anti-choice judicial nominees.

Pro-Choice Speakers Bureau

A speakers bureau is a team of Leadership Alliance members who are trained in conducting pro-choice educational presentations for the campus community. This team will advertise its services to dorms, student organizations, classes, and other campus groups. These groups will then invite the speaker's bureau to conduct its pro-choice programming for their group. Essentially, your Leadership Alliance speakers bureau is a travelling band of teachers, disseminating pro-choice education throughout your campus.

Organizing a pro-choice speakers bureau is an excellent way to expose a wide range of students on your campus to pro-choice reproductive rights education. The speakers bureau also offers Leadership Alliance organizers an excellent opportunity to practice public speaking, professional presentation, and innovative peer teaching strategies. The action is a means by which leaders can creatively apply the information they have learned in this unit of the Study and Action Manual. Your Leadership Alliance can design the educational campaign in a variety of ways, using a broad range of teaching methods, exercises, and materials for your presentations.

PEOPLE POWER AND COMMITTEES

There are two main components involved in organizing a pro-choice speakers bureau. First, you need to train your speakers. Next, you need to organize the actual presentations.

- You will need between 6 and 12 Leadership Alliance members participating in the speakers bureau, as well as FMLA Alumnae, community activists, local experts (perhaps clinic workers), and professors to help you organize and conduct the training sessions. These people will also work on developing the presentation materials and the training.
- We recommend dividing the work among different students in the Leadership Alliance by organizing committees. Some suggested committees include:

Presentation Committee Utilizing Unit 2 of the SAM, this group will develop the content

of the presentation, in addition to developing creative ways of presenting the materials. One suggestion is to view *Abortion for Survival* and/or *Abortion Denied* as a part of the presentation. Additional sources of information include our website at (www.FeministCampus.org), Campus Organizers, community leaders, and FMLA alumnae.

Training Committee – This group will organize the speakers’ training sessions. In addition to using the materials that will be a part of the presentations as basis for training, this committee should also invite local clinic workers, and knowledgeable professors to participate in the training sessions.

Speakers Committee – This group should commit to participating in all of the trainings, as well as be willing to regularly set aside time to conduct educational presentations.

Advertising/ Publicity Committee – This committee is responsible for advertising the services of the speakers bureau throughout campus and the surrounding community, in addition to setting up presentation engagements with campus groups.

MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

- Space reserved for training and/or presentations
- Hand-outs and evaluations for distribution to audiences
- Any overheads, projectors, videos and VCRs you will need
- Large poster pad (with tape or a stand) and markers, or chalkboard and chalk for the presentation
- All presentation notes and reference notes
- Leadership Alliance information and sign-in sheet

TIMELINE

The major time investment for this project is its set up – the development of the presentation and the training. This process could take up to two months. Contacting faculty and community pro-choice activists, and pulling together the training session will take the bulk of that time. Of course, the project, once set up, will be ongoing.

BUDGET

This project can be organized with very little money, although some financial investment is necessary. Costs will vary widely depending on your choice of materials and publicity, as these are the major costs for the action. You will need to pay for ads in newspapers, paper and photocopies for flyers and training materials, materials for distribution during the presentation, any overheads or visuals you will use during your presentation, writing materials for your training and presentations, and any food you will have at your training and/or presentations.

PUBLICITY

Refer to www.FeministCampus.org for strategies and suggestions on successful advertising for your project. However, the groups you should most heavily target with your publicity are dorms, sororities, the executive councils of student organizations, Women’s Studies professors, the first year orientation coordinator, and other campus group leaders.

SOME HELPFUL HINTS

Presentation Tips

The most important and difficult part of this action is developing your pro-choice educational presentation – essentially the “product” you will be delivering to your campus community. The bulk of your information will come from Unit 2 of the SAM. Because you are advertising your service throughout campus, groups will be turning to you as reproductive rights “experts,” and “experts” you must be! To ensure that your presentation is as professional and successful as possible, you should:

- Know your sources. Don’t just ramble off figures, but make sure you know where those figures came from and that they are current and accurate.
- Provide visual aids and handouts. The more ways in which you present the material, the better the chance your audience will absorb it. Moreover, handouts and visual aids, overheads, or video clips keep things interesting.
- Keep your presentation brief (about one hour or less) and well organized. When presenting, a great outline is always: “This is what I am going to talk about,” then talk about it, and finally end with “this is what I just said.”
- Leave time for questions and answers. All members of the speakers bureau **MUST KNOW THE FACTS** as well as where to turn for more information!
- Consult Leadership Council members, faculty, and local experts for advice on, and participation in, your presentations. Also, run your ideas by your Leadership Alliance Campus Organizer.
- Always work in pairs while conducting a speakers bureau presentation— if two people can’t be there to conduct the session, then you should reschedule.

Training Tips

The next vital component of a successful speakers bureau program is providing thorough training for all speakers. All presenters must be well trained in the content and delivery of the presentation, as well as have a thorough understanding of the issues in order to answer questions and refer peers to additional resources. To ensure that your training helps speakers achieve this level of competency and professionalism:

- Include a great deal of rehearsal and role playing exercises in which speakers trade off presenting different aspects of the program with asking questions of the presenter.
- Have speakers watch others present the program before conducting it themselves.

Tips for the Long Term

- Periodically gather the speakers together to re-assess the presentation. Is it going well? What are some common questions? What is the response? How can the presentation be improved or updated?
- As with all successful educational presentations, your speakers bureau should include an opportunity for feedback. Handing out anonymous evaluation forms after the presentation is one good method of getting constructive criticism.

- Be creative. There are a variety of ways to vary your presentation in order to keep it interesting and innovative. For groups that have already seen your presentation, offer additional reproductive rights educational programming. For example, you might suggest that they view *Abortion Denied*, *Abortion for Survival*, or another pro-choice film. Also, try organizing informal “teach-in” discussions including peer educators from your speakers bureau, professors specializing in reproductive rights history and research, and local clinic workers. In a “teach-in,” the “experts” and audience sit in a circle and each “expert” is given the opportunity to speak briefly. Panel and audience members then engage in an informal discussion.

Additional Actions

“DID YOU KNOW” CAMPAIGN

This is a high visibility action. It involves choosing particularly important, little known, and/or shocking statistics from SAM and videos and putting those facts on brightly colored flyers or posters. To grab attention, the facts should all be under the heading, “Did You Know?” or another catchy phrase.

PRO-CHOICE FILM FESTIVAL

This involves showing pro-choice films such as *Abortion Denied*, *Abortion for Survival*, *If these Walls Could Talk*, *Jane: An Abortion Service*, *When Abortion was Illegal: Untold Stories*, *From Danger to Dignity: The Fight for Safe Abortion*, and *The Fragile Promise of Choice*. For more information on these videos and how to obtain copies of them, consult the list of films suggested for the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*.

WHAT’S THE STATE OF YOUR STATE?

Find out the current laws, incidence, and accessibility of abortion in your state. Then, let your campus know! This information is available through the NARAL: Pro-Choice America’s annual publication, *Who Decides? A State by State Review of Abortion and Reproductive Rights*. To obtain a copy of the book, call NARAL at (202) 973-3000, or call your Campus Organizer to send you the information on your state. *Who Decides?* is also available online via NARAL at <http://www.naral.org>. Alternatively, you can call your state legislator to obtain a copy of the laws for your state, although the NARAL book and website are helpful in understanding the laws and their repercussions.

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Unit 3

Saving Choices: Counter the Violence

For two decades, reproductive health clinics and health care providers throughout the nation have been under escalating attack. Physicians and clinic workers have been shot, clinics have been burned down, and patients have been intimidated. **While abortion remains legal, the rising tide of violence is jeopardizing access to vital medical services.** Anti-abortion extremists are waging a national campaign of attrition. This strategy targets one set of clinics and health care workers today; then, after these clinics perish or the health care workers quit, extremists move on to target another set of clinics.

Anti-abortion violence not only threatens access to abortion services, but also reduces the availability of a whole range of other reproductive health care services as well. **Clinics provide a wide variety of affordable health services**, often serving geographic regions where no other comparable care is available. The vast majority of reproductive health clinics provide: gynecological and prenatal care, routine cancer screening, HIV testing, menopausal treatment, infertility treatment, sexually transmitted infection (STI) screening and treatment, and adoption and family planning services. The **Feminist Majority Foundation's 2000 National Clinic Violence Survey found that virtually all clinics (98%) provided other health care services in addition to abortion.**

These clinics for the most part serve poor women, young women, and women who depend on clinics for their health care needs. The clinics most targeted by extremists are those that provide services to African American and Latina populations. For example, at a heavily targeted clinic in Norfolk, Virginia, half of the patients are African-American women; an embattled clinic in Ft. Lauderdale has a patient base of 40% Haitian immigrants; and the most besieged Los Angeles clinic primarily services Latina women.

The Feminist Majority Foundation's **National Clinic Access Project** is the oldest clinic defense project in the nation. The Project leads efforts to keep women's health clinics open in the face of harassment and violence by abortion opponents. Through public education, community organizing, direct emergency assistance, our clinic violence research and investigative unit, and frequent contact with law enforcement officials, the National Clinic Access Project has helped keep open clinics which were threatened with crippling anti-abortion blockades and violence.

Pro-choice vigilance and mobilization have been crucial to reducing clinic violence and are essential to ending the current reign of terror. This section of the *Choices* Study and Action Manual will review the history of violent attacks on clinics and clinic personnel.

This section will also address strategies to protect clinics, clinic personnel, and women's access to abortion services, including the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE), clinic buffer zones, litigation strategies, community organizing, and clinic security.

History & Patterns of Anti-Abortion Violence

Not long after the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision in 1973 that made abortion legal, anti-abortion extremists began their assault on women's health care providers. Anti-abortion extremists have invaded, blockaded, vandalized and bombed clinics as well as murdered and wounded abortion providers and their supporters. **The first clinic arson occurred in 1977.** Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, clinic facilities were the focus of escalating anti-abortion attacks.

Anti-abortion extremists have injured and murdered health care workers at abortion clinics across the country:

- In 1991, in Springfield, Missouri, a clinic office manager was shot by a masked gunman who barged into the clinic in search of the doctor. **Claudia Gilmore** was paralyzed from the waist down and a second person was wounded in the attack.
- In March of 1993, **Dr. David Gunn** was murdered outside of an abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida.
- In August 1993, in Mobile, AL, **Dr. George Patterson** was shot and killed while entering his car. He owned the Women's Medical Services Clinic in Pensacola, FL, where Dr. David Gunn had been murdered earlier in the year. His assailant remains at large.
- **Dr. George Tiller** was shot and wounded outside of his clinic in Wichita, Kansas in August of 1993.
- In July of 1994, **Dr. John Bayard Britton** and volunteer clinic escort **Lt. Col. James Barrett** were murdered outside of a second Pensacola clinic. Barrett's wife and volunteer escort **June Barrett** was shot and wounded in the attack.
- Four months later, on December 30, 1994, John Salvi shot and killed receptionist **Shannon Lowney** at a clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts. A few minutes later, Salvi entered a second clinic a few blocks away, shooting and killing receptionist **Leanne Nichols**. Five others were injured in the Brookline attacks including an armed security guard.
- In December of 1996, a physician in New Orleans was brutally stabbed 15 times in his clinic's parking lot by an assailant, who then traveled to a Baton Rouge clinic, where he was found lying in wait for a second physician and was arrested.
- A double bombing of an Atlanta clinic in January, 1997 left seven persons injured, including federal law enforcement officers responding to the scene following the first explosion.
- On January 28, 1998, a bomb packed with nails exploded at a clinic in Birmingham, Alabama, killing the security guard and maiming a clinic nurse.
- On October 23, 1998, **Dr. Barnett Slepian** was killed by a sniper's bullet through his kitchen window. Dr. Slepian worked at Buffalo GYN Women's Services in NY and was the fifth doctor shot by sniper fire since 1994 on or around the November 11 Canadian holiday Remembrance Day. Dr. Slepian was the first fatality. Also shot and injured in their homes were: Dr. Garson Romalis of Vancouver, BC, on 11/08/94; Dr. Hugh Short of Hamilton, ON, on 11/10/95; an unnamed doctor in Rochester, NY, on 10/28/97; and Dr. Jack Fainman of Winnepeg, MB, 11/11/97.

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■ Canadian doctor Garson Romalis was stabbed in the back while entering his clinic on July 11, 2000. This was the second attempt on his life. In 1994, Dr. Romalis nearly bled to death after being shot by a high-powered rifle in his home.

Numerous other physicians, nurses, and clinic administrators have been the targets of relentless harassment and threats of violence.

Anti-abortion violence gained national attention in 1982, with the bombings of three clinics in the spring and the August **kidnapping of Dr. Hector Zevallos and his wife Rosalie Jean** in Granite City, Illinois. Extremist Don Benny Anderson, with various associates, was convicted of bombings at clinics in St. Petersburg and Clearwater, Florida and Arlington, VA. Anderson, along with two brothers, Matthew and Wayne Moore, were convicted in the kidnapping and extortion of Zevallos, which was orchestrated under the name of the **“Army of God.”**

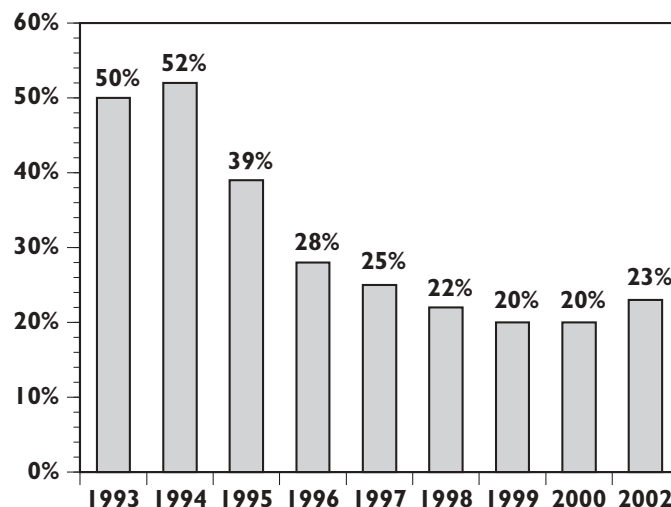
A rash of serial clinic bombings and arsons followed in 1984. By the end of the year, 25 clinics had been bombed or arsoned, along with the Washington, D.C. offices of the National Abortion Federation (NAF) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Anti-abortion extremists Kenneth Shields, Thomas Spinks, and Michael Bray received sentences for their roles in nine of the D.C. area bombings. Curtis Beseda was convicted of one 1983 and three 1984 Washington State arsons. Matthew Goldsby, James Simmons, Kathren Simmons, and Kaye Wiggins

were found guilty for their participation in three bombings at Pensacola clinics on Christmas morning, 1984. The investigations of nine other arsons in Texas and Georgia were closed after the statute of limitations expired.

Breaking onto the national scene in 1988 with blockades of Atlanta clinics during the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, Georgia, **“Operation Rescue”** organized mass blockades at abortion clinics across the country throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s. Operation Rescue orchestrated major blockades in places such as Los Angeles, Orange County, and San Diego, CA; Wichita, KS; Buffalo and New York City, NY; Houston, TX; Milwaukee, WI; Jackson, MS; Philadelphia, PA; and Cleveland, Ohio.

Arrests were made, often as many as 200 or 300 protesters at a time, putting significant burdens on local law enforcement and courts, and creating escalating costs for taxpayers and local governments. Local law enforcement efforts to respond were hampered by the relatively minor trespassing laws that protesters violated in blocking a clinic

Chart 1 ■ Percent of Clinics Experiencing Severe Violence 1993-2002



entrance. Protesters arrested for trespassing and blocking clinics were often back out on the streets within a few hours – only to return to clinics to be arrested again.

In the first seven months of 1993, one half of all abortion clinics were under siege, according to the Feminist Majority Foundation’s first annual National Clinic Violence Survey. The Feminist Majority Foundation’s annual survey was the first to measure violence at independent clinics as well as clinics which are affiliated with the National Abortion Federation, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the National Coalition of Abortion Providers, the National Women’s Health Clinics, and other national organizations. Of clinics responding to the 1993 survey, 50.2% experienced one or more of the most severe forms of violence, including death threats, stalking, bomb threats and bombings, arson threats and arsons, chemical attacks, blockades, and invasions (See Chart 1).

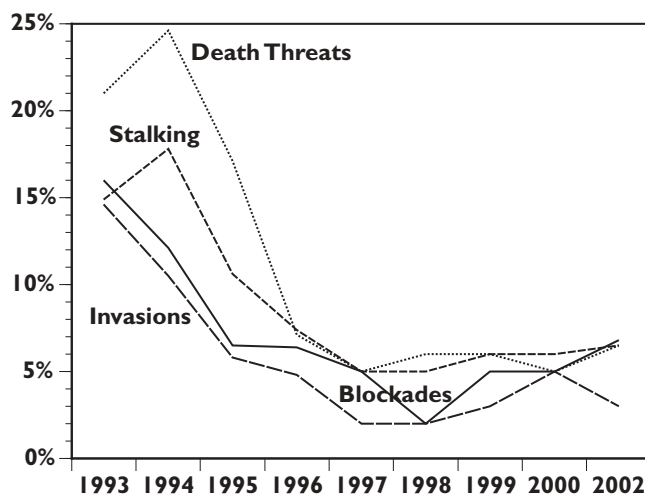
Death threats were the most frequently reported form of anti-abortion violence. Of the clinics responding to the survey, 21% received **death threats** to staff during the first seven months of 1993. **Bomb**

threats were reported by 18.1% of clinics. **Blockades** were set up at 16% of clinics. Clinic personnel were **stalked** at 14.9% of clinics. **Invasions** had occurred at 14.6% of the clinics. **Chemical attacks** were experienced at 10.3% of clinics (Feminist Majority Foundation, *National Clinic Violence Survey, 1993*). The National Abortion Federation (NAF) also reported historically high levels of violence in 1993. NAF reported 432 extreme incidents of anti-abortion violence in 1993.

Anti-abortion extremists began in 1993 to intensify their focus on abortion providers, circulating “**WANTED**” posters with names and personal information about physicians, and stalking and threatening health care professionals and their families. Frustrated by the election of pro-choice President Bill Clinton in 1992, anti-abortion extremists escalated their attacks in early 1993. Operation Rescue’s IMPACT Team trainings in Melbourne, Florida, and the bombing of a clinic in Corpus Christi, Texas foreshadowed the increasing intensity of violence.

On March 10, 1993, Dr. David Gunn was murdered by **Michael Griffin** outside the Pensacola Women’s Medical Center. Signaling further escalation, following the assassination of Dr. David Gunn, anti-abortion extremist **Paul Hill** began advocating the concept of “Justifiable Homicide,” the use of lethal force to stop abortion. Hill circulated petitions of endorsement for the “use of force” to stop abortion. Several anti-abortion leaders from across the country signed the petitions and joined in demonstrations with Hill outside the trial of Dr. Gunn’s accused assailant to demand his release and acquittal.

Chart 2 ■ Four Types of Severe Anti-Abortion Violence 1993–2002



Later in the year, Dr. George Tiller was nearly killed when he was shot outside of his Wichita clinic on August 19, 1993 by anti-abortion extremist **Shelley Shannon**. Tiller was shot multiple times in both arms at point-blank range, but recovered.

Armed with extensive data documenting the extent of clinic violence and lack of response to this violence from local law enforcement officials, abortion rights organizations, along with pro-choice legislators, worked to increase federal response to this violence. Finally, in May 1994, the **Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE)**, which made anti-abortion violence a federal crime, was signed into law.

Violence remained at extremely high levels into 1994, with 51.9% of clinics experiencing severe violence. Data on clinic violence made it clear that while the numbers of blockades and invasions decreased, the numbers of death threats and stalking increased. **Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA)** reported a total of 6,327 acts of violence and harassment directed at doctors, patients, and clinics at their affiliate health care centers in 1994. **NAF** affiliates documented 160 extremely violent incidents that year. The Feminist Majority Foundation's 1994 National Clinic Violence Survey found that death threats were again the most frequently reported type of violence, with 24.8% of clinics indicating that their staff had received death threats, up from 21% in 1993. In contrast, in 1994, blockades dropped to 12.1% from 16% in 1993 and invasions declined to 10.5% of clinics, down from 14.6% in 1993. Physicians continued to be the main target of anti-abortion attacks.

In July of 1994, shots rang out again in Pensacola, Florida. Dr. John Bayard Britton and clinic escort James Barrett were killed by anti-abortion extremist Paul Hill, who

had promoted the "**justifiable homicide**" of doctors. Volunteer escort June Barrett was wounded in the attack. The shooting of James and June Barrett represented yet another tactical shift and escalation in anti-abortion extremists' strategy. Attacks were no longer limited to health care personnel; anyone assisting patients, physicians, or clinic staff was now also a possible target of violence. This escalation continued, and soon the lives of even bystanders in what anti-abortion extremists referred to as the "**war zone**" were at risk. On December 30, 1994, a shooting rampage at two Brookline clinics left two receptionists dead, and five other people – families and friends of patients and an armed security guard – who had been in the vicinity of clinic waiting rooms were wounded. The assailant, **John Salvi**, then traveled to another targeted clinic in Norfolk, Virginia, where he was arrested after shooting wildly at the clinic when his attempt to enter failed.

By 1995, clinics began to feel some relief because of increased enforcement of the FACE law, passed in 1994, and the **Madsen** U.S. Supreme Court decision that same year, which affirmed the use of buffer zones around clinics. Violence declined, but continued at high levels. The 1995 FMF Clinic Violence Survey reported that 38.6% of clinics still experienced violence. For the first time in every category of violence, however, more clinics reported decreases than increases. Yet the smallest net decreases were in reports of death threats and stalking.

In the first seven months of 1996, violence levels dropped for the second consecutive year. The 1996 FMF National Clinic Violence Survey found that 27.6% of clinics were faced with one or more serious types of violence that year. Death threats (7.1%) and stalking (7.4%) continued the decline begun in 1995. But for the first time since 1994, the survey documented

very slight increases in several types of violence directed at clinic facilities such as bombings and chemical attacks. Clinic blockades virtually plateaued at 6.4% from 6.5% in 1995, ending a steady decline that was first recorded in 1994 (FMF, *National Clinic Violence Survey, 1996*).

However, by the end of 1996, the two-year decline in overall clinic violence came to a halt. Some types of anti-abortion violence again escalated, as extremists apparently grew more desperate in the wake of the reelection of a pro-choice President. In December of 1996, a physician was brutally stabbed 15 times outside of the Orleans Women's Clinic. The physician lost four pints of blood and his ear was almost severed. The assailant was apprehended as he lay in wait for a second physician at a clinic in Baton Rouge.

NAF noted another disturbing trend in 1996 – repeated arsons targeted at the same facility. Two arsons were attempted at the Women's Health Care Clinic in Boise, Idaho, with the second arson resulting in the relocation of the clinic. In December 1996, three arson attempts were directed at the A-Z Women's Center in Phoenix, Arizona (National Abortion Federation).

The Feminist Majority Foundation, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, and the National Abortion Federation held a press conference in mid-January, 1997 to refute the recent spate of articles claiming that anti-abortion violence is no longer a problem. During the press conference, two bombs exploded at the Atlanta Northside Family Planning Services clinic. The first bomb went off inside the building, injuring no one. A second bomb, detonated an hour later outside the building in a dumpster, was intended to injure and kill emergency rescue personnel and law enforcement officials responding to the first bomb. The blast injured seven people including

federal law enforcement authorities. Weeks later, news media outlets received a letter, purportedly from an anti-abortion extremist group, "**Army of God**," claiming responsibility for the clinic bombing and the February 1997 bombing of a lesbian nightclub in Atlanta.

The Atlanta bombings were only the beginning. In the first eleven months of 1997 alone, there were 13 arsons and bombings at clinics – the seventh highest rate of abortion clinic bombings and arsons recorded by the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) since 1982, and nearly double the number of bombing/arsons for all of 1996.

On January 29, 1998, a bomb exploded at a Birmingham, AL, clinic killing a security guard and critically injuring the clinic's head nurse. Eric Robert Rudolph was seen fleeing from the scene that morning and has been charged with the fatal attack. The Army of God again claimed credit for the bombing in letters mailed from Birmingham to Atlanta newspapers. The FBI also charged Rudolph with the earlier Atlanta bombings. Rudolph was apprehended in North Carolina in June 2003.

Anti-abortion clinic violence continued in 2000 at an unacceptable level, with 1 in 5 clinics continuing to experience severe violence. This figure is identical to 1999 and represents a slight decline from 1998, during which 22% of clinics experienced severe violence. Nonetheless, the fact that 20% of clinics still experience severe anti-abortion violence indicates an enduring problem for women's access to health care. Bomb threats, stalking, death threats, and blockades were the most commonly reported types of severe violence in 2000 and threatening anti-abortion speech such as "Wanted" posters and internet harassment, plus anti-abortion leafleting were experienced by 35% of clinics.

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On March 29th, 2001, after a man-hunt lasting more than 2 1/2 years, accused assassin James Charles Kopp was arrested in France, followed by the arrest of two alleged co-conspirators. Kopp, a well-connected member of the anti-abortion extremist movement, was one of the FBI's Ten Most Wanted fugitives and has been convicted of the October 1998 sniper-style assassination of Dr. Barnett Slepian. He has also been indicted in the 1995 sniper attack of Ontario abortion provider Dr. Hugh Short and is suspected in two sniper shootings in Canada in 1994 and 1997 and the 1997 sniper attack of an abortion provider in Rochester, New York.

Kopp's conviction, in conjunction with the arrest of co-conspirators Loretta Claire Marra and Dennis John Malvasi, marks the first time a federal investigation of an anti-abortion assassination has exposed the

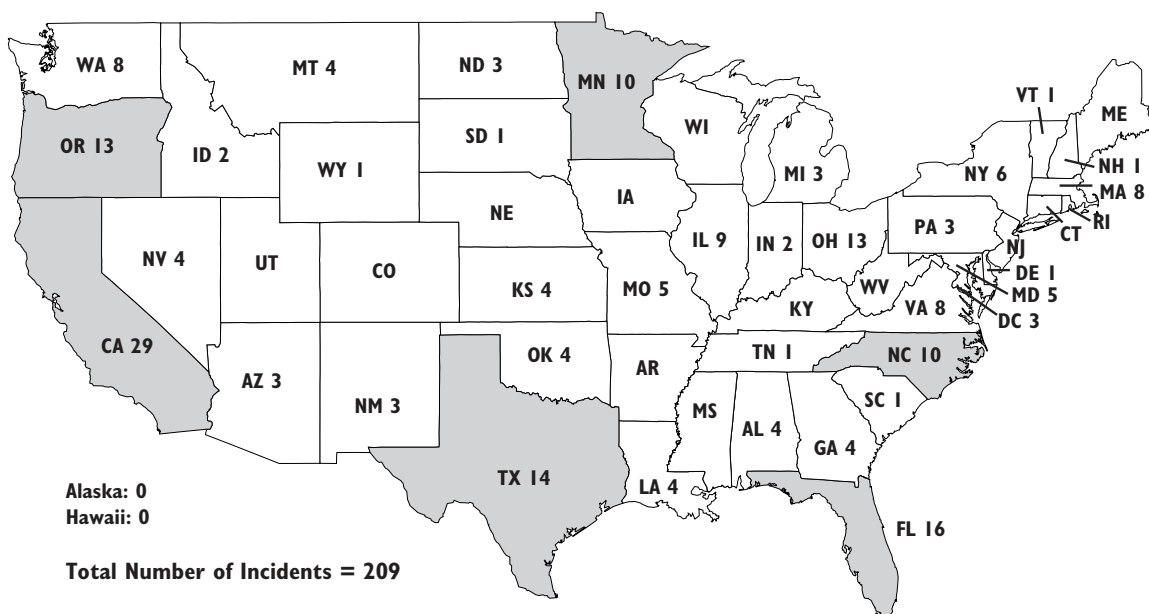
substantial material, financial, and other help provided to an anti-abortion extremist. According to Eleanor Smeal, President of the Feminist Majority Foundation, "The arrest of Kopp and these alleged co-conspirators represents only the beginning of an organized network of extremists who have aided and abetted not just Kopp, but others who commit violent anti-abortion crimes." Kopp was sentenced to 25 years to life and awaits a federal trial for violating FACE. Marra and Malvasi struck a plea deal, only serving 29 months.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Violence at women's reproductive health care centers occurs nationwide, but is especially concentrated in a few specific regions that are the most heavily targeted by anti-abortion extremists.

The following map from the Bureau of

Chart 3 ■ Geographic Distribution of Abortion Clinic Violence 1982–1998



Source: Department of the Treasury Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, 1998

Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) indicates which areas have been the sites of numerous violent incidents, arsons or bombings.

Anti-abortion violence has also threatened doctors and clinics in Canadian cities just across the US border. **Three Canadian abortion providers were shot by snipers** with high-powered weapons through windows at their homes in November of 1994, 1996 and 1997. All of the attacks occurred on or around the Canadian “Remembrance Day” on November 11th. Pro-choice supporters in Canada believe that the shootings could be caused or inspired by United States anti-abortion extremists. Canadian laws severely restrict the purchase and/or possession of firearms, including the high powered rifles used in each of the attempted murders. Research confirms the extremists’ broad range of travel, and each of the cities, Vancouver, Hamilton, and Winnipeg, are easily reachable from cities near the U.S. border.

Pro-Choice Response to Clinic Violence

INCREASING FEDERAL JURISDICTION OVER ANTI-ABORTION VIOLENCE: FREEDOM OF ACCESS TO CLINIC ENTRANCES ACT (FACE) OF 1994

Signed into law on May 26, 1994, FACE was the first proactive abortion rights legislation to win Congressional approval in history. This landmark victory has reaped concrete gains for abortion clinics, clinic personnel, and women seeking access to abortion facilities. FACE strengthened federal jurisdiction over clinic violence and instituted federal criminal penalties and civil remedies for anti-abortion violence, making it **a federal crime to blockade, commit violence, or threaten violence against a reproductive health care facility,**

clinic workers, or patients. While anti-abortion violence remains at unacceptably high levels, FACE has contributed significantly to the decline in violence.

While FACE had been introduced in 1992, the major impetus for passage of the legislation came after the murder of Dr. Gunn in 1993. The initial version of FACE was tailored to counter blockades at clinics. With the escalation of violence, abortion rights advocates and Congressional allies worked to redraft the legislation to protect health care workers and patients from violence and threats of violence as well as the obstruction of clinics. FACE established federal penalties for anyone who:

- “(1) by force or threat of force or by physical obstruction, intentionally injures, intimidates or interferes with or attempts to injure, intimidate or interfere with any person because that person is or has been, or in order to intimidate such person or any other person or any class of persons from, obtaining or providing reproductive health services;
- “(2) by force or threat of force or by physical obstruction, intentionally injures, intimidates or interferes with any person lawfully exercising or seeking to exercise the First Amendment right of religious freedom at a place of worship;
- “(3) intentionally damages or destroys the property of a facility, or attempts to do so, because such facility provides reproductive health services, or intentionally damages or destroys the property of a place of religious worship.”

FACE also includes language explicitly preserving First Amendment free speech rights, including peaceful picketing and other peaceful demonstrations.

Federal law enforcement officials had urged passage of the legislation to increase federal jurisdiction over clinic violence. Attorney General Janet Reno testified in favor of FACE at the U.S. Senate hearing, declaring that “existing federal law is inadequate to address this problem Federal legislation is necessary. The problem is national in scope, and local law enforcement has been unable to deal effectively with it.” The goal of federal legislation was to facilitate the federal government’s entrance into trouble spots when state and local authorities could not or would not intervene. In fact, **many anti-abortion groups choose to target clinics in locations where the local or state authorities appear sympathetic to them.** FACE also sought to address the fact that perpetrators of anti-abortion violence usually travel from city to city or state to state, crossing many local and state jurisdictions, making effective prosecution for repeated acts of violence difficult at the local level.

Passage of this historic legislation took the combined leadership of the bill’s chief sponsors, **Senator Edward Kennedy** (D-MA), **Representatives Charles Schumer** (D-NY), **Connie Morella** (R-MD), and **Patricia Schroeder** (D-CO), and the concerted efforts of the women members of Congress working directly with women’s rights organizations. Enactment of FACE came after a more than year-long campaign spearheaded by the Feminist Majority following the murder of Dr. David Gunn by an anti-abortion extremist in March 1993.

The Feminist Majority played a leadership role in shaping this bold legislative strategy, working around the clock with Congressional staff and leaders and other abortion rights organizations to secure the winning votes in the face of intense lobbying by anti-abortion forces. Planned Parenthood, NARAL, American Association of University Women, National Abor-

tion Federation, National Organization for Women, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, National Coalition of Abortion Providers, American Civil Liberties Union, and People for the American Way were among the other organizations working for passage. In November 1994, FACE passed by overwhelming margins in both Houses – 69-30 in Senate and 241-174 in House. Anti-abortion delaying tactics and reconciliation of differences between House and Senate versions of the bill stalled final enactment until the spring of 1994.

Immediately after Clinton signed the FACE Act, anti-abortion forces filed federal lawsuits to challenge the new law, claiming it violated the First Amendment’s guarantee of free speech. In early October 1996, the U.S. Supreme Court effectively settled disputes about the constitutionality of FACE by declining to hear a case challenging FACE, indicating that FACE is indeed constitutional.

At the same time that anti-abortion forces challenged FACE, abortion rights forces have worked vigorously to implement the law. At FACE oversight hearings held in September 1994 before the House Judiciary’s Subcommittee on Crime, Crime Committee Chair Schumer urged the Justice Department to step up enforcement of FACE. A four-member panel testified before the committee, including a physician, a clinic owner, a police sergeant, and a clinic administrator. The panel related incident after incident of anti-abortion violence and their frustration at being told by the FBI, Justice Department, U.S. Marshals, and U.S. Attorneys that FACE charges would not be brought. **Pro-choice organizations have continued to press for enforcement of FACE, holding regular meetings with law enforcement officials at the federal, state, and local level and maintaining constant contact with clinics.**

We know that law enforcement cooperation with clinics is central to reducing clinic violence. The Feminist Majority Foundation's annual Clinic Violence Survey has found consistently that levels of violence correlate with local, state, and federal law enforcement response. Clinics which reported "excellent" law enforcement response experienced lower levels of violence than those which characterized law enforcement response as "poor." The Feminist Majority Foundation's 2000 survey found that FACE enforcement has continued to improve dramatically. Federal officials were far more likely to provide clear direction for initiating FACE complaints. Encouragingly, more clinics in 2000 than 1999 reported that buffer zones and injunctions were being strongly enforced, and the number of clinics reporting weak or no enforcement dropped. (FMF, *National Clinic Violence Survey, 2000* 18).

To further step up law enforcement response, the Feminist Majority Foundation and other abortion rights organizations have called for the classification of anti-abortion violence as "**domestic terrorism**" in order to secure additional federal law enforcement investigative resources. As a first step, President Clinton issued a statement calling the Atlanta clinic bombing "vile and malevolent" and saying that "anyone who brings violence against a woman trying to exercise her constitutional right is committing an act of terror." More recently, Attorney General John Ashcroft characterized a series of anthrax threat letters sent to women's reproductive health clinics as acts of domestic terrorism.

ESTABLISHING BUFFER SAFETY ZONES AROUND CLINICS

Fixed buffer zones are an essential tool in preventing anti-abortion violence. Over one-third of clinics (41%) are currently

protected by buffer zones, which prohibit anti-abortion extremists from protesting within specified distances from clinics. The Feminist Majority Foundation's 2000 National Clinic Violence Survey found that **clinics with buffer zones reported far greater decreases in death threats, blockades, and invasions than clinics without buffer zones.**

The Feminist Majority Foundation laid the legal groundwork for two successive U.S. Supreme Court decisions upholding the use of safety buffer zones. In **Madsen v. Women's Health Center**, anti-choice protesters appealed their case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Feminist Majority Foundation's legal team obtained a permanent injunction requiring anti-abortion protesters to stay 36 feet away from the clinic and 300 feet away from clinic workers' homes in response to escalating violence at the Aware Woman Center for Choice in Pensacola. The injunction was challenged by anti-abortion protesters who claimed that it violated their First Amendment free speech rights. The Florida Supreme Court upheld the injunction in a unanimous 7-0 decision, stating that the anti-abortion protesters "have placed into jeopardy the health, safety, and rights of Florida women."

The Feminist Majority Foundation's legal team, led by **Attorney Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte**, argued the *Madsen v. Women's Health Center* case in favor of clinic buffer zones before the United States Supreme Court. In late June of 1994, the Court ruled in a 6-3 decision that abortion clinics harassed by anti-abortion extremists can obtain court-ordered buffer zone injunctions to keep harassers away from clinics. In a strong opinion by **Chief Justice William Rehnquist**, the Court determined that the injunction around Aware Women Center for Choice did not violate anti-abortion protesters' free speech rights

because it was not content based. Instead, it was based on the actual conduct of specified anti-abortion groups and individuals. In *Madsen*, the Court **upheld the core of the injunction- the 36-foot buffer zone around the entrance of the clinic as well as the ban on sound amplification that can be heard within the clinic during surgery hours**. Although it overturned the 300 foot buffer zone around the residences of clinic workers, it used strong language in support of the right to have peace in one's home, indicating that smaller zones would be constitutional.

A second U.S. Supreme Court case, **Schenck v. Pro-choice Network of Western New York**, involving clinics in Buffalo, New York **reaffirmed the use of buffer zones around clinics**. Buffalo clinics had a 15-foot buffer zone around clinic buildings, driveways, and individuals entering or leaving clinics. Under that rule, members of certain anti-abortion groups who had been harassing patients at those clinics are prohibited from entering the buffer zones. Anti-abortion extremists challenged these buffer zones saying they restrict the freedom of speech of people opposed to abortion. Anti-abortion forces challenging the Buffalo buffer zones argued that the buffer zone in Buffalo should not be judged by the same standards as *Madsen*. They argued that *Madsen* applies only to Aware Woman Center for Choice, the clinic in the *Madsen* case.

In the *Schenck* case, the Court upheld a 15-foot fixed buffer zone, with the Court making clear that the size of the zone is dependent on the record of anti-abortion violence and the geographic location of the clinic. While the Court in *Schenck* did strike down a "floating buffer zone" around individual patients and clinic staff in the Buffalo case, it left open the possibility of a floating buffer zone in other cases if the record of anti-abortion extremist

behavior at a particular clinic warranted this remedy.

THE RICO STRATEGY: NOW ET.AL. V. SCHEIDLER ET.AL.

Another legal strategy to stop anti-abortion violence is the use of **Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO)** statutes. The strategy was pioneered in **NOW et.al. v. Scheidler et.al.**, a case which was initiated in 1986 by then NOW President Eleanor Smeal, and filed in conjunction with **the National Women's Health Organization (NWHO)**. The case began when the president of the local Pensacola NOW chapter was injured during a clinic invasion by John Burt, a leader of the local Rescue America. NOW argued that abortion opponents were conspiring in an organized way to use extortion in an effort to close established, legal businesses nationwide.

In January 1994, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that RICO can be used by clinics in filing civil lawsuits against anti-abortion extremists and their leaders who orchestrate acts of violence. The *NOW et.al. v. Scheidler et.al.* case went to trial in March 1998 after 12 years of litigation.

A jury of four women and two men found Joseph Scheidler, Timothy Murphy, Andrew Scholberg, as well as Operation Rescue and Pro-Life Action League, liable for violating federal and state extortion law and RICO. In October 2001, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously upheld the jury verdict, affirming the award of monetary damages to the plaintiffs and the nationwide injunction prohibiting the defendants from interfering with access to abortion clinics.

In February 2003, the United States Supreme Court reversed the jury verdict, the district court, and the Court of Appeals. Changing 50 years of extortion law, the Court ruled that in order to qualify as

extortion, a defendant has to obtain tangible property. Under this new interpretation of extortion law, demanding \$1,000 and taking it is extortion, but demanding someone turn over \$1,000 is not. The extortion was necessary to prove a RICO case, so the entire case was dismissed.

In the wake of the Supreme court decision, anti-abortion extremists have been calling on their supporters to start protesting at clinics again.

Hill v. Colorado

In the 2000 *Hill v. Colorado* case, the Supreme Court ruled that a Colorado law protecting patients' access to clinics is constitutional. The law prohibits any person within 100 feet of a health care facility's entrance to "knowingly approach" another person without consent, in order to pass a leaflet or handbill to, display a sign to, or engage in oral protest, education, or counseling with that person. In a 6-3 opinion, the Court found that the law's restrictions on speech were not in violation of the First Amendment. Massachusetts subsequently passed a similar law.

Planned Parenthood v. American Coalition of Life Activists et. al.

In the first private civil case to be filed under FACE, in February of 1999, a federal jury in Portland, Oregon ordered the American Coalition of Life Activists and Advocates of Life Ministries along with 12 individual defendants to pay \$107.5 million in damages to a group of abortion providers. The jury found that the defendants' "Deadly Dozen" posters and the "Nuremberg Files" web site constituted

"true threats" and were not free speech protected by the First Amendment. The "Deadly Dozen" posters list the addresses and phone numbers of thirteen doctors, accuses them of "crimes against humanity," and compares them to Nazi war criminals. The "Nuremberg Files" is a web site that lists the names of doctors, clinic staff, law enforcement personnel, judges and abortion rights advocates, along with personal information. The "Nuremberg Files" identifies doctors that have been wounded by anti-abortion extremists in grey type and draws a line through the names of doctors who have been assassinated.

Within days of their court-ordered depositions, during which they were to disclose the whereabouts of their assets, five of the twelve individual defendants, Michael Bray, Donald Treshman, David Crane, Charles Wysong, and Joseph Foreman filed for bankruptcy. In line with a trend among anti-abortion defendants, these individuals filed for bankruptcy in order to circumvent financial penalties and evade judgments against them.

In 2002, a ten judge court of the Ninth Circuit Federal Court of Appeals upheld the decision of the jury and the district court that the posters and website qualified as "true threats" and violated the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. In a major defeat for anti-abortion extremists, the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal to the Ninth Circuit decision. In deciding to reject the anti-abortion appeal without comment, the Supreme Court made it clear that FACE prohibits not only acts of violence, but threats of violence against abortion providers.

ADOPT-A-CLINIC PROGRAM

Since the late 1970s, an orchestrated campaign of violence and intimidation designed to terrorize the staff of women's health care clinics and to close clinics has been waged by extremist anti-choice groups. Activities directed against clinics include picketing; stalking and harassing clinic staff and patients; blockades and invasions of clinics; vandalism of clinic property; arsons and threats of arsons; bombings and threats of bombings; death threats; and even murder.

By "adopting" a local women's health clinic, your Leadership Alliance will work to **galvanize community-wide support and resources critical to reducing the violence and terror against abortion clinics and the harassment and intimidation of doctors and clinic staff.** Your campaign will also provide a support mechanism to help counter day-in and day-out harassment of patients and staff by anti-abortion protestors at your local clinic.

Bringing the violence, harassment, and intimidation experienced by clinics to the attention of the local community will help build public outrage against the anti-abortion violence and harassment and generate demands for better law enforcement response. The Feminist Majority Foundation's Clinic Violence Survey shows that where law enforcement is aggressively responding, investigating, and prosecuting anti-abortion violence, the level of violence decreases. Involving community activists and local pro-choice leaders can also help secure media attention, legal support, law enforcement assistance, and financial resources.

Other potential outcomes of the **Adopt-A-Clinic** program include:

- Bolstering morale of clinic staff, doctors, and patients;
- Mobilizing community support;
- Collecting information and monitoring activities of anti-abortion extremists, which can be key to preventing more severe incidents of violence and can facilitate the prosecution of illegal actions by anti-abortion followers; and
- Sending a strong pro-choice message to the community that harassment and violence against women's health clinics will not be tolerated.

STRATEGY

Step 1: Locate your Local Women's Health Clinic

Locate and find out about your local women's health clinic(s). The National Clinic Access Project of the Feminist Majority Foundation can be helpful in this step, and should be contacted through your Campus Organizer **before** you begin the project. The Project may be able to provide information on which local clinic is most in need of help, and will help set up the initial meeting with the appropriate clinic personnel.

Step 2: Set up a Meeting with a Clinic

Call and set up a meeting with the clinic director or appropriate personnel and the core students who will take the lead in the Adopt-A-Clinic program. When calling, identify yourself as college students affiliated with the Feminist Majority Foundation. Showing your support and interest is very important because this clinic may have experienced many years of anti-choice harassment without any help from the community or local law enforcement.

Being at the clinic is a learning experience. Ask for a tour of the clinic. Ask questions about the clinic's services and patients. It is essential for the Adopt-A-Clinic program to understand what a clinic does and how needed its services are.

Ask to be shown step by step what a patient does once she arrives at the clinic. Remember that the clinic is a medical facility and it should be treated as such.

Step 3: Assessing Type and Degree of Anti-Abortion Activities

To get a feel for the kinds of anti-abortion harassment, intimidation, and violence faced by the clinic, be sure to ask questions. The following are intended as a guideline and can be modified as appropriate:

- What has the overall experience been with anti-abortion protesters? How long have the anti-choice protesters been congregating here? How many times a week do they come? At what times?
- Do the protesters belong to a certain church or group/organization? (For example: Operation Rescue, PLAN, etc.)
- What do protesters do when they are here? Do they harass the patients? Doctor? Clinic staff? Do they follow the patients to their cars? Do they copy down license plates or call patients at home? Do the protesters distribute any anti-choice literature? Does this literature refer to your clinic specifically or to staff or doctors?
- Have protesters ever invaded the clinic? What happened?
- What kinds of harassment does your staff/doctor experience? Are you harassed by phone, mail, or in person? Have any of your staff or doctors ever been stalked? Are staff or doctors picketed at their homes? Followed in their cars? Are there any WANTED posters for your doctors or staff?
- Have you or any of your doctors/staff been threatened? How?
- Have you experienced physical vandalism at the clinic? Fires/arson? When? How severe? Was anyone ever charged and prosecuted for the violence?
- What is the history of law enforcement response to clinic safety concerns? How does law enforcement respond to requests for assistance from you?
- How have you dealt with the protestors? What strategies have worked?
- What is the local political and community atmosphere with regard to this clinic?
- What could we do that would be most beneficial to you?

Step 4: Observe the Anti-Abortion Demonstrators

Set up a separate time for the core students who are taking a lead in the Adopt-A-Clinic program to meet with clinic staff on a day when the protesters are at the clinic. This visit will give you an opportunity to see exactly what the protestors do at the clinic, and understand the conditions under which the clinic must operate. Discuss with the appropriate staff the extent of the hostility that the clinic has experienced over the years.

Observe and take notes on the protesters and their actions. Check to see if the protest-

ers harass the patients, and see where the protesters are standing and sitting. Survey the outside of the clinic, noting where patients park, whether and how protesters block their entryway to the clinic. What do protesters do when the doctor and clinic staff arrive?

Observe clinic security. Is the entrance always kept locked? Are patients cleared before being allowed into the clinic? Are there large areas of glass windows or doors? Can protesters disturb the patients and staff inside the clinic?

Step 5: Develop a Plan of Action

Be sure to simply ask the clinic director/owner what kinds of support/assistance they most need. They will generally have a very clear idea about what would help improve safety, security, and the morale of their clinic and staff. After you have interviewed the appropriate clinic personnel or administrator, it should become clear what type of support is needed, what the director wants, and what she does not want. Discuss the following types of support:

- 1. Legal Observing:** videotaping and photographing anti-abortion protesters and their activities for possible legal action; for example, petitioning the court for a buffer safety zone around the clinic. Also, experience shows that when protesters believe their activities are being recorded, they are more likely to tone down their activities, thus guarding against escalation. Tracking incidents and recording and reporting them to law enforcement can also assist both the clinic and law enforcement in recognizing patterns of anti-abortion activity, and thereby increase preparedness.
- 2. Escorts:** providing escorts to facilitate the safe passage of patients and staff/doctors into the clinic. The clinic may already have a volunteer escort program in which Leadership Alliance members could participate. You will need to establish an escorting plan with the clinic and possibly go through an escort training. Organize the dates and times you will provide escorts or legal observers, recruiting twice the numbers of Leadership Alliance activists and other volunteers you will need. The Leadership Alliance will provide a steady stream of volunteers for the clinic as needed.
- 3. Mobilizing Public Opinion Against Protesters:** calling press attention to the problems the clinic faces. Meeting with the local newspaper's editorial board, circulating petitions in support of the clinic and strong law enforcement action, organizing community events as a show of support for the clinic, and raising resources to help pay for such expenses as clinic security measures.

Step 6: Connect clinics to the services of the Feminist Majority Foundation's National Clinic Access Project

Ask the clinic if they have a copy of the Feminist Majority Foundation's *Women's Health Care Clinic Security Guide*, if not, offer them a free copy to use. National Clinic Access Project staff can also help clinics develop security plans and provide information on anti-abortion extremists. If clinics need legal advice, point them towards our recently revised and updated legal guide for clinics: "Drawing the Line Against Anti-Abortion Violence and Harrassment." This guide is available online at <http://www.feminist.org/rrights/Drawing the Line.pdf>.

Step 7: Work with Clinics that already have a Local Clinic Defense, Escort Group, or Coalition

When you contact your area clinic(s), you may be directed to a local group that already works with the clinic. Before contacting them directly, try to ascertain exactly what they do – is it a volunteer escorting service? Are clinic defenders present at the clinic whenever anti-choice protesters are there? Determine if there is a void that your group could fill or if your group can join the existing clinic support efforts.

In talking or meeting with this group or coalition, show them that your involvement will add to the well-being of the clinic and the group/coalition's efforts.

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Unit 4

Saving Choices: Know the Opposition

One of the greatest challenges to the feminist movement today is to acknowledge the existence of an well-organized, well-funded right-wing opposition to women's rights, especially the right to choose abortion. To achieve our goal of full equality and reproductive choice, our generation must study the structure and basis through which this opposition operates. Just as we broadened the context of "choice" for the *Choices* campaign to illustrate the breadth and complexity of the choice issue, in this unit, we broadened the scope in which we examine the conservative forces that oppose a woman's right to an abortion. So, this unit, rather than providing an in-depth analysis of each conservative foundation and/or group, strives to illustrate the much larger picture of right-wing interconnections, the national and international scope of opposition to women's rights, and the shared multi-issue agenda and anti-feminist ideology. While the information provided here is not intended to be comprehensive, untangling the web of the Right Wing is fascinating as well as informative.

There are **many excellent publications and in-depth studies that are available to you for further research**. A few of them are named below:

- Blanchard, Dallas. *The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right: From Polite to Fiery Protest*. Twayne Publishers, 1994.
- The Center for Campus Organizing. *Uncovering the Right on Campus*. Public Search, Inc., 1997.
- Clarkson, Frederick. *Eternal Hostility*. Common Courage Press, 1997.
- Clarkson, Fredrick and Skip Porteous. *Challenging the Christian Right: The Activist Handbook*. Institute for First American Studies Inc., 1993.
- People for the American Way. "Buying a Movement: Right Wing Foundations and American Politics." <http://www.pfaw.org>

In this unit, you will learn about some of the opponents to women's rights on your campus, in your community, nationally, and globally who seek to limit or prevent access to abortion, dismantle affirmative action, and protest gay and lesbian rights. Many of the right-wing movement's campus groups, media outlets, think tanks, and legal centers are funded by a few individuals and foundations with massive amounts of money. Often, a strong public relations effort masks the Right Wing's activities and multi-issue political agenda in religious rhetoric.

This unit will identify not only some of the key opponents to women's rights and choice, but also their range of tactics. Tactics range from deceptive communication techniques and advertising of so-called "moderate" groups, to a clandestine outright campaign of terror waged by extremists against doctors, clinic administrators, and abortion rights supporters.

The right-wing foundations fund think tanks to design strategy. That strategy is then implemented by right-wing campus groups and “apolitical” political groups, while the right-wing media carries the carefully structured messages and issues to selected target audiences. At the same time, a handful of wealthy private individuals, many of whom are associated with the foundations, contribute to ultra-conservative political candidates, political action committees (PACs), or lobby groups, which work to enact conservative anti-choice legislation. The right-wing legal centers are constantly challenging women’s, civil, and gay/lesbian rights in the courts, and even defending those harassing abortion clinics. While many of the mainstream political organizations in the right-wing movement often condemn and criticize violent extremists like those who bomb abortion clinics, some right-wing organizations offer their tacit approval by refusing to comment on or condemn the incidents. Moreover the rhetoric of even the so-called moderate groups advances the extremist position. For example calling abortion “murder,” or abortion providers “baby killers,” or feminists “feminazis” does not promote reason but encourages violent extremism.

Brought to You By...

In order to organize effectively for *Choices* on campus you must understand the breadth and character of the right-wing opposition that works to prevent your success. Knowing where a given organization or program derives financial support often sheds light on the position of that organization within the broader political framework of the national right-wing agenda. This section identifies some of the influential conservative foundations as well as some of the key organizations that they fund. These foundations are private, family foundations that contribute money to non-profit organizations whose work they support and often define. Foundations of note include:

- **Arthur DeMoss Foundation**, which in 1993 awarded grants of almost \$42 million and reported net assets of \$443 million. Recent projects include funding for the high visibility, anti-choice “Life. What a Beautiful Choice.” television ad campaign (Wilcox 49).
- **Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation**, whose net assets, in 1992, exceeded \$400 million dollars. This foundation invests heavily in college and university pro-

gramming, making funds available for individuals (“Bradley Fellows”), usually graduate students, who have an emphasis on public policy and/or economics. The Bradley Foundation is also a major funder of the Heritage Foundation, loaning the conservative think tank \$500,000 in 1992 (Wilcox 176).

- **The Charles G. and David H. Koch Charitable Foundations**, who are heirs to the Rock Island Oil and Refining fortune. David Koch, the 1980 Libertarian Vice Presidential Candidate, awarded over \$6.2 million in grants in 1992, funds the Cato Institute, and in 1992, had assets exceeding \$8 million. Charles Koch awarded \$1.5 million in grants in 1992 and had assets exceeding \$12 million (Wilcox 74, 99).
- **John M. Olin Foundation**, which in 1994 awarded \$13.6 million in grants. The net assets of this major grant-maker exceeded \$115 million in 1994. The majority of the awards went to colleges and universities to support conservative programs and research. In 1992, the Heritage Foundation received \$537,500 and American Enterprise Institute received \$653,745 (Olin Foundation).

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- **Sarah Scaife Foundation**, whose net assets exceeded \$212 million in 1992. This foundation is a major funder of the Heritage Foundation, the recipient of the largest Scaife grant in 1992 — \$1 million (Wilcox 231). In 1994, Scaife funded the American Enterprise Institute (\$465,000), the Cato Institute (\$100,000), The American Spectator Educational Foundation (\$125,000), the National Association of Scholars (\$300,000), the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (\$300,000), and again, the Heritage Foundation (\$800,000) (Scaife Foundation 5-19).
- **Adolph Coors Foundation**, which awarded \$5.2 million in grants in 1993. The Coors family fortune was amassed through the Coors brewery company. Net assets exceed \$145 million (Wilcox 30). A 1973 grant of \$250,000 launched the Heritage Foundation.
- **Pearson Foundation**, a national clearinghouse for information about “Crisis Pregnancy Centers,” has been operating since 1979. Crisis Pregnancy centers are essentially fake abortion clinics, often opened in close proximity to legitimate abortion clinics, which prey on predominately young and/or low income women who come to the center for the advertised free pregnancy test. Subjecting young women to anti-abortion propaganda including videos, distorted pictures, and prayer, “Counselors” withhold pregnancy test results while trying to convince the client not to have an abortion. The founder of the Pearson Foundation, Bob Pearson, organized the first “Crisis Pregnancy Center” in Hawaii in 1967. Since that time, the Pearson Foundation, as well as the Christian Action Council, have opened more than 2,000 crisis pregnancy centers in the United States

(Clowes Ch. 47). The stated mission of the Pearson Foundation is also against contraception, and supports only natural family planning (Pearson Foundation).

The large conservative foundations share many projects, board members, and leadership. For instance, the Heritage Foundation, founded with the assistance of Coors, has boasted virtually the who’s who of the right-wing on its board of directors including:

- Richard Scaife, Chair of the Scaife Foundation; major contributor to conservative political candidates;
- Grover Coors, of the Coors Foundation;
- Hon. William Simon, President of the John M. Olin Foundation; former Secretary of Treasury under Richard Nixon;
- Thomas Rhodes, President of the *National Review*;
- Hon. Frank Shakespeare, former Ambassador to the Vatican (Heritage Foundation).

Additionally, these large foundations often share anti-choice, anti-gay and lesbian, and anti-multicultural views. As a result, they often fund the same programs, organizations, and initiatives. For example, the collaborative effort to propel the Promise Keepers (PK) into the national spotlight included resources from the following right-wing organizations and individuals:

- **Bill Bright’s *Campus Crusade for Christ***, which contributed at least 85 full-time staff to PK;
- **James Dobson’s *Focus on the Family***, which kept PK financially afloat in the early days and now publishes PK’s books;

- **Gary Bauer** who directs the ultra-conservative think tank the *Family Research Council*;
- **Pat Robertson** of the *Christian Coalition* and Televangelist who contributes extraordinary media coverage of PK through the Christian Broadcast Network's *700 Club*; and
- **Mark DeMoss** of the DeMoss family, who at one time served as PK's National Spokesperson and in the past acted as Jerry Falwell's spokesperson and served on the advisory board of Pat Buchanan's 1996 presidential campaign (Ross 8).

The right-wing movement in the United States is comprised of many different types of organizations, working with a variety of methods to achieve the same goals. While upon initial examination, these groups appear to operate completely independently without a common agenda, upon closer inspection, the groups can be seen as different pieces of the same conservative pie.

A Vast Array of Organizations

In the past 30 years since the *Roe v. Wade* decision, the anti-choice movement and the Right Wing have built a vast array of organizations through which they work to advance their agenda.

- Campus Groups and Programs
- Think Tanks/Public Education Organizations
- Legal Foundations/Centers
- Media Outlets
- "Apolitical" Political Groups
- Lobbying Groups/Educational Organizations
- Extremist Groups

Private right-wing family foundations like the ones mentioned earlier fund the first four of these types of organizations, Campus Groups and Programs, Think Tanks/Public Education Organizations, Legal Centers and Media Outlets.

Campus Groups and Programs

During and since the Reagan years, the Right Wing has poured resources into college campuses to increase support for their positions among young people. According to the Center for Campus Organizing, the Right Wing contributes approximately \$20 million annually to college campus programs. Other sources estimate the amount of money going to conservative campus organizations to be much higher. For example, there are 70 conservative student newspapers, "The Collegiate Network," now operating on campuses across the United States. Each of these newspapers has paid staff not funded by their respective institutions but from outside conservative sources.

Moreover, the staff size of some conservative campus organizations is staggering. *The Campus Crusade for Christ*, funded in part by the DeMoss Foundation, has a staff of some 14,200 internationally and built a world headquarters in Orlando, Florida, expected to employ some 1,000 additional staff. Currently the *Campus Crusade for Christ* has organized 650 units on college campuses in the United States and 470 groups abroad. Additionally, Phyllis Schlafly, a long time opponent of women's equality and abortion rights, directs the *Eagle Forum Collegians*, which has received funding from the Coors and Olin Foundations and exists on over 100 campuses nationwide.

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A number of new right-wing campus groups have begun to emerge in recent years. One such group is Feminists For Life (FFL), an anti-abortion and reproductive rights organization working to eliminate the right to safe, legal, and accessible abortion. Another right-wing group is the Independent Women's Forum (IWF), an ultra-conservative organization intended to be a counterpoint to feminist groups, providing a female face for the right-wing agenda. Also organizing against reproductive rights on campus are Collegians Activated to Liberate Life, the National Right to Life Committee, and the American Collegians for Life.

Right-wing individuals and foundations make monies available for university or college departments to endow fellowships, professorships, chairs, and academic programs and exercise considerable control over the subject matter and ideological angle of study at many of the nation's top colleges and universities (People for the American Way, *Buying a Movement*). Knowing your opposition means knowing your campus and the types of grants your university or college accepts. How many fellowships are endowed by and known as "Bradley Fellows?" The next time you attend a lecture series, pay close attention to its name, because it usually indicates who funded the program. If you are offered or are competing for a fellowship, ask questions about the funder for whom it is named.

One of the major foundations which funds lecture series, fellowships, and academic departments and programming is the Bradley Foundation. In 1995, of the grants paid by the Bradley Foundation, almost \$5 million or nearly one-fifth of their annual grants paid, went to universities and colleges, predominately in the U.S., but also to a handful in Canada and England (Bradley Foundation).

Think Tanks/Public Education Organizations

Another critical component of the right-wing effort to influence public policy is the funding of right-wing think tanks and public policy centers.

Human Life International (HLI) is a Catholic, international anti-abortion, anti-contraception, anti-lesbian and gay group founded by Father Paul Marx and led today by Rev. Thomas J. Euteneuer. Its mission is to propagate the Vatican's teaching on abortion and sexual ethics. Marx traveled extensively for years, opposing the liberalization of abortion laws and promoting natural family planning around the world (Human Life International). HLI opposes all forms of contraception, and all organized family planning programs and sex education because they promote the use of contraception. HLI does not recognize rapid population growth as a problem. In fact, it argues that the real problem is "underpopulation" and claims that the world's resources could support many times the amount of people living on the Earth today.

Founded by James Dobson, right-wing Christian psychologist and author, **Focus on the Family (FOF)** is an anti-choice, anti-gay rights, and pro-traditional, patriarchal family organization. Focus on the Family describes itself as "a non-profit Christian organization whose primary reason for existence is to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ. We accomplish this objective by helping to preserve traditional values and the institution of the family" (Focus on the Family, 1996 Annual Report). FOF supports different roles for women and men. "The husband is called to provide leadership and love, while the wife is called to follow the responsible leadership of the husband, nourishing, and loving the family" (FOF, *Who We Are*). Focus on the Family's radio

broadcasts reach between three and five million people in the United States, and a reported 4,000 stations internationally. FOF's annual income for 1996 was \$108 million and its staff is approximately 1,200. The organization also publishes ten monthly magazines reaching close to 3 million U.S. households (FOF, *1996 Annual Report* and *Who We Are*).

The Heritage Foundation, founded in 1973 with the help of brewery tycoon Joseph Coors of the Coors Family Foundation, is one of today's most influential right-wing think tanks. Between 1990 and 1992, the Heritage Foundation received commitments for funding from both the Bradley and Scaife Foundations totaling over three million dollars (PFAW, *Buying a Movement*, 6-7). The Heritage Foundation series "Mandate for Leadership" became a blueprint for the Reagan Administration and was influential in shaping Newt Gingrich's "Contract with America." In 1996, the Heritage Foundation reported an annual income of \$28.7 million.

The American Enterprise Institute (AEI), houses ultra-conservative speakers and authors who are awarded fellowships by right-wing foundations. Among its ranks are Charles Murray, a Bradley Fellow and author of *The Bell Curve*, which purports that intelligence is a factor of race and that African Americans are genetically inferior; Dinesh D'Souza, an Olin Fellow and author of two controversial books, *The End of Racism: Principles for a Multi-Racial Society*, which also argues the inferiority of African American culture, and *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*, which attacks affirmative action and the "politically correct" movement on campus (PFAW, *Buying a Movement*, 28). The AEI makes public relations and media a priority, ensuring the participation of its researchers and fellows on some of the nation's most prestigious television news and public

affairs programs, as well as lecture circuits, including college campuses.

Legal Foundations/Centers

The Right Wing also uses legal foundations and centers to advance an ultra-conservative, anti-abortion agenda through litigation.

The American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ), is a right-wing law firm committed to "preserving religious liberties and promoting pro-family and pro-life causes." Led by Chief Counsel, Jay Sekulow, the ACLJ has defended the anti-choice group Operation Rescue and litigates on issues ranging from prayer in school to abortion. The organization operates with an \$8 million budget (Wilcox 34).

The Rutherford Institute is a legal and educational organization that "has fought in court for religious liberty, family rights, and the sanctity of human life." The Rutherford Institute also produces radio shows, and prints periodicals and tapes (Wilcox 228). The Rutherford Institute assisted Paula Jones in her sexual harassment lawsuit against President Clinton.

Media Outlets/Advertising Groups

The importance of media exposure and access is not lost on the Right Wing. Since 1960, when **Pat Robertson**, founder of the **Christian Broadcast Network**, began building his media empire, the right-wing community has built a significant network of conservative outlets to spread their message. Through the acquisition of radio stations, cable television stations, newspapers, magazines, and the purchase of television, radio, and print advertising, the Right Wing has developed alternative

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conservative media which reaches millions of Americans daily.

One of the most recent attacks on choice through the media advertising is the “Life. What a Beautiful Choice.” television ad campaign. Funded by the **DeMoss Foundation**, this series of slick, professional commercials delivers the anti-abortion message to targeted audiences, especially young people.

Additionally, the anti-choice group **Feminists for Life** has launched an ad campaign targeting the young, progressive market on college campuses - the group that most strongly supports a woman’s right to choose abortion and identifies most strongly as feminist. This campaign, “Question Abortion,” illustrates the deceptive and costly marketing techniques employed by the Right Wing.

The Right Wing also uses its media outlets to further its conservative political objectives. For example, the *American Spectator*, a right-wing periodical funded in part by the Bradley, Coors, and Scaife Foundations, was instrumental in thrusting Paula Jones, the woman bringing charges of sexual harassment against President Clinton, into the national limelight. While in this case the *American Spectator* appeared to support sexual harassment laws, they ironically, during the Clarence Thomas hearings, lambasted Anita Hill and led efforts to discredit her testimony.

On campus, the right wing has developed alternative media. **The National Collegiate Network**, a program of the right-wing Intercollegiate Studies Institute (funded by the Olin, Bradley and Scaife Foundations), operates and funds over 70 campus newspapers nationwide (Foundation Grants Index 1997). These newspapers, characterized by scathing attacks on abortion, gay and lesbian issues, and multicultural curricula, boast a circulation of nearly two million at many of the na-

tions top colleges and universities. Typically, the name of the paper ends in “Review,” similar to the *National Review*, one of the nation’s leading right-wing magazines.

“Apolitical” Political Groups

The **Christian Coalition**, founded in 1989 by Pat Robertson, has exercised considerable influence in the political arena (Clarkson and Porteus 153), and its followers now dominate the Republican Party organizations in several states. Although prohibited by their tax status from actually endorsing candidates for political office, the Christian Coalition has made its mark on American politics through the widespread distribution of voter guides. These guides are distributed through churches (33 million were distributed in 1994) and by state “chapters” which number about 2,000 nationwide (PFAW, “Christian Coalition”). Boasting 1.7 million members, the Christian Coalition is committed to what it calls a “pro-family” agenda. The group is against abortion and gay rights (Christian Coalition).

National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) is an organization which serves as an “ecclesiastical body, linked to the Vatican, through which U.S. bishops act together” (Catholics for Free Choice 9). The NCCB sponsors the U.S. Catholic Conference (USCC) which is a civil corporation including members of the NCCB and other church members, totaling over 300 Catholic bishops. The NCCB/USCC has a national staff of about 400 people, including their headquarters in Washington, D.C. with a staff of 300. The NCCB has a variety of committees, including the Committee for Pro-Life Activities, which received \$1.86 million in 1994 (CFC 9). This committee only represents a small fraction of the several NCCB/USCC

entities that spend money on pro-life lobbying and organizing. In 1993, the NCCB/USCC had a total of close to \$13 million for spreading the anti-choice message (CFC 10). Their total budget for that same year was \$43 million. The NCCB/USCC opposes abortion under all circumstances and opposes all contraception. At a 1989 meeting, the bishops claimed abortion to be the number one human rights issue and asked Catholics to commit to the goal of “criminalizing abortion” (CFC 10). One of the most active anti-choice bishops, Austin Vaughan was quoted in 1993 as stating that people who take up arms against abortionists “cannot be condemned, nor are they guilty of murder” (CFC 10). The NCCB/USCC opposes national health care plans that include contraception and supplying free condoms even in prevention programs for AIDS (CFC 10).

Promise Keepers (PK), the male-only Christian-Right group founded in 1990, is an example of an ostensible apolitical religious group with a political agenda. The theology and the politics of the Promise Keepers are inherently interconnected. While PK rhetoric centers around the concept of “Christian values,” the underlying theme of the Promise Keepers is the recapturing of America for Jesus. A political agenda emerges in its leaders’ writings, rhetoric, and actions.

- Subjugation of women. The following quote is from Tony Evans, a leader in the PK movement:

“Sit down with your wife and say something like this, ‘Honey, I’ve made a terrible mistake. I’ve given you my role. I gave up leading this family and I’ve forced you to take my place. Now, I must reclaim that role.’ ...I’m not suggesting you ask for your role back, I’m urging you to take it back...There can be no compromise here. If

you’re going to lead, you must lead...Treat the lady gently and lovingly. But lead.”

(Bright et al 79-80)

- Anti-abortion rights. PK founder and leader **Bill McCartney**, at a anti-abortion rally for Operation Rescue declared abortion “the second civil war” (National Organization for Women).
- Anti-lesbian and gay rights. McCartney served on the board of the homophobic *Colorado for Family Values*, an organization which waged the Campaign for Amendment 2 — the Colorado anti-gay rights initiative (NOW).
- “Reconciliation” among races. The following are quotes from **Wellington Boone**, an African American leader in the PK movement and featured PK rally speaker:

“I want to boldly affirm Uncle Tom...he is a role model.”

“I believe that slavery, and the understanding of it when you see it God’s way, was redemptive”

(Boone 77)

The annual budget of PK, as estimated by the *Los Angeles Times*, was approximately \$115 million in 1996 (Stammer). In 1997, PK sponsored a national million-man rally that brought some 500,000 men to Washington, D.C. News accounts reported PK spent \$9 million on the event. In 1992, the National Organization for Women sponsored a pro-choice rally that brought some 750,000 supporters to Washington, D.C. NOW spent less than \$500,000 on the event. The PK event received massive pre-publicity nationwide and especially in Washington, D.C. during the two weeks prior to the event. The NOW pro-choice event received scant publicity in mainstream media prior to the event.

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Lobbying/Public Education Groups

A whole host of education and lobbying groups promote an anti-choice message. Listed below are just some of the leading groups and estimates of their size.

National Right To Life Committee (NRLC) is a nonprofit organization composed of several hundred chapters throughout the United States. The NRLC is lead by Wanda Franz and is the most influential and largest group of the anti-abortion movement with an estimated budget of \$13 million. The NRLC has a national staff of some 56 (excluding staff in state affiliates) with an affiliated political action committee and an educational trust fund. While the NRLC claims it does not oppose “non-lethal” contraception, the **International Right to Life Committee** is opposed to both abortion and contraception. Its founding president John Wilke for years led both the NRLC and the IRLC. The NRLC has no official position on government support of family planning programs, but has worked on amendments that have blocked Title X (e.g. they supported the “gag” rule on abortion).

The Family Research Council (FRC), founded in 1983, merged with James Dobson’s **Focus on the Family** as its Washington, D.C. public policy arm in 1988. FRC has been operating as an independent nonprofit organization since 1994. A conservative, public education lobbying group which opposes abortion and gay rights, the Family Research Council is headed by Tony Perkins, a board member of Caring to Love Ministries, one of Louisiana’s largest anti-choice crisis pregnancy centers.

American Life League (ALL) is an anti-abortion group, which is opposed to any exceptions in banning abortion and is opposed to contraception. Led by Judie Brown, ALL sponsors a bi-monthly magazine, “Celebrate Life!,” and Athletes for

Life. With its \$10 million budget (American Life League), and staff of some 50, ALL is headquartered in Stafford, VA and has a government relations office of five in Washington, D.C. ALL has been outspoken in its opposition to contraception of all kinds, as well as pornography and “homosexuality.” ALL also opposes federal funding of family planning services both in the U.S. and abroad. Citing promiscuity and undermining the role of parents, ALL is opposed to sex education programs.

Concerned Women for America (CWA) was founded in 1979 by Beverly LaHaye to visibly counter the National Organization for Women and to promote family values and a strong national defense. CWA is anti-abortion, anti-gay rights, anti-Equal Rights Amendment, and pro-traditional family values. LaHaye’s husband, Reverend Timothy LaHaye, was on the national board of Reverend Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority. CWA says it has approximately 600,000 members, but it counts as members anyone who signs any of the organization’s petitions or attended CWA events, rather than people who currently pay dues. By the CWA method of counting, NOW has millions of members and the Feminist Majority Foundation has well over a million.

Extremist Groups

Extremist groups advocate the use of force or intimidation or illegal activities to stop abortion. A few of the most notable anti-abortion extremist groups include:

Advocates for Life Ministries, based in Portland, OR, produces the magazine *Life Advocate*, which publishes articles written by some of the most vocal advocates of the use of lethal force to stop abortion. *Life Advocate* halted publication after the 1999 *Planned Parenthood v. ACLA* case, and can now only be accessed on the web at

<http://www.lifeadvocate.org>. It published convicted abortion clinic bomber Michael Bray's book, *A Time to Kill*, which is a theological argument for justifiable homicide or the use of lethal force to stop abortion.

Lambs of Christ, led by Father Norman Weslin, is a militant anti-abortion group that has blockaded and invaded clinics across the country for years. With over 60 arrests to its collective credit, Lambs of Christ adherents included James Kopp and Shelley Shannon, both who attempted or are convicted of murder of doctors.

Missionaries to the Pre-Born started as a branch of Operation Rescue and was renamed in 1990. It was founded by Matt Trehwella, who has been convicted of arson, disorderly conduct, and trespassing. Missionaries to the Pre-Born holds nationwide "Freedom Tours," anti-choice demonstrations in high-traffic areas using graphic visuals of fetuses. Missionaries to the Pre-Born also has ties to the militia movement.

American Coalition of Life Activists (ACLA) is a loose knit association of anti-abortion leadership that grew out of a political battle between those in the anti-abortion movement who supported the use of force and those who did not. Although the ACLA advocates nonviolence, many of its leadership have signed justifiable homicide petitions, supporting the use of lethal force to stop abortion. Additionally, the ACLA released a list of doctors called the "Deadly Dozen." Doctors who have appeared on this list have been stalked and threatened. In 2002, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals found that the Deadly Dozen Poster and other Wild West style "UN-Wanted" posters produced by the ACLA amounted to "true threats" and violations of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE).

Army of God is a clandestine violent organization. Their underground manual

is essentially a "how-to" book on abortion clinic violence. It details methods for blockading entrances, butyric acid attacks, arson, bomb making, and various other illegal activities. The following quote is an excerpt from the *Army of God Manual*:

THE DECLARATION (ARMY OF GOD MANUAL)

"We, the remnant of God fearing men and women of the United States of Amerika, do officially declare war on the entire childkilling industry. After praying, fasting and making continual supplication to God, for your pagan, heathen, infidel souls, we then peacefully, passively, presented our bodies in front of your death camps, begging you to stop the mass murdering of infants. Yet, you hardened your already blackened, jaded hearts. We quietly accepted the resulting imprisonment and suffering of our passive resistance. Yet you mocked God and continued the Holocaust.

No longer! All of the options have expired. Our Most Dread Sovereign Lord God requires that whosoever sheds man blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Not out of hatred of you, but out of love for the persons you exterminate, we are forced to take arms against you. Our life for yours- a simple equation. Dreadful. Sad. Reality, nonetheless. You shall not be tortured at our hands. Vengeance belongs to God only. However, execution is rarely gentle."

The Army of God entered the extremist scene in 1982 when three people claiming to be Army of God members kidnapped a doctor and his wife in Granite City, IL. (The couple was released after eight days.) Since that time they have claimed responsibility for numerous attacks on reproductive health care clinics and personnel. In 1997, they claimed credit for the January 16 bombings of the Northside Family Planning Services in Atlanta, and for the February 21, bombing of an Atlanta lesbian nightclub (Feminist

Majority Foundation et al). Most recently, the Army of God claimed credit for the first-ever fatal bombing of an abortion clinic. The blast at the Birmingham, Alabama clinic killed an off-duty police officer who provided security for the clinic and severely injured a clinic nurse. In 2003, a member of the Army of God, James Kopp, was convicted of the fatal shooting of Dr. Barnett Slepian, a New York OB-GYN and abortion provider. Kopp is the leading suspect in three other shooting attacks on abortion providers.

The **Genocide Awareness Project (GAP)** and **Justice for All (JFA)** are sponsored by the **Center for Bio-ethical Reform**. These groups visit college campuses and public areas to set up graphic, misogynistic, and hateful anti-abortion displays. Using pictures of victims of the Holocaust, lynching, and genocide in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, GAP and JFA exploit the visceral reactions of passersby, inciting hateful rhetoric and violence against women who have had abortions and against abortion providers.

Operation Rescue (OR), **Operation Rescue National**, and **Rescue America** are all a part of the so-called “Rescue” movement to stop abortion. Operation Rescue, founded by Randall Terry, publicly opposes the use of force to stop abortion. However, this “direct-action” organization has been

the lead organizer of clinic blockades nationwide. With the passage of FACE and massive pro-choice mobilization to counter Operation Rescue’s tactics, the days of large-scale blockades have ended. However, many extremists got their start in Operation Rescue – including James Kopp and Shelley Shannon, who shot and attempted to kill Dr. George Tiller. Since its founding in 1986, Operation Rescue has changed its name, the site of its headquarters, and leadership several times. Today its name is Operation Save America and its leader is Flip Benham. Rescue America, which also uses the direct action rescue approach, is located in several states, principally Texas, Florida, and Maryland. This “rescue” strategy has been effectively blocked by pro-choice escorts, volunteers, and new legislation to protect clinics.

Pro-Life Action League has been a leader in anti-abortion tactics, advocating a “direct action” response to the availability of abortion in the United States. The founder and executive director of the League is **Joseph Scheidler**, who outlined the strategies for direct action against abortion clinics in his book *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion*. Heavily influenced by the ideals of its leader, who has been quoted calling contraceptives “disgusting,” the league opposes all forms of birth control (CFFC).



Make Your Move!

Expose Fake Clinics

In an effort to stop women from choosing abortion, anti-choice zealots have established fake “clinics” all over the country. Through deceptive advertising offering “free pregnancy tests,” or reading, “Pregnant? Need Help?” these centers prey on young and low-income women. These anti-choice fake clinics seek out women who are afraid to talk to their parents, or cannot afford pregnancy tests. Although they claim otherwise, these centers are *not* pro-choice reproductive health clinics, and do *not* offer a full range of gynecological services for women. Instead, workers at the “clinics” intimidate and scare women who are considering abortion.

Some women who have gone to fake clinics report being asked to pray with a “counselor,” and forced to view disgusting images of mutilated fetuses. Furthermore, some women who have visited these anti-choice centers have been coerced by anti-choice workers into bringing their pregnancies to term. Workers sometimes falsely promise financial assistance and help finding adoptive parents to women who relinquish their right to have an abortion.

Your Leadership Alliance can help protect yourselves and others in your community by uncovering this anti-choice deception. The “Exposing Fake Clinics” action involves researching all of the clinics in your area, and determining which ones are fake. After identifying these fake clinics, your Leadership Alliance will help protect women in the area by conducting visibility campaigns against the anti-choice fake clinics.

PEOPLE POWER AND COMMITTEES

A small group of Leadership Alliance leaders (2-4) can chair this project. While this small group can carry out the investigative phone calls and visits, additional volunteers will be needed for the visibility and educational campaigns.

MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

- Access to a phone to make calls into suspected centers.
- Flyers and posters to pass out when conducting actions outside fake clinics.

TIMELINE

Allow at least two weeks to make investigative phone calls and visits to suspected fake clinics in your area. Visibility actions exposing the fake clinics, such as postering campaigns and pickets, can be planned one to two weeks in advance of the event.

BUDGET

Although this action requires an investment of time, the action itself is low cost. The only costs will come from making flyers and posters to pass out at demonstrations, advertising for visibility events, and reimbursements for phone calls and transportation.

PUBLICITY

Publicity is key when exposing fake clinics. The more people you are able to inform, the fewer will fall victim to radical right-wing anti-choice intimidation. Call the local press to do a story on your experiences exposing the fake clinics, and encourage them to cover your demonstrations. Get your school paper on the story also. Finally, inform other pro-

choice groups on campus and in the community, and make sure to alert your health and women's centers about your findings. See the appendices for further details on obtaining press and publicity.

HELPFUL HINTS

Help Identifying Fake Clinics

- Identifying which clinics in your area are disseminating anti-choice propaganda rather than providing safe abortions can be difficult if you don't know what to look for or how to go about it. Here are some suggestions:
 1. Call all of the clinics listed in your yellow pages, information, and in local and campus newspapers. Ask them questions about what services they provide. Also, call the National Abortion Federation (NAF) at 1-800-772-9100, or Planned Parenthood at 1-800-230-PLAN, for the listings of all suspect clinics. When on the phone with clinics, some indications that a clinic may be a "fake," include:
 - they promise a full range of reproductive health services, but won't tell you exactly what those services include.
 - they are listed in the yellow pages under "Abortion Alternatives," or "Emergency Pregnancy Centers."
 - they advertise free pregnancy tests and walk-in appointments.
 - workers are overly ambiguous on the phone and avoid answering straightforward questions.
 2. Send Leadership Alliance volunteers to make appointments at questionable clinics and collect "information" including the following
 - Who funds the clinic?
 - Where do the counselors come from?
 - Who provides the pregnancy tests?
 - Where does the clinic find its adoptive families?
 3. Help Getting the Word Out
 - After finding the fake clinics, conduct informational and visibility campaigns on campus to expose the clinics.
 - Flyer your campus and community with the names and addresses of these deceptive centers. Include the phone numbers of pro-choice organizations and clinics for people in need of abortion services.
 - Try to secure campus and local press to do a story on these centers, their deceptive advertising, and their coercive strategies.
 - Report your findings to your Campus Organizers, Planned Parenthood and the



Make Your Move!

National Abortion Federation (NAF), who track and record the locations of these centers.

- Conduct actions outside of a fake clinic. Some suggestions include demonstrating outside of a fake clinic, handing out flyers near the clinic, or organizing a pro-choice picket outside of the anti-choice center. Remember FMF's code of nonviolence and non-confrontation.

Fight Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan

When the extremist Taliban militia seized control in Afghanistan, they violently took away the most basic human rights of women and girls to education, work, healthcare, and freedom of movement. Afghan women lived under a brutal system of gender apartheid until November 2001.

With the Taliban's collapse and the establishment of the Afghan Interim Administration, women are slowly regaining their rights. Women have gone back to work. Schools reopened for girls. Women can go outside their homes alone. The first Ministry of Women's Affairs and Independent Human Rights Commission have been established.

But the gains are fragile, and opponents of women's rights still have substantial power in the country. Between September 2002 and September 2003, more than 20 girls' schools suffered violent attacks, including rocket fire, bombs, arson, and invasion by armed men. In the first 9 months of the new Afghan government, two government ministers were assassinated and attempts were made on the lives of other government officials. Women leaders who spoke out for women's rights have received death threats. Moreover, the amount of aid that has reached Afghanistan does not come close to the \$20-40 billion need to rebuild the war-torn country.

The United States and the international community pledged to rebuild Afghanistan and restore the rights of Afghan women. However, without resources and security, women's rights, peace, and democracy will remain unfinished work. The Feminist Majority Foundation's six-year Campaign to Stop Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan brought the Taliban's atrocities against women and girls to the attention of the world. We are now leading a nationwide campaign to expand international peacekeeping forces, to increase the representation of women in leadership positions in Afghanistan, and to increase reconstruction funding, particularly for the Ministry of Women's Affairs, the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission, and programs run by Afghan women-led non-governmental organizations to safeguard women's rights and to expand health, education, and other services for women and girls.

Your Leadership Alliance can act immediately by beginning an intensive petition campaign to support Afghan women and girls. Call your Campus Organizer or visit www.feminist.org to get a copy of the petition and learn more about how you can spread the word on your campus. By circulating the petition on your campus, you can be a part of our nationwide effort to restore the rights of Afghan women and girls.

PEOPLE POWER AND COMMITTEES

An effective petitioning campaign can be coordinated by two to four Leadership Alliance members, but many will need to volunteer to help with signature collection, visibility, and campus education.

MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

- The letter of petition, which you can get by calling your Campus Organizer
- Pens, clipboards, and numerous copies of the petition.
- Access to a fax machine on campus (or stamps) to send completed petitions to the addresses listed on it.
- Tables, chairs, and posters for high traffic areas on campus

TIMELINE

Be sure to call your Campus Organizers for the petition at least two weeks in advance. Planning and advertising for the event can also begin two weeks prior to the action.

BUDGET

The Leadership Alliance can carry out this action with little expense. Ask the women's center or global education/study abroad center to allow you to use their fax machine or postage for free.

PUBLICITY

By securing publicity for your action, you can greatly increase awareness on your campus, and the success of the petition. Refer to www.FeministCampus.org for help with publicity.

HELPFUL HINTS

- Set a goal and challenge your group to get a certain number of petitions signed. Alternatively, establish a time limit for the petition, and have people guess how many signatures the Leadership Alliance can get. Try to set a record for your school!
- Table high traffic areas to get signatures from students, and make sure the Leadership Alliance sign is very visible.
- Have fact sheets available at the table to help students to learn more about the issue before signing the petition.
- Announce your petition campaign in classrooms and distribute them for students and faculty to sign.
- Hold informational sessions for people interested in learning more about the Taliban and the Feminist Majority's response to this human rights abuse.
- Consider asking a knowledgeable professor to speak on the issue.
- Secure publicity for your campaign to help spread the word and garner more support.



Make Your Move!

- Coordinate with other campus groups who are already taking action on this issue and/or invite them to work in coalition with the Leadership Alliance on the petition drive.

Additional Actions

IDENTIFY ANTI-CHOICE GROUPS ON CAMPUS.

As this unit has demonstrated, it is important to know the opposition. Identify the anti-choice right wing on your campus. Which student and faculty groups align with the right wing? Learn as much as you can about their upcoming actions and anti-choice activities. Find out who funds their group. Attend general meetings, collect their information, and keep abreast of any anti-choice activities they plan for campus so that you can rally in opposition!

ORGANIZE A CAMPUS DEBATE ON REPRODUCTIVE CHOICE.

Challenge anti-choice groups on campus to a debate on the abortion issue. Choose a faculty facilitator who knows how to moderate debates fairly and effectively. Mobilize the pro-choice community to attend the debate and cheer you on.

INVESTIGATE ANTI-CHOICE WEB SITES.

The internet has become a major organizing tool for the radical right, and violent anti-choice movement. The URLs for these sites change frequently, so you may need to use a search engine to find them. Here are just a few to examine:

The Christian Gallery
www.christiangallery.com

Abortion Cams/Christian Gallery
www.abortioncams.com

Army of God/Pro-Life Virginia
www.armyofgod.com

Missionaries to the Pre-Born
www.missionariestopreborn.com

Operation Save America
www.operationsaveamerica.org

Nuremberg Files
www.xs4all.nl/~oracle/nuremberg/gate.html

American Life League
www.all.org

IDENTIFY ANTI-CHOICE GROUPS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

Are community based anti-choice groups funding campus right-wing, anti-choice activity? If so, who are the funders? Which groups do they fund? Do they organize clinic protests? If so, try to learn about upcoming blockades or protests, and please contact your Campus Organizer immediately.

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Unit 5

Reproductive Choices: Mobilize the Pro-Choice Majority

Support for abortion rights in the United States has been remarkably consistent over the past two decades. While there is substantial debate over the best methodology for measuring public opinion on abortion rights (Cook 1993; Blendon 1993; Adamek 1994), almost every survey – regardless of the questions asked – finds more people in favor of abortion rights than opposed.

Support for abortion rights is across the board, with the majority of women and men, Democrats and Republicans, and every age and racial group believing women should have the right to decide whether or not to terminate a pregnancy. The public also strongly condemns anti-abortion violence, and supports mifepristone (RU 486).

In all of the polls, the most significant changes in attitudes have followed U.S. Supreme Court decisions, high levels of pro-choice activity and visibility, and presidential politics. The greatest increases in support for abortion rights occurred after the U.S. Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* and *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* decisions. In the case of *Roe v. Wade*, the legalization of abortion in 1973 galvanized support for this right. The 1989 *Webster* decision opened the door to state abortion restrictions and demonstrated the fragility of the Supreme Court support for abortion rights. The decision mobilized feminist movement activities in support of abortion, consequently spurring a substantial increase in abortion rights support. In the face of direct threats to legal abortion, public opinion rallies behind the pro-choice position.

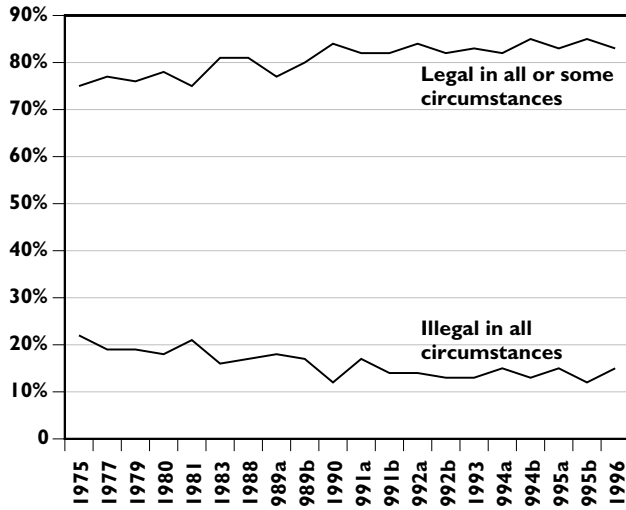
Support for Abortion Rights Over the Past 25 Years

Major polling organizations, including Gallup, Harris, and the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), have measured public opinion on the abortion issue for close to 25 years. **Gallup polls have shown continuity in support for legal abortion since 1975.** For the past thirty years, Gallup has asked respondents “Do you think abortions should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances.” When those who believe abortion should be legal in all circumstances are combined with those who support legal abortion in some circumstances, high public support for legal abortion becomes

clear. In 1975, 75% believed that abortion should be legal in all or certain circumstances; 76% expressed this opinion in 2002 (Chart 1).

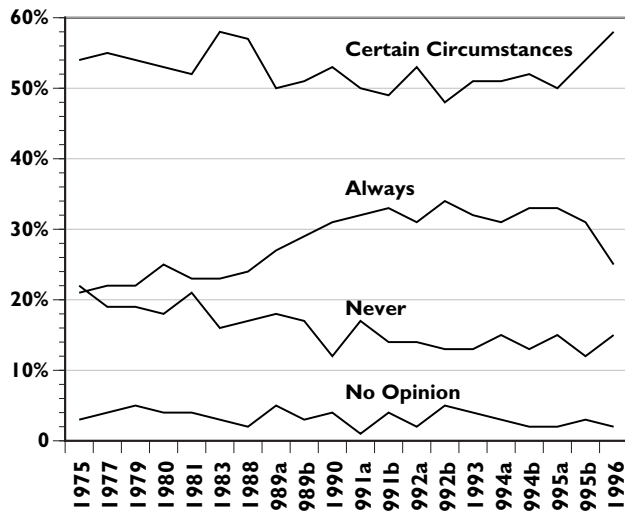
While support for legal abortion has remained very stable for the past two decades as seen above, some decline has occurred since the early 1990s. An increasingly larger proportion of the public believes that abortion should be legal only under certain circumstances. According to Gallup data, levels of support for abortion “under any circumstances” climbed from 21% in the first year of polling to a peak of 34% in June of 1992. Since 1992, decreases in support for legal abortion under all circumstances have been matched by increases in support for legal abortion under certain circumstances. This pattern

Chart 1 ■ Public Opinion on Legality of Abortion Stable For Two Decades.*



Source: Gallup, 1975-1978 (Moore 1975-1996).

Chart 2 ■ Large Portion of Public Believes Abortion Should Be Legal Only Under Certain Circumstances.*



Source: Gallup, 1975-1978 (Moore 1975-1996).

*Two years indicates two points of data collection taken in that year.

is revealed when the Gallup data are disaggregated into those who support legal abortion unequivocally and those whose support is conditional (Chart 2).

The percentage of the public that feels abortion should be “illegal in all circumstances” reached a high of 22% in 1975 and 2002 and a low of 12% in 1990, immediately after the *Webster* decision.

According to Gallup’s March 2002 polling, 27% support abortion under any circumstances, 53% under certain circumstances, and 19% believe abortion should be illegal in all circumstances (Saad 2002).

Several factors have contributed to this erosion in pro-choice support during the 1990s. Anti-abortion forces have waged expensive television advertising campaigns to undermine pro-choice support. The absence of a direct and visible threat to abortion rights combined with the apologetic presentation of the abortion issue by some abortion proponents have allowed the messages of the slick DeMoss “Life: What A Beautiful Choice” ads to go largely unchallenged. Pollsters estimate that in the areas in which the DeMoss ads have been shown regularly on television the pro-choice position has lost about 5% in the polls.

Unaware of the severe implications that restricting abortion access has on women’s lives and women’s health, the public tends to initially support abortion restrictions. A 1996 Gallup survey found that 74% of respondents supported 24-hour waiting periods, 74% favored parental consent, and 70% favored spousal notification, but only 38% favored a constitutional ban. With basic education, this initial support for restrictions can be shifted to opposition to measures which deny women abortion access. For example, in 1990, abortion rights advocates soundly defeated a parental consent measure on the Oregon ballot that initially had strong public support. In July of 1990, 62% to 25% supported the measure. However, once the public learned that similar abortion restrictions in other states had cost young women their lives,



support turned to opposition and the measure lost by a margin of 48% to 52%. Public support for abortion rights has been shown to be very responsive to education campaigns, U.S. Supreme Court decisions threatening abortion rights, and pro-choice mobilizations such as marches and rallies.

Polling results on the abortion issue also are affected by the wording of survey questions (Cook 1993; Blendon 1993). When the abortion issue is framed without equivocation, respondents are even more strongly supportive of abortion rights. A 2000 Hart and Teeter poll, conducted for NBC News and the Wall Street Journal, showed that 57% of the public felt that “the choice of abortion should be left up to the woman and her doctor.” The 2003 Survey on Women, Men and Feminism, conducted by the Peter Harris Research Group for the Feminist Majority Foundation/Ms. Magazine, found that 73% favored a “woman in this country having the choice to have an abortion with the advice of her doctor.” The 2002 Gallup poll found that between 59-69% of the public supported a women’s right to abortion when a medical doctor was involved with the decision making process. The poll also found that support for abortion rights exists across gender, racial, age, geographic, and ideological lines (see Chart 3).

Public support for abortion rights is also strongest when poll respondents are faced with the possible overturn of *Roe v. Wade* or a constitutional amendment that would ban abortion. The National Women’s Equality Poll revealed that 74% opposed “an amendment to the Constitution which would outlaw all abortions.” An October 2000 Gallup poll found that 67% of respondents would oppose a constitutional amendment overturning the *Roe v. Wade* decision and making abortion illegal

Chart 3 ■ Support for Abortion Rights Solid Across All Demographic Groups

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
Total	73%	24%	4%
East	77%	17%	6%
Midwest	71%	26%	4%
South	70%	26%	4%
West	75%	23%	2%
Women	72%	25%	3%
Men	74%	22%	4%
18-29	70%	28%	2%
30-49	73%	24%	3%
50-64	79%	18%	3%
65 or Older	70%	21%	9%
White	72%	23%	5%
Black	73%	24%	3%
Latino	73%	27%	—

Source: 2003 Survey on Women, Men and Feminism (Peter Harris Research Group)

in all states. Only 30% of those polled favored such an amendment. In March 2002, a Gallup poll showed that 60% of respondents said that they would not like “to see a Supreme Court completely overturn *Roe v. Wade*.”

In a 2000 Gallup poll respondents were asked if, given the opportunity, they would vote “for or against a constitutional amendment that would overturn the *Roe v. Wade* decision, and make abortion illegal in all state.” Only 30% of those polled favored such an amendment, while 67% opposed it.

Support for medical methods of abortion is also strong. The public strongly supports mifepristone, also known as RU 486, the French abortion pill, which is a safe and effective method of early abortion. According to the National Women’s Equality Poll, 66% of respondents favored “all women being given the choice to use RU 486.” Support for mifepristone was greatest among young people, as 71% of people ages 18-29 favored its availability. In an October 2000 Gallup poll, 50% favored the FDA’s September 2000 approval of RU-486 while 44% opposed it. An October 2000 Hart and Teeter poll found that 46% favored FDA approval and 38% were opposed.

Why the Public Supports Abortion Rights

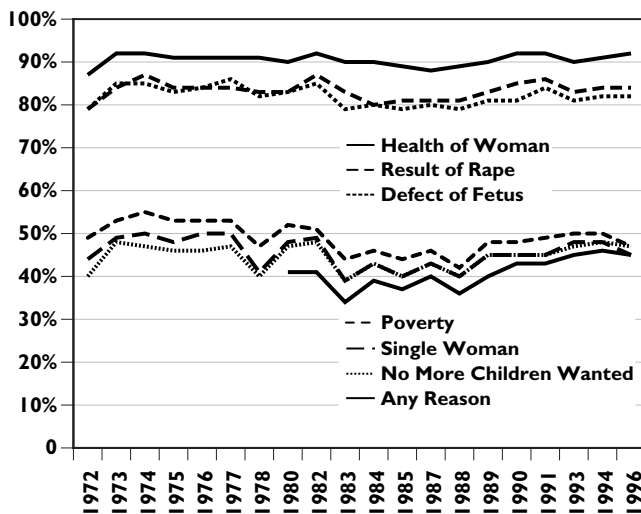
Polling data also makes clear which abortion rights arguments are most compelling to the public.

Since 1965, the National Opinion Research Center has asked a series of questions probing under what conditions should women be able to obtain an abortion. **Support for abortion rights is greatest if the woman’s own health is endangered, if the pregnancy is the result of rape, or if there is a strong chance of a serious defect in the baby** (see Chart 4).

Consistently, over 90% support abortion for these medical reasons – if a woman’s health is in jeopardy, with only slightly less supporting abortion rights in the case of rape or fetal defect. Since 1972, over forty percent support abortion rights for “social reasons” such as when a family cannot afford more children, when a woman is single, and when a woman does not want any more children. Only in 1977 did NORC add a question measuring support for a woman’s right to choose an abortion for any reason. This unconditional support for abortion rights has climbed to almost 45% over the years.

In addition to its firm support for abortion rights when a woman’s health is in jeopardy, **the public also fears a return to back alley abortions.** A 1985 Gallup poll showed that 88% of respondents believed that “if abortions were made illegal ... many women would break the law by getting illegal abortions,” and 87% said “many women would be physically harmed in abortions performed by unqualified people” (NOW LDEF 1987, 15). A 1991 Hickman-Brown Research poll found that 82% of respondents thought it either “very likely” (55%) or “somewhat likely” (27%) that the overturn of *Roe v. Wade* would result in the numbers of women who die from illegal abortions increasing. In 1990, Oregon parental notification and abortion ban ballot measures were soundly defeated by the *No on 8 and 10 Campaign* theme of “No Going Back to Back Alley Abortions.” This theme was highlighted by campaign adver-

Chart 4 ■ Support for Legal Abortion Based on Reason for Abortion. (Percentages are of respondents who replied that abortion should be legal under the condition specified. Those who replied that they did not know or who declined to participate are excluded from the data analysis.)



Source: National Opinion Research Center, 1972 - 1996.

Unit 5 ■ Reproductive Choices: Mobilize the Pro-Choice Majority

tising and events featuring Bill and Karen Bell, whose teenage daughter, Becky, died as a result of an illegal abortion which she was forced to seek because of Indiana's parental consent law. When the public is made aware of the tragic consequences of abortion restrictions, they overwhelmingly oppose limitations on abortion access.

Public Opposes Clinic Violence

The public is also outraged by clinic violence. Polling conducted in the midst of the mid-1980s wave of clinic bombings showed strong opposition to the use of violence in the abortion debate. A 1985 Harris survey found that 81% agree that "It is not the American way to resort to violence when you disagree with a national policy." Eighty-five percent of people in a 1985 ABC/*Washington Post* survey characterized anti-abortion bombings as criminal acts rather than acts of civil disobedience (NOW LDEF 1987, 19). And, 76% of those polled by CBS/*New York Times* believed that "There's absolutely no excuse for these bombings, they are the same thing as terrorism" (NOW LDEF 1987, 19). The 1991-1992 Women of Color Reproductive Health Poll found that 85% of African American women responded "no" when asked if they "think people have the right to stop women from entering abortion clinics?" (Winters Group 1991).

Again, with the murders, shootings, and bombings in the early 1990s, public opposition to clinic violence soared, as did support for legal intervention to end clinic violence. In 1993, after the murder of Dr. David Gunn, the public favored a federal law to make blocking or attacking a clinic a crime by a margin of 63% to 30% (Blendon 1993, 2873). The National Women's Equality Poll found that 94% of respondents disagree with the position that

the "use of violence, even murder, is justified to save the life of one unborn child." Seventy-six percent support the Justice Department sending marshals and taking other actions to protect physicians and clinic staff from anti-abortion violence. **Pollster Lou Harris (1995) argues that clinic violence has created a backlash against the anti-abortion movement in the American public, fueling support for abortion rights.** Young women in focus groups, conducted by MacWilliams Cosgrove (1997) for the Pro-choice Education Project, were angered by anti-abortion violence. These women feel vulnerable to anti-abortion attacks, according to MacWilliams Cosgrove.

The Gender Gap and Support for Abortion Rights

On the surface, polls show little difference between women and men in their support for abortion rights. However, gender gaps are revealed when differences in education, methodological nuances, and intensity of opinion are analyzed.

Women feel more intensely than men about the abortion issue (Smeal 1984). The May 2001 Gallup poll noted a gender gap among the strongest abortion supporters. Twenty-eight percent of women supported legal abortion under any circumstances, with only 23% of men holding this view (Saad 2002). This gender gap also is reflected in the priority women place on the abortion issue in choosing political candidates. In the 1995 National Women's Equality Poll, pro-choice women were more likely than pro-choice men to tie their vote to the abortion issue. Eighteen percent of pro-choice women would certainly vote against a candidate solely because of their abortion stand, compared with 13% of men.

An even more significant gender gap on the abortion issue appears when education is taken into account. **With each increase in educational attainment, women’s support for abortion rights increases, while men’s support for abortion rights remains fairly stable at all educational levels.** The 1996 Gallup data show that women who have completed four years of college have the highest level of support for abortion rights – 73% were pro-choice. Women who have attended some college but less than four years were pro-choice by a margin of 59%. Of women high school graduates, only 37% were pro-choice. Conversely, men’s attitudes on abortion remain stable regardless of educational attainment. Reporting on these data, Moore et al (1996) conclude, “The poll results suggest that while attendance at college has little influence on men’s attitudes about abortion, for women college experience is a major – even revolutionary – influence.”

In addition, methodological flaws in data collection may further hide the gender gap in opinion on abortion rights. Persistent “lie factors” create the illusion of support for abortion rights among male voters. **Polling data have documented that male respondents are more likely to state support for a women’s rights position when responding to female interviewers than when responding to male interviewers or when voting.**

For example, polls in Oregon during 1990 abortion ballot measure contests initially showed little difference between male and female attitudes on parental notification restrictions. In a July 1990 poll, 38% of female respondents and 35% of male respondents supported “a minor’s right to choose an abortion.” However, when the sex of the interviewer was taken into account, male support for abortion

rights diminished. In the July 1990 poll, 41% of male respondents told female interviewers that they favored a minor’s access to abortion, with 12% saying they were unsure and 46% indicating their opposition. Support among male respondents dropped to 29% when the question was posed to male respondents by male interviewers, with 24% not sure and 46% opposed. Similarly, the poll found that 35% of male voters told female interviewers that they would support a second measure that would ban most abortions. The percentage of male voters supporting this measure increased to 43% if a male asked the question.

Studies have found that responses to male interviewers more accurately reflect how male voters actually will vote in the voting booth. While females are less likely to state support for women’s rights issues to male interviewers, their “lie factor” is usually smaller and less likely to affect polling results because of the small number of male interviewers. Unfortunately, the lie factor cannot be analyzed in most polls because too few male interviewers are used and because data analyses correlating the sex of the interviewer with the sex of the respondent are generally not performed.

Women of color strongly support abortion rights. According to the 1991 Women of Color Reproductive Health Poll, 83% of African American woman, 81% of Asian women, 80% of Native American Women and 55% of Latina women agreed with the statement “The decision to have or not have an abortion is one that every woman must make for herself.” Other studies that control for religious variables have found that African American women are even more supportive of abortion rights than white women, but that African American men are less supportive than white men (Wilcox 1990).

Age and Support for Abortion Rights

Some disagreement exists over the level of support for abortion rights among young people. Some analysts have reported declines in support for abortion rights over the past few years. Data from focus groups conducted by MacWilliams Cosgrove (1997) suggest that young people today take abortion rights for granted, do not perceive a threat to abortion rights, and are concerned that too many in their age group engage in unprotected sex. Moreover, MacWilliams Cosgrove believe that anti-abortion violence has deterred young women from becoming pro-choice activists. However, other data show that trends in support for abortion among young people actually mirror support patterns among other age groups. Some data show that young people, particularly young women, are among the most dependable pro-choice allies.

Like other age groups, support for abortion rights among young people increased following the *Webster* decision and remained high in the early 1990s, declining some since 1995. Without strong media campaigns and grassroots visibility to counter anti-abortion efforts, pro-choice support among young people – as well as among other age groups – has appeared to decline. UCLA's annual survey of entering first year students confirms this trend. In 1977, 55.7% of first year students supported the statement that "abortion should be legal." Support climbed to 65.5% in 1989 in the wake of the *Webster* decision. Support declined to 50.9% in 1998. However, beginning in 1999, the UCLA survey shows steady increases in support for abortion rights. In 1999, 53.2% of first year students favored legal abortion, and, in 2000, 53.9% held this view. Abortion rights support grew to 53.9% in 2000 and to 55% in the 2001 survey (UCLA). Bush Adminis-

tration threats to legal abortion may be responsible for increases in abortion rights support among young people.

With education projects such as the *Choices* campaign, we can continue to raise support for abortion rights among young people to high levels. Prior pro-choice campaigns in which educational programs were directed at young people have made a difference.

In Oregon in 1990, a concerted campus campaign successfully educated and mobilized young voters to oppose anti-abortion ballot measures. The pro-choice campaign's strong and unequivocal "No Going Back to Back Alleys" campaign message was credited in large part with the defeat of the parental notification measure. **The campaign that defeated a Oregon parental notification ballot measure in the 1990 demonstrated that young people were in fact the most responsive age group to educational campaigns.** In July of 1990, polls showed that by a margin of 61% to 28%, respondents ages 18-25 supported the proposed parental notification measure. **A post-election poll documented a 43 point shift from support for the parental notification measure to opposition, with 18-25-year-olds opposed to the measure by 71%-29%.** As Chart 6 illustrates, movement to the pro-choice position on this ballot measure was most significant among young people.

In 1998, young voters were the strongest opponents of an abortion ban on the Washington State ballot. The ban was defeated by a margin of 57% to 43%. However, 64% of voters between the ages of 18-29 voted against the measure.

Many national polls show that the two age groups that demonstrate the strongest support for abortion rights in most polls are 18-29 year olds and 30-49 year olds. Conversely, older people – those over age 65 – favor legal abortion less

Chart 5 ■ Young People Turned Against Parental Notification Ballot Measure in 1990 Oregon Election.

Age	July 1990				November 1990			% Shift to No
	Yes	No	DK		Yes	No	DK	
18-25	61%	28%	11%		29%	71%	0%	43 points
26-35	62%	26%	12%		42%	56%	2%	30 points
36-45	56%	29%	15%		41%	58%	1%	29 points
46-55	68%	22%	10%		43%	55%	2%	33 points
56-65	56%	31%	13%		50%	50%	0%	19 points
Over 65	71%	18%	11%		50%	48%	2%	30 points

Source: Opinion Dynamics, July 1990 and November 1990.

strongly. A July 1996 Gallup Poll showed support for abortion rights was strongest among younger people, with 29% believing abortion should be legal under any circumstances, compared with 27% of 30-49, 26% of 50-64, and 17% of those age 65 and over. When those supporting abortion rights under any circumstances and those supporting abortion rights under certain circumstances are combined, 82% of 18-29, 86% of 30-49, 80% of 60-64, and 80% of those over age 65 support legal abortion.

On almost every abortion variable in the NORC data, those in the 30-49 age group consistently have the strongest abortion rights stands. Only on the rape variable – where respondents are asked whether they believe abortion should be legal if the woman has been raped – did support in the 18-29 age group exceed that of the 30-49 age group. Results from the Mac-Williams Cosgrove (1997) focus groups suggest that young women’s support for abortion rights and activism to preserve legal abortion increases when the

abortion issue is placed in a broader context of “choice” that includes safe sex, birth control and sex education. Moreover, in the 2003 Survey of Women, Men and Feminism, conducted by Peter Harris, 76% of women aged 18 to 29 strongly favored a woman’s right to an abortion with the advice of her doctor.

The Abortion Issue in the Voting Booth

In addition to enjoying a numerical advantage in the electorate, pro-choice voters are more likely to make abortion rights a priority in their voting decisions. Pollster Lou Harris pioneered the polling technique used to measure how important a candidate’s abortion position is to respondent voting decisions. In the National Women’s Equality Poll, for example, respondents were asked “if you found a candidate for president whose views you mostly agreed with [and] the same candidate took a position on a woman’s choice on abortion that you disagreed with com-



pletely, would you certainly not vote for that candidate, probably not vote for that candidate, or would you still vote for that candidate?”

Harris finds that abortion rights supporters are more likely than abortion opponents to choose candidates based on the abortion issue. In the 1995 National Women’s Equality Poll, Harris found that 17% of voters are certain that they would shift votes away from a candidate with whom they disagreed on the abortion issue. Over two-thirds of those who would condition their vote solely on a candidate’s abortion position are pro-choice.

A Gannett poll, conducted in July of 1996 by Opinion Research Corporation, found that 33% of voters rated abortion as a “very important” issue in candidate selection, with another 37% saying the issue is “somewhat important.” Again, a substantial gender gap appeared with 38% of women saying abortion was “very important,” compared with 29% of men.

Another way to examine public opinion on abortion is to look at state referenda and initiative votes on this issue. When voters actually have a chance to vote on abortion policy, they reject abortion restrictions. Votes on statewide abortion referenda and initiatives make clear fundamental support for abortion rights among the electorate. **Pro-choice forces have prevailed on 19 out of the 26 abortion-related initiatives or referenda that have appeared on state election ballots since 1970** (Jackman 1994, 2002). State electorates rejected 15 out of 18 restrictive anti-abortion measures (Chart 6).

Pre-*Roe* state referenda and initiatives were an early strategy to legalize

Chart 6 ■ Abortion Rights Groups Have Prevailed in 19 out of 26 State Abortion Ballot Measure Contests (Jackman 2002)

Year	State	Anti-Abortion Measures		Pro-Choice Measures	
		Vote For	Vote Against	Vote For	Vote Against
1970	WA			56%	44%
1972	ND			23%	77%
	MI			40%	60%
1978	OR	49%	51%		
1982	AK	41%	59%		
1984	WA	47%	53%		
	CO	50%	49%		
1986	OR	45%	55%		
	MA	42%	58%		
	RI	35%	65%		
	AR	49%	50%		
1988	AR	52%	48%		
	MI			43%	57%
	CO			40%	60%
1990	OR				
	#8	33%	67%		
	#10	48%	52%		
	NY			61%	49%
1991	WA			51%	49%
1992	AZ	31%	69%		
	MD			61%	39%
1994	WY	40%	60%		
1998	WA	43%	57%		
	CO	55%	45%		
	CO	49%	51%		
1999	ME	44%	56%		
2000	CO	39%	61%		

abortion. In 1970, Washington state voters legalized abortion for the first seventeen weeks of pregnancy by a referendum vote. But ballot measures that would have improved abortion access in North Dakota and Michigan were defeated in 1972 by large margins.

In the wake of U.S. Supreme Court decisions and Congressional votes eliminating federal funding for abortions, anti-abortion forces proposed a number of state ballot measures to end the use of state funds for abortion and to place additional restrictions on abortion access. Abortion rights lawsuits delayed some measures, and prevented many others from ever reaching the ballot. Of those measures actually put before voters, anti-abortion forces succeeded in directly eliminating abortion funding only in Colorado in 1984, and only by a margin of

1%. Ballot measures to cut off state funding were defeated in Oregon (1978 and 1986), Alaska (1982), Washington (1984), and Massachusetts (1986). In 1986, Rhode Island voters overwhelmingly defeated a proposed constitutional amendment that would have granted personhood to fetuses from fertilization to birth and prevented future use of state funds for abortion. By a narrow margin, Arkansas voters in 1986 rejected an amendment to the state constitution defining a fetus as a person from conception to birth and banning direct and indirect state funding for abortion; however, a similar measure that excluded public funding of birth control from the ban passed in Arkansas in 1988.

Emboldened by these victories over anti-abortion ballot measures and frightened by the continued erosion of federal

judicial protection for abortion rights, pro-choice activists turned to the ballot measure strategy in 1988 to restore state funding for abortion in Colorado and Michigan. In Colorado, abortion supporters attempted to amend their state constitution to restore abortion funding after their 1984 loss. In Michigan, abortion rights supporters proposed a ballot measure to restore state-funded abortions after legislation passed

Chart 7 ■ Public Favors Movements in Support of Women's Right to Abortion.

	All	Women	Men	Women 18-29	Women 30-49	Women 50-64	Women 65 & up
Women's Movement	69%	72%	67%	82%	72%	67%	63%
Movement to Strengthen Women's Rights	71%	76%	76%	83%	76%	75%	71%
The Feminist Movement	51%	57%	45%	68%	59%	52%	45%
The Pro-Choice Movement	58%	61%	55%	69%	64%	53%	53%
Anti-abortion Movement	38%	36%	39%	39%	38%	34%	32%
The Right to Life Movement	57%	55%	60%	54%	58%	48%	55%

Source: 1995 National Women's Equality Poll (Harris 1995).

ending funding except to save the life of the woman. However, both of these proactive measures failed by wide margins.

The 1989 *Webster* decision upholding a Missouri law that prohibited the use of public facilities for abortions and required physicians to perform fetal viability testing spurred ballot measures from both sides of the abortion debate. Ballot measures guaranteeing abortion rights were placed on the ballot in Nevada (1990), Washington State (1991), and Maryland (1992). Abortion rights advocates won all three campaigns. Post-*Webster* anti-abortion measures were placed on the ballot in Oregon in 1990 and Arizona in 1992. Voters in Oregon rejected both a parental notification measure and a ban that would have allowed abortions only to prevent the death of the mother and in cases of reported rape or incest. Abortion rights supporters in Arizona defeated a similar ban two years later.

Between 1994 and 2000, six more anti-abortion measures appeared on state ballots; five of the six were defeated. In Wyoming, a measure that would have banned almost all abortion and possibly some forms of birth control was defeated 60% to 40%. In Colorado and Washington State in 1998 and in Maine in 1999, abortion opponents proposed measures to ban late term abortion; voters in all three states rejected these measures. However, in Colorado, voters did approve a parental notification measure that also appeared on the state's 1998 ballot. But, in 2000, Colorado voters rejected a measure that would have instituted a 24-hour waiting period and other restrictions on abortion.

Women's Rights and Reproductive Rights

Support for abortion rights and women's rights go hand in hand, especially for young women. **The public in general and women in particular are more favorable toward movements to strengthen women's rights, including reproductive rights, than movements to restrict abortion rights.** The 1995 National Women's Equality Poll provides extensive data about public perception of both sides of the abortion issue. Of the respondents in the survey, 69% expressed very or mostly favorable feelings toward the "women's movement," 71% towards the "movement to strengthen women's rights," 51% towards "the feminist movement," and 58% towards the "pro-choice movement." In contrast, only 38% said they had very or mostly favorable feelings toward the "anti-abortion movement;" when the term "right to life movement" was used favorable ratings grew to 57% (Chart 8).

Women are more favorable toward everything involving feminism than men. And young women are the most favorable of all. Women between the ages of 18-29 have a more favorable opinion of the "women's movement," "movement to strengthen women's rights," "feminist movement," and "pro-choice movement" than any other age group and more favorable than their male peers. Women's rights were second only to AIDS as the issue about which young women were most concerned personally in the Harrison Hickman January 1998 poll. Forty-six percent of young women called women's rights their "very biggest concern."



Make Your Move!

Rock For Choice™ Concert

INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1991, L7 and the Feminist Majority Foundation organized the first Rock For Choice™ concert to rally the music industry in support of abortion rights and women's health clinics. The Los Angeles concert included sets with Nirvana, Hole, and Sister Double Happiness.

Rock For Choice™ concerts, now a national project of the Feminist Majority, have been hosted by grassroots organizers in dozens of cities across the U.S. and in Canada. All money raised at Rock for Choice™ concerts goes directly towards the Feminist Majority Foundation's National Clinic Access Project. Founded in 1991, the National Clinic Access Project provides clinics nationwide with security assessments, security guards, pro-bono legal assistance, video surveillance systems, and other assistance to protect clinics and clinic workers from anti-abortion extremists. Hosting a Rock for Choice™ concert is a great opportunity to raise money for an important cause, put on a great show, and get the pro-choice message out!

PEOPLE POWER AND COMMITTEES

To make this project more manageable, you must have at least 8 people to split into different committees. One committee can handle the finances; a second can coordinate the logistics; and the third can organize publicity. Other committees might include performers committee, press committee, and recruitment committee.

Financial Committee: This committee will make a budget, allocate funds to each of the other committees as needed, and negotiate all contracts with the bands and the venue.

Logistics Committee: This committee will choose a venue and the bands for the event. Members of this committee will secure all equipment, staff for the night of the event, and all programming details.

Publicity Committee: Publicity for this event is extremely important! Members of the Publicity Committee will design, reproduce, and distribute all flyers, posters, banners, and ads. Unlike some of the smaller actions, a Rock For Choice™ concert involves a considerable amount of off-campus publicity. This committee will also work closely with the band(s) in designing and distributing flyers, posters, and leaflets.

MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

You will need:

- Local pro-choice bands who can play a benefit show.
- Technical equipment (sound and lights) for the concert. Make sure to find out exactly what the band needs and has in terms of this equipment.
- A room/hall for 100-350 people, depending on the size of your expected audience.
- Literature on reproductive rights for an informational table (contact FMF for this).
- Flyers, posters, and banners for advertisements.
- Printed tickets and professional posters



- Materials from the FMF’s Los Angeles office, including merchandise and camera-ready art for flyers and posters.

TIMELINE

You will need at least two months to coordinate this action, as band and venue reservations must be coordinated well ahead of time. See the timeline chart that follows for further details broken down by committee.

BUDGET

A Rock For Choice™ show can require a substantial initial investment. Large concert spaces often require deposits upon reservation, and bands may require travel expenses. Other substantial costs will come from advertising, posters, and ticket printing. Remember, since this is a fund-raiser, you will make back your initial investment and donate the rest of the proceeds to FMF’s Clinic Access Project.

FINANCE AND LOGISTICS

First, pick a date!

9-10 weeks

- If organizing event on campus, secure space for event. If you are organizing the event off-campus, begin to investigate local clubs where you could hold the show. Always visit the venue before deciding to book it. Make sure to find an appropriately sized space for your expected crowd.
- Begin investigating and deciding on a band(s) for the show.

7-8 weeks

- Start investigating equipment needs. Ask the band(s) what they need. If working on campus, get in touch with your media center and explain your needs. Reserve the necessary equipment for the show, and hire technical help to set up and test it the evening of the show.
- Talk with other pro-choice groups on campus and invite them to co-sponsor the event.

5-6 weeks

- Start to identify potential volunteers and begin to recruit. You will need people to help with set up, clean up, selling merchandise, collecting tickets and money, and serving refreshments.
- Assign a stage manager as well as a light and sound manager. The stage manager should be

PUBLICITY

9-10 weeks

- Begin to plan your publicity strategy, including poster designs and tickets.

7-8 weeks

- Call the Feminist Majority Foundation’s LA office at (310) 556-2500. Tell them that your Leadership Alliance is hosting a Rock For Choice™ show. Ask them to mail you Rock For Choice™ merchandise to sell at the event. They can also provide camera-ready artwork for advertising!

- Order professional posters which include band logos and the Rock for Choice™ logo. Also order tickets.

5-6 weeks

- At this point, publicity should begin. Make eye-catching flyers noting the date, time, bands, and purpose for the event. Also include contact numbers for advance purchase tickets and more information.

- Put flyers up everywhere on campus and in the community, and continue to put new ones up each week.

3-4 weeks

- Write editorials for your school and local community paper about the event.

FINANCE AND LOGISTICS

responsible for getting the bands on stage, overseeing volunteer staff, and organizing pro-choice announcements between sets.

3-4 weeks

- Confirm with the bands and the venue. Make sure you confirm their time, date, and all of the details. Make specific meeting plans with the band. Give them directions, and have a back-up plan in case of an emergency.

2 weeks

- Train volunteers on their general tasks.
- Begin to sell advance tickets for the show (designate two people to keep records on tickets sold).

1 week

- Do a walk-through of the site with your volunteer staff. Have a rough schedule of events, and try to trouble-shoot. Make sure you have arranged for everything you will need.

- Double check equipment rental details.

2-3 days

- If you are planning on selling refreshments, purchase them.

The day of the concert!

- Meet with all volunteers two hours before the show. Give them a copy of the concert schedule, and make sure they understand their responsibilities. Do a brief run-through.
- Set up all tables for tickets, information, etc., and take away/add chairs. Help set up equipment. Make sure it is tested well in advance in case there are any glitches!

During the concert

- Coordinate announcements throughout the show on issues of clinic violence and the pro-choice message. Ask the bands to give a brief statement on choice during their set.

After the concert

- After figuring out the total amount you have raised, pay off all remaining bills. Always collect receipts.
- Send the proceeds and unused merchandise to the FM Los Angeles office.
- Make sure to take the time to de-brief your group on the show. What went well and what didn't?

PUBLICITY

- Secure a journalist to do an advance/cover story on the event.

2 weeks

- Increase the intensity of your publicity drive. Double your flyering efforts.
- Announce the show in classes, at Student Government meetings, and in the newspaper.
- Ask local radio stations to do a public service announcement for the show.

1 week

- Create a large banner to hang in a high traffic area advertising the event.
- Go out into the local community to restaurants, bars, coffeehouses, gyms, community centers, etc. and put up bright flyers and quality posters.
- Continue the public service radio announcements.

- Send a press statement to campus and community press (see appendices for the how-to).

2-3 days

- Keep visibility going strong! It should peak the day before or the day of the event.

The day of the concert!

- Last push for publicity! Do a chalk talk.
- Help with set-up; decorate the space with flyers and posters.
- Put a Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance banner on stage.

During the concert

- Use this concert as a way to get people interested in joining the Leadership Alliance. Get new recruits and announce your usual meeting times.

After the concert

- After you have done all of the clean-up, hold a thank-you party for the volunteer crew.
- Make sure to write thank-you notes to the bands and to others who donated time and resources to help with the event.
- Do a follow up story with your campus paper. Include some photos and the amount raised for the FMF Clinic Access Project.

PUBLICITY

The success of your Rock For Choice™ show depends on how well you get the word out. Publicity is vital in turning out a large crowd. Make sure to dedicate the time and resources necessary for a strong, extensive publicity drive. See the publicity appendix for details. Some additional ideas include:

- Contacting the music writers from your school and local press to cover the bands and the event in advance.
- Inquiring about free public service announcements with campus and local radio stations.
- Having some professional, high quality posters printed to advertise the event. Use the band's logo on these posters as well as the Feminist Majority Foundation name, and the Rock for Choice™ logo.
- Having the band suggest good places to advertise in the community for the event, as they know their audience best.

SOME HELPFUL HINTS

- When choosing a venue, it is better to underestimate than overestimate! Keep the following questions in mind: Can chairs be removed if turnout is lower than expected? Does the space have good acoustics? Is the site wheelchair accessible? Is there sufficient space for tabling and selling merchandise? Is the site easy to find, and well known?
- Have a photographer at the event, taking pictures for follow-up press.
- Have a well planned information table. Distribute information on the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance, as well as general information about the FME, the National Clinic Access Program, and reproductive rights. Display your Leadership Alliance banner and, as always, have a sign-in sheet for all who attend.
- Plan a strong opening for the show. Announce what Rock For Choice™ is, thank the bands for participating, and get the audience excited!
- Carefully choose your bands. If you need suggestions, contact local radio stations and clubs for ideas. Generally, these shows can include more than one band, and this will help broaden your audience. Since this is a benefit, the bands should play for free. Rock for Choice™ makes an effort to promote female musicians. Strive for gender and racial balance in your choice of bands.
- Have a verbal and written agreement with each band that indicates the date, time, length of play, and total fee.

Additional Actions

CELEBRATE ROE V. WADE!

During March, women's history month, students are encouraged to conduct actions highlighting the importance of *Roe v. Wade*, which legalized a woman's right to choose



Make Your Move!

abortion. Remember to make these actions highly visible. Here are some ideas for actions:

- Hold a candlelight celebration on campus. Arrange for local speakers (or faculty) to share stories about when abortion was illegal, the importance of choice, or their own experiences doing pro-choice work.
- Show a movie on abortion rights. Here are some suggestions:
 - **Jane: An Abortion Service** (available in most school libraries.)
 - **Abortion for Survival** (available from the Feminist Majority.)
 - **Abortion Denied** (available from the Feminist Majority.)
 - **When Abortion Was Illegal: Untold Stories** (available through Concentric Media at (415) 974-5881.)
 - **From Danger to Dignity: The Fight for Safe Abortion** (also available through Concentric Media at (415) 974-5881.)
 - **The Fragile Promise of Choice** (Concentric Media)
 - **If These Walls Could Talk** (available at most movie rental stores.)
- Flyer, table, and chalk the campus with the pro-choice message.
- Invite local abortion providers to be part of a pro-choice panel discussion. Include faculty members who have been involved with pro-choice activist work. For more details on how to organize a panel discussion, see the feminist career panel action component of Unit 9.
- Set up a large bulletin board or paper a wall in your student union for student pro-choice expression.

PRO-CHOICE POLLING ACTION

Poll your campus on the issue of choice. Is your campus pro-choice? By what percentage? Are faculty and administrators supportive of choice? What about the president of your college? Publicize results in the school newspaper.

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Unit 6

Reproductive Choices: Make the Global Connection

The number of women and adolescents worldwide lacking access to information about family planning and reproductive health services is probably in the hundreds of millions – much higher than official United Nations estimates. According to 1997 United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) estimates, this number is around 150 million women. Population Action International reports this number is more than 350 million women. In the year 2000, nearly 3.5 million deaths in the world stemmed from poor or nonexistent reproductive health services (UNFPA). In addition, the Alan Guttmacher Institute estimates that of 210 million pregnancies each year, at least 62-80 million are unintended and 46 million result in abortion. Out of 514,000 childbirth or pregnancy-related deaths each year, some 80,000 result from complications of unsafe, mostly illegal abortion (PAI, “A World of Difference” 2001). Some experts place the number of deaths due to botched illegal abortions much higher, at 200,000 per year.

Much of the data collected on family planning and reproductive health services in poor countries applies to married women and ignores adolescents and unmarried women. Many poor countries have inadequate health information reporting systems. Where abortion is illegal, the level of injury and death from unsafe abortion is often grossly underreported.

At the 1994 United Nations Conference on Population and Development, 179 countries agreed that \$17 billion per year would be required to provide universal comprehensive reproductive health care services for women around the world, including family planning. By the year 2015, \$22 billion per year would be required. Up to 2/3 of this money was expected to come from developing countries. While developing countries are providing most of their share of needed resources, support from international donors is less than half of the \$5.7 billion called for in 2000. In addition, the 1994 estimates only included modest resources needed for HIV/AIDS prevention, leaving a significant gap in funding for the treatment of people living with AIDS because of the rapidly advancing epidemic in developing countries (UNFPA, “State of the World Population” 2000).

This unit gives an overview of women’s access to contraception, safe and legal abortion, and a range of reproductive health services in different countries. The Action section provides suggestions on how you can help women around the world gain access to contraception, safe and legal abortion, and other reproductive health care services.

Women in Industrialized Countries Have High Access to Reproductive Health Services

Reproductive choice includes: the right of sexually active persons to choose with whom, when, and how often to engage in sexual activity; how many children to have, when to have them, and the freedom from

diseases associated with sexual activity as well as freedom from sexual violence. Generally, women in industrialized countries face the lowest risk from voluntary sexual activity and childbearing. In the richer countries of the world, women have:

- relatively high access to, and usage of, modern contraception

- a variety of contraceptive methods available
- the right to have an abortion.

ACCESSIBILITY AND USE OF CONTRACEPTION

An estimated 228 million women – 1 in 6 – who want to delay or cease childbearing do not have access to contraceptive methods (UNFPA, “Safe Motherhood” 2002). Most women in industrialized countries have access to and use a wide range of contraception. **Access to a range of contraceptive options is an important determinant of women’s use of contraception and, ultimately, to women’s exercise of reproductive choice.** A high percentage of women use contraception in industrialized countries. Germany, New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States rank among the highest of industrialized countries in the range of methods available to women.

Though contraceptive use is high in many industrialized countries, the available methods or access may be limited. In Japan, sex education in schools is minimal as is the choice of contraceptive methods. Until recently, oral contraceptives (“the pill”) were banned. They are now only permitted to be prescribed for therapeutic purposes, but in actuality are used as birth control. The law for “The Protection of Mothers’ Bodies” strictly regulates family planning workers who supply contraceptives. In Greece, injectable contraceptives such as Depo Provera are not available. Also, though sterilization is widely available in the richer countries, its access is limited in the Czech Republic, Finland, France and Italy. And, the IUD is no longer widely available in the United States. In Estonia, modern contraceptives are widely available, but use remains low as access to quality contraceptives is very expensive

(International Planned Parenthood Federation, “Country Profiles” 1999).

Furthermore, some industrialized countries have poor access to contraception. For example, Albania and Romania had extreme restrictions on access to contraception until the early 1990s. As a result, **women in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and Southern European countries such as Greece and Hungary have used abortion as their primary form of contraception.**

Suspicion toward modern methods of contraception, as well as lack of high-quality, low-cost contraceptives, contribute to persistently low rates of contraceptive use in the former Soviet Union and many Eastern European countries. In the 1970s and 1980s, negative Soviet government sentiment toward hormonal contraceptives such as the Pill made women suspicious of this and other modern contraceptives. To this day, some women in the former Soviet Union feel that abortion is preferable to modern contraception. A survey of contraceptive use found that only 22 percent of women ages 15-49 in the Russian Federation used contraception on a regular basis (United Nations, “Abortion Policies” 56). Because of the Japanese government’s restrictions concerning the pill, many Japanese women are skeptical about its safety (International Planned Parenthood Federation, “Country Profiles” 1999).

Access to contraception is not enough; education is necessary as well. Unfortunately, the United States lags far behind other countries in sex education, and its teen pregnancy rates illustrate the cost of this gap. In France, where national campaigns promote contraceptive use – including among teenagers – abortion rates among adolescents are only 10.2 per 1000 compared to 29.2 in the U.S.; adolescent pregnancy rates in France are 20.2 per

1000 compared to 83.6 in the U.S. (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 2001).

FEW INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRY GOVERNMENTS SUBSIDIZE CONTRACEPTIVE COSTS

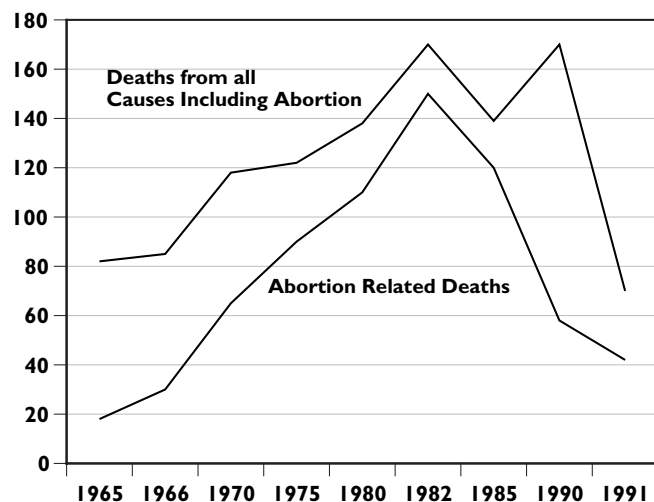
Some industrialized country governments partially subsidize contraceptives. Until recently, Sweden (Persson et al 12) and the Netherlands (Doppenberg 8) subsidized oral contraceptives. For Czech women, oral contraceptives manufactured in the Czech Republic are completely reimbursed by health insurance, as is IUD insertion. Imported oral contraceptives are only partially covered, and imported IUDs must be purchased by the woman from a pharmacy and are not covered at all by insurance (Uzel et al). In Bulgaria, most contraceptives are imported and in irregular supply, and therefore expensive; abortion is free for teenagers, students and poor women. As a result, Bulgarian women often choose abortion over modern contraceptives (Chernev et al 13). The French national health insurance system reimburses women for certain contraceptives and not others. The cheapest brands of oral contraceptives are reimbursed; IUDs and diaphragms are partially reimbursed, and condoms and spermicides are not reimbursed (Coulet 15).

SAFE AND LEGAL ABORTION SAVES LIVES

Study after study has shown that providing safe abortion is a key factor in reducing maternal mortality (Cohen 4). Thirteen percent of maternal deaths can be attributed to unsafe abortions coupled with lack of skilled follow up (UNFPA, "State of the World Population" 1997). Abortion is legal and available in most industrialized countries (See Chart 2). This, combined with the fact that contraception and gynecological services are accessible, contributes to the much lower maternal mortality rates compared to

countries where abortion is restricted. A few industrialized countries still restrict a woman's right to abortion. In Turkey, abortion upon request is legal in the first ten weeks. Turkey is the only European

Chart 1 ■ Maternal Mortality in Romania 1965-1991
Deaths per 100,000 live births



Source: Adapted from Stephenson et. al. using Romanian Ministry of Health data in *The 1993 World Development Report: Investing in Health*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1993.

country where married women must obtain their husband's consent to have an abortion (Unalan et al 33). Poland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, and Israel still have considerable restrictions on abortion (International Planned Parenthood Federation, "Choices" 2000). In Germany, a woman must undergo counseling provided by the Catholic church before having an abortion (International Planned Parenthood Federation, "Choices" 2000).

Countries that greatly restrict abortion and contraception have high numbers of maternal deaths. In 1966, the government of Romania banned abortion and contraception. By 1989 Romania's maternal

mortality rate was ten times that of most other European countries. On average, Romanian women had undergone five illegal abortions by age 40 (UN, “Abortion Policies” 52). When a new Romanian government legalized abortion and contraception in 1990, the percentage of maternal deaths from unsafe abortion

went from 90% to 60% within that year (World Bank 86).

Strong restrictions on abortion and contraception in Albania until 1991 translated into over 50% of maternal deaths due to self-induced abortions. Within one year of liberalizing the law, the number of deaths from illegal abortions in Albania

dropped from 3,130 to about 300. Though abortion is now legal in Albania, contraception is still scarce or too costly, and therefore only used by 10% of women (Population Action International, “A World of Difference” 2001). Most women use abortion as their primary method of family planning (Sahatchi 20).

Parental consent laws exist in much of Europe but the age limit varies: Austria (14); Czech Republic, Greece, Norway (16); Denmark, Italy, Moldova, Norway, Romania, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey (18). Only Denmark, Italy and Norway offer minors a bypass procedure through a court or hospital (International Planned Parenthood Federation, “Choices” 2000).

The costs of obtaining abortions vary in the industrialized world. Though countries such as Netherlands (Ketting) and Turkey (Unalan et al 35) offer free and low-cost abortions, women in most of the industrialized world pay the partial or full cost of the abortion.

In countries where abortions were once provided free through a national health

Chart 2 ■ Contraceptive Use, Abortion Policies and Maternal Deaths in Industrialized Countries

Country	Women Receiving Prenatal Care	Percentage of Women Using Contraceptives	Abortion Policy	Maternal Deaths per 100,000 Births
Italy	100%	91%	Available on request	12
Denmark	100%	78%	Available on request	9
Norway	99%	74%	Available on request	6
Sweden	100%	78%	Available on request	7
Belgium	90%	79%	Available on request	10
Netherlands	95%	79%	Available on request	12
France	99%	75%	Available on request	15
Australia	100%	76%	Permitted on broad social & health grounds	9
Singapore	100%	74%	Available on request	10
Canada	100%	75%	Available on request	6
Finland	100%	78%	Permitted on broad social & health grounds	11
Austria	100%	51%	Available on request	10
United Kingdom	99%	82%	Permitted on broad social & health grounds	9
Japan	99%	59%	Permitted on broad social & health grounds	18
Singapore	100%	74%	Available on request	10
Hong Kong	N/A	86%	Permitted on limited health grounds	4
United States	96%	76%	Available on request	12
Spain	96%	80%	Permitted on limited health grounds	7
Germany	98%	75%	Available on request	22
Switzerland	99%	71%	Permitted on limited health grounds	6
Portugal	95%	66%	Permitted on limited health grounds	15

Source: *Reproductive Risk: A World-wide Assessment of Women's Maternal and Reproductive Health*, Washington, DC: Population Action International, 1995.



system, women are increasingly footing the bill for abortion as health systems become privatized (Ketting 5). In the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, where abortion was once provided free of charge, women have had to pay part of the costs since 1994 for abortions performed on nonmedical grounds. In the Czech Republic, abortions that were once provided free during the first eight weeks of pregnancy now cost K1,200 to K2,800 (the average monthly salary is K5,700). In Estonia, money collected from women having abortions goes to making contraception accessible to specific groups of women (Karro et al 14-16).

Countries such as Austria and Lithuania only cover abortion for medical reasons; Bulgaria only after sexual assault; and Israel only when the woman is a minor (International Planned Parenthood Federation, "Choices" 2000).

Refusal by medical personnel to provide abortions also creates financial barriers for women. Though abortion in the first trimester is legal in Austria, many clinics and hospitals refuse to perform them, so most women are forced to seek abortions from private practitioners. Austrian women pay the equivalent of 29% of their monthly salary for abortions, which are not covered by the National Health Service (Pracht 10).

The French Ministry of Health sets the prices of abortions at \$170-\$230 plus any required medical tests and reimburses 80% of the cost. Unfortunately, many women, particularly in large cities,

have difficulty finding clinics or hospitals that charge these low rates. Therefore they must turn to private organizations such as the Movement Francais pour le Planning Familial which offer abortion services and contraceptives at the government rates and free of charge to women under 18 (Coulet 15).

Where abortion is restricted, the costs of the procedure escalate. A woman from Northern Ireland spends \$900-\$1200 to travel to England to procure an abortion, making abortion financially inaccessible to many (Simpson 7). **And though legalizing abortion is an important step toward**

Chart 3 ■ Contraceptive Use, Abortion Policies and Maternal Deaths in Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Republics

Country	Percentage of Women Using Contraception	Abortion Policy	Maternal Deaths per 100,000 Births
Czech Republic	45% (1990-1996)	Available on Request	15 (1990-1996)
Slovakia	67% (1995)	Available on Request	10 (1995)
Bulgaria	8% (1990-1996)	Available on Request	27 (1990-1996)
Hungary	64% (1990-1996)	Permitted on broad social & health grounds	30 (1990-1996)
Poland	26% (1990-1996)	To save the life of the woman, preserve physical health, fetal impairment and in cases of rape and incest	19 (1990)
Slovenia	66% (1990)	Available on Request	13 (1990-1996)
Romania	57% (1990-1996)	Available on Request	83 (1990)
Russian Federation	22% (1994)	Available on Request	51 (1994)
Republic of Moldova	16% (1994)	Available on Request	44 (1994)
Tajikistan	15% (1994)	Available on Request	120 (1994)
Turkmenistan	12% (1994)	Available on Request	134 (1994)
Kazakhstan	22% (1994)	Available on Request	67 (1994)

Data obtained from: *The State of World Population 1997*, New York, NY: United Nations Population Fund, 1997; *UNICEF State of the World's Children, 1997*, New York, NY: UNICEF, 1997; *Abortion Policies: A Global Review Volume III, 1995*, New York, NY: United Nations, 1995; *Reproductive Risk: A World-wide Assessment of Women's Maternal and Reproductive Health*, Washington, DC, Population Action International, 1995.

Chart 4 ■ Chance of a Woman Dying from Complications of Pregnancy, Childbirth or Unsafe Abortion During Her Lifetime

Country	Likelihood of Dying
Italy	1 in 17,361
Norway	1 in 15,432
Australia	1 in 8,772
United States	1 in 5,669
Poland	1 in 3,608
Cuba	1 in 1,286
China	1 in 439
Zimbabwe	1 in 217
Mexico	1 in 131
India	1 in 59
Kenya	1 in 31
Mali	1 in 7

Source: Population Action International, *Reproductive Risk Report Card*, 1995.

getting women access to abortion, physical and financial access are critical to ensuring that women obtain abortions under safe and sanitary conditions. For example, in Belgium, where abortion was legalized only in 1990, some women still travel to the Netherlands because the closest clinic is there or because their doctor is unwilling to carry out the procedure (Vrancken 23).

Between 1985 and today, several industrialized countries have liberalized their abortion policies including: Taiwan (1985), Greece (1986), Canada (1988), Malaysia (1989), Belgium (1990), Romania (1990), Albania (1991), Hungary (1992), and Nepal (2002). In addition, the past 5 years have seen a few developing countries legalize abortion for limited health reasons (PAI, "A World of Difference" 2001). Meanwhile

attempts have been made to restrict legal abortion in countries with previously liberal policies, such as the Czech Republic, El Salvador, Poland, and the United States. (Henshaw, "Factors Hindering Access" 5).

WOMEN IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE FEW REPRODUCTIVE CHOICES

For women in the poor countries, low access to reproductive health services is the

Chart 5 ■ Women's Unmet Need for Contraception in Selected Developing Countries*

Country	Number of Married Women with Unmet Need for Contraception
ASIA	
India (1992)	31.0 million
Pakistan (1990-1991)	5.7 million
Bangladesh (1994)	4.4 million
Phillipines (1993)	2.5 million
AFRICA	
Kenya	1.1 million
Tanzania	1.06 million
Nigeria	3.9 million
NORTH AFRICA/MIDDLE EAST	
Egypt	1.8 million
Turkey	1.0 million
LATIN AMERICA	
Brazil (1986)	3.0 million
Mexico (1987)	3.1 million

Source: "Meeting Unmet Need: New Strategies." *Population Reports Series J*, No. 43, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, Population Information program, 1996.

*In many developing countries, researchers are restricted to collecting data on contraceptive use by married women because of government policies or cultural conservatism.

norm and a high risk of illness and death from pregnancy and childbearing is a fact of life. One in every 16 African women will die from a pregnancy-related cause. A woman in Mali, West Africa, has a 1 in 7 chance of dying in childbirth compared to a woman in the United States whose probability is 1 in 5,669. In Zaire, Angola and Somalia, for example, less than 10 percent of women use any method of contraception. Abortion is illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life, and more than one-fifth of 15-19 year olds give birth each year. Moreover, women have an average of six to seven children, and a woman has a greater than 1 in 20 lifetime chance of dying in childbirth. Additionally, 10-21% of women in poor countries are infertile in large part due to the high rate of untreated sexually transmitted infections (STIs) in these populations (Population Action International, "Contraceptive Choice").

THE UNMET NEED FOR CONTRACEPTIVES IS LARGE IN POOR COUNTRIES

In developing countries, hundreds of millions of women have an unmet need for contraception, which means they would like to be using contraception, but for some reason, are not. Family planning programs established in the last 35 years have helped women access contraceptives, and have increased contraceptive use ten-fold, from less than 10% to more than half among women in some poor countries, who now have half as many children. Many of these programs offer contraceptives free or subsidized. Still, lack of information and physical access to services, limited contraceptive choices, resistance from male sexual partners, fear of contraceptive side effects, and poor quality of care at family planning clinics, have deterred women from ultimately using contraceptives (Population Action International, "A World of Difference" 2001).

Additionally, conservative attitudes have meant that **most family planning services have been made available only to married women**, leaving unmarried women and adolescents largely ignored (Johns Hopkins University, "Meeting Unmet Need" 5). And countries restrict contraceptive access in other ways. Fourteen countries require spousal consent for impermanent methods of contraception and 60 countries require spousal authorization for sterilization. Fifty-six countries restrict sterilization based on age and 50 countries restrict sterilization in families below a specific size (UNFPA, "The State of the World Population" 34).

While responsibility for family planning continues to be thrust upon women, their low status prevents them from exercising reproductive choice. Women often cannot ask their partners to use condoms. Since most women in poor countries do not have access to antibiotics and modern health care facilities, STIs are the second highest burden of disease for these women of reproductive age (15-44) after maternal mortality and morbidity (illness) (UNFPA, "The State of the World Population" 20).

Women worldwide are biologically more susceptible to contracting STIs than are men because women's genital tissues are more sensitive. Seventeen to 40 percent of gynecological admissions to hospitals are due to pelvic inflammatory disease (PID). Two hundred-fifty thousand new cases of cervical cancer are diagnosed worldwide each year, and are caused by human papillomavirus (HPV), a sexually transmitted virus. Women constitute 19.2 million of the 42 million HIV-infected adults worldwide, the majority of whom live in poor countries (World Health Organization, 2002). According to Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, women make up 58% of those living with HIV in Africa. Today, AIDS has a woman's face.

Chart 6 ■ Reproductive Health Data for Selected Developing Countries

Country	Percent of Women Using Contraception	Abortion Policy	Number of Maternal Deaths per 100,000	Average Births per Woman
Zaire	8%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	800	6.7
Angola	2%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	650	6.6
Somalia	5%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	1100	7.0
Mali	5%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	1750	7.1
Tanzania	10%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	342	6.3
Kenya	33%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	500	5.4
Nigeria	6%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	800	6.5
South Africa	50%	Permitted on limited health grounds	84	3.8
Haiti	10%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	500	5.8
Cuba	70%	Available on request	36	1.8
Argentina	66%	Permitted on limited health grounds	140	2.9
Nicaragua	49%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	300	4.6
Honduras	47%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	221	5.2
Venezuela	49%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	200	3.6
India	41%	Permitted on broad social & health grounds	420	3.4
China	83%	Available on request	95	2.0
Pakistan	12%	Permitted on limited health grounds	600	6.1
Bangladesh	40%	Permitted on broad social & health grounds	640	4.4
Afghanistan	2%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	640	6.9
Jordan	40%	Permitted on limited health grounds	40	5.6
Lebanon	55%	Illegal or permitted only to save a woman's life	128	2.9
Israel	65%	Permitted on limited health grounds	3	2.9
Iraq	14%	Permitted on limited health grounds	117	5.7

Source: *Reproductive Risk: A Worldwide Assessment of Sexual and Reproductive Health*, Washington, DC: Population Action International, 1997.

MOST DEATHS FROM UNSAFE ABORTION OCCUR IN POOR COUNTRIES

When pregnancy results from contraceptive failure or not using contraception, safe abortion is largely unavailable as a backup method. In Africa, one in every 150 abortions leads to death while only 1 in every 85,000 abortions does so in the developed world. An estimated 36 million abortions take place in the developing world. Twenty million of these abortions are carried out in illegal and unsafe conditions, dramatically increasing the risk of infection, illness or death (PAI, “A World of Difference” 2001). **Abortion is illegal in most poor countries.** Of the estimated 80,000 deaths from unsafe illegal abortions worldwide, over three-fourths occur in developing countries. However, experts agree that this figure is a great underestimate (Johns Hopkins University, “Saving Women’s Lives” 1). Studies of women treated in hospitals for abortion complications in Nigeria and Bolivia show that only 7-10% of these women had ever used contraception, though 45-77% would have preferred to (UNFPA, “The State of the World Population” 23). Some poor countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa have recently liberalized their abortion laws (IPPF, “Country Profiles” 1999).

Unit 6 ■ Reproductive Choices: Make the Global Connection

For women to exercise reproductive choice, legalizing abortion alone is insufficient – abortion services must also be physically accessible and affordable. Even in countries such as India and Bangladesh, where abortion is legal, there are a high number of illegal, unsafe abortions because many women live too far from abortion services or cannot afford the cost (World Bank 93).

NATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS SHOW MIXED RESULTS

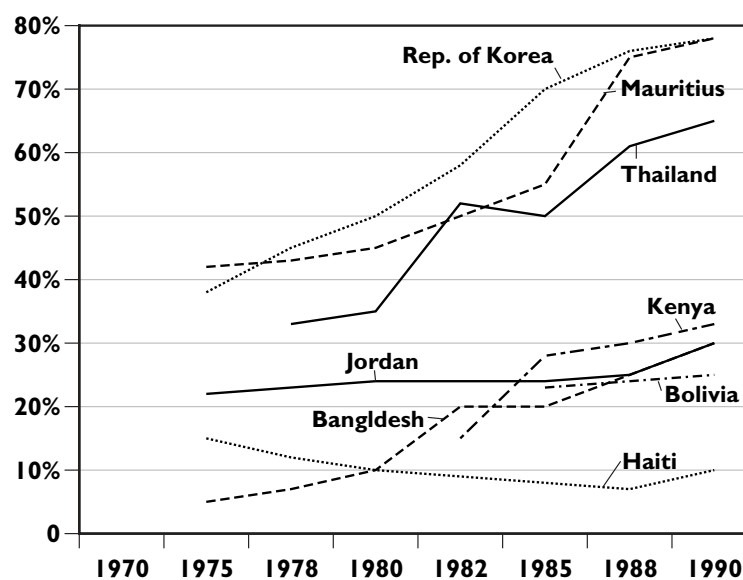
Strong political leadership coupled with adequate access to family planning services, including an array of contraceptive choices and access to safe abortion have led to higher contraceptive use, lower birth rates, and improved reproductive health for women in Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. Countries such as India (Conly and Camp, “India’s Family Planning Challenge” 28) and Pakistan (Conly and Rosen, “Pakistan’s Population Program” 10-11) that used heavy-handed, coercive approaches to increasing women’s use of contraception, paid a large price in terms of women’s health and confidence in public policy. Financial incentives and punitive measures used to enforce China’s 1979 one-child population policy have long been criticized (Conly and Camp, “China’s Family Planning” 25-26). The family planning programs in India, Pakistan and China described above were primarily concerned with reducing population growth rates, rather than promoting health and

reproductive choice for women. Only since the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development have family planning programs been designed with women’s rights and the exercise of reproductive choice in mind, an approach that will perhaps herald more success stories from poor countries in the future.

FUNDING FOR FAMILY PLANNING AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH FOR DEVELOPING NATIONS HAS INCREASED, BUT STILL FALLS FAR SHORT OF NEED

Although developing countries pay for at least two-thirds of their own family planning costs, they greatly benefit from outside funding from richer countries, multilateral organizations (such as the World Bank) and foundations to carry out programs that increase women’s access to contraception and reproductive health. This type of family planning assistance over the last 30 years has increased use of

Chart 7 ■ Percentage of Women Using Modern Contraceptives in Selected Countries



Source: The World Development Report, 1993.

modern contraceptives in developing countries from 10% to 50% (World Bank).

At the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), women's human rights were put at the center of population programs, and over 180 nations agreed that \$17 billion was required annually to provide contraceptives and comprehensive reproductive health care for women and men worldwide. Two-thirds of the money, or \$11.3 billion, would come from developing countries and one-third (\$5.7 billion) would come from donor countries (UN, "International Conference").

In 1995, several industrialized donor countries, including Australia, Denmark, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, increased their funding for population programs. A total of \$2 billion was raised – \$3.7 billion short of the \$5.7 billion goal. And since 1995, the trend has been for donors to decrease their contributions (UNFPA, "Coming Up Short" 2).

Conservatives in U.S. Congress Limit Population Assistance

The United States government contributes to funding family planning services in developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Newly Independent States (of the former Soviet Bloc) through the United States Agency for International Development. The United States also contributed directly to the United Nations Population Fund until the White House blocked the U.S.'s annual \$34 million contribution to the UNFPA in 2002. The United States began funding overseas family planning programs in the late 1960s with a contribution of \$10.5 million between 1965-1967. By 1995, the United States contribution had reached \$582 million (3.42% of the \$17 billion requirement) (PAI, "Contraceptive Choice").

The tide turned in 1994 when a Republican-dominated Congress attempted

unsuccessfully to reduce population assistance by as much as 65% and to impose restrictions on population aid recipients who were using their own funding to provide abortion counseling and services. Between 1995 and 1996, Congress slashed family planning funding for USAID by 35%, from \$582 million to \$378.8 million. **This may sound like a lot of money, but in fact is just 0.02% of the total U.S. budget.** This reduction in funding meant that seven million couples worldwide would be left without access to modern contraception and four million women would have unwanted pregnancies, resulting in 1.6 million abortions, 8,000 women dying in pregnancy and childbirth, and 134,000 infant deaths (Alan Guttmacher Institute).

In 1973, the same year that abortion was legalized in the United States, conservative Congress members, led by long-standing Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair Jesse Helms (R-NC), joined forces to pass the anti-choice Helms Amendment. This legislation prevents any U.S. international family planning money from funding the provision of abortions, ensuring that the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) does not provide assistance to women seeking abortions. This amendment also set the stage for the passage of the Hyde Amendment in 1977, prohibiting federal funding for abortions in the United States.

In 1984, in an unprecedented move, Ronald Reagan issued the Mexico City Policy, also known as the Global Gag Rule, which prohibited international family planning programs receiving money from the U.S. to provide counseling, information, or referrals about abortion, **even if the funds for those programs were their own or were provided by other countries.** Shortly after taking office, Bill Clinton reversed the Global Gag Rule, allowing family planning

Chart 8 ■ Comparison of Population Assistance By Industrialized Donor Countries

Donor	Total Family Planning Assistance in 1994	Cost per Capita of Donor's Population (1994)
Australia	\$18.0 million	\$1.01
Belgium	\$2.9 million	\$0.28
Canada	\$22.8 million	\$0.78
Denmark	\$32.6 million	\$6.27
Finland	\$7.8 million	\$1.52
France	\$13.4 million	\$0.23
Germany	\$114.8 million	\$1.41
Italy	\$17.5 million	\$0.31
Japan	\$82.7 million	\$0.66
Netherlands	\$43.8 million	\$2.85
Switzerland	\$8.2 million	\$1.18
Norway	\$40.7 million	\$9.47
United States	\$462.9 million	\$1.78
United Kingdom	\$58.0 million	\$0.99

Source: Conly and Rosen, *International Population Assistance Update: Recent Trend in Donor Contributions*, 1996.

programs to provide counseling on a full range of reproductive options.

However, on January 22, 2001, the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, George W. Bush reinstated the Global Gag Rule as his first executive order. In public statements, George W. Bush **deceptively** defended this move by claiming that taxpayer funds should not be used to pay for or advocate abortions. In reality, **this funding has been prohibited since 1973**, in accordance with the Helms Amendment. In a strong bipartisan response to President Bush's restoration of the Global Gag Rule, Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA), Senator Olympia Snowe (R-ME), Representative Nita Lowey (D-NY), and Representative Nancy Johnson (R-CT) denounced Bush's

action and introduced new legislation that would reverse the Global Gag Rule.

With the Global Gag Rule again in place, family planning programs in developing nations receiving U.S. funds that provide a wide range of services, including gynecological exams, AIDS prevention and treatment, and contraception, will be forced to lose U.S. funds or to discontinue providing vital services, such as counseling, referrals, or information about abortion, formerly paid for by other sources. With no other option, young women in developing nations will turn to illegal, unsafe abortions, too many of them dying as a result of punctured wombs or serious infections.

The Global Gag Rule not only poses a threat to women's lives, but also restricts freedom of speech. Organizations that receive USAID funding are prohibited from speaking publicly in favor of abortion counseling, abortion referrals, or from lobbying their elected officials for abortion reform. In fact, at a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing chaired by Senator Barbara Boxer on July 19, 2001, the head of a non-governmental organization in Peru, Susana Galdos, was forced to seek a temporary restraining order in a New York Federal Court in order to gain the freedom to speak before the committee.

According to the United Nations, an estimated 20 million unsafe, illegal abortions occur annually worldwide, resulting in more than 80,000 young women dying. The Global Gag Rule endangers the health, futures, and lives of millions of women and girls around the world who rely on reproductive health treatment that includes abortion counseling.

MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS CANNOT REPLACE GOVERNMENT FUNDING

Multilateral organizations such as the World Bank are becoming a more important

funding source for international family planning. Consider, for instance, that World Bank lending for population and reproductive health to developing countries doubled between 1992 and 1996 to \$600 million (Conly and Rosen, “International Population Assistance” 11). In addition, the UN Population Fund continues to provide substantial financial and technical assistance to developing countries as well as industrialized countries such as Albania and the former Soviet Republics. Private philanthropic funding for population and family planning has increased dramatically in recent years. Foundations such as Rockefeller, Ford, MacArthur, Mellon and Hewlett collectively gave \$117 million to family planning in 1994. However, this \$117 million is just 0.68% of the \$17 billion needed per year to fund comprehensive reproductive health care.

CONSERVATIVE FORCES BLOCK WOMEN’S ACCESS TO REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH CARE

Organized opposition to women’s reproductive rights exists worldwide and enjoys strong support from conservative religious movements and extremist groups. In the 1970s the Catholic Church organized groups in Poland to create and distribute information attacking contraception and abortion (Kozakiewicz 18). Abortion in Poland had been legal since 1956, but in 1990 the Catholic Church asserted its anti-abortion stance publicly. Doctors followed suit in 1992. By 1993, it was virtually impossible to get a legal abortion in Poland. That year, Poland passed a law making abortion illegal except to save the mother’s life or in a case of rape or incest or severe fetal malformation (CRLP 1999). Pope John Paul II has consistently lobbied to keep abortion illegal in Poland, and a 1996 law legalizing abortion – beyond circumstances of rape or incest or when the life of the pregnant women was in danger – was recently overturned by a Polish Court

(International Planned Parenthood Federation). Since that time, Poland has reverted to its restrictive abortion policy. Anti-choice advocates in Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church are calling for restricting abortion in Russia (Borisov et al 24).

Strong ties exist among anti-choice extremists in different countries. Ireland’s anti-abortion movement, which has been active since 1973 when its Supreme Court gave married couples the right to use contraceptives, has strong ties to American anti-abortion groups, which are alleged to have had significant involvement in countering the national referendum to decriminalize abortion in 1991. Nevertheless, Irish pro-choice advocates have managed to make contraception accessible nationwide by establishing family planning centers, and Irish university students helped win a victory in the European Court of Human Rights – the right of Irish women to travel within the European Union to obtain a legal abortion (Riddick 4,5).

Similarly, feminist activists in France have uncovered close ties between French anti-abortion groups such as *Treue de Dieu* (God’s Truce) and American anti-choice groups which provide strategic and technical assistance. Anti-choice activists in France are also closely linked to the French extreme right wing. Subsequently, France has seen an increase in violent anti-abortion tactics similar to those used in the United States, such as clinic invasions and blockades aimed at closing clinics and doctors offices. Consequently, French activists mobilized to help pass a law in 1993 banning anti-choice activists from physically preventing women’s access to abortion services (similar to the 1994 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act in the United States). To date, it has not been consistently enforced (Gallard and Gabison 19).

Anti-choice activities from industrialized countries have directly attempted to politi-

cize the abortion issue in some developing countries such as Namibia. This was most apparent at recent United Nations conferences. The Vatican has been one of the strongest and most vocal opponents of women's reproductive rights. Though not a voting member of the United Nations, the Vatican has "permanent observer" status at the United Nations – the only religion with such status – and can participate and vote at United Nations conferences.

At the 1994 United Nations Conference on Population and Development, the Vatican repeatedly tried to block agreement among the over 100 countries present on policy recommendations related to reproductive rights, adolescent sexual health, condom distribution, and abortion. To achieve this, the Vatican attempted to form a strategic alliance with predominantly Catholic and Muslim countries. In addition, the Vatican tried to discourage poor countries from joining other countries in adopting a progressive stance on reproductive health and choice by accusing industrialized country representatives and activists of "cultural imperialism." However, the Vatican failed, and the final Platform for Action emphasized women's equality and reproductive freedom.

The Vatican again disputed the reproductive health sections at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (held in Beijing, China in 1995), but once again failed. The final Platform for Action recognized unsafe abortion as a public health concern and declared that women have the right to control their own sexual and reproductive health. Many activists have since used the victories at Cairo and Beijing to mobilize for improving women's reproductive rights by advocating change in national laws and policies in their individual countries.

WOMEN GAIN LAST MINUTE VICTORY AT GLOBAL EARTH SUMMIT

As the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Earth Summit) in Johannesburg, South Africa drew to a close in September 2002, delegates agreed to add language to the final plan that guarantees access to comprehensive healthcare and reproductive services for women. The issue had become a road block during the last days of the international environmental meeting. Even though negotiations on the final plan were completed, Canadian and European delegates were able to reopen the document to add the 10 words, "and in conformity with all human rights and fundamental freedoms," to a paragraph that promotes the strengthening of women's healthcare.

Canada originally proposed the inclusion of a specific statement on human rights tied to women's healthcare in an effort to prevent such atrocities as female genital mutilation and to safeguard abortion rights. Without this language, countries would be permitted to hide behind traditional customs and laws to vindicate the denial of reproductive services and other healthcare to women – as the Taliban did in Afghanistan, where women were not allowed to go to the hospital, to be treated by male doctors or to work as doctors themselves. Although the wording matches other international declarations on the topic, the addition of the human rights language was opposed by a coalition that includes the United States, the Vatican and conservative Islamic countries.

Executive Director of Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) June Zeitlin exclaimed that after hours of "intense negotiations.... We won, we won," as reported in the Los Angeles Times. "Never underestimate the women of the world."

International Women's Day Celebration

INTRODUCTION

International Women's Day began March 8, 1857 as a day of action among U. S. women who demonstrated against poor working conditions and low wages in the textile industry. During their protest, many women were arrested, and others trampled by the crowds. In 1908, thousands of people in the U.S. marched to honor the 1857 demonstration and once again rallied against unacceptable working conditions and child labor. Following the 1908 march, activists dedicated the last Sunday in February as "National Women's Day." While celebrated in the U.S., the day was not internationally celebrated until 1911, when the theme of the day was "Universal Female Suffrage." That year, people across the globe in the U.S., Germany, Austria, Denmark, and Switzerland all held rallies demanding equal rights and the end of sex discrimination. France, Sweden and the Netherlands joined in the celebration the following year. Finally, in 1977, the United Nations asked all countries to set aside a day to commemorate women's achievements. March 8th was officially designated "International Women's Day," and is celebrated by women and men throughout the world.

As we begin a new century, women around the world still face many challenges. Among the most pressing is a widespread lack of safe and accessible abortion and other reproductive healthcare services. Therefore, this International Women's Day, feminist women and men on campus must rally to protect *Reproductive Choices*.

Hosting an International Women's Day celebration is an excellent way for the Leadership Alliance to share a global pro-choice feminist perspective with your campus and raise awareness about the women's reproductive rights conditions worldwide. One suggestion for the celebration is to host an International Women's Day Fair. A variety of organizations representing women in various parts of the world can sponsor tables at the fair. These groups can feature food, dance, music, and literature about women in their region. Another idea would be to hold an International Women's Day performance. The show would feature musical, theatrical, and dance acts by international groups, which highlight women's contributions and tribulations in various regions of the globe.

PEOPLE POWER AND COMMITTEES

This action calls for participation by members of multicultural, feminist, and pro-choice groups on campus. The idea is to create an International Women's Day celebration committee consisting of a diverse collection of student activists, who can each add a unique international perspective. This coalition should be chaired by 2-4 Leadership Alliance members, and should consist of 6-10 people total.

MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

- P.A. system (mic, speakers, stereo system) and other technical equipment needed to broadcast music, announcements, stories, statements, etc. Know in advance what technical or other equipment each participating group needs.
- A Stage (if outdoors) or podium for speakers.
- Tables to set up information about the various groups co-sponsoring the event.
- Movable chairs (both for indoors and out, if possible.)

- Although each group participating will be responsible for buying/preparing its region's food for the event, you will need adequate equipment to display the food. You will need additional tables and banquet trays to hold food and to keep it heated. Check with your cafeteria and food services office to obtain information on reserving or borrowing the necessary equipment.
- Plates, utensils, napkins, paper cups, etc., if you decide to provide international food tasting as part of the celebration.
- Flyers and posters advertising the event and listing all of the groups hosting the event.
- A lot of garbage pails, especially if the event is held outdoors.

TIMELINE

Seek out other groups to participate well in advance (one to two months) of International Women's Day. Depending on the scope of the event, begin meeting with the steering committee at least a month in advance of the event. Make sure to delineate responsibilities among members of the steering committee so that no group is overwhelmed with work, and all feel equally involved.

BUDGET

While this event can be quite costly, this cost can be divided among the many groups co-sponsoring the event. Decide as a group how much each club will donate, and make sure the funds are transferred to the Leadership Alliance account before the event. You do not want to be stuck with all of the bills and no money! Because other groups' funds are involved, the Leadership Alliance treasurer must keep very close track of all expenditures and receipts. If needed, you could seek out additional funding from international centers on campus (see appendices for more fundraising tips). Also, keep in mind that if you have food and refreshments, you could raise money by charging per plate or selling tickets to the event.

PUBLICITY

As usual, the more time you put into publicizing your event, the larger your crowd will be. You will also greatly increase campus awareness on the issues by doing a thorough job. Allow each group co-sponsoring the event to advertise to their own constituency, while also participating in a more general advertising campaign. Try to get local press and campus press to cover the event. Perhaps this is the first time your campus has done anything for International Women's Day? If so, capitalize on this. Call local news stations and inform them that your university is doing its first ever International Women's Day celebration.

HELPFUL HINTS

Building a Coalition of Student Activists

- At least five weeks before your designated date, contact women's groups on your campus (especially international feminist groups). Ask them if they have plans/ideas for International Women's Day. If they do, offer to co-sponsor or participate in the activities. If they have not yet organized any activities, offer to organize and oversee an International Women's Day steering committee of which they would be a part.

- Begin to build your steering committee through well-placed phone calls, personal invitations, and faculty input. Contact feminist faculty in the language departments, African-American Studies, Women's Studies, Ethnic Studies, and International Policy Studies.
- Make sure that your steering committee represents the diversity of women on your campus.

Other Tips

- Depending on the weather, consider setting up portions of the activities outdoors to help draw a larger crowd. Make sure to also reserve space indoors in case of rain.
- Include food, music, storytelling, dance, etc., to make the event exciting and well attended.
- Invite faculty and staff who have had international feminist experiences to participate or speak. A great place to start is with your Global Education Center and the Study Abroad Office.
- Do maintenance, kitchen or cleaning crew workers come from other countries? This could be a great opportunity to get to know these workers and foster positive student/staff relations. (Remember that International Women's Day has its roots in the labor movement, which fights for better working conditions.)
- Also, take advantage of this opportunity to educate participants on the issues of choice that the Leadership Alliance is working on.

Additional Actions

INTERNATIONAL REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS SPEAKER

Once you have familiarized yourselves with the global reproductive rights perspective included in this unit, take the opportunity to help educate your campus on this issue. By using the same resources listed at the end of this section, you can identify an international pro-choice organization based out of the U.S. Call the organization, inform them about the Leadership Alliance program and your group's pro-choice work, and ask if a representative can come to campus and speak on the subject. Also consider a professor or community member who has done work with such an organization as a potential speaker. (See appendices for more information on getting a speaker to your campus.)

SHOW "ABORTION FOR SURVIVAL"

Produced by the Feminist Majority Foundation, this video examines abortion through an international perspective. A discussion can follow the viewing of this video. Call your Campus Organizer to obtain a copy of the film and the accompanying literature.

INTERNATIONAL PRO-CHOICE EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN

Find statistics indicating the number of women who are still dying from illegal abortions overseas. A good place to start is with organizations like the Alan Guttmacher

Institute (which specializes in U.S. and domestic reproductive issues) or International Planned Parenthood.

- Flyer the campus with information on the statistics you have found. Make sure to highlight the fact that abortion is still illegal, inaccessible, and unsafe in most developing countries, and hundreds of thousands of women are dying *each year* from illegal abortions.
- Consider incorporating some important facts from the *Abortion for Survival* video. For example, include statistics that illuminate low teenage pregnancy and abortion rates in countries which have better abortion accessibility, contraceptive availability, and sex education than the U.S..

FIND AN INTERNATIONAL SISTER ORGANIZATION

Take the opportunity to learn about an international women's group that your Leadership Alliance finds particularly interesting or important. One way to initiate the search is to pick a country that your group is interested in learning more about. Once you have chosen a region, begin researching your sister organization. Here are some helpful hints:

- Get onto the Feminist Majority Foundation's web site (<http://www.feminist.org>), and click onto "global feminism." Under this heading you will see a bar for organizational links, and one of the first links is called **Aviva**. This will link you by country to women's organizations and will give you their contact information. (Some headquarters work out of the United States.)
- Once you have found an organization you are interested in learning more about, email, call, or write to them. Introduce yourselves as members of the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance on your respective campus. Explain the work you are doing on issues of global feminism, and ask for information on the work that they are doing. See if they have projects you can participate in, as well as literature or information to share with you.
- Since some of these organizations have headquarters in the U.S., and others make frequent business trips to the U.S., investigate the possibility of having a representative come to your campus and do a presentation on the work they do and the conditions of women in their respective country.

TAKE ON UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING FUNDING

- **Find out and monitor** your elected representatives' positions on international family planning and on restricting organizations receiving U.S. funding from performing abortions with their own funds.
- **Develop a Speakers Bureau** of persons knowledgeable on international family planning and reproductive rights issues, and coordinate speaking events featuring these individuals both on your campus and in the surrounding community. See the "Pro-choice Speakers Bureau" action component of Unit 2 for further help forming a speakers bureau.

SUPPORT POLICY AND LEGAL CHANGES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

- The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women challenged over 180 governments to

make commitments to promote women's rights in their respective countries. Some governments are receiving funding from the U.S. government to carry out some of these commitments. Other governments are using their own resources to do so. Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) have had a pivotal role in holding their governments accountable for keeping these promises.

- **Research** various NGOs working on legal and policy reform to improve women's reproductive rights in poorer countries. **Publicize** the efforts and successes of these organizations in your newsletters and web pages. **"Adopt"** a struggling family planning clinic (one whose funding has been cut due to the restrictive policy of not allowing clinics to perform abortions using its own funds, perhaps). Raise funds to help such a clinic afford supplies and health personnel.

List of Organizations for Further Research

- Alan Guttmacher Institute, New York, NY
- International Planned Parenthood Federation, London, England
- International Women's Health Coalition, New York, NY
- Population Action International, Washington, DC
- Population Reference Bureau, Washington, DC
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)
- Women's Environment and Development Organization, New York, NY

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Unit 7

Leadership Choices: Mentor for the Future

Compared to a typical American youth, young people participating in community-based organizations are significantly more likely to report feeling good about themselves and are more than two-and-a-half times more likely to think it is “very Important” to do community service or to volunteer (McLaughlin, 2000). Seventy-five to 85% of mentors report having a positive impact on their mentees’ behavior and attitude towards school (National Mentoring Partnership, 2002). A 1995 impact study provided by Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America found that young people with mentors were 53% less likely to skip school, and 46% less likely to begin using illegal drugs (National Mentoring Program).

As just two of many studies performed, they highlight a finding that resonates in each poll studying the effects of mentoring: these programs work, and they work well. No matter what the focus of a mentoring program is, statistics prove again and again that younger people benefit from having a caring adult in their lives.

All adults have a fantastic opportunity to reach out to a young person and provide support. **Members of the Leadership Alliance who are self-identified leaders dedicated to creating positive change in their communities are uniquely suited for the position of role model** and are especially apt for providing a positive influence on another’s life. As part of the *Choices* campaign, Leadership Alliance members will have the opportunity to educate high school students on issues of choice while simultaneously empowering the younger students and their sense of both the right and the responsibility of making choices.

A Feminist Approach

While there are thousands of mentoring programs in effect today, high school mentoring traditionally focuses on helping “at risk” students build self-esteem and become more productive students. The objective of the *Choices* mentoring program is to educate students on select issues of feminist concern while providing students with positive role models. The program will highlight ways for participating students to empower themselves through a variety of means, including, including **education, skills-building workshops, and social activities** that highlight women’s leadership in a variety of areas (including women in sports). Like the Leadership Alliance program, the mentoring

program will encourage students to develop leadership skills that will help them make thoughtful decisions for themselves and for their futures.

Goals

By providing a mentoring component to the *Choices* campaign, the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliances will strive to:

- **Foster a long-term relationship between the campus Leadership Alliance and local high school.** As a central component to community outreach, this mentoring program has a vision of creating a relationship that will continue to strengthen and grow each year.

- **Develop the leadership skills of high school students.** The Feminist Majority Foundation’s 16-year history has demonstrated its dedication to the “next generation.” By creating a program that focuses on skill development, each student participant will take part in a series of skills building workshops ranging from public speaking to developing analytical skills.
- **Encourage students to apply a “study and action” model to their lives.** High school students along with their mentors will participate in the Feminist Majority Foundation’s innovative study and action model, which encourages students to educate themselves on important feminist issues while also applying that knowledge directly to their own surroundings.
- **Provide role models for high school students.** Members of the campus Leadership Alliance are themselves leaders and activists on their college campus. By grouping high school students with active feminist leaders, high school students will be provided with the opportunity to learn and work with positive female and male feminist role models.
- **Educate on feminist issues.** As a campus group affiliated with our national organization, the Leadership Alliance has access to the Feminist Majority Foundation’s research and resources. The Leadership Alliance will be using our resources to highlight important feminist issues that relate directly to young people’s lives. Likewise, high school students will be encouraged to use our resources (e.g. our award winning website) on their own time, to learn more about feminist issues, find resources for writing a paper, and more.
- **Create a feminist community.** Our goal for starting the Leadership Alliance program and the high school outreach program is ultimately to create an environment that encourages feminist thought and activism while developing skills to lead our country into the 21st century. By fostering relationships between college feminist leaders and high school students, this program will promote critical thinking, development of leadership skills and appreciation of the importance of community activism.
- **Show high school students “the ropes.”** A mentor can provide a student with information that isn’t covered in formal education. For example, a mentor can share experiences that might help students make better decisions in their own lives. Mentors can help students network with other feminist leaders in the community and help them find feminist community resources. Sometimes just having an older person looking out for their interests can make the difference between a student feeling supported rather than isolated.

The Issues

The following topics are covered briefly in this unit as focal points for discussion and action for mentors and high school students. Each topic also includes key reference points for further research. Actions can be facilitated in small or large groups.

There are many issues facing young people today that can be added to the list below for Leadership Alliances who are able to research additional topics. These activities strive to educate and empower students as well as create space for students to feel comfortable enough to ask ques-

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tions and discuss their own ideas and choices. Here are the following topics that will be highlighted to both educate and activate high school students.

- Applying to college/preparing for college
- Leadership, organizing and public speaking skills
- Academic/athletic, financial need scholarships and scholarships for women
- Self-esteem/body image
- Reproductive choices and other sex education issues
- Women in sports
- Sexual assault
- Eating disorders

The Program

The following program is a structure that can be applied to different levels of mentoring activity within each Leadership Alliance. For any Leadership Alliance that wants to establish a mentoring program with a high school, **it is imperative to follow steps listed in this unit.** As far as what time commitments are established between the mentors and high school students, it is up to each Leadership Alliance to determine their level of commitment.

This format suggests group activities with mentors and students at least twice a month.

This program does not include one-on-one mentoring, but rather chooses a group model. This model will provide the best forum to educate and train high school students on important leadership skills. It will also serve as a tool to develop a sense of team spirit among the high school participants and the college mentors while

allowing a less rigorous time requirement for all participants.

Each Leadership Alliance must immediately assess their realistic availability to the high school students before approaching high schools or taking other initial steps to set up a mentoring program. Once the members of the Leadership Alliance have determined their level of commitment, they should then formulate a timeline for the semester and beyond.

Individual sections that deal specifically with the steps to take when setting up a mentoring program are listed in the action component of this unit. Again, whether you plan on visiting high school students once a month on their campus, or plan for a more ambitious relationship including weekly activities, **you must invest initial time and energy into establishing a solid relationship with the school administration, high school teachers and high school students. The most important consideration is that the time you spend with students is well organized and productive.**

Mentoring Activities

Listed below are the topics and suggested activities to plan with the high school students once you have set up a mentoring program (Note: see the action component of this unit for how-to information). There are many different ideas for activities so that each Leadership Alliance is provided with a variety of choices for action. **You do not have to do all of these activities!** Instead, choose the ones that are the most appealing to your group and the students with whom you are working. Ideally, try to have as many mentors as high school students for activities. Also, make the effort to ensure that all students are included and are getting attention and guidance from the mentors. Sometimes, in

group settings, the most outgoing students draw the most attention. Since this mentoring program strives to provide each participant with a role model, it is essential for the group of mentors to concentrate on making everyone feel important and part of the program.

Applying and Preparing for College

As mentors, you will have the opportunity to encourage students to attend college and to make educated choices as to which college to attend. This section will have activities for all students, whether they have applied to college already or have not even begun the process. Help all of the students with their college plans, and try to stress the importance of a college education, or further education to those who do not plan on attending. Here are some options for activities:

- Have a discussion about college and how you applied to schools. Lead students to first-step resources such as the **Peterson's Guide to Colleges** which gives a description about each four-year college in the country (there is also a two-year guide). Determine what they might possibly like to major in, what geographic location they are interested in, what size of school, what their families can afford, etc. Help with the preliminary research for what type of school s/he would like to attend.
- Give information about what it was like applying to colleges. Talk about the application form, recommendation letters, and essays. By telling them what to expect, they will feel more prepared when their applications arrive.
- Do a feminist survey of the universities they are considering. Here are some questions to ask: How many female professors are tenured there? Is there a Women's Studies program, and is Women's Studies offered as a major? Are there a variety of varsity sports for women, and do women get scholarships for their athletic ability? Is there an enforced sexual harassment/assault policy on the campus? Are there safety procedures (i.e. emergency alarm boxes, escort services, lighted pathways)? What women's organizations are there on the campus? What is the general climate towards women? Are there a high number of reported rapes? A large and powerful fraternity system? Does the campus seem supportive of women's groups or hostile towards them? Are there a large number of active radical right groups on the campus?
- Take the students along with the mentor group to your campus for a day. Show them around, highlighting important areas like the women's center, counseling center, financial aid office, the library, dining halls, campus police, etc. **While they may not attend your school, they will at least be aware of what resources to look for on other college campuses.**
- When you are on campus, introduce the high school students to the Student Activities center and the progressive organizations that meet on campus. Also check out what kind of leadership opportunities are available for students (e.g. Resident Advisor, student government representative, member of a student-run group, etc). This will be an informative way to introduce the high school students to the kinds of progressive activism they can be a part of during their college years.
- Arrange to take the high school students

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to a social event on your campus (e.g. a play or lecture) so that they can get a feel for what the social scene is like.

- Try to arrange for the high school students to sit in on an Introduction to Women's Studies class. Introduce Women's Studies faculty members to the students.
- Highlight what resources are available for first-year students, including workshops on stress reduction, studying skills, test-taking skills, resisting peer pressure to do drugs, tutoring services, free counseling sessions, etc.
- If you have students who already know what they want to major in, take them to those departments on your campus. Introduce any available faculty, look at what kinds of classes are offered, etc.

Finding Scholarship Money for College

Many students must rely on financial aid and scholarship money to attend college. There are a number of resources for finding scholarships that apply specifically to women, minority students, student athletes, etc. that are separate from loan and grant money available through each college. Below are some tips for prospective college students on how to tap into outside resources to help finance school, as well as tips for getting grant and loan money through the university.

- The most important advice to give the high school students is to investigate scholarship possibilities *early*. There are two specific reasons for this advice: first, scholarship money is competitive and sometimes limited. Also, scholarship applications have deadlines and once the deadline has passed, the money will

not be available for another year. Since most deadlines are either winter or early spring, the best time to start investigating is early summer. This will give the students plenty of time to receive the application and to gather the information needed to complete it, like teacher recommendations.

- College departments usually have lists of scholarships available for study in their particular field. For example, the Women's Studies department and the Engineering department will have lists of scholarships that are available for their specific field of study.
- There is also grant money available through the financial aid departments of each university. Take students to your financial aid department so they can get a sense of how it works and have the opportunity to ask questions about the process.
- Student athletes have an enormous amount of scholarship money available to them. If any of the high school students in your program are active athletes, make sure they look into some of the resources listed at the end of this section specifically for them.
- Students with a high grade point average and a demonstrated ability to accept academic challenge (i.e. taking advanced placement courses) have more potential scholarship and grant money available to them.
- Besides scholarship and grant money, students are also eligible for loan money. Loans, unlike grant money, need to be repaid. Explain that since government loans are at an incredibly reasonable rate and have flexible pay back schedules, (e.g. borrowers have years to pay back their loans) it is a

good alternative to postponing/missing out on a college education due to lack of resources.

- Encourage high school students to go beyond the books on grants and scholarships to see if there is money available in other places. For example, maybe a progressive organization that they have volunteered for has resources available for scholarship. One student raised money in her hometown to help out with school expenses by holding a recital (she was a singer). Stress the need for trying all possible options for the most successful results.

There are dozens of books written on this subject. Some list scholarship and grant money available, others offer a more comprehensive overview, including advice on how to apply for scholarships, when to apply, a guide for families, etc. Most of these books are available in public libraries and bookstores.

Books

Athletic Scholarships: Making Your Sport Pay
by David Lahey

Athletic Scholarships: Thousands of Grants-And over \$400 Million for College Bound Athletes
by Andy Clark and Amy Clark

Barron's Handbook of Junior and Community College Financial Aid by Nicholas Proia

Cash for College: An ABC Guide for High School Students and Parents by Doris M. Bruce-Young

College Costs & Financial Aid Handbook 1997
by the College Scholarship Service

College Student's Guide to Merit and Other No-Need Funding 1996-1998
by R. David Weber (Editor) and Gail Ann Schlachter (Editor)

Dan Cassidy's Worldwide College Scholarship Directory (4th Ed) by Daniel Cassidy

Dinero Para LA Universidad (Cash for College)
by Cynthia Ruiz McKee and Philip McKee

Directory of Financial Aid for Minorities 1995-1997
by Gail Schlachter and David Weber

Directory of Financial Aid for Women 1995-1997 by Gail Schlachter and David Weber

Financial Aid Financier: Expert Answers to College Financing Questions (Money Saving Guides, No 13) by Joseph Re

Financial Aid for the Disabled and Their Families by Gail Schlachter and David Weber

Free Money For College (4th Ed) by Laurie Blum

Get Yourself a College Sports Scholarship
by Susan Wilson

How to Get an Athletic Scholarship: A Student-Athlete's Guide to Collegiate Athletics
by Whitney Minnis

How to Win a Sports Scholarship
by Penny Hastings and Todd Caven

Minority Financial Aid Directory: A Guide to More Than 4,000 Educational Scholarships, Loans, Grants and Fellowships for African Americans, Asian Americans, etc. by Berry Lemuel Ph.D.

Money For College: A Guide to Financial Aid for African-American Students by Erlene B. Wilson

Peterson's Scholarships, Grants & Prizes 1997

Peterson's Sports Scholarships and College Athletic Programs by Ron Walker (Editor)

Scholarships 1997-98 by Richard Christiano

Ten Minute Guide to Paying for College
by William D. Van Dusen

The A's and B's of Academic Scholarships 1997/98 by Ann Schimke (Editor)

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The Best Resources for College Financial Aid
1997 by Michael T. Osborn

The Big Book of Minority Opportunities
by Willis Johnson

The Big Book of Opportunities for Women
by Elizabeth Olson

*The Black Student's Guide to Scholarships:
600+ Private Money Sources for Black and
Minority Students (4th Edition)* by Barry
Beckham

The Complete Scholarship Book
by Student Services Inc.

*The Prentice Hall Guide to Scholarships and
Fellowships for Math and Science Students*
by Mark Kantrowitz

*The Road to Athletic Scholarship: What Every
Student-Athlete, Parent & Coach Needs to Know*
by Kim McQuilken

*The Student Aid Game: Meeting Need and
Rewarding Talent in American Higher Education*
by Michael McPherson and Morton Schapiro

*Winning Money For College: A High School
Student's Guide to Scholarship Contests* by
Alan Deutschman

Leadership and Skills Development

Mentors have a great opportunity to help students develop certain skills that will help them in preparing for college and their careers. Listed below are some ideas for activities that will help students get comfortable with leadership, public speaking, and taking initiative. Pick activities that interest your group the most!

- Start a feminist reading group with the high school students. (Some great books to start with are *Sister Outsider* by Audre Lorde, *Black Looks* by bell hooks, and *Backlash* by Susan Faludi). Pick

chapters the group wants to read, and have each student pick out a part they would like to present to the group. After the presentation, have a discussion about what they thought of the material and how they felt presenting it to the group.

- Have students organize a Leadership Alliance action on their campus. Two great suggestions are the Afghanistan petition action (see “Know the Opposition” actions) and a pro-choice education campaign. Have the students organize actions, collect signatures, and draw attention to these issues on their campus. As a first step, you can invite the students to help you organize the action on your campus. This way, when they want to organize on their own campus, they will know first hand what steps need to be taken for the action to be a success. After the campaign, ask what it was like to organize and explain how their efforts made a difference.
- If you live in a capital city, take the high school students on a Lobbying Day. (Local feminist and other progressive organizations hold them.) You can join in and have the students meet their representatives.
- Have a public speaking workshop. Following the speaker's tips sheet, have each student present a topic. Have the group watch for presentation skills: eye contact, articulation, projection, pronunciation, etc. Afterwards, ask some questions about the presentation. What was difficult and what seemed to come naturally? Help them hone their skills, and encourage the students who thoroughly enjoy public speaking to look into debate and forensics groups in their high school and later in college.

- Take your group to a college debate to watch college students and their public speaking skills.
 - Find out if there is something at their high school that the students would like to change: like apparent sex discrimination in gym class, preferences to male students in the classroom, etc. Help the students organize around an issue at their school. Encourage them to speak out against injustice; let them know that activism *does* produce positive change!
 - Hold an assertiveness seminar. Have exercises where the students are in difficult situations and must stand up for themselves. For example, have a role-playing exercise where you play a peer or teacher who is behaving inappropriately toward the students. Find out each initial reaction, and then have the group give input on the best way to handle the situation, and how to report it afterwards. Women are often taught that assertiveness is bad and that women should be seen and not heard. Dismantle this stereotype! Teach the students that it is okay to stick up for themselves and to be assertive about their boundaries.
 - Most high school students have to do community service hours. Encourage them to think of volunteer hours at organizations that correlate with possible career goals or future internship opportunities.
- (AAUW, “Shortchanging Girls” 2). Paralleling this drop in self-esteem is a strong surge of negative body image, which can lead to eating disorders such as anorexia and bulimia. Listed below are some activities to help combat the loss of self-esteem so commonly experienced by teenagers. Most importantly, remember to always give positive reinforcement to the students you are mentoring.
- Take the students out for ice cream (coffee, etc). Bring a quote/poem/statement/print, etc. of your favorite woman writer/politician/artist/poet, etc. Explain why this woman has served as an inspiration for you, and what you like most about her work. Ask each student to bring in the same for the next time you meet. (See if there would be interest for starting each group activity this way!) Have them identify a great woman in the past or the present. This will help raise awareness about the enormous contributions women have made nationally and globally. After each student has presented their most inspirational woman, ask them how having the female role model has shaped their lives.
 - Show the video “(Still) Killing Us Softly” or “Dream Worlds” (both are generally available at public or college libraries). Talk about the way women are portrayed in advertisements, rock videos, etc. Talk about the strategy of exploiting women and how women are made to feel like they must fit an unrealistic ideal. Discuss times when you or your high school students felt bad after being exposed to this kind of exploitation.
 - Have each student bring in the most offensive ad they could find and the best feminist ad they could find in magazines. Discuss the differences

Self-Esteem and Body Image

According to the AAUW’s report “Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America,” female students suffer a “loss of self-confidence that is twice that for boys as they move from childhood to adolescence”

between the two and their reactions to the different kinds of representation.

- Introduce the students in your group to as many progressive teen magazines you can find. Here's some to recommend: *New Moon*, *Teen Voices*, *Blue Jean Magazine*, *Jane*, and *Blackgirl*.
- If possible, take the students to a female artist's exhibit or woman-run organization in the area. Try to arrange for a tour. Introduce them to the powerful world of working women.
- Many bookstores offer reading groups, and many of them have women authors come to do book readings and presentations. Keep your eyes open for these events; they will be great social events for you and the high school students. (While at the bookstore together, peruse the Women's Studies section and introduce them to this growing field of research and influence.)
- Get the high school students to help you do a "This insults women" campaign at your school. Photocopy offensive ads and write statements about why the ads are offensive to women. Hang them up everywhere!
- Have each student choose a woman who has been influential in their lives, and ask them to share their story with the group.
- Introduce the students to a variety of websites of groups who are determined to empower female students (listed in the resource section).

RESOURCES

Here are some organizations that strive to empower young people through a variety of strategies.

About Face—A woman in California who was fed up with demoralizing advertising started this site. It is a wonderful source for statistical information, pictures of the worst ads and the messages they send, and how to make things better for women. They also have great links to other feminist sites. Website: <http://www.about-face.org>

American Association of University Women—An organization that works for equity for women and students. This is an organization that offers thousands of dollars of grant money for graduate studies as well as community projects. Website: <http://www.aauw.org> or call 1-800-225-9998 for more information.

AWSEM—An organization which wants to enrich young women's opportunities in Science, Engineering, and Mathematics. This group offers activities including tutoring and mentorship programs. Also included is research on gender equity in science, math and engineering. Website: <http://www.awsem.com> or call 503-748-1277 for more information.

Feminist Majority Foundation—As a multi award-winner, our site includes feminist news, "take action" pages, reproductive choice information, domestic violence and sexual harassment information and hotlines, etc. Website: <http://www.feminist.org>

Feminist.com—This site has a health section, links to other women's sites, and interviews with great women. Website: <http://www.feminist.com>

Girl Power!—This is a national public education campaign sponsored by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Ser-

vices to help encourage and motivate 9 to 13 year-old girls to make the most of their lives. Girls at 8 or 9 typically have strong attitudes about their health, so Girl Power! seeks to reinforce and sustain these positive values among girls ages 9-13 by targeting health messages to the unique needs, interests, and challenges of girls. Website: <http://www.girlpower.gov> or email gpower@health.org for more information.

Girl Scouts—Girl Scouts of America stresses leadership skill development in girls and young women. Website: <http://www.girlscouts.org> or call **1-800-GS-USA-4U**.

Girl Tech—Girl Tech was started in 1995 with the specific goal of encouraging girls to use and enjoy technology and explore non-traditional avenues of life by providing girls with the Club Girl tech website and a line of electronic products designed specifically for girls. Website: <http://www.girltech.com>

Girls, Inc.—Girls Incorporated is a national non-profit youth organization dedicated to inspiring all girls to be strong, smart, and bold. For over 55 years, Girls Inc has provided vital educational programs to millions of American girls, particularly those in high-risk, underserved areas. Website: <http://www.girlsinc.org> or call the national headquarters at **1-800-374-4475** for more information.

The Ms. Foundation—The Ms. Foundation is probably best known for their “Take Our Daughters to Work Day,” but they also sponsor a Leadership Program which offers funding to women’s programs including health and development. Website: <http://www.ms.foundation.org>

WEEA—The Women’s Educational Equity Act is a U.S. Dept. of Education program that works to promote gender-fair educa-

tion products and fights against discrimination on the basis of gender, race, class, or disability. This is a great resource for equity issues as well as information on grant money available to schools, communities, and individuals. Website: <http://www.edc.org/WomensEquity/about/program.htm> or call **202-260-1280** for more information.

YWCA—An organization that strives to empower women and girls and to fight against racism. They offer many programs in skills and leadership training and job placement for women. Website: <http://www.ywca.org> or call **212-273-7800** for the YWCA closest to you.

BOOKS

There are a number of excellent books written on the subject of esteem. Here is a brief list. For more listings, check out <http://www.amazonfembks.com>.

Am I Thin Enough Yet? by Sharlene Hesse-Biber.

Body Traps by Judith Rodin

Diversity in Girls’ Experience: Feeling good about who you are by Bonnie J. Leadbeater and Niobe Way

Failing at Fairness: How Our Schools Cheat Girls by Myra and David Sadker

Feeding the Hungry Heart by Geneen Roth

Girls Speak Out! by Andrea Johnston

Real Gorgeous (a parody) by Kaz-Cooke

Reviving Ophelia by Mary Pipher

School Girls: Girls, self-esteem, and the Confidence Gap by Peggy Orenstein

The Beauty Myth by Naomi Wolff

The Difference by Judy Mann

Transforming Body Image by Marcia Hutchinson

When Women Stop Hating Their Bodies
by J. Hirschmann and C. Munter

Where the Girls Are by Susan Douglas

Reproductive Choices

This section of the program should increase awareness of reproductive choices and the current opposition to a woman's right to choose (see "Knowing the Opposition" in this manual). Discuss the abortion rights struggle in the feminist movement, the radical right's violent tactics to shut down clinics, as well as other reproductive health issues. The following is a list of activities that you can choose from to do with your group:

- Show the video *Abortion Denied* and have a discussion following the viewing. Discuss how governmental restrictions limit a woman's legal right to choose.
- Find a local clinic that offers family planning and abortion. Take a field trip to the clinic. Arrange for a staff member to give a quick tour of the facility and to explain birth control methods and the medical procedure for an abortion. Have a question/answer session at the end.
- Explain the Feminist Majority Foundation's *Adopt-a-Clinic* tactic to students as a successful strategy for combating clinic violence.
- When your campus is organizing a Rock for Choice™ show or a pro-choice demonstration, get the students involved with the planning and the execution of the event.
- Show the movie "If These Walls Could Talk" and have a discussion about why

reproductive choice is essential to the health and safety of women.

OTHER SEX EDUCATION ISSUES

Encourage the students to learn more about their bodies and about the implications of having unprotected sex, including AIDS and STI's. The Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (known as SIECUS) is an excellent source for all current information on sexuality education and can be found at <http://www.siecus.org>. SIECUS covers issues ranging from teenage sexuality and HIV and STI research to gay and lesbian sexuality and the far right fear-based approach to teaching abstinence-only programs. As experts in their field, their research is highly respected and will provide mentors and students with numerous resources for education and discussion. Enclosed in the SIECUS materials provided is a "sexuality information catalog" which lists all of their publications (including reports and fact sheets) and how to order them.

OTHER RESOURCES

Abortion Clinics Online Choice Links at <http://www.gynpages.com> links to abortion information providers, abortion rights political organizations, etc.

Advocates for Youth is an organization dedicated to helping youth make healthy decisions about sexuality. They provide publications and fact sheets on topics ranging from buying condoms to HIV. Website: <http://www.advocatesforyouth.org>

AIDS information: **The Whitman Walker Clinic** homepage at <http://www.wwc.org> or call the information line at **202-797-3500**.

Another informative website is the **Coalition for Positive Sexuality**. Website: <http://www.positive.org>

National Abortion Federation offers reproductive health information and a hotline number: 1-800-772-9100 Website: <http://www.prochoice.org>

National Coalition of Abortion Providers can be reached at 703-684-0055. Website: <http://www.ncap.com>

Planned Parenthood has a wealth of information, including fact sheets, a listing of clinics, information specifically for teenagers, and access to abortion services. Website: <http://www.ppfa.org> or <http://www.230-PLANwire.com>, or call 1-800-230-PLAN.

Pro-Choice Education Project (PEP) targets young women with the pro-choice message. Website: <http://www.protectchoice.org>

Books

The College Woman's Handbook
by Rachel Dobkin and Shana Sippy.

The New Our Bodies, Ourselves
by The Boston Women's Health Book Collective Staff.

Women's Sourcebook
edited by Lisa DiMona and Constance Herndon

Sexuality

High school is often the time when women and men have identified their sexual orientation. Acknowledging an attraction to the same sex can be confusing. If you have a student who is determining her/his sexual orientation or knows that s/he is gay, it is essential that you are supportive.

Listed below are some of the best websites, books, and organizations for gay, lesbian and bisexual issues, several specifically concentrating on gay youth and

“coming out”. Each website listed links to literally hundreds of others, covering issues like identifying with being gay, resources for family and friends, local activities and political activism.

RESOURCES

Lesbian resources— <http://www.lesbian.org>
This site is the most comprehensive site for lesbian women and includes everything from activism to gay academia.

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force— <http://www.nglftf.org>
The NGLTF is another large, grassroots organization that specifically focuses on gay youth. In the summer they hold a youth leadership institute. Call 202-393-5177 for more information.

Oasis— <http://www.oasismag.com>
Oasis is an online magazine for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and questioning youth.

OutProud— <http://www.outproud.org>
This is a national coalition for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender youth.

Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG)— <http://www.pflag.org>
is an organization that represents more than 69,000 families.

The Human Rights Campaign— <http://www.hrc.org>
This organization is the largest existing national lesbian and gay political organization. A great site for resources.

The Pride Network— <http://www.pridenet.com>
Another large site with many links to gay and lesbian sites. They also have pride products to order.

The Queer Resources Directory— <http://www.qrd.org>
is an excellent site since it links with over 100 other sites. This source also has a queer youth section with links.

The Sexual Minority Youth Assistance League (SMYAL)— This group offers resources and a hotline for gay youth at 202-546-5911. Website: <http://www.smyal.org>

Books

Being Different: Lambda Youths Speak Out (The Lesbian and Gay Experience) by Larry Dane Brimmer.

Free Your Mind: The Book for Gay, Lesbian and Bi-Sexual Youth—and Their Allies by Ellen Bass and Kate Kaufman.

Gay and Lesbian Youth by Gail Stewart and Natasha Frost.

Helping Gay and Lesbian Youth: New Policies, New Programs, New Practices by Theresa Decrescenzo.

Joining the Tribe: Growing up Gay and Lesbian in the 1990's by Linnea A. Due.

Not the Only One: Lesbian and Gay Fiction for Teens by Tony Grima.

Service Organizations for Gay and Lesbian Youth by Greg Greenly.

The Journey Out: A Guide For and About Lesbian, Gay and Bi-Sexual Teens by Rachel Pollack and Cheryl Schwartz.

Women in Sports

The Feminist Majority Foundation's report on women in sports found that "women and students who participate in sports and other fitness programs are healthier and more academically successful." The health benefits involved with exercising on a regular basis include decreasing the chances of back problems, strokes, breast cancer and osteoporosis (Feminist Majority Foundation, "Empowering Women in Sports" 10). Sports participation has also been

linked to an increase in self-esteem. For example, rural Hispanic and white students who were involved in sports dropped out of school less often and went on to four-year colleges more often than the non-athletic students in their area (FMF, "Empowering"10). While it is important to support athletic students to keep up their activity, it is also necessary to encourage non-athletic women in high school to get active as well. **Athletics are not just for incredibly gifted athletes; they are for everyone.**

Another important topic to discuss with high school students is the issue of sex discrimination in sports and the importance of Title IX. **Title IX is a federal law that prohibits gender discrimination in federally funded education programs, including athletic programs.** Before Title IX, only 31,000 women participated in college sports. Because of Title IX, the number has risen to over 128,000, a more than 400% increase in participation (Women's Sports Foundation 2002).

While this growth is important to note, it is also essential to highlight the magnitude of sex discrimination in sports today. Even at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta (an incredibly successful year for our female athletes) there was a major discrepancy between the number of men and women athletes who participated. While there were 6,500 men, there were only 3,780 women. Since the success of women in the 1996 Olympics, there has been a growing number of women Olympians. Nevertheless, the discrimination against women athletes is an ongoing struggle until women are provided with the opportunity for equal funding and equal representation.

On June 27, 2002, U.S. Department of Education Secretary Rod Paige announced the establishment of the Commission on Opportunity in Athletics to

“collect information, analyze issues, and obtain broad public input directed at improving the application of current federal standards for measuring equal opportunity for men and women, and boys and girls to participate in athletics under Title IX” (Commission). In February 2003, the Commission submitted recommendations that would weaken Title IX enforcement standards. Membership on the Commission was dominated by NCAA Division I institution representatives (institutions still not in compliance with Title IX 30 years after the passage of the law) and proponents of the position that women are not as interested in sports as men, so institutions should not be required to provide equal participation opportunities as currently required under Title IX. After months of pressure by women’s rights groups, including the Feminist Majority, the Bush administration reaffirmed its support of Title IX and announced no changes would be made.

- Find out if your high school students are involved in competitive sports. For those who are not, ask if they are involved in any recreational sports or exercise routines. Encourage physical activity, and talk about the health benefits as well as the boost in self-esteem that exercising supplies.
- Arrange a recreational sports day with the high school students. Some ideas include going to a local public pool for a swim, a community field for a softball/soccer game, or a basketball court to shoot some hoops. You could also arrange this at your campus field house. Make sure to stress group participation and to give everyone a chance. Try not to let the more talented athletes rule over the game, and stress teamwork if some members are getting pushed aside.
- After an activity, take a walk. Or, arrange for an activity (sightseeing) that requires a lot of walking. If possible, take a trip to a local park/forest for some scenic hikes.
- If your students play on a sports team, go to their games and cheer them on. Support their athletic involvement as often as you can.
- Invite your group to women’s sports events on your campus. Find out what sports they are most interested in, and arrange to see a game at your school.
- Try to get in touch with a professional community athlete and ask her to speak about her experiences with the group.
- Ask a female coach on your campus if she would be willing to talk about her experiences as a coach, and any issues of discrimination she has run into.
- After you know what sport the students are most interested in (there can be more than one!) ask some of your college athletes if they could talk to your group about being a college athlete. For example, have them talk about any scholarship money they received, any experiences with sex discrimination, etc.
- Supply each of the students with an **Empowering Women In Sports** report from the Feminist Majority. Discuss the history of women in sports, the myths about women’s physical capabilities, and Title IX. Leave time for questions at the end.
- Have the high school students over to watch the WNBA (Women’s National Basketball League) and the WUSA (Women’s United Soccer Association). Talk about the fact that this is the first time in history that women have their

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own professional basketball and soccer leagues in this country, both of which have broad-based public support.

- Encourage active athletes to look into scholarship money for college.

RESOURCES

Gender Equity in Sport—This site provides thorough information on Title IX, and offers several links to sites that relate to or are involved in investigating the state of affairs in interscholastic and intercollegiate sports.

Website: <http://bailiwick.lib.uiowa.edu/ge/>

The Feminist Majority has incredibly comprehensive materials on women in sports including the entire text of their **Empowering Women In Sports** report. They also have great links to many other excellent sites for information on women in sports, including statistics, athlete information, calendars of up-coming events, etc. Website: <http://www.feminist.org> or call 703-522-2214

Women in Sports—This site is dedicated to providing women athlete role models and also has an interactive element. People can submit biographies and personal accounts. There is also information about women in sports busi-ness. Website: <http://www.makeithappen.com/wis/>

Women's Sports Foundation—This site has information on scholarships and grants for athletes and many resources on sports and other health topics. Website: <http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org> or call 1-800-227-3988 for more information.

WWW Women's Sports Page—This site offers an overview of the variety of sports that women are involved in. It has more than fifty links to other women's sports pages. Website: <http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~lewis/womspirt.html>

BOOKS

A Sporting Chance: Sports and Gender
by Andy Steiner

Are We Winning Yet?: How Women are Changing Sports and Sports are Changing Women
by Mariah Burton Nelson

Crashing the Old Boys' Network: The Tragedies and Triumphs of Girls and Women in Sports
by David Salter

The Complete Guide to Women's College Athletics
by Carolyn Stanek

The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football: Sexism and the American Culture of Sports
by Mariah Burton Nelson

The Unplayable Lie: The Untold Story of Women and Discrimination in American Golf
by Marcia Chambers

Women in Sport: Issues and Controversies
by Greta Cohen

Women Who Win: Exercising Your Rights in Sport
by Bonnie Parkhouse

Sexual Assault Awareness and Prevention

An unfortunate reality for all people, but especially women, is the ongoing threat of sexual assault. According to the National Crime Victimization Survey conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice, a woman is raped or sexually assaulted every two minutes somewhere in America. Also, in a two-year period, 700,000 women were the victims of a rape or sexual assault in this country (RAINN). This program will provide an excellent opportunity to explode myths, raise awareness and help provide the knowledge and tools necessary for prevention.

- Go through some common myths with your group of students. Some examples

are: Sexual assault only happens to young, attractive women, most rapists are psychopaths who live on the streets, etc. Make sure that the high school students are aware that sexual assault can happen to *any* woman and that most perpetrators are acquaintances or even friends of their victims. Most importantly, stress that sexual assault and rape are not crimes of passion or lust, but crimes of violence, domination, and the desire to overpower and humiliate the victim.

- Encourage the high school students to enroll in a self-defense class. The women and men who have taken self-defense classes always highly recommend it to others as it teaches excellent prevention and fighting techniques. A lot of times, local community centers and some college campuses will offer courses (sometimes free of charge). Classes can range from an intensive afternoon session to a ten-week seminar or longer. Check into what is available in your area. (And if the mentors haven't taken a defense class—use this opportunity to take one as a group!)
- When touring your college campus, take the high school students to the sexual assault services center at your school. Explain its function and take advantage of the materials they provide.
- Always make sure that the high school students know that it is important to report an assault or attempted one. Since it is common for victims to feel ashamed after an assault, many attacks are never reported.
- Below is a list of resources for victims and survivors of sexual assault across the country. Make sure to familiarize your group with the extensive resources out there, and if needed photocopy

some pertinent information for distribution (i.e. hotline numbers, etc). in case of emergency.

RESOURCES

Assault Prevention Information Network—

This site provides information on self-defense, safety precautions, how to protect children, workplace violence, etc. Website: <http://www.jump.net/~judith/APINintro.html>

D.C. Rape Crisis Center—As the second rape crisis center in the country, the D.C. Rape Crisis center has extensive information on issues such as what to do if you are raped, the long term affects of assault, facts on assault, etc. They also provide a 24-hour hotline. Website: <http://www.bookcase.com/DCRCC> Hotline number: **530-342-RAPE**

RAINN—The Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network was founded by singer/songwriter Tori Amos. This organization has extensive material and statistical information regarding sexual assault, including a 24-hour hotline number. Website: <http://www.rainn.org> Hotline number: **1-800-656-HOPE**

The American Women's Self Defense Association—This organization is dedicated to furthering awareness of self-defense and rape prevention. This organization teaches self-defense classes, produces a quarterly newsletter, and holds conferences on all issues regarding rape prevention and defense. Website: <http://www.awsda.org> Phone number: **1-888-STOP-RAPE**

The Feminist Majority is a great resource for a variety of extensive information and links to dozens of national and local services. Website: <http://www.feminist.org>

The Rape Crisis Center— In existence since 1975, the Rape Crisis Center provides educational material on sexual assault for public education, crisis intervention, and counseling services. They also have a 24-hour hotline for victims of assault. Website: <http://www.rapecrisis.com> Hotline number: **210-349-RAPE**

Books

A Guide to Rape Awareness and Prevention
by Robert and Jeanine Ferguson

Acquaintance Rape by Robin Warshaw

Back Off! How to Confront and Stop Sexual Harassment And Harrassers by Martha Langelan

Defending Ourselves: A Guide to Prevention, Self-Defense, and Recovery from Rape by Rosalind Wiseman

Everything You Need to Know About Date-Rape
by Frances Shuker-Haines

How to Fight Back and Win: The Joy of Self-Defense by Judith Fein

I Never Called It Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting and Surviving Date and Rape Crisis Intervention Handbook: A Guide for Victim Care by Sharon McCombie

Rape on Campus by Bruno Leone

Recovering from Rape by Linda Ledray

Sexual Abuse Prevention: A Course of Study for Teenagers by Rebecca Voelkel-Haugen

Sexual Assault: How to Defend Yourself
by Dan Lean

Sexual Assault: Will I Ever Feel Okay Again?
by Kay Scott

Straight Talk about Date Rape by Susan Mufson

Surviving Sexual Violence by Liz Kelly

Talking Back to Sexual Pressure by Elizabeth Powell

The College Woman's Handbook by Rachel Dobkin and Shana Sippy

The Danger from Strangers: Confronting the Threat of Assault by James Brewer

Women's Sourcebook edited by Lisa DiMona and Constance Herndon

Eating Disorders and Teenagers

As highlighted earlier in the Self-Esteem section of this unit, teenagers struggle both with their sense of worth and negative body image. At an age where “fitting in” seems to mean success, many teens and young people will do anything to fit in. Often this includes trying to attain a body type that is portrayed as “ideal”—an incredibly emaciated one.

According to the resource page of the “About Face” website, today’s models are between 13% to 19% *underweight*. Poor body image combined with a desire to fit an unrealistic body type is a deadly combination. The result is young people suffering from eating disorders, including anorexia and bulimia, to keep themselves thin.

Anorexia is characterized by starvation dieting, excessive exercising, weight below what is necessary to maintain your body’s healthy functioning, and an intense fear of weight gain (Mirror-mirror web site, <http://www.eatdis.htm>). **Bulimia** is characterized by episodes of dieting along with eating large amounts of food in one sitting (bingeing) and then using laxatives or vomiting to “purge” their system of the food (About Face).

Besides the emotional trauma associated with eating disorders, the physical effects are devastating. The American Anorexia and Bulimia Association states that 1,000 women die of anorexia each year (About Face). Those that survive these

disorders live in a state of chronic illness, malnutrition, exhaustion, muscle and tissue damage, tooth decay (from stomach acids), anemia, and loss of hair.

- As mentors, take time to discuss eating disorders and their effects with your students. Encourage discussion of body image and the effects of living in a culture that venerates unhealthy thinness.
- Try to arrange for a faculty member from the high school health department to talk to your group about what happens to a body that is suffering from malnutrition.
- Do an exercise highlighting all of the different body shapes that exist (you can do this by sketching your shadows onto paper with chalk and highlighting how unique they all are). Talk about how all kinds of body shapes are normal and emaciation is not.
- If you think someone in your group is suffering from an eating disorder, encourage them to seek help. Below is a great list of resources that provide everything from basic information on eating disorders to how and where to get care.

RESOURCES

Here are some good websites for eating disorders:

<http://www.eatingdisorders.com>—This site has a vast amount of information on the disorders, statistics, chat groups, information on resources, therapy, hospitalization and programs to help people with eating disorders. It also links to other sites.

The Harvard Eating Disorders Center-HEDC is an interdisciplinary community of scholars dedicated to cutting-edge research, education, and public discourse in the field of eating disorders. Website: <http://www.hedc.org>

<http://www.something-fishy.org>—This site is probably the most comprehensive site discussing eating disorders on the web. The main page has a thorough definition for each type of eating disorder along with warning signs, emotional and physical damage, outreach, programs, and support groups online. There is also a page with personal stories from people with eating disorders.

Following is a list of national organizations that offer support and resource information.

American Anorexia/Bulimia Association
212-575-6200

National Association of Anorexia Nervosa and Associated Disorders 847- 831-3438

National Eating Disorders Organization
1-800-931-2337

Overeaters Anonymous
505-891-2664

BOOKS

A Hunger So Wide and So Deep by Becky Thompson

Appearance Obsession by Joni Johnson

Consuming Passions by C. Brown and K. Jasper

Fat is a Feminist Issue I and II by Susie Orbach

Feminist Perspectives on Eating Disorders
by Laura Fraser

Hunger Strike by Susie Orbach

Making Peace With Food by Susan Kano

Surviving an Eating Disorder
by M. Siegel, J. Brisman and M. Weinschel

The Hungry Self by Kim Chernin

The Secret Language of Eating Disorders
by Peggy Claude-Pierre

Unbearable Weight by Susan Bordo

Setting Up the Program: A “How To” Guide

The most important place to start when considering a mentoring program is with the understanding that a mentoring program requires a *long-term* time commitment. Any program working to enhance individual lives should not be attempted haphazardly. When setting up this mentoring program, assume that you are at the very beginning of a commitment that can potentially last for years between your campus Leadership Alliance and the high school.

When choosing a high school, its students, and mentors, it is essential to find people who are willing to commit to the program and who can invest at least a college semester (at minimum) of time. **Preferably, mentors should plan on participating for a year or longer. All of the steps listed below will instruct you on how to establish a relationship with a high school. The more prepared and organized your Leadership Alliance is, the better your chances are for creating a positive and lasting relationship in your community.**

This program does not include one-on-one mentoring; all activities are planned for either small or large groups. It also suggests bimonthly activities with the students. Again, depending on your time availability as a group, this structure is flexible to each Leadership Alliance’s time constraints.

DEVELOPING A MENTORING COMMITTEE

Once your Leadership Alliance has decided to start a mentoring program, have the members most interested in making this project their top priority commit to being a member of the steering committee. Ideally, this committee should be between four to six students who are dedicated to setting up a successful mentoring program. Once the committee is established, set up your first steering committee meeting and make sure to do the following:

- Introduce yourselves and explain why you want to start a mentoring program.
- Read this unit thoroughly and carefully as a group. You will realize that your group has to make decisions about your level of involvement with a high school early on. Immediately determine what kind of time commitment seems appropriate and realistic for your Leadership Alliance. Remember that you can always build on a smaller commitment, but will struggle to maintain an overly ambitious commitment.
- Present this unit to the Leadership Alliance general meeting. Discuss what the mentoring committee has determined as far as their time dedication to the high school students. Have you decided on a monthly event? Bimonthly? Weekly? On campus, off campus, or a combination? Explain your reasoning with the general group, and ask for their feedback. Use this as a way to get comfortable presenting the program, as you will need to present it to potential high schools.
- Create a workable timeline to begin the process of setting up the program with a local high school.
- Discuss the profile and interview process for potential mentors (highlighted below). Begin to establish how you will set up interviews and review profiles. (Note: Interviews should include at least two members of the Leadership Alliance).

- Pick a weekly meeting time to report back to each other on progress. Expect to need a substantial amount of time in the initial phases, and plan accordingly.
- If any questions about the program arise, *don't* guess; call your campus organizer.

After some initial steps are underway, the search for a local high school should begin. Simultaneously, another steering committee member should head up the effort to recruit mentors who want to join the Leadership Alliance. The existing members of the Leadership Alliance are strongly encouraged to participate.

ADOPTING A HIGH SCHOOL

There are many considerations when choosing which high school your group will adopt. These are some key points to investigate:

- Is it within close proximity and easily accessible from your campus?
- Are any campus faculty or staff familiar with local high schools and how might they support this program?
- Do any of your own feminist professors have ties to a high school (i.e. they have children there) who could provide insight?
- Does your campus faculty and staff know of feminist high school principals, administrators, or teachers in the area?
- Are there first-year feminist students at your college who came from a local high school who could recommend their school as a potential match?
- Do any of the high schools in your area offer outreach programs that involve community volunteers? Have they participated in any mentoring programs?
- Are there any obvious political climates to be aware of at a school? (e.g. an openly conservative or sexist school board or principal, abstinence-only “sex education” classes, etc).
- Is there a high school that enthusiastically wants to participate in a mentoring program?

There is a lot of investigative work that needs to happen *before* you make initial steps to contact a high school to ensure a good match. Here are some important tips when making initial phone calls to discuss your program with potential high schools:

- All mentors are members of the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance, a campus feminist activist program sponsored by the Feminist Majority Foundation, and explain the principles stated in its constitution.
- The program’s structure is flexible and desires input from the high school.
- The program’s objective is to educate and empower students on feminist issues ranging from self-esteem to college preparation.
- Off-campus activities are scheduled to take place, including a tour of your college campus and facilities.

- **The Leadership Alliance’s desire is to make a long-term commitment to a high school and its students.**
- **The Leadership Alliance’s desire is to discuss with administration and teachers what they feel would most benefit the students involved in the program.**
- Some activities deal specifically with young women’s lives (i.e. there is a section on Women and Sports) but everyone interested is encouraged to participate.
- Each mentor will fill out a profile and will be interviewed by the mentoring committee.

Ask a lot of questions, and if you have found a school with good potential, organize a meeting with your mentoring committee. Meet with the faculty and administration *before* making any decisions. Often, you can discover potential problems that did not surface over a phone conversation. At the meeting, make sure to include some of the following topics for discussion:

- Outline the goals of your mentoring program. Invite everyone to take a look at this unit in the Study and Action Manual.
- Explain your position as a member of the mentoring committee, as well as the profile and interview process for mentors.
- Highlight your timeline and how often you plan on meeting with the students.

At this point in the discussion, make sure to determine what the high school staff feels would benefit their students the most. Remember, a mentoring program should aim to serve the needs of the students and the high school. Do not assume that you know what would work best. Encourage their feedback and suggestions.

- Ask how potential students will be identified for the program and if they would like for the mentors to be part of that process.
- Allow open time for each group to ask questions.

RECRUITING MENTORS

Advertising your plans on starting a mentoring program will be an effective way to find new membership for the Leadership Alliance. It is essential to recruit for members of the Alliance and not just people who want to mentor since the program will require a substantial time commitment. Here are some suggestions for advertising the mentoring program:

- Flyer your campus about becoming a mentor for the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance. Make sure to include that it is a project of the Leadership Alliance and anyone interested should contact the student leaders to learn more about the group. Any non-member wanting to mentor must join the Leadership Alliance and support the principles of the organization (as stated in your constitution).
- Ask your faculty advisors to help identify students who might be interested and to announce the program (and the deadline to get involved) in their classes.
- Put an ad in your school paper about the Leadership Alliance and its new mentoring

project. Again, encourage feminists to contact the leaders of the Leadership Alliance if interested.

- Announce the Leadership Alliance's mentoring program at other student group meetings.
- Hold a general interest meeting discussing the Leadership Alliance and its mentoring program. Leave plenty of time to answer questions. Pass out Leadership Alliance membership applications to those interested. If students at your meeting have questions that you cannot answer about the program, have them contact your campus organizer.

INTERVIEWING: STRATEGIES AND TECHNIQUES

Every potential mentor should be interviewed by the steering committee. The interview will provide a forum to address basic issues like time commitment as well as more complex issues like what each person feels a mentor should be. The interview does not need to be lengthy, but should consider some of the following questions:

- Is s/he willing to participate (at the minimum) for one semester or longer?
- How much time does s/he have available to contribute?
- Does s/he have transportation or access to public transportation to get to and from the high school?
- What benefits does s/he feel s/he will get from mentoring?
- What extracurricular or volunteer activities has s/he been involved in?
- Does s/he consider herself/himself to be good student?
- Does s/he demonstrate sensitivity to other cultures and races?
- Has s/he ever been mentored before, or ever mentored others before?
- What are her/his goals as a mentor?

BECOMING MENTORS

Preferably, you should have at least ten mentors to kick off a small mentoring program. (Again, this number can vary widely depending on what kind of program you have in mind). Once you have conducted interviews and found your group of members that are committed to the program, each mentor will fill out a profile (see below). The profile gets down some basic information about each mentor and helps establish her or his goals for becoming part of the program. Here are some suggestions for what kinds of questions should be on the profile:

- Age, class year (and major)?
- What are some of their future goals?
- A list of hobbies and what they most enjoy doing in their free time.
- Are they proficient or fluent in more than one language?

- Do they play any sports (competitive or intramural)?
- What are their extracurricular activities on campus?
- Do they have any younger siblings? What do they most enjoy about having younger siblings? What is the hardest aspect of having younger siblings?
- If they could spend an afternoon any way they wanted to, how would they spend it?
- What do they hope to accomplish as a mentor?
- Who is their feminist role model?
- What do they think is the most important issue facing young feminists?
- What do they think is their most special quality?

Whatever questions you choose, the ultimate goal of the profile is to have a sense of a person's background, interests, and goals as a mentor. Make sure to create a file for the mentor profiles; this will help you keep track of who is involved in the program.

THE MENTOR TRAINING SEMINAR: WHAT TO COVER

Once you have determined your program scope, your group of mentors, the high school, and the students who are going to participate in the program, plan your training seminar. You should cover the following issues during this seminar:

- Establish the overall goals and vision of the mentoring program.
- Establish what the role of a mentor is and is *not*.
- Discuss logistics including the structure of the program you have decided on and how group activities will be implemented.
- Create scenarios that will highlight important issues of diversity and cultural sensitivity.
- Have a question/answer session.

Members of the mentoring steering committee will lead this seminar.

The term "trainer" does not mean that you have to be experts of all the nuances of mentoring programs. It means: 1. You have a thorough understanding of the program as presented in this unit. 2. You have led the effort to find a high school and create a workable structure for your Leadership Alliance participants and 3. You can answer questions on the how-to steps to the best of your ability. With these skills you can successfully lead a seminar that will familiarize mentors with the program and how it will work.

Establish overall goals of the program.

In the beginning of this unit is a list of the program's goals. Highlight these goals when discussing this topic, and encourage individuals to share their personal goals with the group.

Establish what the role of a mentor is and is not.

There are many things a mentor can be to a student. Mentors can be role models, advice-givers, listeners, teachers, and in some cases, even friends. **Mentors, however, are**

not parents, social workers, counselors, or psychotherapists. It is important to discuss the limits mentors must establish right away. You will not be trained to handle any emotionally damaged teenagers or trauma victims. You cannot counsel victims of molestation or rape. You are not trained to handle a student with a drug addiction. What you can do is listen, offer emotional support, and send troubled students in the right direction (i.e. high school counseling center). But essentially, **your role does not and cannot extend to levels of need that you and this program are not capable of providing.**

Discuss the structure of the program, including how activities will be implemented.

Discuss the structure you've decided on. Will you be having activities twice a month, or more often? Have you determined (with the teachers and administration) if your activities will include visits during school hours, or only after school hours? Give the group all of the logistical details the steering committee worked out with the high school, and explain how activities will work. Also highlight that all activities will be group activities.

Create scenarios that will highlight issues of diversity and cultural sensitivity.

As a group, do some role-playing activities. Create scenarios where a mentor is faced with a tough situation involving a variety of socio-economic statuses, beliefs, practices, or cultural traditions that are foreign to their experience. Here are some examples:

- A student likes and talks to the mentors about music that you find extremely offensive. It includes lyrics that you feel denigrate women.
- A student from the Middle East has worn a *hijab* to every mentoring activity. One day, she tells the group that she is thinking about abandoning the tradition and asks for thoughts. What would you say?
- Some students in your group can afford to apply to and attend private colleges. There are others, however, who cannot afford to go to private school and are looking into the local State university. How can the mentors address both groups effectively?
- There are three first-year students in your group who recently moved to the United States. Spanish is their primary language, and the three will often begin to speak to each other in Spanish. How could the mentors make all of the students feel more comfortable?

The purpose of having role-playing activities is to introduce mentors to potential situations where it is essential to be sensitive towards other beliefs, or traditions. This doesn't mean mentors must pretend to share the same view. It means that mentors should always show respect for an individual, even if this means to respectfully disagree with their beliefs. Take for instance, the situation above where a student liked and talked about music that someone finds extremely offensive. A mentor would never say: "I think that group is disgusting and misogynist, and I can't believe you listen to that sexist garbage!" This kind of response would not be as effective as explaining your view without being hostile and judgmental.

Also, "sticky" situations like some listed above could help your group talk about issues of cultural sensitivity with the high school students. Take the example where some students are speaking to each other in Spanish. The mentors could use this as a way to help other students understand what it must feel like to be immersed into a different culture

with limited time to adjust. The mentors could also take the opportunity to have the Latina/Latino students share some of their traditions with the group—giving them an opportunity to share their culture and to also feel more included. During your seminar, create other scenarios where you can develop some effective ways to address issues of diversity as well as ways to use those difficult situations as tools for group learning.

MENTOR/STUDENT NIGHT

The best way to begin your mentoring program is to have an exciting and fun kick-off event. Try to hold this event at the high school (in the gym or cafeteria possibly). Here are some suggestions for the evening:

- Introduce the mentors and students (include an icebreaker) and then have a fun group activity. One idea is to have mentors and students bring in a picture to share with the group. The picture can be of family, friends, their favorite spot, or their pet. Have them explain why the picture is significant to them.
- Make sure to bring food (and music if possible) to the Mentor/Student night. Make the atmosphere casual and fun so that everyone feels comfortable.
- Discuss the goals of the mentor program and answer any questions.
- Discuss potential activities, and ask if people have a preference for what to do first.

As members of the Leadership Alliance, you have a tremendous opportunity to provide young people with information, resources, support, and most importantly, someone to look up to. Take pride in the fact that you are working to better the lives and experiences of others. Use this opportunity to create a lasting relationship between your college and the local high school so that other leaders will follow in your footsteps and invest their time to further create positive change in their community.

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Unit 8

Leadership Choices: Win a Seat at the Table

Gender affects public opinion, decision-making, voting behavior, and political involvement at all levels – national, local and on campuses. Unit 8 reviews the role of the gender gap in public opinion and voting, and the need for more women and feminists in public decision-making positions to reflect and represent women’s views on issues such as reproductive choice.

The feminists of the 19th and early 20th century envisioned a day when women would not only vote, but also when women’s votes would affect the outcome of elections, and would create a more compassionate, nonviolent society. Such a society would outlaw child labor, aid the poor, treat the sick, care for the elderly, end war as well as violence toward women, and educate the young.

The gender gap in voting is a powerful weapon for women to win equality, reproductive freedom, and a change in the spending priorities of the nation. What the suffragists had envisioned at the turn of the century has now happened at the end of this century. Women are influencing the agenda of the nation with their votes.

William Jefferson Clinton is the first president of the United States elected by the gender gap. Not only did a majority of women vote for Clinton – if only men had voted in 1996, Bob Dole would be the President. The gender gap in favor of Clinton was fueled by women’s concerns about Medicare, Social Security, education, and abortion rights. Men placed greater emphasis on taxes and the deficit in their presidential voting.

Today the underrepresentation of women in the decision-making spheres of all the major areas of our society – elections and appointed office, in business, executive suites, in college and university administration, law, medicine, science, athletics, media and religion – leads to a devaluation of women’s concerns, needs, and issues. Most importantly, the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles leads to a narrowing of choices not only in leadership itself but also in options for decision-making. The undervaluing of women’s talents and contributions to decision-making hurts not only women and girls but also our society as a whole.

If women were equally represented in Congress and state legislatures today, the issue of reproductive choice for women would be settled and the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution would be ratified. Additionally, affirmative action for women and people of color would remain intact until discrimination had ended, and spending for family planning, health care, the elderly, education, and the poor would be dramatically increased. This is not just wishful thinking – public opinion poll after poll shows a major gender gap on all of these issues. Moreover, studies with elected officials show these same gender gaps (Center for the American Woman and Politics).

The Gender Gap in Voting and Public Opinion

The gender gap in voting was first identified by Eleanor Smeal in 1980 when she was president of the National Organization for Women. As she led the drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution, Smeal noticed that 8% fewer women than men voted for Ronald Reagan.

In Smeal's 1997 address to the National Press Club regarding the discovery of the gender gap and its importance, she stated:

This gender gap could be the power we needed to ratify the ERA. As pollster Louis Harris has said, "The power that any group or any combination of voters can get is in direct proportion to the degree to which they are the margin of difference." It's the power of the margin of difference.

*The **gender gap** – and let us define it here clearly so there can be no mistake about it – is the measurable difference in the way women and men vote for candidates and in the way they view political issues. **It is the margin of difference between women and men—not the votes of all women or all men but the margin of difference between the two groupings.***

The gender gap is not the difference between how different groupings of women voted – but the difference between women and men. In this past election it was widely reported that the gender gap was 17% – the difference between the percentage of women voting for Clinton and the percentage of women voting for Dole. But that is wrong. The gender gap – the difference between the percentages of women and men voting for Clinton – was actually 11%: the largest gender gap in Presidential polling recorded.

Nobody today is disputing the importance of the gender gap, which has in some cases determined the outcome in elections for U.S. Senators, members of Congress, Governors, and now even the President of the United States. But, today,

debate continues over the "why" of the gender gap and the relevance of the gender gap.

The gender gap in voting is based on gender gaps in public issues primarily in three cluster areas: violence, health and human services, and women's rights. Virtually since public opinion polling began, women have registered different opinions from men on a whole host of significant gender gap issues.

Since World War II women have been more reluctant to send troops into battle by some 20 percentage points than men. Women have been more opposed to the use of violence in international relations or in domestic disputes, and more concerned with issues of domestic violence and gun control.

In poll after poll, year after year, women have been more concerned about the poor, health care, education, Medicare and Medicaid, welfare, and Social Security. Additionally, they support social spending by the government by about 15 percentage points more than men.

And, in poll after poll, women have supported women's rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and affirmative action for women and minorities at a higher intensity level than men. Women have been more willing than men to condition their votes on the basis of these issues by a margin of some 10 points.

The gender gap in voting is fundamentally rooted in the gender gap in attitudes on public issues. And the gender gap is based on life experience and self interest.

Women's rights in particular are always given short shrift as a principal cause of the gender gap. But it is no coincidence that a gender gap in voting on the presidency first emerged in the 1980 election, when the Republican Party platform and its presidential candidate came out against the ERA and legalized abortion. Until the Right Wing became dominant in national Republican politics, equal rights for women and abortion were more or less bipartisan issues. Every president until Reagan, Republican and Democrat alike, had supported the ERA. Both Ford and Carter were for the ERA

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and legal abortion. Women did not see these issues polarized on party lines until 1980 – and even then the picture was confusing. There were many Republicans who supported the ERA and legalized abortion and many Democrats who opposed, and vice versa.

But with the emergence of the new Right this all gradually changed. And what started as a tentative gender gap is becoming institutionalized. If the Radical Right is going to continue to push the Republican Party to oppose abortion rights, affirmative action, and social spending on health care and education, women are going to become more and more alienated from the Republican Party. And more men, by the way, are being pulled away from the Republicans by third party movements. For example, Max Cleland's victory in Georgia resulted from the combination of a third party candidate and a 15 point gender gap.

But political pundits, parties, and candidates are still often not fazed by these facts. Most often they dwell on chasing men's votes. Or, they simply try to explain away the gender gap in terms of marital status, economic status, suburban dweller, soccer moms Anything but gender. But the gender gap is gender. The gender gap cuts across race, economic class, residence, age, and party lines.

Since 1964 women have cast more votes than men. Since the early 1980s, women have been registering and voting at consistently higher rates than men. This participatory behavior, combined with a larger proportion of women in the adult population, adds up to about 8 million more women in the electorate than men. With this voting advantage, women can determine the outcome of elections even with very small gender gaps.

Today, we have perhaps the clearest of gender gaps – a majority of women's votes elected the President and a majority of men's votes elected the Republican Congress. How could the Republican Party have prevailed with more women voting? In total numbers more people voted Democratic than Republican in the 1996

aggregate House races. The Gingrich majority depends on some 20,000 votes in just 10 districts. With gerrymandering in the House districts and with each state having two senators regardless of population size, women's votes and for that matter racial minority votes are given less weight. You see, women and men no longer are distributed evenly throughout the population. Some 45% of women today live without a spouse in the household – divorced, separated, widowed, or never married. And because women on the average have less income than men, they are more likely to live in lower-income housing, clustered in urban areas.

Abortion is another key gender gap issue, which shows signs of only growing in potency. Poll after poll shows that the public believes abortion should be legal and should be a woman's choice. **But, for the first time since Roe v. Wade in 1973, both Houses in Congress have a majority against legal abortion.** And every time a doctor is shot or a clinic is bombed, our support increases. Anti-abortion extremists are recruiting for us. People want to end the debate over abortion by allowing women to make their own choices. Violence and terrorism is not an acceptable political strategy in a civilized society. Anti-abortion extremists are making themselves political pariahs.

The endurance of abortion as a campaign issue and a gender gap issue is clear. Our National Women's Equality Poll, conducted by Louis and Peter Harris, showed that 17% of the electorate are certain to shift their votes away from a candidate who took a position opposite to theirs on the right to choose. And, of this 17%, the overwhelming majority-79%, would come down against the anti-abortion candidate. The gender gap here is enormous. Of pro-choice women, 59% said they would be likely to vote against a candidate opposed to abortion rights, compared with 47% of pro-choice men.

But conventional wisdom in Washington is that abortion had little effect on the 1996 election. The data, however, tell us a different story. Pre-election polls attested to the enduring

importance of abortion as a campaign issue and a gender gap issue. An August 1996 Newsweek poll found that 33% of voters rated abortion as one of the most important issues in deciding who to vote for president. Again, a substantial gender gap appeared: 37% of women said abortion was one of the most important issues, compared with 28% of men.

Of significance, the abortion issue was even more important for young voters. An August 1996 poll of adults 17-29 found that 56% of young people identified abortion as important to their voting. Another poll revealed that young voters were as likely to rank abortion a key issue as crime, welfare, health care, or the deficit.
—(Smeal, “From Gender Gap to Gender Gulf”)

(For a thorough discussion of the gender gap and women’s rights issues see Smeal, *Why and How Women Will Elect the Next President*, 1984).

The gender gap in voting and public opinion polls is also apparent in institutional decision-making. The underrepresentation of women in university and college leadership positions leads to a devaluing of women’s issues and concerns. For example, at one university, feminists led a campus demonstration after the administration, which had invested in a new lighting system for the football stadium, said it could not afford to improve lighting on campus for public safety.

Women in Public Office

Women today are 13.6% of the members of Congress – 13.6% of the members of the House of Representatives, and 14% of the Senate. There are 59 women voting representatives out of 435 and 14 women Senators out of 100. Two women in Congress are non-voting members – Eleanor Holmes Norton of the District of Columbia and Donna Christian-Green of the Virgin

Islands. At the present rate of growth it will take 280 years – until the year 2276 – for women to hold 50% of the Congressional seats (CAWP).

Nearly all incumbent pro-choice women won re-election in 2002 – although the only incumbent female Representative to lose in 2002, Congresswoman Connie Morella (R-MD), was pro-choice. The only woman Senator to lose was pro-choice Senator Jean Carnahan (D-MO), who was running to complete the term won by her late husband former Governor Mel Carnahan in 2000.

The Senate gained two women in 2002. Senator Elizabeth Dole (R-NC) and Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK). The latter was appointed by her father to fill the remainder of his term that he vacated when he was elected Governor of Alaska.

African American women make up 2% of the members of Congress. Hispanic women are 1.4%. Asian American women had one member in Congress – Patsy Mink of Hawaii – until she died from pneumonia in the summer of 2002. (Her seat was filled by a male candidate.) Of the 59 women in the House of Representatives, African American women are 19% and Hispanic women are 10.2%.

Although a record number of women – 1,680 – are serving in state legislatures, the 1996 elections produced only a 0.8% increase – one of the lowest gains in 20 years. Typically women increase at the rate of 1.2% in the state legislatures every two years since almost 1972. At the current rate of growth, which has been essentially constant since 1972 with only an exceptional doubling of the rate in 1992, it will take 40 years – until the year 2038 – for women to gain equality in the state legislatures. This constitutes a generation and a half before women gain equality.

In order for the rate of increase of women in public office to change, more

Unit 8 ■ Leadership Choices: Win a Seat at the Table

women most run for public office and must run at younger ages. Typically, far fewer women run – and run at 40 years of age or older for their first office. Meanwhile men, who still dominate campus politics, begin running for office in college and subsequently, begin their public careers in their mid- to late twenties.

Feminists Make a Difference

Feminist women – and men – in public office at every level of government make a critical difference. There is a difference in their political attitudes and in their voting behavior that dramatically alters what government does, for whom it does it, how funds are allocated, and even what issues are addressed. Feminists have demonstrated more support for reproductive choice, Medicaid, Medicare, child care spending, and decreases in the defense budget.

Both polls and academic studies – notably those by the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University – have consistently documented the fact that women as a group in office, whether elected or appointed, have distinctly different opinions from men as a group on a wide range of public issues. These different attitudes translate into different perspectives on public policy. Regardless of race, class, age, income, and party, **women prioritize women's rights** – abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and affirmative action – to a much greater degree than men. According to 1996 exit polls, support for abortion among voters is stronger among women. Although 61% of women voters and 58% of men voters support abortion rights, 28% of women compared to 21% of men felt abortion should be legal in all cases (Jackman, “Gender Gap Decisive”).

Issues such as reproductive choice, affordable healthcare, and child care affect

women to a greater degree than men in the United States. Due to these experiential differences including a higher rate of employment without health insurance, increasingly limited control of their reproductive lives, and primary child care responsibilities, women are more likely to encourage discussion of private concerns in the public realm. In the 1980s, women introduced one-third more bills concerning children than did their male counterparts (Thomas 73). Reflected through committee assignments, chair positions, and bills introduced, elected women's policy priorities more clearly support measures aimed at full equality for women. These are just a few examples of legislation introduced by women:

- the Fair Labor Standards Standards of 1938
- 1944 G.I. Bill of Rights
- 1963 Equal Pay Act
- the prohibition against sex discrimination in Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act
- the school lunch program
- rules of evidence in rape trials and funding for rape crisis centers
- the prohibition against sex discrimination in Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972

The increasing numbers of women in government as well as the greater societal acceptance of women in public roles have helped women lower the barriers in their paths. Studies indicate that political arenas that include higher proportions of women foster greater development of women's policy priorities (Thomas). When women gain equal access to elected positions, these priorities will be at the forefront of

legislation. Can we consider ourselves a true democracy when women comprise 52% of the population but only 22% of state legislators and 13% of Congress?

Flooding the Ticket Works

Women’s success rates of election in like races have been equal, if not better, than men’s. The scarcity of female candidates in primaries, rather than their loss rate, has contributed to the small number of women in elected office.

The more women who run, the more

women will be elected. This concept – “flooding the ticket” – has proven successful in the election of women. The 1996 elections saw a record number of women running for the House, resulting in the highest number of women elected to office. And, women showed their power against the incumbents. Although women were only 14% of all candidates for House seats, they were more than 25% of the challengers who defeated incumbents (CAWP).

To be a U.S. House member, an individual must be over 25 and be a (non naturalized) U.S. citizen; for Senate, the age is 30. To run for President, an individual must be a national-born citizen and at least

35 years of age. Women have come from all backgrounds before entering the political scene. Lawyers, educators, nurses, business owners, salespeople, homemakers, and social workers are only a few of the jobs candidates for the U.S. House held in 1992 (Burrell). Women do not need a law degree or years of experience in government to win a seat.

The median age for a newly elected male U.S. Representative is 43, while the median age for a woman is 49 (Burrell). Because women start their careers at a later age, it is harder for them to advance into committee leadership positions and establish seniority. Therefore, it is critical for young women to enter politics. Younger women, like young men,

Chart 1 ■ Women in State Legislatures

State	Total Seats	Total Women	Percent Women	Rank	State	Total Seats	Total Women	Percent Women	Rank
AL	140	6	4.3	50	MT	150	35	23.3	20
AK	60	8	13.3	43	NE	49	13	26.5	12
AZ	90	34	37.8	2	NV	63	21	33.3	4
AR	135	23	17	35	NH	424	131	30.9	6
CA	120	27	22.5	24	NJ	120	19	15.8	38
CO	100	35	35	3	NM	112	30	26.8	11
CT	187	54	28.9	10	NY	211	39	18.5	29
DE	62	15	24.2	17	NC	170	29	17.1	32
FL	160	37	23.1	21	ND	147	24	16.3	37
GA	236	39	16.5	36	OH	132	29	22	25
HI	76	13	17.1	32	OK	149	15	10.1	48
ID	105	25	23.8	18	OR	90	23	25.6	16
IL	177	46	26	13	PA	253	31	12.3	45
IN	150	28	18.7	28	RI	150	39	26	13
IA	150	31	20.7	27	SC	170	22	12.9	44
KS	165	49	29.7	9	SD	105	18	17.1	32
KY	138	13	9.4	49	TN	132	18	13.6	42
LA	144	16	11.1	47	TX	181	33	18.2	30
ME	186	48	25.8	15	UT	104	16	15.4	39
MD	188	56	29.8	8	VT	180	57	31.7	5
MA	200	46	23	22	VA	140	21	15	40
MI	148	34	23	23	WA	147	58	39.5	1
MN	201	61	30	7	WV	134	20	14.9	41
MS	174	20	11.5	46	WI	132	31	23.5	19
MO	197	43	21.8	26	WY	90	16	17.8	31

Source: Center for American Women in Policies. 2003

must begin their careers in their twenties to rise to incumbency and control of the legislative agenda. Only when men and women attain parity among leadership and committee assignments will issues important to women be a priority concern.

Women must take control of their lives by participating in our decision-making bodies. The door to equality will not be fully open until issues of great concern to women are put at the forefront of the political agenda. It is time to flood the ticket, take advantage of the gender gap, and take the power that women, 52% of the population, deserve!

An Overview of Women in State Legislatures

In 2003, women comprised 22.3% of state legislatures. Percentages in the various states range from a high of 36.7% in Washington to a low of 9.4% in South Carolina. Although every state has at least four women in the legislative House, South Carolina has only two women in the State Senate. Of the 1,648 women who serve in state legislatures, 797 are Democrats, 640 are Republicans, 1 is Independent, and 9 are nonpartisan (CAWP, "Women in State Legislatures," 2003).

Women of color hold 298 of 7,382 total seats, or 4.0%, in state legislatures. African-American women hold 205 seats, Asian-America/Pacific Islander women hold 23 seats, Latinas hold 61, and Native American women hold 9 seats. Women of color comprise 18.1% of all women in state legislatures (CAWP, "Women of Color," 2003).

Women of color hold 277 of 7,424 total seats, or 3.7%, in state legislatures. African-American women hold 139 seats, Asian-American/Pacific Islander women hold 21, Latinas hold 57, and Native American

women hold 10. Women of color comprise 16.5% of all women in state legislatures (CAWP, "Women of Color," 1997).

Women are mayors of 20% of cities with over 30,000 people – up from 4.7% in 1973. In 1997, 43 states had women mayors of these cities. Colorado has the highest percentage of women mayors of cities over 30,000 – 57.1% (NWPC, "Fact Sheet").

Exploding the Myths

MYTH: A woman should not use the word feminist in her campaign.

FACT: Feminism and feminist ideas have more popular support than anti-feminist ideas.

The 1995 National Women's Equality Poll conducted by Louis and Peter Harris for the Feminist Majority Foundation found that **51%, the majority of women polled, identify as feminists.** Among women under 30, this percentage increased to 63%. When the public is told a feminist is "someone who supports political, economic and social equality for women," 61% of men and 71% of women define themselves as feminist. The 2003 Ms. magazine/Feminist Majority Foundation Survey on Women, Men, and Feminism, which was also conducted by Peter Harris, found that 56% of women identified as feminists, with 61% of women under 30 adopting a feminist identification. In the 2003 poll, 78% of women and 70% of men identified as feminists after being told the definition. Not only does the general public support feminist ideas, but there are more feminist women in elected office than anti-feminist. Numerous studies have shown women to be the strongest supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment, reproductive freedom, affirmative action, and women's rights.

MYTH: Women will not vote for women.

FACT: Most women candidates get their greatest support from women voters and organizations.

The same *1995 Women's Equality Poll* that found a majority of women supporting feminist ideals also found that 84% of women believe it is important to elect women to office. These statistics were proven in recent elections as women resoundingly elected women to office. In 1994, Dianne Feinstein won a seat in the U.S. Senate with 52% of the women's vote and 41% of the men's. In 1992, Barbara Boxer won her Senate race with 57% of the women's vote and 43% of the men's. In the 1992 Senate elections, the women's vote provided the margin of victory for three of the four newly elected female Senators (Smeal, "From Gender Gap").

MYTH: Women should only run for winnable seats.

FACT: All seats are up for grabs.

For women to advance in politics, they must not only run for open seats but also challenge incumbents. Although the rates of re-election are high, the 1996 elections showed women to be strong challengers. In these elections, women were only 14% of candidates for the House seats, but were over 25% of challengers who defeated incumbents (Seltzer, Newman, & Leighton 83). The rate of re-election for incumbents is over 90% for members of the U.S. Congress and even higher for the state legislatures (CAWP, "The Gender Gap"). Since women make up only a small percentage of incumbents, they must run for seats that may not initially seem viable.

Running, although it might not end in victory, may make a candidate more viable for the next race. In all cases, women will only win if they run!

MYTH: Women candidates lose more often than males.

FACT: In like races, women win as often, if not more often, than men.

This is a dangerous stereotype because perception can mistakenly lead to reality, thus discouraging women candidates from running for office. Since women's election success rates in similar races are virtually the same as men's, the more women run, the more women will win.

MYTH: One woman should not run against another woman.

FACT: If that applied to men, there would be little competition in elections.

The goal of elections is to choose the most qualified candidate to hold office. Women are running against one another with the usual results: one wins, one loses. In Maryland in 1986, Democrat Barbara Mikulski successfully ran against right-wing Republican Linda Chavez for the United States Senate. In Nebraska, Kay Orr, the Republican State Treasurer, ran against Helen Bossalis, the Democratic Mayor of Lincoln, and Orr won. Both women had won their primaries against well-known male candidates (CAWP, "Women Make News").

Cracking the System: Getting an Internship

For many college students, an internship on Capitol Hill in Washington D.C. or their state capitol is an introduction to the national or state political scene. Students who want to learn more about the legislative process can work for members of Congress or state legislators. Interns usually work on administrative tasks, press/media responsibilities, or legislative assistance. Internships in women's or pro-choice advocacy organizations that work to influence legislation are another place to begin.

You should contact the office of the legislator you would like to work for to receive an application. Applications include a cover letter, writing samples, and letters of recommendation. The



application deadlines are usually in March. To reach your Congressperson's office, call the appropriate switchboard.

Senate Switchboard:

(202) 224-3121

House of Representatives Switchboard:

(202) 225-3121

Internships with state officials are also important. Interns at a state office might do administrative tasks, constituent advocacy, or research federal government issues. Call your governor's office for a list of possible internships. Working with your governor or state legislative members provides a more local approach to the political scene.

Introduction

The actions included in the “Winning a Seat at the Table” unit of the Study and Action Manual are designed to inspire you and other feminist students, faculty, and staff at colleges and universities nationwide to seek positions of influence on campus, in the surrounding community, and beyond. More specifically, the goal of this portion of *Choices* is to encourage more feminists to: run for elective student government offices; obtain appointments to campus policymaking committees; take leadership positions in student, staff, and faculty organizations; strive for top level roles in campus activities such as newspapers, radio/T.V. stations, and yearbooks; work for parity for women and people of color in “tenure track” and tenured faculty positions; promote the hiring of women and people of color in senior administrative jobs; develop parity for women and people of color on boards of trustees; and take action to promote the Campus Feminist Agenda. By exercising our full potential of *Leadership Choices* on campus, feminists are in a better position to win greater choices in reproduction, careers, and all other areas of our lives.

Clearly, “Winning a Seat at the Table” is a major endeavor. This process is outlined step by step as the major action for this unit of the Study and Action Manual, “How to Win a Seat at the Table on Your Campus.” It is unlikely, however, that your Leadership Alliance will take on this process as simply one major action. Rather, it is through participating in some of the smaller “Additional Actions” suggested at the end of this unit, that your Leadership Alliance can achieve small victories towards realizing the larger goal. Your investment in our vision of gender and racial equality in campus leadership will likely remain a priority for your Leadership Alliance throughout its existence on campus – a priority that you work on little by little while keeping the larger vision in mind.

How to Win a Seat at the Table on Your Campus

STEP 1: IDENTIFY THE POSITIONS OF POWER ON CAMPUS

You will likely have done most of this groundwork during the action component of the “Know Your Campus” Unit of the Study and Action Manual. If you have not, however, now is the perfect time to carry out that exercise, as it will be invaluable as your Leadership Alliance begins the process of “Winning a Seat at the Table.”

Using the information you gathered during the “Know Your Campus” Unit of the Study and Action Manual, make a list of the elected positions in student government and other influential bodies such as campus publications, boards, dorm leadership, student organizations, and inter-collegiate commissions.

STEP 2: DETERMINE THE CAMPUS CLIMATE FOR WOMEN

Again, most of this information should already have been gathered during your work on the “Know Your Campus” action. Using this comprehensive pool of information, get a general feeling for the status of women on your campus. Specifically review your figures on the number of women and people of color who ran for student government positions in each of the last two years, the number of men who ran uncontested for these positions, and your figures regarding the diversity of tenured faculty, administrators, and Board of Trustee members.

STEP 3: KNOW THE ELECTION RULES AND CUSTOMS

Be sure to become familiar with the election filing procedures for each influential position on campus. Election information is usually available from the main student government office, from the campus activities office, or from the particular group with the open seat. Review all of the election rules to determine whether any of them work to the disadvantage of women, people of color, disabled persons, or other groups on campus. If so, make this an issue in your campaign. Also find out the spending limits for each race. Often, the student government itself will provide campaign money for candidates running for student government positions.

Be aware of the campus political calendar and make sure other feminist and progressive students on campus are aware of these key dates. More precisely, when is the candidate filing deadline? What are the candidate qualifications? When is the campaign period? When are the elections? Will there be a runoff? Try to publicize this information in key feminist areas (i.e. feminist publications, women's centers, women's studies offices, ethnic studies offices).

STEP 4: SET HIGH GOALS— FLOOD THE TICKET

The goal of the “Winning a Seat at the Table” action is not simply to win one race, but to gain equality for women and people of color in leadership and decision-making positions on campus. To accomplish this goal, the Leadership Alliance must make sure that feminists are running in *every* race, especially the most powerful of the elected positions. Remember, the point is to “flood the ticket” with feminists— to get as many feminists to run in elections as possible, even in those races which appear to be long shots. The theory behind “flooding the ticket” is quite simple – the more feminists that run for elected positions, the more feminists elected to those positions. In other words, it is impossible to have 50% of our campus leaders be women, if fewer than 50% of our candidates are!

To increase the number of feminist candidates running for office, the Leadership Alliance can distribute and post flyers in the library, dining areas, classrooms, and academic offices announcing the group's search for feminist candidates. Additionally, you should talk with professors, deans, and other campus faculty with access to students, and ask them to recommend student candidates and encourage their feminist students to seek office.

STEP 5: SEEK OTHER POSITIONS OF POWER

If you find potential candidates who will not run for student government or other popularly elected offices on campus, encourage them to seek other policy-making positions of power. Often, appointments to committees or boards offer extensive opportunities for feminists to establish a solid feminist support network from “within,” and gain some experience and confidence before making the transition to elected office. Additionally, intercollegiate student groups are important places for feminists to be, and offer a unique opportunity for feminists to organize between campuses.

Develop lists of potential appointees and give these lists to the people responsible for making these appointments on campus. Furthermore, urge all feminist candidates to make sex and race equality in appointments a campaign issue so that those who are elected are committed to appointing women and people of color.

STEP 6: DEVELOP EXCITEMENT AND VISIBILITY FOR THE CAMPAIGNS

While a low key search for feminist candidates can produce results, exposing inequality within the power structures on campus can build support and excitement for your campaign efforts throughout the university. This provides another excellent opportunity for the Leadership Alliance to use all of the information gleaned during the “Know Your Campus” actions. Widely publicizing some of the most disturbing results will help your campus community see the need for feminist leadership, as well as help put feminist issues on the election agenda. Strategic use of your “Know Your Campus” survey will help make equality *the* issue on campus to fight for this year, and every year until equality is reached!

To help spread the word about feminist campaign issues and feminist candidates, members of the Leadership Alliance can speak to classes, departmental meetings, and student organizational meetings. Also work with feminist-friendly newspaper staff to run an article on the feminist election platform and feminist candidates. If editors are unwilling to write a story on your efforts, submit several letters to the editor, or submit an op-ed article.

Additional actions to help build excitement and support for your efforts include holding a rally, hosting an open forum to discuss sexual and racial inequities on campus, or inviting a feminist speaker to address such issues near election time.

STEP 7: GET OUT THE VOTE!

Feminists require two things to “Win a Seat at the Table”— feminist candidates and feminist votes. We have reviewed some ways that the Leadership Alliance can increase the number of feminist candidates running for office on campus. The next step in the election process is ensuring that feminists on campus vote. By making efforts to increase voter participation, the Leadership Alliance is tapping into a supply of supporters that might otherwise remain silent. Since we know that feminists are the majority, we have a greater chance of winning a seat if everyone on campus votes.

On the average, only 20% of students vote in their campus elections. On some college campuses, that turn-out is as low as 3%. There are several reasons for this. One possibility is poorly accessible polling locations. Working to ensure that all students have convenient and equally accessible polling areas will undoubtedly help feminist candidates. Moreover, many students, especially more progressive students, feel that student government candidates don’t address the issues most important to them. By putting gender and racial campus equality at the center of the campaign debate, the Leadership Alliance is introducing to the campaign a topic of vital importance to the majority of the campus community. Redefining the priorities of the campaign and its candidates will surely help feminists “Win a Seat at the Table.”

Additional Actions:

I. MAJOR SPEAKER ON WOMEN IN POLITICS

Try to get a feminist speaker to come to campus near student government election time. Suggested topics of discussion include the importance of increasing the number of pro-choice women and people of color in politics, or a discussion of the speaker’s own experience as a pro-choice woman in politics. Local and state feminist political figures will make excellent speakers for this event, as will feminist political scientists, authors, and

activists. Before taking on this action, you will want to consult the Leadership Alliance’s “how-to” for getting a major speaker to campus. Furthermore, you are encouraged to contact your Campus Organizer for help choosing and securing a speaker.

2. GET TO KNOW YOUR LOCAL AND STATE LEADERS

Find out who your state and local legislators are, as well as their positions on key feminist issues such as abortion, family planning, and affirmative action. Moreover, try to find out the percentages of women and people of color in these offices and other positions of power such as school boards and town councils.

Remember: The object of this exercise is to *identify* and *educate* these political candidates, not to *endorse* them. The Feminist Majority Foundation and its affiliated Leadership Alliances are not able to endorse, pay money to, or work for any political candidates affiliated with a national, state, or local political party.

3. EXPOSE ANTI-FEMINIST CANDIDATES AND CAMPUS LEADERS

Find out which candidates running for positions of power on your campus are anti-choice, anti-feminist, anti-people of color, anti-woman. Which candidates oppose affirmative action, want to see Women’s and Ethnic Studies programs cut, oppose pro-choice reproductive counseling on campus, oppose funding for gay and lesbian student programming, and resist integrating positions of power on the campus community? Make sure voters know about which candidates support a regressive and limiting agenda for women, people of color, and gay and lesbian students. As the overwhelming majority of students on college campuses are progressive and support equality for women, people of color, and gay and lesbian students, getting the word out about anti-feminist candidates will no doubt hurt their election chances.

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Unit 9

Career Choices: Empower Women in the Workplace

Women have entered the paid labor force in massive numbers in the twentieth century. In 1920, women accounted for less than 20 percent of workers in the United States economy. By 2001, women comprised 46.6 percent of the total United States workforce, and our numbers in the paid labor force are still growing. (See Chart 1.) Women are increasingly exercising their *Career Choices*.

As women choose to enter careers previously closed to them and struggle to end the sexual harassment and discrimination that plagues many workplaces, women are redefining more than their own lives. Women change more than office dynamics and misconceptions about a “woman’s place” when they enter the workforce; they affect the very nature of their fields. Working women have redefined knowledge in every discipline from physics to policing. Therefore, understanding women’s historical and growing involvement in the workplace is central to understanding their choices in all other realms.

Reading this unit, you will first gain an understanding of sex discrimination in the workforce as it exists today. Next, you will learn about the most important federal legislation affecting women in the workplace. Finally, the unit offers an introduction to some of the most exciting feminist careers for young people to enter.

Working to achieve equality for women in *Career Choices*, your Leadership Alliance is simultaneously working to expand all other areas of choice for women. Women in positions of influence, in the workplace and elsewhere, have always pushed for further opportunity. By learning about the progress women have made on the job, identifying that which still remains to be done, and exploring how you can advance the status of working women, you are preparing to expand women’s choices beyond this campaign.

Sex Discrimination in Employment and Policy Remedies

THE GENDER SEGREGATED WORKPLACE AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Although the number of women in the workforce has increased dramatically in recent decades, a majority of women workers remain segregated in some of the lowest paid, lowest prestige occupations. One-third of all women workers are employed in low-paying jobs. Globally, women receive no wages for 66% of their work (AFL-CIO). Women of color are disproportionately crowded into some of the lowest

paying traditionally female jobs (U.S. Department of Labor, Women’s Bureau, “Worth More”).

While most women continue to experience **occupational segregation**, larger numbers of women are now entering non-traditional fields than ever before. **Non-traditional occupations** are those in which women comprise 25 percent or less of total employment (Women’s Bureau, “Hot Jobs”). These jobs tend to offer higher wages than traditionally female jobs. Between 1980 and 2000, the percentage of women physicians increased from 11.6% to 24%. (American Medical Association).

From 1971 to 1999, the percentage of women practicing law increased from 3% to 28.5% (USLAW.com, ABAWomenJustice.html).

The numbers of women firefighters, police officers, and construction workers also increased substantially in the 1970s and 1980s (FMF, “Affirmative Action”). But women’s numbers in these traditionally

male occupations were so tiny to start out with that women still comprise only 2.8% of firefighters, 12.7% of police officers, and 3.5% of construction workers (Women’s Bureau, “Non-traditional Occupations for Women in 2001”).

The entry of women into traditionally male-dominated fields has been made possible by affirmative action. **Affirmative action programs** in both education and employment have opened workplace doors for women of all colors who historically have been excluded from better-paying and high-status jobs, making it possible for women to enter employment in professional, managerial, and blue-collar fields. Affirmative action programs seek to remedy past discrimination against women and people of color by increasing the recruitment, promotion, retention, and on-the-job training opportunities in employment and by removing barriers to admission to educational institutions. Because of the long history of discrimination based on sex and race, most affirmative action programs have been directed towards improving employment and education opportunities for women and people of color. (FMF, “Origins”).

Affirmative action strategies include expanding the pool of job or admission applicants through recruitment efforts which reach outside of traditional channels, such as posting job notices in places where women and minorities are more likely to see them. In employment, affirmative action programs also seek to increase on-the-job training opportunities that are related to occupational mobility within workplaces. In some cases, affirmative action programs have been instituted by law, government regulation, or court decree. In other cases, employers have established affirmative action programs voluntarily to increase the pool of qualified applicants and to diversify their workplaces. (FMF, “Origins”).

Chart 1 ■ Women and Men in the U.S. Labor Force, 1948–1996

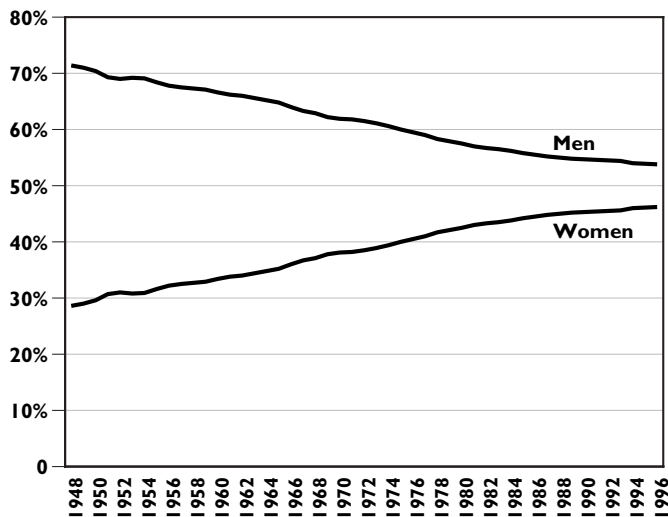
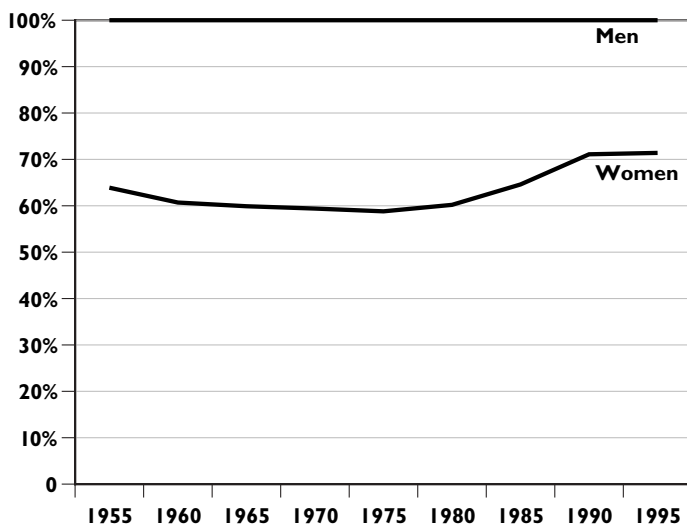


Chart 2 ■ The Wage Gap Among Full-Time Workers, 1955–1995



THE WAGE GAP

The **wage gap**, the difference between the earnings of women and men, has narrowed slightly in recent decades, but continues to shortchange women workers. Until the early 1980s, women's earnings hovered below 60% those of men, when comparing full-time workers of both sexes. The ratio of women's annual earnings to men's (for full-time, year-round workers) increased gradually during the 1980s and early 1990s, reaching a high of 74.2% in 1997, and falling slightly to 73% in 2000 (National Committee on Pay Equity). In other words, the average working woman in the United States now earns only 73 cents for every dollar earned by a man. (See Chart 2.) Over a lifetime, the wage gap adds up – the average working woman loses about \$523,000 due to inequitable pay practices (AFL-CIO).

Some economists have attempted to dismiss the seriousness of pay inequity in the United States, claiming that women are paid less than men because women have less education and experience or choose to work fewer hours in less ambitious jobs. Recent research has revealed that these factors fail to explain the enormous gap between the earnings of women and men. These studies indicate that the wage gap cannot be fully explained without examining the financial impact that sex discrimination has on women's wages. It is because of sex discrimination that traditionally female jobs, which account for the majority of women workers, are undervalued and consequently underpaid. In our society, certain jobs pay less precisely because they tend to be occupied by women.

While the wage gap has narrowed somewhat over the past several decades, the reasons for the improvement in the status of women's wages are a subject of controversy. Many economists argue that the declining real (inflation-adjusted)

Society Still Devalues Historically Female Jobs

– **RONNIE J. STEINBERG**

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President Bill Clinton proclaimed April 11, 1996 "National Pay *Inequity* Awareness Day." Why April 11? Because the average woman in a full-time job would need to work all of 1995, then continue working until April 11, 1996 to match what the average man earned in 1995.

In 1994, women working full-time and year-round averaged 72 cents for each dollar that men earned. In 1996, according to the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, the average full-time executive, managerial, or administrative woman earned only 67 cents to a man's dollar.

What do these pay differences add up to? The National Committee on Pay Equity estimated that in 1996 alone working women lost almost \$100 million. Over her lifetime, the average working woman loses about \$420,000 due to inequitable pay practices.

The wage gap between women and men declined significantly from 1975 to 1995, largely because of a drop in the average real wages of men. The most recent statistics indicate, however, that the gap is widening again. *The New York Times*, in a front-page article on September 15, 1997, cited new figures which show that the wage gap has actually increased since 1995.

Some scholars argue that the difference in wages between the working woman and the working man is a function of the different characteristics each brings to the labor market and of the different types of jobs each tends to hold. The evidence suggests otherwise. A 1982 report of the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences found that between one-third and one-half of the wage difference between women and men cannot be explained by differences in their education or experience or in the requirements or responsibilities of the jobs they hold. Instead, the council concluded that what might be called the "femaleness" of a job gets taken into account when setting standards of compensation: not only do women do different work than men, but the work women do is paid less and the more an occupation is dominated by women, the less it pays. "Femaleness" actually lowers the wage rate of a job, independent of any other characteristics of that job.

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When wages of specific historically female and historically male jobs are compared, the impact of “femaleness” is striking. Mail carriers earn almost \$10,000 more a year than kindergarten teachers. In one firm that was studied, bank tellers earned over \$4,000 a year less than shipping clerks. Licensed practical nurses earn \$4,200 a year less than photographers, even though the two jobs were evaluated as equally complex.

Job Evaluation

Job evaluation is the institutional mechanism by which sex gets into your paycheck.

Over two-thirds of all employers use some form of job evaluation to establish and justify their wage structure. Job evaluation is a set of procedures for systematically ordering jobs as more or less complex for the purpose of paying wages. Jobs are described and assessed in terms of their characteristics—usually grouped as relevant skills, degree of effort required, amount of responsibility, and extent of undesirable working conditions. Wage rates are based on these assessments of job content.

These traditional job evaluation systems were developed at a time when “Help Wanted” ads were still divided into “Help Wanted – Male” and “Help Wanted – Female.” Not surprisingly, they are built on assumptions about job complexity that are saturated with gender bias.

Four major sources of gender bias remain in virtually every traditional job evaluation system available to employers today:

First, the content of jobs historically performed by women has been ignored or taken for granted. To be paid for performing a job skill or responsibility requires recognition that it is part of the job. In most job evaluation systems, working with mentally ill or retarded persons is not treated as a stressful working condition, which working with noisy industrial machinery is.

Second, job content is perceived on the basis of gender stereotypes. Evaluation systems confuse the content of the job with stereotypic ideas about the typical jobholder.

Margaret Mead and other anthropologists have suggested that the value of an activity may be lowered simply by its association with women. Social psychological experiments confirm these cultural observations. Why else would a dogcatcher’s work be viewed as more complex than the work of a nursery school teacher in the U.S. Department of Labor’s *Dictionary*

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wages of men, rather than the increasing wages of women, may be responsible for most of the change in the wage gap.

According to feminist economist **Heidi Hartmann**, anywhere from half to three quarters of the closing of the wage gap was a result of men’s falling wages (Lewin 1).

Women workers from all racial groups are affected by the wage gap. In every racial category, women are on average paid less than men of the same race.

However, women of color are disproportionately affected by the wage gap because race, as well as sex, affects a worker’s wages. Census data from 2001 shows that African-American and Hispanic women and men earn less than white men do. (National Committee on Pay Equity).

Women of color experience a “double negative” effect because they experience wage discrimination on the basis of both their race and their sex. Thus, women of color earn less than both white women and men of the same race (IWPR).

The wage gap also varies according to age. Younger working women have come closest to matching men’s pay levels. In 2000, women in the 16-24 age group earned 91% of men’s wages. The ratio of women’s to men’s annual earnings declined in each successive age category, with women ages 45-54 earning only 73% of the wages of men in the same age group (International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America).

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

While **sexual harassment** has been a pervasive problem for women throughout history, it is only in the past decade that feminist litigators have won the definition of sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination and women have come forward in droves to demand remedies and institutional change.

Sexual harassment encompasses a range of unwanted behaviors including, but not limited to:

- Leering
- Sexual innuendo
- Comments about women's bodies
- Pressure for dates
- "Accidentally" brushing sexual parts of the body
- Graphic descriptions of pornography
- Displaying pornography in the workplace
- Lewd and threatening letters
- Unwelcome touching and hugging
- Sabotaging women's work
- Obscene phone calls

Recent studies reveal that on-the-job sexual harassment is a common experience for many working women. In a review of several surveys on sexual harassment in the workplace, 42 to 90% of working women surveyed reported that they had encountered some form of sexual harassment on the job (Summers 260). The 1994 Merit Systems Protection Board Study of sexual harassment noted that women in traditionally male-dominated occupations such as construction, policing, and the military are more likely to be harassed. Other studies have found that harassment is more commonly found in female-dominated workplaces where the majority of women earn low wages and the management is predominantly male (FMF, "Sexual Harassment").

Sexual harassment is usually about power, not sex, and is a method used to humiliate and control. Harassment can have severe physical, psychological, and economic consequences for the women

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of Occupational Titles until recently?

Third, the content of women's work is recognized but, by definition, assumed to be less complex than that found in male jobs.

Compensation systems reward any type of financial responsibility. Few systems recognize as complex (and thus as valuable for purposes of compensation) responsibility for the care of troubled, sick, or dying patients. Most clerical positions are rated as being considerably less complex than entry-level craft work. Requirements such as knowledge of grammar, ability to compose correspondence, ability to perform several tasks simultaneously, and knowledge of organizational shortcuts are not considered when measuring the skills necessary to perform clerical work. Craft jobs, by contrast, are treated as requiring certain types of "specialized knowledge." No rationale is offered for these definitions. But their consequences for the wages paid for historically female work are obvious.

Fourth, some job evaluation systems treat content associated with female jobs in a way that actually lowers wages. The work is negatively valued. The more an incumbent is required to perform the content, the less the incumbent earns.

One study of the effect of "femaleness" on wages found that working with difficult clients actually lowered pay independent of other job content. Another study of a major university found that staff who worked with students actually lost pay for that specific aspect of their job.

Toward Pay Equity

How, then, can we remove sex from our paychecks? Certainly, it will take more than presidential proclamations in election years. It will also not happen only as a result of affirmative action, as important a goal as that is. Not all women are interested in moving into male occupations. We need competent and fairly paid employees to manage our offices, teach our children, nurse our sick.

In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, pay equity, also known as equal pay for work of comparable worth, emerged to address the wage discrimination that results from biased compensation practices. Pay equity broadens the earlier policy of Equal Pay for Equal Work. The 1963 Equal Pay Act prohibits employers from paying different wages to men and women who are doing the same or essentially the same work. Pay equity requires, instead, that dissimilar work

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of equivalent value to the employer be paid the same wages. It corrects the historical practice of paying less for equally valuable work performed by women.

By the end of the 1980s, all but five states had at least investigated gender differentials in their civil service pay scales. Over 50 municipalities, 25 counties, 60 school districts, and almost 200 public colleges and universities were the focus of pay equity campaigns. According to the National Committee on Pay Equity, 30 states have undertaken some form of pay equity reform. The Institute for Women's Policy Research estimates that about \$527 million was disbursed by 20 state governments to correct wage discrimination.

Yet, even with these gains, gender bias remains pervasive in almost all compensation packages available to employers. To correct for this continued wage discrimination, some feminist social scientists, including myself, have designed Gender Neutral Job Comparison Systems. The new systems measure more accurately and positively value the invisible skills associated with historically female jobs, their responsibilities, the mental, visual, and emotional effort required, and the undesirable working conditions associated with them. Emotional effort, for example, is treated in terms of the intensity of effort required to deal directly with the needs of clients, patients, customers, citizens, and coworkers in assisting, instructing, caring for or comforting them. Dealing with clients who are unpredictably hostile or confused or discussing death with the terminally ill and their families is defined as requiring more emotional effort than dealing with the needs of a client who is blind or hard of hearing.

With the availability of Gender Neutral Job Evaluation, achieving pay equity becomes less a technical than a political challenge. Its success will hinge on the efforts of working women and the organizations that represent them to press for fair pay. One study found that implementing pay equity is a more effective strategy for moving working women out of poverty than raising the minimum wage.

Achieving pay equity would not only put \$1,500 to \$5,000 per year more in the paychecks of those performing historically female jobs, it would also make visible and positively reward the productive contribution of work historically associated with women. Women and men who earn more equal wages could form more equal relationships and share more equitably in family work.

Pay equity is a matter of economic equity. It is a matter of political and social power. It is, above all, a matter of simple justice. ■

who experience it. According to the National Council for Research on Women, women are 9 times more likely than men to quit their jobs, 5 times more likely to transfer, and 3 times more likely to lose jobs because of harassment (FMF, "Sexual Harassment").

Sexual harassment in the workplace is a form of sex discrimination and is prohibited by **Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964**. The **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission**, the government body which enforces Title VII, issued a legal definition of unlawful sexual harassment in 1980. According to the EEOC's guidelines, "unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitutes sexual harassment when submission to or rejection of this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment" (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission). The Supreme Court approved the EEOC's sexual harassment definition in *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* (1986), the first case dealing with sexual harassment to reach the Court. In *Meritor Savings Bank*, the Court also upheld the legality of bringing sexual harassment suits under Title VII.

Under the **Civil Rights Act of 1991**, workers who experience sexual harassment may sue for punitive and compensatory damages of up to \$350,000.

Feminist Careers

The feminist movement has not only opened doors for women to enter previously male-only fields – our movement has also created new jobs for feminists, many in career fields that had not yet been imagined

three decades ago. Although discrimination remains a powerful force against women in the work force, women now have more career choices than ever before.

Feminists are needed and can make a difference in many career fields. It would not be feasible to provide a comprehensive overview of all of these potential career paths, and multiple resources are available for learning about many of the more traditional career options. In this section, we highlight some career choices that you might not have considered before. These are jobs that have been created through the feminist movement, career fields that view a more egalitarian society as a primary purpose. While we can offer here only a brief survey of these careers for the socially conscious, we hope you will continue to envision career choices for feminists who want to make a difference in their everyday work.

COACHING/ATHLETIC ADMINISTRATION

Since the passage of **Title IX** in 1972, litigation or the threat of litigation has forced many high schools, colleges, and universities to increase their levels of funding for women’s programs. As more dollars have flowed into women’s athletic programs, coaching and administering women’s athletics has become far more lucrative. Coaching and administration positions in women’s athletic programs were once underpaid and dominated by women. The impact of Title IX has led to fairer compensation for the people who coach and administer women’s sports. However, the increased pay and prestige in women’s athletics has made these job opportunities more attractive to male candidates.

Across the country, male coaches and administrators have stepped into leadership roles in women’s athletics. The statistics are discouraging – by 1990, 84.1% of women’s

Laws and Executive Orders Affecting Women and Work

The following is an overview of *federal* nondiscrimination laws and executive orders that affect women and work. This list provides only a very brief introduction to nondiscrimination laws – a large literature exists on this subject. Each state also has its own laws, which vary widely in strength. During the past four decades, there has been some progress at the federal level towards more effective and comprehensive nondiscrimination policies. However, the federal laws that now exist are still pitifully inadequate. They are weak and include many loopholes. While the current nondiscrimination laws have helped many women and people of color, it is important to realize that **there is no blanket federal guarantee that protects all workers against discrimination.**

The **Equal Pay Act of 1963** forbids an employer from paying women and men who work in the same place differently for jobs requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility. The Act has been interpreted narrowly by the courts as mandating only equal pay for the *same* work. Thus, the law does not apply to men and women who work in different jobs that require equal skill, effort, and responsibility.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin by any labor union or employer with more than fifteen employees. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was established to enforce Title VII, although the agency only began to enforce the sex discrimination prohibition in the late 1960s and only after intense pressure from women’s organizations.

Executive Order 11246, signed into law in 1965 by President Johnson, barred discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin in federal employment and in employment by federal contractors and subcontractors.

The Order requires executive departments and agencies to “maintain a positive program of equal opportunities.” Further, the Order requires federal contractors and subcontractors to “take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin.” Specific actions, outlined in the Order, include upgrades, transfers, recruitment, compensation, and training.

In 1967, **Executive Order 11375** expanded Executive Order 11246 to include women. Women’s groups,

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intercollegiate athletic programs were headed by men and more than 30% of women's programs had no women at all in their administration. Almost 53% of the people coaching women at the high school and college levels are now men. Men have also maintained their monopoly over men's athletic teams, continuing to coach over 99% of men's college teams (Nelson 159).

In order for women to reach equality with men in coaching and athletic administration, women will have to both regain lost influence in women's athletics and begin to enter positions of authority in men's athletics.

RESOURCES

National Association for Girls and Women in Sport – 1900 Association Drive, Reston, VA 22091 phone: (703)476-3452

web: <http://www.aahperd.org/nagws/template.cfm#>

Women's Sports Foundation: Eisenhower Park, East Meadow, NY 11554
phone: (800)227-3988
web: <http://www.womenssportsfoundations.org>

FEMINIST NONPROFITS

Hundreds of feminist, pro-choice, and progressive organizations work for equality at the local, state, national, and international levels. These organizations include both single issue (e.g. **National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, NARAL**) and multi-issue (e.g. **The Feminist Majority, National Organization for Women**) groups. Feminist nonprofits utilize a variety of strategies including research, lobbying, grassroots community organizing, and electoral work to get their message out to the public and often work in coalition with each other.

There are also feminist service organizations, such as the **YWCA, Planned Parenthood Federation of America**, and community women's centers around the country. These organizations offer a variety of resources for women including health care, counseling for women who are going through difficult life transitions (such as divorce or entering the workforce), and services for women who are victims of domestic violence and sexual assault.

RESOURCES

Feminist Majority Foundation, Feminist Internet Gateway –
web: <http://www.feminist.org/gateway/>

LAW

The simultaneous growth of the feminist movement and entry of large numbers of women into legal practice has produced many routes through which feminist attorneys can further women's

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however, did not gain enforcement of the sex discrimination provisions until 1973.

The **Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978** is an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Act states that discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth or related medical conditions is a form of sex discrimination, and is illegal under Title VII.

The **Civil Rights Act of 1991** allows victims of sex discrimination and sexual harassment to sue for punitive and compensatory damages under Title VII, up to a cap of approximately \$350,000. It should be noted that a legal cap on the amount of punitive and compensatory damages that can be awarded to a victim of employment discrimination *does not exist* for race discrimination cases, only for sex discrimination cases.

The **Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993** provides workers in businesses with more than 50 employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave each year to care for a newborn, a newly adopted child, or a seriously ill family member; or for the serious illness of the employee. The right to take unpaid leave applies equally to female and male workers. Upon return to work, the employee must be restored to the original or an equivalent position with equivalent benefits, pay, and other terms and conditions of employment. ■

Unit 9 ■ Career Choices: Empower Women in the Workplace

rights. There are now approximately 20 women's legal defense funds around the country that focus exclusively on sex discrimination cases. These law centers have won many of the critical precedent setting women's rights cases at the U.S. Supreme Court and state supreme court levels in the past three decades.

Feminist lawyers also work for women's rights in a variety of other settings – as plaintiff attorneys working for unions or law firms on employment discrimination cases; as feminist legal scholars; as family lawyers working on divorce, domestic violence, and child support cases; as government attorneys working to enforce anti-discrimination laws; and in many other types of legal practice. Many large law firms now include a pro-bono section and hire attorneys to work primarily on public interest cases.

RESOURCES AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, COMMISSION ON WOMEN IN THE PROFESSION – 750 NORTH LAKE SHORE DRIVE, CHICAGO, IL 60611 | PHONE: (312)988-5668

WEB: <http://www.abanet.org/women/home.html>

Feminist Majority Foundation, Women's Legal Advocacy Groups—

web: <http://www.feminist.org/gateway/womenorg.html#advocacy>

POLICING

Twenty years of research on women in law enforcement reveals that women police officers perform better than their male counterparts at diffusing potentially violent situations and are less frequently involved in incidents in which excessive force is used. Increasing the numbers of women on police departments measurably reduces police violence and improves police response to domestic violence, a crime which accounts for as many as half of all

911 emergency calls to police. Research has also indicated that women police officers are more effective in developing positive police-community relationships.

Despite the strong case for equal numbers of women and men on police forces, women are severely underrepresented in policing. Women comprise less than 11.2% of sworn officers nationwide and are currently concentrated in the lowest ranks of police departments. Affirmative action programs have been implemented in police departments around the country due to pressure from women's and civil rights groups. These programs are slowly opening the law enforcement field to women. While gender integration in policing has occurred too slowly thus far, as police departments nationwide respond to community pressure to use community policing and reduce police violence, opportunities for women to enter careers in law enforcement will continue to increase (FMF, National Center for Women in Policing, "About Us").

RESOURCES

National Center for Women and Policing –

433 S. Beverly Drive Beverly Hills, CA 90212 phone: (310)556-2500 Director: 1600 Wilson Blvd. Suite 801 Arlington, VA 22209 (703)522-2214

email: womencops@feminist.org

web: <http://www.womenandpolicing.org>

POLITICS

In 2002, women elected officials accounted for only 13.6% of the U.S. Congress (14% of the Senate and 13.6% of the House of Representatives) and 27.7% of state legislators (Center for the American Woman and Politics, <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/Facts.html>). Women of color accounted for 27.4% of the

73 women in Congress and 16.9% of the 1680 women officials in the state legislatures. (CAWP). Much progress is clearly needed in order for women to hold 50% of decision-making offices in this country.

In order for women to win more elective offices, more women candidates need to run for office! There is a particularly great need for young women candidates. The average age of women running for office for the first time is the mid-40s, while the average age for men is the mid-to late-20s (Feminist Majority 13). Because men begin running for office earlier and hold public office for more years, they are able to accumulate more seniority (and thus more political power) than women officials. Thus, women candidates must begin running for public office in larger numbers and at younger ages in order for women to achieve equal political power.

As more women and feminists run for elective offices, they will create demand for feminist political consultants, campaign managers, researchers, and pollsters to support their progressive campaigns.

RESOURCES

Center for the American Woman and Politics – Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08901 phone: (732)932-9384
email: cawp@rci.rutgers.edu
web: <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/>

EMILY's List – 805 15th Street, NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20005
phone: (202)326-1400
web: <http://www.emilyslist.org>

National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) – 1630 Connecticut Ave, NW, Suite 201, Washington, DC 20009
phone: (202)785-1500
web: <http://www.nwpc.org>

NOW/PAC – 1000 16th Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20090-6824
phone: (202)331-0066
web: <http://www.nowpacs.org/>

Women's Campaign School at Yale – P.O. Box 686, Westport, CT 06881 phone: (800)353-2878 email: WCSyale@aol.com web: <http://www.wcsyale.org/index.html>

REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

As has been detailed in the *Saving Choices* units, abortion clinic staffs provide essential health services for women who need them while working under the constant threat of anti-choice terrorism. As of 1996, there were 2,042 facilities providing abortion services in the United States (AGI, Family Planning Perspectives). In addition to these clinics, there are many other pro-choice clinics that do not perform abortions, but offer other essential reproductive health services. Clinics are in need of dedicated and trained feminist staff, including doctors, registered nurses and nurse practitioners, counselors, reproductive health educators, and administrative staff. A new generation of abortion providers and reproductive health care staff is needed to ensure that abortion and other reproductive health services are not only legal, but also accessible to all women.

RESOURCES

Abortion Clinics Online –
web: <http://gynpages.com>

Medical Students for Choice –
email: msfc@ms4c.org web: <http://www.ms4c.org>

National Abortion Federation – 1436 U Street, NW, Suite 103, Washington, DC 20009 phone: (202)667-5881
web: <http://www.prochoice.org>

National Coalition of Abortion Providers –
206 King Street, Alexandria, VA 22314
phone: (703)684-0055
web: <http://www.ncap.com>

Planned Parenthood Foundation of America – 810 7th Avenue, New York, NY 10019
phone: (212)541-7800
web: <http://www.ppfa.org>

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

In the past three decades, the women's movement has successfully brought national attention to the epidemic of violence against women in the United States and around the world. One significant outcome of the increased recognition of domestic violence and sexual assault has been the development of new resources for women who have experienced these crimes. Domestic violence shelters, rape crisis centers, violence against women hotlines, and legal resources are now available in every state. These services did not exist prior to the women's movement.

In 1994, women's organizations secured passage of the **Violence Against Women Act (VAWA)**, which provides the first real funding breakthrough for violence against women services. VAWA includes \$1.8 billion dollars to address issues of violence against women (National Organization for Women). Much of this funding has been divided among the states, and is being allocated to local organizations, such as law enforcement agencies, prosecutor's offices, and victim services organizations. With this money, these organizations have been able to offer their current staff additional training on issues of violence against women and hire new staff to work specifically on violence against women. A new section of the Department of Justice, the Violence Against Women Office, has also been added to administer the VAWA. In short,

the VAWA is promoting the growth of services for violence against women nationwide, thereby creating new jobs for feminists who want to serve victims of these violent crimes and work towards ending violence against women.

RESOURCES

Feminist Majority Foundation, 911 for Women – web: http://www.feminist.org/911/1_supprt.html

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence – National Office: P.O. Box 18749, Denver, CO 80218
phone: (303)839-1852.
Policy Office: P.O. Box 34103, Wash., DC 20043-4103
phone: (703)765-0339
web: <http://www.ncadv.org>

Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network – 252 Tenth Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002
phone: (202)544-1034
email: RAINNmail@aol.com
web: <http://feminist.com/rainn.htm>

Violence Against Women Office, U.S. **Department of Justice** – 950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Room 5302, Washington, DC 20530
phone: (202)616-8894
web: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/vawo/>

WOMEN-OWNED BUSINESSES

The rapid growth of women-owned businesses in the United States is currently transforming the face of the entire U.S. economy. Women-owned businesses are currently growing faster than the overall economy in the 50 largest metropolitan areas in the United States (National Foundation for Women Business Owners, "Women-Owned Firms"). Businesses owned by women of color are proliferating four times faster than the overall rate of business growth (NFWBO, "Minority

Women-Owned Firms”), and now account for 29 percent of women-owned businesses and 31 percent of minority-owned businesses (NFWBO).

In 2002, there were nearly 6.2 million majority-owned, privately held women-owned firms in the United States. Together, these businesses employed over 9.2 million people, one in five U.S. workers (NFWBO). Particularly encouraging is the fact that women-owned businesses are statistically more likely to remain in business than the average American firm. Of the women-owned firms in business in 1991, nearly three-quarters were still in business three years later, compared to only two-thirds of all U.S. firms (National Association of Women Business Owners).

RESOURCES

National Association of Women

Business Owners – 1100 Wayne Avenue, Suite 830, Silver Spring, MD 20910
 phone: (301)608-2590
 email: national@nawbo.org
 web: <http://www.nawbo.org>

Office of Women’s Business Ownership, U.S. Small Business Administration

– 409 Third Street, SW, Washington, DC 20416
 phone: (202)205-6673
 web: <http://www.sbaonline.sba.gov/financing/special/women.html>

WOMEN’S HEALTH

Until recently, women’s health was often neglected in medical research, in the provision of medical care, and in health professional education. In the past, most medical research on the detection, treatment, and prevention of disease studied men only – with the results generalized to women despite the differences in women’s and men’s bodies. Medical education has also historically followed a male model of

health and disease. For this reason, women’s unique needs have often not been addressed in the delivery of health care (U.S. Public Health Service, Office of Women’s Health, “Why a National Focus”).

A movement for the holistic treatment of women’s health in research, education, and delivery of care has developed within the medical community in response to the past neglect of women’s health. Women’s health has begun to be incorporated into medical school curricula, residency and fellowship programs. In 2002, there were 9 residency and 13 fellowship programs nationwide devoted exclusively to women’s health (Office of Women’s Health). In addition, significant medical research on women’s health issues ranging from osteoporosis to heart disease to breast cancer has been undertaken.

As women’s health continues to be incorporated into medical school curricula, residency programs, research, and medical practice, a new generation of feminist physicians has the opportunity to discover and utilize new knowledge about women’s health which will ultimately improve the physical and mental well-being of women everywhere.

RESOURCES

American Medical Association, Women

Physician Congress – 515 North State Street, Chicago, IL 60610
 phone: (312)464-5000
 email: wim@ama-assn.org
 web: <http://www.ama-assn.org/ama/pub/category/18.html>

American Medical Women’s Association

– 801 North Fairfax Street, Suite 400, Alexandria, VA 22314
 phone: (703)838-0500
 email: info@amwa-doc.org
 web: <http://www.amwa-doc.org>

Unit 9 ■ Career Choices: Empower Women in the Workplace

Office on Women's Health, U.S. Public Health Service – 200 Independence Avenue, SW, Room 730B, Washington, DC 20201 phone: (202)690-7650
web: <http://www.4woman.gov/owh/>

Society for the Advancement of Women's Health Research – 1828 L Street, NW, Suite 625, Washington, DC 20036 phone: (202)223-8224
web: <http://www.womens-health.org>

WOMEN'S STUDIES

Women's Studies programs (also known as Gender Studies and Feminist Studies) began to develop at four-year colleges and universities during the early 1970s, in direct response to the emerging women's movement. The first Women's Studies program was established at San Diego State University in 1970. In its first three decades as an academic discipline, Women's Studies has experienced tremendous growth. Although there is much work to be done to ensure the institutional security of Women's Studies programs, Women's Studies is proliferating at academic institutions nationwide and transforming the educational landscape. The number of faculty appointments in Women's Studies continues to grow.

By 1990, undergraduate programs in Women's Studies were in place at over 600 colleges and universities nationwide (National Women's Studies Association ii). Many institutions without formal programs in Women's Studies, including community colleges and high schools, also offer courses in Women's Studies. At the undergraduate level, Women's Studies is most

commonly incorporated into the curriculum as a minor, concentration, or certificate. However, Women's Studies is now being offered as an academic major on a growing number of campuses.

The recent growth in graduate level Women's Studies programs confirms what feminist scholars have known all along – that Women's Studies scholarship is not simply a “passing phase.” At last count, more than 100 universities offered graduate level work in Women's Studies (NWSA iii). These programs are currently educating the next generation of Women's Studies faculty and feminist scholars. As at the undergraduate level, Women's Studies is typically incorporated into M.A. and Ph.D. programs as a minor or concentration. However, autonomous graduate Women's Studies programs are growing in numbers.

Women's Studies is an interdisciplinary field which incorporates feminist perspectives from a variety of academic fields. As is the case in many other interdisciplinary programs, most Women's Studies faculty hold their graduate degrees and faculty appointments in traditional disciplines, while teaching classes that are jointly listed in their home department and Women's Studies.

RESOURCES

National Women's Studies Association – 7100 Baltimore Avenue, Suite 301, College Park, MD 20740
phone: (301)403-0525
email: nwsa@umail.umd.edu
web: <http://www.nwsa.org/>

Introduction

As soon to be college graduates, you are doubtless very interested in, and perhaps even nervous about finding a job after graduation and starting along your “career path.” In fact, the prospect of beginning to think about a career is often so daunting for college students, that they will go to all lengths to procrastinate job searching. But as you will learn through reviewing the suggested actions in this unit of the SAM, the first steps of researching career possibilities can be both exciting and inspiring. By working through your Leadership Alliance to dismantle the frustrating roadblocks students encounter as they begin the career searching process, and helping to introduce a host of new career possibilities in feminism, you will widen your own career prospects and those of your feminist peers.

An important first step before launching any of the suggested actions below, involves carefully examining your campus Career Center and determining what your resources are. Refer to your answers to the Career Center portion of the “Know Your Campus” survey from Unit I, as you may have all or most of the information you need already. If not, plan a trip to your career center with other Leadership Alliance participants. Below is a list of some questions your Leadership Alliance should try to answer while visiting the center.

- What special job listings, files, or books does your career center have for women and people of color in the workplace? What about resources devoted to non-profit or activist careers?
- Is there a staff member at the center who is particularly knowledgeable about feminist and activist careers? Are there women and people of color on the staff there?
- What is the process by which the Career Center accepts job listings? Do they screen the listings, seek them out, or accept all they receive? Do they include feminist friendly companies among the listings?
- Does your Career Center adhere to an Equal Employment Opportunity policy? Such a policy would require that all employers wishing to be listed or recruit through the Career Center not discriminate on any basis.

Based on the results of your inquiry, your Leadership Alliance may want to initiate some smaller actions in direct response to these findings. For example, if the career center does not have an Equal Employment Opportunity policy, urge them to adopt one. Write letters to the editor, circulate petitions, and publicize your cause. Additionally, if your center is short on feminist career information, formulate a list of books and web resources your career center should make available to students. Start with the resources listed at the end of this unit, and try to find additional resources pertaining to women and work, work and family, non-profit and pro-choice organizations, the glass ceiling, anti-discrimination laws, and sexual harassment in the workplace. Finally, if your Center has a web page, urge them to link to the Feminist Majority’s Career Center at <http://www.feminist.org/911/911jobs.asp>

While it is crucial that your Leadership Alliance start at your Career Center, you should by no means stop there! A tremendous amount of work can be done elsewhere in your campus community to empower feminists entering the workforce.

Feminist Career Fair

MAKE YOUR MOVE

Organizing a Feminist Career Fair involves inviting progressive and feminist non-profit organizations, women friendly businesses, and businesses that support affirmative action hiring policies to campus in order to recruit and provide information on their workplaces. Holding a feminist career fair as an alternative to the traditional career fair on your campus is a great way to publicize jobs in feminism and encourage progressive students to pursue nontraditional occupations.

PEOPLE POWER AND COMMITTEES

Three to six people will be needed to conduct this action. Consider assigning each person one or several career “areas” to research (i.e., engineering, law, activism, health care). That person is responsible for researching and contacting feminist businesses and non-profit organizations in a particular sector and inviting them to participate in the fair. In addition, you will need someone to take responsibility for reserving a location and date for the event, as well as all necessary equipment. Finally, heavily involve your PR Chair in the publicity of the event. All members of the event committee should be present to welcome and sign in the participants, help them set up and clean up, and to troubleshoot during the event.

MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

- Tables, chairs, and specially requested equipment (such as easels, VCRs, projectors) for each company or organization. If there is a cost involved in obtaining any specially requested equipment, ask the company to cover it. Make sure you ask well in advance what each company will need, so you can set up and label their area.
- At each table, provide extra folding chairs, tape, water, nametags, and a marker.
- Advertising posters and ads in the paper.
- If possible, set up a welcome and sign-in room with refreshments for all participating employers. This will require more tables, chairs, food, drinks, and utensils.

TIMELINE

Begin researching and contacting potential exhibitors at least two months in advance. Because exhibitors need to make travel arrangements well in advance, the sooner you can extend an invitation, the better. Be sure you have reserved your space before you confirm any visits.

BUDGET

This event is relatively inexpensive. However, the cost can vary widely from campus to campus, depending on your school’s policies on renting space, tables, and chairs. This equipment can be free or it may be quite costly. In addition to the cost of this equipment, your only other major costs should be advertisement and any reception food you decide to provide.

PUBLICITY

As always, refer to www.FeministCampus.org for good tips on publicizing an event. In addition to the usual publicity, you should work closely with your campus Career Center. Ask them to advertise your event on their website, in their newsletters or flyers, or as a part of any ads they might run. Moreover, make sure all the career counselors know about the event and are willing to tell their students about it.

HELPFUL HINTS

- Utilize student groups to help you contact businesses and organizations. For example, pre-professional women's groups might have contacts and be very willing and excited to help you organize the event.
- Utilize community activists and pro-choice supporters in the area and local alumni. Not only do they have connections in the workplace, but since they are local, they can participate quite easily.
- Be aware that non-profit organizations often have fewer staff members and smaller travel budgets than large corporations. This might prevent some of the national organizations from participating, although they may still offer informational support. Turning to local chapters of national organizations or asking local non-profits to participate might prove very successful.
- Don't forget to have a sign-in table for all attendees at the fair. Collect contact information at the table, and display literature about the Leadership Alliance.
- Contact your Campus Organizers at the Feminist Majority Foundation well in advance of the event. If we are in the area, we will certainly try our best to participate. If not, we can still send you information on our internship programs and any job opening we might have or know about.

Feminist Career Panel Discussion

INTRODUCTION

Organizing a feminist career panel discussion is not only an excellent way for students to learn about careers in feminism and bringing feminism to traditional careers, but offers a terrific opportunity for students in the Leadership Alliance to establish contacts with influential women in the workplace. Such a panel might consist of women active in local government, in unions, women business owners, reproductive healthcare providers, full time activists, or women in traditionally male occupations. Your Leadership Alliance should aim to invite panelists who can best address the interests of the feminists on your campus.

PEOPLE POWER AND COMMITTEES

This event can be well planned by only a few leaders, although it will be too much work for one person, especially if you are planning on a large audience. One possible means of dividing up responsibility is to have one person in charge of reserving and

setting up the room for the event, one in charge of publicity, and one in charge of contacting the potential panelists.

MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

- See the general guidelines for organizing any speakers event. This sheet will be helpful as you choose your venue, decide what equipment you will need, and set up your room for the event.
- If your event will be large enough to need a PA system, you should have multiple microphones (one per panelist and one in each of the side aisles for panelists). Also ask each panelist if they will need special equipment such as an overhead projector, a pointer, or a VCR.

TIMELINE

Allow at least two months to plan the event if you are going to be inviting speakers from out of town, and at least one month if your speakers are from the surrounding community. As soon as possible, you will want to reserve your room and contact potential speakers.

BUDGET

Depending on the size of the event and your need for special equipment such as microphones and a PA system, this is a low cost event. The bulk of your costs will be advertising for the event, and any guest accommodations you need to provide for your panelists, such as travel and housing.

PUBLICITY

Consult www.FeministCampus.org for helpful tips on good advertisement. In addition to those suggestions, ask the Career Center and academic departments to help you advertise for the event.

HELPFUL HINTS

- The more diverse your panel, the better. Try to choose panelists of different ages, educational backgrounds, ethnicities, and occupations. The more varied your panelists, the more interesting the contrasts and commonalities of their experiences.
- Be sure to clearly and politely communicate and enforce time limits for speakers. A panel of six people may only speak for five or ten minutes each, with the second hour being devoted to questions, answers, and discussion.
- Always provide water and refreshments for speakers, as well as name tags.
- Introduce the speakers at the beginning of the event. Asking each speaker to fill out an index card with their name, occupation, special awards or honors, and a short blurb is an easy way to prepare for this brief introduction. Don't forget to mention your own name and give credit to the Leadership Alliance and to any event co-sponsors for organizing the event.
- Community pro-choice activists and local alumni can be an excellent source of panel-

ists. Inform the Alumni Office and Career Center about your project, as they may be able to help you locate and contact potential speakers.

- There are many creative ways to vary this project. One alternative includes holding a variety of smaller panel discussions on specific careers, such as reproductive health, women in law enforcement, or feminist activist careers. These smaller discussions can take place back to back in one day, with a large reception for all participants and attendees. Alternatively, your Leadership Alliance could organize the career panels as a brown bag lunch series, where participants bring a lunch and have a more informal discussion.

Additional Actions

HOW FEMINIST IS YOUR GENERAL CAREER FAIR?

This action involves determining how feminist friendly the companies at your school's yearly career fair are. Start by contacting your career center about a month before the event in order to obtain a full list of all participating companies. Divide the companies among members of the Leadership Alliance and investigate them. Call the companies and inquire about their policies, benefits, and staff. Important questions to ask include:

- Do they practice and support affirmative action?
- Are they a diverse workplace? What are the percentages of women and people of color in their business?
- Are women and people of color evenly distributed among the lower, middle, and upper management?
- Do they hold sexual harassment and sensitivity trainings?
- Do they participate in any volunteer or mentoring programs?
- Do they have childcare, flextime, and healthcare policies?
- Do they offer health and insurance benefits to domestic partners of gay and lesbian couples?
- Is their business accessible to people with disabilities?
- Does their employee health insurance plan cover abortion costs and prescription costs for contraceptive pills, IUDs, and injections?

After gathering this information, make it widely known which companies have poor policies and which ones are progressive. Some ideas for disseminating this information include handing out flyers at the career fair, informing your career center, and writing a letter to your campus newspaper.

EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGNS/VISIBILITY DURING CAREER FAIR

While it is important to address the issues discussed in this Unit of the SAM as they pertain to the workplace beyond campus, you do not want to overlook your university as an employer and workplace of its own. Use the information gathered from your "Know

Make Your Move!



Your Campus” survey to conduct a variety of visibility actions regarding how your own University appears from a feminist perspective. These actions are effective if conducted on or around the time of your campus career fair. Some ideas include flyering, postering, and chalking in highly visible areas. Petitions are also very effective. As always, try to get your information in the campus newspaper.

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- Feminist Majority Foundation. "Affirmative Action: Expanding Employment Opportunities for Women." <http://www.feminist.org/other/ccri/aafact2.html>
- . "Origins of Affirmative Action." <http://www.feminist.org/other/ccri/aafact1.html>
- . "Sexual Harassment and Workplace Issues." <http://www.feminist.org/911/harasswhatdo.html#general>
- . National Center for Women and Policing. "About Us." <http://www.feminist.org/police/ncwpAbout.html>
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Unit 10

Career Choices: Find a Feminist Career

The non-profit sector includes over 700,000 organizations that have been granted tax-exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service because they do not engage in profit-making commercial activities. Together these organizations employ nearly 10 percent of workers in the United States. While nonprofits vary widely in their missions and activities, many work on the forefront of local, national, and global public policy and social welfare issues.

Work in the nonprofit sector is an especially good option for young feminist activists. Not only does nonprofit work require the energy, excitement, and originality that recent graduates bring to the workplace, but this type of work provides an excellent opportunity to build organizational skills. Finally, jobs in the pro-choice feminist movement are a great way to take what you've learned in the *Choices* campaign, and apply it beyond your college campus.

This unit examines some strategies for finding jobs and internships with pro-choice, progressive, and feminist nonprofit organizations.

Beginning Your Job/Internship Search

Where can a feminist student go to learn about job/internship opportunities with organizations that match her/his ideology? The first stop in any job/internship search should be your college or university's career-planning center. Your Career Center most likely offers one-on-one career counseling and skills building workshops. The staff of the center can help you assess your job interests and skills, and teach you to write effective resumes and cover letters. In addition, they can assist you in interviewing for jobs, and locating alumni who work in career fields that interest you. These resources are helpful for all job/internship seekers.

While your Career Center will provide you with some extremely useful resources, you should view your Career Center as the *first* step in the process of finding a non-profit job/internship. A great deal of the work involved in finding a job/internship with a progressive organization will likely

take place outside of your Career Center. Unfortunately, most university Career Centers are geared primarily towards careers in the for-profit sector. Many are not really equipped to assist students with career interests in the non-profit sector, beyond the basic job/internship hunting skills that apply to everyone.

There are several reasons why Career Centers tend to focus the majority of their energies on the for-profit sector. Most Career Centers devote a substantial portion of their resources to courting employers (usually large for-profit companies) that send representatives to campuses to recruit young talent for entry-level positions and training programs. Non-profit organizations, which rarely have extensive financial resources or numerous job openings to justify campus recruiting visits, are infrequently represented in campus recruitment programs and thus receive less attention from Career Center staff. In addition, relatively few publications on nonprofit work exist, despite the fact that nearly 10% of U.S.

workers are employed in nonprofit organizations. Of the books that do discuss careers in the nonprofit sector, many are not updated regularly and the vast majority are not written from a feminist, progressive perspective. For these reasons, your Career Center staff may not be familiar with the wide array of jobs and internships that are available in the nonprofit sector.

Your Career Center's offerings may not accurately reflect the full range of career choices, but you should not give up! It will require a little bit of extra effort to locate resources on job/internships with progressive organizations, but this effort is well worth it. The goal of this unit is to help make your search for jobs and internships in the nonprofit world more manageable, by (1) identifying helpful "hidden" job search resources that may be available in your Career Center and (2) suggesting additional strategies and resources for navigating the nonprofit world.

Strategies for Finding a Job/Internship in the NonProfit Sector

ASSESS YOUR INTERESTS AND SKILLS

Before beginning your job/internship search, you must identify what you do well and enjoy doing. Doing a self-assessment can be challenging and time consuming, but the energy that you devote to this process before you begin your search will allow you to conserve time later.

For a structured approach to identifying your skills and interests, consult a staff person in your Career Center. She or he will be able to help you with your self-assessment by guiding you through an interest and skills inventory or a similar exercise. Through an interests and skills inventory, you will classify and describe the skills that you have developed through past experiences (including school, work,

volunteering, and extracurricular activities) which could be utilized in a future job/internship.

The purpose of a self-assessment is to clarify what kinds of jobs would be a good match for your interests and skills. Within nonprofit organizations, there are a variety of types of positions – service delivery, advocacy, field organizing, research, and others. Your self-assessment will help you identify what skills you can offer a potential employer and which types of nonprofit jobs you would enjoy. It will also allow you to practice verbalizing your interests and skills before you begin contacting potential employers.

As you assess your work interests and skills, you should also carefully consider what issues are most important to you. Your political ideology and interests will ultimately be your most important guide as you research potential employers.

ARTICULATE A CLEAR OBJECTIVE

In addition to clarifying your work interests and skills, you should articulate a specific employment objective before you begin your job/internship search. What goal(s) do you want to accomplish in a nonprofit position? What are your job/internship requirements? Which factors are negotiable? As you begin your job/internship search, it will be tempting to "leave your options open" or "just see what jobs are out there." Do yourself a favor and resist this urge. It can be difficult to narrow your interests into a specific objective, but this focus will benefit your search process immeasurably. With over 700,000 nonprofit organizations in the United States, it is necessary to narrow the field of potential employers from the start. By articulating a job objective, you will have a concrete set of criteria upon which to base your choices.

Remember that your job/internship objective is not set in stone. As your job/

internship process proceeds, you will inevitably clarify and alter your objective. It is fine for your objective to change, but to begin your search, you will need a focused starting place.

RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS

The first stage of your job/internship search should involve doing some homework. Before you begin sending off your resumes and cover letters, you will want to learn some basics about the nonprofit sector as a whole and the specific organizations to which you are applying. A wealth of information about nonprofit organizations is available if you seek it out.

Begin researching possible employers at your Career Center. Ask a staff person to show you the Career Center's resources on nonprofit organizations. Most Career Center libraries include directories of nonprofit organizations, such as the *National Directory of Nonprofit Organizations*, *Encyclopedia of Associations*, *Good Works, Jobs and Careers With Nonprofit Organizations* and *Finding a Job in the Nonprofit Sector*. These directories contain brief profiles of thousands of nonprofit organizations, and are usually organized by state and issue area.

If you are applying for internships, also ask to see internship directories. Several good internship directories have been published recently, including *America's Top Internships*, *The Internship Bible*, *Peterson's Internships*, and *Preparing to Lead*. Each of these directories includes a substantial section on internships in the nonprofit sector. While none is exhaustive, flipping through one or more of the nonprofit and internship directories will allow you to become familiar with at least some of the organizations that work on the issues that concern you most.

As you wade through your Career Center's holdings on nonprofit organizations, take careful notes on the organiza-

tions that match your interests, skills, and objective.

Consulting internship and nonprofit directories is a terrific way to start your job/internship search. The advantage of these directories is that they allow you to quickly identify many of the key nonprofit organizations that work on a particular issue or in a certain geographic area. The usefulness of these directories is limited, however, because they only provide a brief sketch of each organization. Also, these directories are updated infrequently, so the information listed may no longer be current.

The internet is an excellent resource for gathering more detailed information on nonprofit organizations. Many nonprofit organizations currently maintain web sites. Though these sites vary widely in scope, most at least describe the mission and current programs of the organization. Some organization web sites also include publications, research, and interactive features. To locate nonprofit organizations on the Internet, start with a search engine such as Yahoo or Excite. The Feminist Majority Foundation's web site (<http://www.feminist.org>) includes an Internet Gateway with links to the web pages of hundreds of feminist, pro-choice, and progressive organizations.

In addition to (or instead of) using the internet to gather information on nonprofit organizations, you can also contact organizations directly by phone, mail, or email. When contacting an organization, request copies of current publications (annual report, newsletter, recent research).

IDENTIFY JOB/INTERNSHIP OPENINGS

Unlike many for-profit institutions which hire numerous graduating seniors for entry-level positions each year, most nonprofit organizations hire new employees only when a job vacancy occurs or a new position is created. For this reason,

the timing of job openings in nonprofits is generally not predictable. Furthermore, a large proportion of nonprofit job openings exist in the “hidden job market” – they are not advertised. Thus, identifying openings in nonprofit organizations requires a tremendous amount of perseverance and often a bit of luck.

The best strategy for finding job openings in the nonprofit sector is to check a variety of job sources consistently. Some of the best places to check for job openings include:

- Your college/university Career Center’s files of job announcements
- Internet job banks (see the next section of this unit for links to nonprofit job banks)
- Nonprofit organization web sites
- Bulletin boards of academic departments in related fields
- Newspaper classifieds

If you are interested in working for a specific nonprofit organization(s), look for job postings on that organization’s web site or call and ask about job openings.

Nonprofit organizations that host interns generally do so year after year. For this reason, it is relatively easy to identify internship opportunities with nonprofits. Check for postings of available internships in the same locations (listed above) where job openings are publicized. The internship directories discussed earlier also provide descriptions of internships that are offered each year as well as information on application requirements and deadlines. As with nonprofit jobs, if you are interested in interning for a specific organization, check that organization’s web site or call the office directly for internship information.

WRITE STRONG RESUMES AND COVER LETTERS

A resume and a cover letter are the standard components of an application to virtually all nonprofit jobs/internships. See the action section of this unit for a detailed discussion of how to write effective resumes and cover letters.

Nonprofit organizations tend to fill job/internship opportunities quickly. If you are interested in a position, mail your resume and cover letter as soon as possible to ensure that your application will receive consideration.

NETWORK AND CONDUCT INFORMATIONAL INTERVIEWS

The best way to learn what it is like to work for a nonprofit organization is to talk to people who already work for nonprofits. Networking with individuals who have experience with nonprofit organizations can provide unparalleled opportunities to learn the ins and outs of a particular organization or issue. Sometimes networking can even produce leads on unadvertised job/internship opportunities.

Your college/university alumni network is one excellent source of networking contacts. At many schools, it is possible to conduct a database search to identify alumni in a particular career field. Other people who may be able to assist you in your job/internship search and/or offer useful advice about navigating the nonprofit sector include friends who have interned or worked at nonprofit organizations, professors, former employers, and family friends.

Conducting informational interviews with your networking contacts is an excellent way to gather information about nonprofit careers and establish connections with people who work in the nonprofit sector. The purpose of informational interviews is *not* to ask for a job. Rather, these meetings offer an opportunity to

gain a nonprofit professional's valuable advice, benefit from their experience, and learn about their organization and similar organizations. When setting up informational interviews, always do your homework first! Find out the basics about your interviewee's field and organization before your meeting, so that you can ask informed questions and gather as much information as possible from your session.

MAINTAIN CONSTANT COMMUNICATION

The importance of consistent communication with all of your job/internship contacts cannot be emphasized enough. Follow-up is essential! Follow-up every resume and cover letter with a phone call to ensure that it was received. Follow-up every job interview, informational interview, and helpful conversation with a thank-you letter. Keep your network of contacts informed about progress in your job/internship search.

VOLUNTEER OR INTERN WITH A NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION

Unfortunately, there is currently a shortage of jobs in feminist, pro-choice, and progressive nonprofit organizations. There are many more people who want to work for these organizations than there are positions available. If you are hoping to work for a feminist nonprofit following college, one of the best ways to get your foot in the door is to intern or volunteer with a non-profit organization. As an intern or volunteer, you will have the opportunity to cultivate the job skills that nonprofit organizations look for in employees, learn more about the organization and the nonprofit sector in general, and establish contacts with people who are already working in your field of choice. Many volunteers and interns later move on to full-time, paid positions in the nonprofit sector.

Using the Internet for Your Job/ Internship Search

The internet is a fantastic tool for all kinds of information about careers. There are already hundreds of websites focusing on the needs of job/internship seekers, including online job banks, resume and cover letter writing pages, and job networking sites. Because the number of sites is so huge, finding the job information that you're looking for can be a challenge, especially if you are not exactly sure what you are trying to locate. To assist you in your job/internship hunting, we have compiled this list of some of the best websites for nonprofit job/internship seekers, college students, and women.

NONPROFIT JOB/INTERNSHIP LISTINGS

These job listings cover openings nationwide unless a specific geographic region is noted.

Access/Networking in the Public Interest

<http://communityjobs.org/>

Articles on nonprofit careers. Subscription information for *Community Jobs*, a monthly employment newspaper for nonprofit job-seekers.

Action Without Borders

<http://www.idealists.org/>

Listings of nonprofit jobs, internships, and volunteer opportunities. Profiles of 11,000 nonprofit and community organizations in 125 countries.

AFL-CIO Organizing Institute

<http://www.aflcio.org/aboutunions/oi/>

Information on the Organizing Institute's recruitment and training program for union organizers.

Feminist Majority Foundation Career Center

<http://www.feminist.org/911/911jobs.asp>

Listings of feminist and progressive jobs and internships. Links to online job banks.

Goodworks

<http://goodworksfirst.org>

Listings of nonprofit jobs.

Nonprofit Career Network

<http://www.nonprofitcareer.com/>

Listings of nonprofit jobs, volunteer opportunities, and job fairs. Online directory of nonprofit organizations.

Opportunity NOCs

<http://www.opportunitynocs.org>

Subscription information for *Opportunity NOCs*, a biweekly newsletter listing nonprofit jobs. Listings of nonprofit jobs are posted online for some geographic areas.

Planned Parenthood

<http://www.plannedparenthood.org/about/jobs/index.html>

Listings of jobs with Planned Parenthood and other nonprofit organizations.

Tripod's National Internship Directory

<http://www.tripod.com/work/internships/>

Listings of internships in all career fields.

University of Maryland, Women's Studies Employment

<http://www.inform.umd.edu/EdRes/Topic/WomensStudies/Employment/>

Listings of nonprofit and Women's Studies jobs and internships.

CAREER SITES FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS AND RECENT GRADUATES

The Catapult

<http://www.jobweb.org/catapult/>

Comprehensive list of links to career and job-related sites for college students and alumni.

College Grad Job Hunter

<http://www.collegegrad.com>

Lists entry level jobs (large companies) for college students and recent graduates. Also includes information on resume and cover letter writing, interviewing, and salary negotiation.

Job Trak

<http://www.jobtrak.com>

Career service network designed specifically for college students and alumni. Access to job listings is limited to colleges that have enrolled in the service. (650 college Career Centers are affiliated with Job Trak. If your college or university is not enrolled in Job Trak, talk to your Career Center – the service is free.) Job Trak's extensive Resource Center, which includes on-line books on job hunting, resume writing, and graduate schools, is available to both members and non-members.

Student Center

<http://www.studentcenter.com>

Career information for college students, graduate students, and recent graduates. Includes sections on identifying personal strengths, defining career goals, and developing job hunting skills. Also contains information on internships and non-traditional post-graduation options.

CAREER SITES FOR WOMEN

Advancing Women

<http://www.advancingwomen.com/awcareer.html>

Job posting and recruiting with a special focus on companies friendly to women, minorities, and families.

Writing a Resume

GETTING STARTED – THE PURPOSE OF A RESUME

Before beginning the process of writing your resume, it is critical that you understand its purpose. Your goal in writing your resume is to convince the perspective employer to interview you. Therefore, your resume is not simply a generic listing of your work and school experience, but a focused statement that highlights why you are well suited to a particular job. If you are applying for jobs which demand very different skills, it is likely you will need separate resumes to accommodate those differences.

BASIC STEPS

Brainstorming.

Generate a list of all of your work-related experiences. At this stage, do not limit yourself at all – put your entire work-related history on paper. This list should include all of your experience in the following areas:

- Education – all colleges and universities attended including semesters abroad, internships, and special training with relevant GPAs.
- Experience – all part-time, full-time, or volunteer jobs you have held, as well as significant academic research.
- Skills – any computer, typing, and writing skills, or foreign languages you know.
- Activities – any involvement you had or leadership positions you held during college and high school in student organizations, sports teams, academic clubs, and community groups.
- Honors and Awards – list scholarships, distinctions, recognition, academic awards, and membership in national honor/scholarship societies.
- Special Interests – all of your hobbies, travel experiences, and likes.
- Miscellaneous – any other important information about yourself which is not included in the other headings.

Research the job.

Research what the organization is looking for in an employee. What are the main qualifications? Based on this information, decide which of your characteristics and qualifications you want your resume to emphasize.

Edit your brainstormed list.

Determine which information on your list most closely matches the job qualifications you need to demonstrate. Conversely, which items can you remove as irrelevant or non-essential? Finally, begin to think about how these essential items may be effectively grouped together to highlight your skills.

Organize your resume.

There is no “right” way to organize a resume, although there is certain information

that must be present. Choosing how to organize your resume depends largely on the job for which you are applying, and your own work-related experience. A further explanation of how to organize your resume follows under “Structure and Content.”

Edit your resume.

Carefully choose your words, punctuation, and style. Experiment with the fonts, layout, and phrasing.

Get feedback.

Ask professors, career counselors, employers, and peers to comment on your resume for both mechanics and content.

STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

- I. The three organizational components common to most resumes are *contact information*, *education*, and *experience*.

Contact Information

Your name, address, telephone number, and e-mail address must be on each page of your resume (college students living away from home should include both campus and permanent home addresses).

Education

A section labeled “education” is also usually included for college students, and lists all of your educational endeavors with the most recent listed first (high school is optional). List your date of graduation (or expected date), the name of your college or university, your degree, your major, and your GPA. You may also include educational honors or awards, and particularly relevant coursework in this section. If you financed your own education, list the percentage of your college cost financed through employment and the hours per week you dedicated to your job, as this demonstrates your ability to balance work with school.

Employment/ Experience:

This section highlights all of the work-related experiences you have that qualify you for the job. Remember, include only those experiences that demonstrate an attribute, interest, or skill important to the job you are seeking. For each experience, include the name of the employer or organization, the job title, the location, and the dates of employment (which can be in parentheses, as they are least important). Finally, describe your responsibilities completely but concisely. Use action phrases to list the significant details of your duties. Include promotions or increases in responsibility. You may list this experience in a variety of ways, but the two most common methods are the *functional* and *chronological* methods. Using the *functional* method, list your experiences in order of importance as they relate to the particular job for which you are applying. Using the *chronological* method, list your experiences in time order with the most recent first.

2. Other common headings used to organize information on a resume include:

Job Objective

This is a short statement, usually at the top of your resume, which can provide focus or summary. This statement of one sentence tells the employer what you can offer her or him and is tailored to each employer.

Skills

In this section you may highlight your strongest and most relevant skills for the job. Alternatively, you can use this section to list special skills that would be an asset to the employer, such as knowledge of languages, computer skills, or public speaking.

Interests and Activities

This optional heading provides an opportunity for you to display your well-roundedness, speak about extracurricular activities and leadership roles, share your personality, and demonstrate that you are an interesting person. This can also serve as a good icebreaker during interviews.

- *Activities and Honors*
- *Publications*
- *Professional Affiliations*
- *References (can be included on a separate page or at the bottom, “upon request.”)*

**For further clarification, see the sample resume which follows.*

HELPFUL TIPS

1. Quantify your experience and give details wherever possible. For example, instead of just writing “supervised other workers,” you should write, “supervised a team of seven employees.”
2. Be concise. The general rule is that resumes reflecting under five years of experience should be kept to one page.
3. Begin your sentences with action verbs like “accomplished,” “executed,” and “developed.”
4. Proofread! Have peers and professors examine it as well. Check for spelling errors, inconsistencies in punctuation and format, and repetition of words.
5. Make sure your resume looks professional. Print it on high quality bond paper at an office / photocopy store like, or on a laser printer. DO NOT photocopy your resume.
6. Investigate the possibility of putting your resume on-line, as many companies now look to the web for applicants. There are a number of sites on the web where you can post your resume, including the Feminist Career Center on the Feminist Majority Foundation website (<http://www.feminist.org/911/911jobs.html>)
7. Keep your resume clean, neat, and easy to read. This means using only one or two fonts, leaving some blank space, and eliminating excess punctuation.

8. Do not use jargon or campus-specific terminology. For example, rather than writing “FMLA,” write “Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance.”
9. Do not include personal information. A potential employer has no legal right to ask you about age, sex, race, religion, marital status, health, physical appearance, or personal habits. Moreover, this information simply does not belong on a resume. Also, do not include salary requirements, location preferences, or availability dates. If you have any questions about the information a potential employer requests, contact the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission at (202)663-4900 or (800)669-4000; contact the US Department of Labor at (202)219-6660; or contact the Women’s Bureau of the Department of Labor at (800)827-5335.
10. Sound positive and confident. Do not be too modest or concerned with “bragging.” This is your one opportunity to convince the employer to interview you, and everyone else is doing the same.

Writing a Cover Letter

GETTING STARTED – THE PURPOSE OF A COVER LETTER

A cover letter is sent along with a copy of your resume and provides an opportunity for you to introduce yourself and your capabilities to the employer. Not only is the cover letter usually the first document an employer sees, but it is often looked upon as a sample of your writing skill. Each time you apply for a different position, you will personalize and edit your cover letter accordingly.

There are different types of cover letters, each of which fulfill a slightly different purpose.

Career Exploration Letter:

This letter is not in response to an ad for a job opening. The purpose of a career exploration letter is to convince an employer to invite you to an informational interview to discuss career-related issues.

Job/Internship Inquiry Letter:

This is also an unsolicited letter to inquire about any open positions. The letter also demonstrates an interest in the company or organization.

Job/Internship Application Letter:

This type of cover letter is written in response to a particular advertised opening. The goal of this letter is to convince the employer to carefully read and consider your application, and to offer you an interview.

BASIC CHARACTERISTICS

Regardless of the type of letter you are writing, all cover letters share some characteristics.

- I. A cover letter should convey to a potential employer that you are motivated, well qualified, and excited about the position.

2. All cover letters should be personalized to fit the position, company, and occupation and should be addressed to a specific person.
3. Cover letters allow you to explore a few of your qualifications in depth, creating a fuller picture as to why your experience and interests are well suited to the job.
4. Cover letters initiate communication between the employer and the applicant, and set the tone for the rest of your application. Therefore, it is essential that the letter be positive, with no negative components.

STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

Cover letters must be brief and to the point, as they are often scanned quickly. They usually consist of no more than three to four paragraphs ranging from three to seven sentences each. Consider three quarters of a page a good maximum length.

The typical structure of a cover letter includes:

Opening paragraph:

In this brief paragraph introduce yourself and explain why you are writing. Be specific, and include the name of the position for which you are applying, and identify how you heard about the job opening or company. Also reference any contact person you might know. Finally, you want an attention-grabbing sentence that explains why you are well suited for the job, or how your skills will benefit the employer.

The body:

In this paragraph or two, you will explain how your background and skills fit the job. Highlight your greatest strengths as they relate to the position, being careful not to simply repeat what is already on your resume. You may want to include a reference to your resume in this part of the letter in order to encourage the reader to take a closer look at it.

The concluding paragraph:

This final paragraph should be short. In it, you should briefly reiterate your strengths, ask for an interview, and initiate further contact. Make sure the “next step” has been communicated; for example, tell the reader that you will call her/him in two weeks to follow up.

**For further clarification, see the sample cover letter which follows.*

HELPFUL TIPS

1. Write your cover letter in standard business letter form. Also use business language, making your sentences clear and concise.
2. Copy your cover letter on the same quality bond paper you use for your resume and envelope.
3. Try to avoid beginning each sentence with “I.” Varying your sentence style will make the letter more interesting to read.
4. Use descriptive, strong, and active words and sentences.

5. Give specific examples to support your claims.
6. Never put anything negative in your cover letter.
7. Read your letter out loud. Your cover letter should sound well written and tight.
8. Proofread your cover letter very carefully to ensure that there are no errors, and ask peers and professors also to review it.
9. Do not forget to sign your cover letter before sending it out.
10. Try including something unusual and interesting. This is your chance to stand out!

Additional Resources on Resume Writing and Cover Letters

CAMPUS RESOURCES

As you will discover in the process of resume and cover letter writing, there are many books and services that offer help. However, as you might also quickly learn, these materials and services can be quite costly. Moreover, with a few exceptions, they all tend to contain the same basic information, which you probably can get at no cost from your college Career Center, the library, or a helpful professor or friend. So see what your campus Career Center and library have to offer before you go to the bookstore or hire a resume service. Additional information is also available on the web at no cost, if you have access to the internet.

Career Development Center

Most colleges and universities have a Career Center or a career planning/ development office. Even if your Career Center isn't particularly helpful in terms of careers in feminism or non-profit job opportunities, it could still be helpful as you try to prepare your resume and cover letters. Your Career Center most likely offers handouts or handbooks on these skills, which include samples. Many centers also conduct resume writing workshops, and counselors at the Career Center are often willing to review your resume and give you suggestions for improvement. Don't forget to consult your Career Center about interviewing skills and follow-up letters.

Professors

Ask a professor who knows you well to review your resume and cover letter. Most professors have seen a great deal of resumes over the years, and know what to look for in a strong resume.

Friends

Do not hesitate to ask peers to proofread your resume for errors and inconsistencies. The more eyes that review it, the better.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Internet Sites

As with most websites, you will need to “poke around” on these sites in order to find the information most helpful to you.

Archeus <http://www.golden.net/~archeus/reswri.htm>

Career Center <http://www.provenresumes.com>

Jobweb <http://www.jobweb.org/catapult/guenov/restips.html>

Books

Rather than purchasing these or any other resource books, try your library first, or get a copy from your Career Center.

The College Women's Handbook, Rachel Dobkin and Shana Sippy (Workman Publishing, 1995).

The Knock 'Em Dead Series, Martin Yate (Adams Publishing, 1995).

The Smart Woman's Guide to Resumes and Job Hunting, Julie Adair King and Betsy Sheldon (Career Press, 1993).

Through the Brick Wall, Kate Wendleton (Villard Books, 1992).

201 Killer Cover Letters, Sandra Podesta and Andrea Paxton (McGraw-Hill, 1996).

Additional Actions

FINDING MONEY ON CAMPUS FOR PRO-CHOICE FEMINIST INTERNSHIPS

One of the best ways to prepare yourself for the job application process after graduation is to apply for and participate in internships with feminist, pro-choice, and progressive organizations. Not only will this experience benefit those who later apply for paid positions with these organizations, but the experience will be an asset to any job application. Unfortunately, most internships with non-profit organizations are unpaid, or can offer only small weekly or monthly stipends. Therefore, students must either find other part-time work to pay their way through the experience, or find funding for the internship elsewhere.

Many colleges and universities offer scholarships for summer or semester long internships. In order to find out about what money is available through your school, you should consult the staff at your Career Center. You might also inquire about funding from academic departments, such as Women's Studies or Political Science. Alumni are another great resource, and you can inquire about possible alumni scholarships through your Alumni Office. Additionally, there are a number of national internship scholarship programs, which you can learn about through your Career Center or on the web. Your library might also have books on raising funds for internships.

**For more fundraising tips, refer to www.FeministCampus.org.*

GROUP FUNDRAISERS FOR INTERNSHIPS

In addition to researching internship funding individually, members of the Leadership Alliance can work together to raise funds. One possibility is to establish a Leadership Alliance scholarship fund. This fund can offer a student member of the Leadership Alliance (to be chosen by an independent committee of faculty and students or group vote) money towards interning at a pro-choice feminist organization. In addition to seeking university funds for the scholarship, your Leadership alliance can conduct a number of fundraisers. For ideas, consult www.FeministCampus.org.

PANEL DISCUSSION ON FEMINIST INTERNSHIPS

This action involves inviting students who have participated in internships with non-profit feminist and progressive groups to speak regarding their experiences. The action can involve a collection of approximately six students who have interned with a variety of organizations in the U.S. and abroad. The idea is to provide interested students the opportunity to learn about the value of interning, as well as some tips on securing internships. If in the area, the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance Campus Organizers will be happy to participate in the panel discussion.

**For a more detailed "how to" on organizing a panel discussion, refer to the "Feminist Career Panel" action portion of Unit 9.*

Feminist Student
1724 Fairfax Avenue
Hanover Park, CA 98765
phone: (123)456-7890 email: *student@feminist.org*

CAREER OBJECTIVE A challenging position in a nonprofit, feminist organization.

EDUCATION University of California
Bachelor of Arts, June 2003.
Major: Political Science. Minor: Women's Studies.
GPA: 3.6. Honors: Dean's List, Magna Cum Laude.

Center for Global Education. Cuernavaca, Mexico.
"Gender and the Environment: Latin America."

EXPERIENCE Planned Parenthood. Walnut Creek, CA. 9/02 – 5/03.
Reproductive Health Counselor. Interviewed, selected, and enrolled participants in ongoing research study on the use of methotrexate and misoprostol for early medical abortion. Coordinated patients' clinic visits. Provided comprehensive options counseling and support.

Feminist Majority Foundation. Arlington, VA. 6/02 – 8/02.
Intern. Researched and wrote materials on feminist priorities in the federal budgetary process. Collaborated with a team of interns to organize affirmative action lobby day for over 200 college students.

Admissions Office. Berkeley, CA. 9/00 – 12/01.
Office Assistant. Greeted, accommodated, and directed visitors. Answered and screened incoming phone calls. Handled travel plans. Provided word processing support.

CAMPUS ACTIVITIES Women's Coalition. 9/01 – 5/03.
Chair. Created and hosted 2nd Annual Student Feminist Conference. Produced, edited, and contributed to student feminist publication.

C.A.R.E. (Campus Acquaintance Rape Education). 9/01 – 5/03.
Peer Education Facilitator Completed semester long training course which covered societal reasons for violence against women, legal definitions/recourse to sexual assault, and sensitized to emotional/physical effects of assault. Facilitated 3 hour workshops addressing single sex issues and communication between the sexes.

COMMUNITY SERVICE Mentors in Action. Berkeley, CA. 9/00 – 5/02.
Tutored and mentored sixth grade student during weekly meetings.

SKILLS Computer: Windows 2000, Microsoft Word, Excel, Word Perfect.
Language: Proficient in Spanish.



Sample Cover Letter

Feminist Student
1724 Fairfax Avenue
Hanover Park, CA 98765

June 1, 2003

Feminist Majority Foundation
1600 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 801
Arlington, VA 22201

Dear Ms./Mr. Employer,

I am writing to apply for the position of Campus Organizer for the Feminist Majority Foundation *Choices* Campus Leadership program. The position immediately struck me as well suited to my interests and experience.

As my resume indicates, I have a longstanding commitment to feminism, which I have developed through a variety of employment and extracurricular experiences during my college years. As a campus activist at the University of California, I led the Women's Coalition, successfully jump starting what had been a relatively inactive organization. The group produced a monthly newsletter, to which I contributed as a writer and editor. This past semester, the Women's Coalition hosted the 2nd Annual Student Feminist Conference. The conference, which hosted 75 feminist women and men, was planned and executed by myself and three other college students.

In addition to my experience as a campus leader, I have worked with both Planned Parenthood and the Feminist Majority Foundation. Through these experiences, I gained familiarity with some of the most pressing issues facing young women today and developed organizing, counseling, and research skills.

I feel that I will prove to be your most qualified candidate both because of my personal dedication to the feminist movement and my past successes in the field. It is truly a pleasure to submit my credentials for your review. I am fully committed to your mission and would be honored to work directly with your organization. I will contact you next week to discuss my qualifications and the possibility of an interview for the Campus Organizer position.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Feminist Student

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