Gainesville Women's Liberation and UF/SFCC Campus National Organization for Women present:

Consciousness-Raising

A workshop at 2:45 p.m. Saturday, January 24, 1998 at the Florida State NOW Conference

Consciousness-Raising is a radical weapon of the feminist movement* we use to:

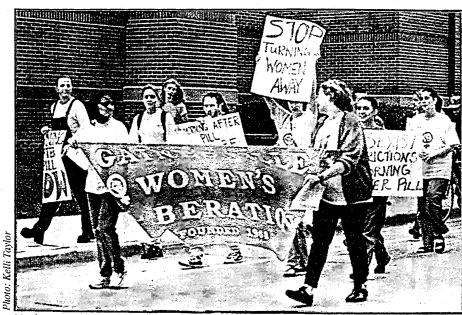
- •Get to the root of sexism—who benefits, who pays.
- Understand that the pain and struggles in our lives are not our individual problems and we cannot solve them on our own.
- •For women to get what we want, we need to get together.



ainesville Women's Liberation Consciousness-Raising Study Group. Summer 1997, Gainesville. Florida

FLORIDA STATE NOW CONFERENCE:

Friday, January 23 through Sunday, January 25 at the Holiday Inn at West University Ave. and 13th Street in Gainesville. Conference Registration: Sliding scale \$0 to \$50 for current NOW members or JOIN NOW for \$15 to \$50 and attend the conference FREE.



Members of Campus NOW and students in the Gainesville Women's Liberation 1997 class march to the University of Florida infirmary to protest their sexist practices on the Morning After Pill, December 4, 1997.

*From "Consciousness-Raising: A Radical Weapon," by Kathie Sarachild, in Feminist Revolution (1975. 1978) Book and catalog of founding women's liberation movement papers available from Redstockings Archives Distribution Project, P.O. Box 2625, Gainesville, FL 32602-2625



For more info & to get involved call: Gainesville Women's Liberation (352) 378-5655 UF/SFCC Campus NOW (352) 379-7641



Gainesville Women's Liberation and UF/SFCC Campus National Organization for Women Florida NOW Conference WORKSHOP PACKET: Consciousness-Raising for Organizing

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Consciousness-Raising Questions for 11/20/97 Gainesville Women's Liberation Class CR on contraceptives and the morning after pill

1. When have you used contraceptives? Why? Did the guy play a role?

Have you ever had a condom break, a diaphragm slip, or forget to take your birth control pills? What happened? What did you do? What role did the guy play?

When have you not used contraceptives? Why not? What role did the guy play?

2. Have you ever needed or wanted to take the Morning After Pill? Did you take it? If not, why didn't you take it?

If you did take it, what happened when you went to get it?

What did you like about taking it? What did you not like about taking it?

Conclusions for 11/20/97 Gainesville Women's Liberation Class CR on contraceptives and the morning after pill --compiled by Amy Coenen, for 12/3/97 Action Planning Class

1. When have you used contraceptives? Why? Did the guy play a role?

We use contraceptives most of the time, because we don't want to get pregnant. Most of us said we did not want to have a child right now and one person said she never wanted one.

The guys sometimes played a role. It was rare that men would automatically pull out a condom without being asked, put it on, use it right (i.e., the whole time we had sex, put it on correctly, etc.) without complaining. Only a few people described this as ever happening. For those who had a partner who would automatically put on a condom without a fuss, it was one particular partner—it was not the norm. In other words, it was rare that the guy took on the role that we usually take on of providing and using birth control without being asked or nagged.

Some other roles men played: splitting the cost of pills or depo-provera (two women had this experience; they asked him to do it), withdrawing before coming, buying pregnancy tests when condoms broke, pills were forgotten, or birth control was not used.

Most men would put on a condom if we provided it and asked / insisted on him using it. We described varying degrees of resistance men gave us when we tried to get them to use condoms—getting soft when the condom was pulled out, pretending to not have any, refusing to buy them, complaining and spoiling the mood.

Some men refused to use condoms at all and so birth control was almost entirely our responsibility, unless he offered to help pay for the method we used.

Many of us described side effects and problems with the birth control methods we used. They were: mood swings, loss of sexual desire, breasts swelling, and no periods with hormonal methods; burning with spermicide; dried out vagina with condoms; UTI with a diaphragm; cervical bleeding with the cervical cap. We also described other problems with our methods: forgetting to take pills (3 people), men outright refusing to wear condoms (4 people), not having the money to buy birth control pills / hormone shots (1 person).

Have you ever had a condom break, a diaphragm slip, or forget to take your birth control pills? What happened? What did you do? What role did the guy play?

Five people had condoms break. Five people said they had forgotten to take pills and three described it as a big problem for them, something that happened often.

When these things happened, one person said she took the morning after pill. Everyone else said they just worried and waited and kept their fingers crossed. Two people described times a condom broke and they did not worry about it. For the rest it was very nerve racking and people described a lot of anxiety and worry.

Women who had forgotten pills described how they carefully calculated whether they could get pregnant or not, so they could try to get their boyfriends to use condoms, or for those who did not want to use condoms or their boyfriends did not want to use condoms, how long to wait before having sex again.

One person got pregnant when a condom broke. She was on the pill too but was taking antibiotics which nullified the pills effects.

The guys played no role at all except for two people who said their boyfriends paid for and or went to the store and bought pregnancy tests. On woman whose partner did not help financially with the pregnancy tests talked about spending a lot of money on them, taking frequent pregnancy tests.

When have you not used contraceptives? Why not? What role did the guy play?

Everyone but one person had had sex at least once without birth control. It ranged from one time for one woman, to about 50% of the time for one woman. Everyone else fell somewhere in between.

There were lots of reasons we did not use contraceptives. The most common reason was, we tried to get the guy to use a condom and he wouldn't.

One woman talked about struggling and struggling with her boyfriend to use condoms. Sometimes she would just give up and do it without. Eventually she went on Depo because she was tired of struggling. Another woman talked about a man pulling the condom off ½ way during sex. She did not insist he put it back on after that because she didn't want to have an argument in the middle of sex. A few women talked about some version of this—the guy's resistance just wears us down and we sometimes don't ask, we just have sex without it and take a chance.

If we don't particularly like using condoms either it makes the struggle doubly hard. Two women, for various reasons, can't use any other methods but condoms. One of them really hates condoms so she often ends up using nothing. The guys rarely volunteer to use them, leaving her in the position of insisting on condoms which she doesn't really like. The other woman doesn't mind condoms but gets sick of being the "condom cop" all the time and so sometimes does not remind the guy to put one on—therefore he doesn't wear one.

Two women described themselves as "young and stupid," but further investigation revealed that men's resistance to condoms was underneath it. One woman described herself as being afraid to push guys to wear condoms when she was younger. It seems like the younger we are, the less likely it is we will push or insist that the guy wear them. And the younger we are, the more difficult it is to get other forms of birth control besides condoms.

Forgetting birth control pills was another common reason (three people), though far behind men's reluctance to wear condoms. However, forgetting pills would be less of a problem if guys automatically wore condoms.

Some other reasons women had sex without contraceptives: the guy said he was sterile (the woman ended up getting pregnant); we were "swept away", we were drunk, one woman was forced to have sex, one woman felt so bad about having sex she didn't want to know she was definitely having it, let alone use a birth control method.

The role the guy plays here is obvious. Often the guy's reluctance to wear condoms, even for the occasional time if we miss a pill, is pivotal in the few times we don't use a contraceptive. Many of the other reasons listed above are directly related to a guy, too.

2. Have you ever needed or wanted to take the Morning After Pill? Did you take it? If not, why didn't you take it?

If you did take it, what happened when you went to get it?

What did you like about taking it? What did you not like about taking it?

Almost everyone said that there had been a time that they needed to take the Morning After Pill. But only two of us actually took it. We had taped comments from one woman who tried to get it at the Infirmary and was turned away.

The biggest reason people did not take the MAP was because they did not know it existed. With two exceptions everyone who had heard about or knew about the MAP heard it from Campus NOW!

A close second to not knowing about the MAP was that once women knew about it, they were afraid to take it because they were afraid of getting nausea or vomiting. A few women had the MAP confused with RU-486 and thought they would have cramping and bleeding.

This was a real contradiction, because we seemed to be willing to take birth control methods like the pill or Depo-Provera which had similar or worse effects on our bodies, but were afraid of the MAP. We thought maybe the side effects have been

overemphasized while the effects of other hormonal birth control methods have been downplayed.

Other people were afraid it would be a "big deal" to go and get it. (Unsure if people were talking specifically about hassles from the Infirmary staff or what).

For the two who did take it, they described getting it from clinics with no questions asked and no forms to sign promising to use birth control. For both women it was free. They liked that they got a lot of peace of mind from taking it. As one woman said, "What did I like about taking it? Knowing that I could control what would happen to me in the future when I couldn't control having sex." Neither one of them got pregnant, they liked that too.

One woman took the MAP several times because her primary method was condoms, and sometimes they broke and sometimes she did not use them or did not use them properly. Condoms and MAP have been her main form of birth control for seven years.

What they did not like about it: feeling nauseated. This did not happen every time, however, and both women thought the nausea was worth it to not be pregnant or worry about being pregnant.

PROTEST THE INFIRMARY'S SEXIST POLICIES ON THE MORNING AFTER PILL!

Thursday, December 4th at 2:30 p.m. on the Plaza of the Americas

Join us! We will expose and protest the UF infirmary's sexist policies on the Morning After Pill, then march to the Infirmary to demand unrestricted access to the Morning After Pill.

- 1. WE DEMAND the Morning After Pill when we ask for it without irrelevant anti-woman interrogations about our sex lives.
- We want Infirmary clinicians to stop asking invasive, medically unnecessary questions, like where and with whom sex occurred, how long we have known our partner, and where we met him.
- Abolish the sexist Morning After Pill questionnaire which requires women to say if they were raped or whether they used contraceptives. Women should have the right to keep this information private if they want. It's none of your business!
- 2. WE DEMAND that the Infirmary stop turning women away, saying we don't "need" the Morning After Pill. Stop pretending that clinicians can predict a woman's fertility. Women can get pregnant at any time during their menstrual cycle. Since when is the rhythm method of predicting fertility reliable?
- 3. WE DEMAND that the Infirmary stop requiring women to sign a statement promising to use "a reliable form of birth control immediately" before getting the Morning After Pill. This statement is insulting, condescending and probably medically unethical. It implies that we can never again get the pill from the Infirmary. Are men ever required to sign such statements?
- 4. WE DEMAND that the Infirmary publicize the Morning After Pill, along with other birth control methods, so women students will know what's available to them.
- At least two ads in the *Alligator* each semester explaining what the Morning After Pill is and what it costs, as well as other birth control methods.
- Provide a flier at Preview to incoming freshmen listing birth control choices, including the Morning After Pill.
- Put up posters at the Infirmary telling students about the Morning After Pill.

No more prying questions about our sex lives and personal business! No more hoping and waiting with fingers crossed! We want unrestricted access to the Morning After Pill!

We also want men to take their fair share of responsibility for birth control.

• Wear condoms—don't wait for the woman to ask—and pay for methods of birth control she uses.

What Happens Now When I Ask for the Morning After Pill at the Infirmary?

Women have to fill out a questionnaire requiring them to divulge information about the sex they had which has nothing to do with whether they can take the Morning After Pill or not.

"I had to check a box saying whether I had used birth control or not or if I'd been raped. I felt pressured to say because I thought they might need to know it. I was afraid to put the wrong answer."—a UF student

Women are also required to sign an insulting statement saying, "I will immediately begin using a reliable method of birth control."

"I asked her why I had to sign saying I would use birth control from now on. I wondered what would happen if I needed the Morning After Pill in the future if I promised that I would use birth control on the form. I didn't get any counseling on birth control, either."—a UF student

Sometimes the clinicians pry into women's personal lives, asking embarrassing and medically irrelevant questions about who they had sex with, how they met them and how long they have known them.

"I was scheduled for my yearly exam with a nurse. I told her I needed the Morning After Pill. She said Why? What happened? She asked me how I knew the guy. She acted like she was judging me for not using a condom and I felt guilty and bad about myself from her questions and tone." a UF student

Another student was sent home without the Morning After Pill, even though she'd had unprotected sex and thought she might get pregnant.

"I asked if I would not be prescribed the Morning After Pill. He said he didn't think I needed it. I wasn't fully comfortable with this but I figured that this guy was a medical expert and knew what he was talking about. I accepted his answer, even though he didn't explain why. I left, thinking that I would wait it out and get an abortion if I was pregnant even though its really expensive." a UF student

It doesn't have to be this way! Some women who go to the Infirmary report that they are able to get the Morning After Pill without hassles. Every woman, though, is asked if she was raped and if she used birth control. Everyone is also required to promise to use birth control in the future.

Do Other Clinics Treat Women This Way?

Those of us who went to clinics other than the Infirmary had a better experience.

"It was a really good experience as far as the way I was treated when I went to go get it. It was free. They didn't ask me any questions, they didn't tell me it was an emergency or make me sign a state-

ment about birth control. I liked knowing that I could control what would happen to me in the future, even though I couldn't control that I had sex."—a UF student who was raped

"I've never had a problem getting the Morning After Pill at the clinic I go to. I just tell them I need it, they give me a pregnancy test and that's it. No one ever asks me to give any details about the sex I had or whether I used birth control. The physician's assistant always acts like it's no big deal, that there's nothing bad or wrong with me."—a UF graduate

We called two local clinics, Planned Parenthood and Bread and Roses, and neither clinic requires women to promise to use birth control before the Morning After Pill is prescribed. Neither clinic routinely asks women if they were raped or if they used birth control or not. Women can decide if they want to talk about this or not.

Why would a woman who uses birth control need the Morning After Pill? Aren't women who use the Morning After Pill irresponsible?

In our experience, it is men and not women who are irresponsible about birth control. We found that on average, men used condoms without our having to tell them only 10% of the time. They resist or outright refuse to wear them. This leaves women to take the full responsibility for birth control—and we almost always do. When we ask for the Morning After Pill, we're yet again taking responsibility.

Even though most of us use birth control consistently, sometimes we forget to take pills, condoms break, our partners refuse to use condoms or put up such a fight we give in, or we are forced to have sex. No birth control method is perfect or fail safe. Some problems we have had using birth control are cost and side effects, including loss of sex drive, migraine headaches, nausea, constant bleeding, urinary tract infections, and vaginal dryness.

Only one woman in our group used birth control every single time she had sex and she has a partner who wears condoms without a fuss. For the rest of us, the noxious side effects and expense of many birth control methods, combined with men's resistance to using condoms, meant that all of us had sex at least once without birth control. Less frequently we have gotten "swept away" by romance or alcohol. But should that mean we are then required to have a baby? Men don't have to pay this price.

Why are feminists protesting the Infirmary over the Morning After Pill?

Women need to have the right to control when and if they will have a child. This is a cornerstone of freedom and self-determination for women. Women should be able to have sex without risking pregnancy, childbirth, and 18 years of child rearing. The Morning After Pill is one more way for us to prevent pregnancy, and since there are problems with every birth control method, women need every option at their disposal. It's sexist for the Infirmary to discourage us from getting the Morning After Pill with their prying forms and questions, double standards or outright refusal to dispense it.

What is the Morning After Pill?

Also known as Emergency Contraception or Post-Coital Contraception, the Morning After Pill is actually four to eight birth control pills which a woman can take after she has had sex to keep from getting pregnant. You have to take the pills within 72 hours of having sex for it to work, and the sooner you take it, the more effective it is. It is 75-80% effective in preventing pregnancy. It is not the same as RU-486, the so-called "French Abortion Pill."

Is it safe?

The Morning After Pill is safer than other hormonal birth control methods like Depo-Provera and regular birth control pill use. There are possibilities for the same serious side effects as birth control pills, like a blood clot or stroke. These side effects are rare in birth control pill users, and even more rare in Morning After Pill users.

Doesn't it make you sick?

The Morning After Pill causes nausea in many women, but this does not happen to everyone. Some women experience vomiting. Taking the pills with food and using Emetrol, an over the counter anti-nausea medicine, lessens or prevents nausea entirely.

How much does it cost?

It costs \$16.80 to get the pills at the Infirmary. Other clinics in town charge up to \$40.

Wasn't this a problem in the past? Why are there still problems at the Infirmary with the Morning After Pill?

In 1991, Michael Katsonis, a UF Infirmary pharmacist, refused to fill prescriptions for the Morning After Pill on religious grounds. After protest from the UF/SFCC Campus National Organization for Women (NOW), the UF administration asked him to resign. Yet some women are still being turned away, and the current Infirmary policies only humiliate women and limit access to the pill. We don't know why the Infirmary continues to allow clinicians to deny women the Morning After Pill, unless they believe that a potential pregnancy is more important than the woman herself and her hopes and plans for the future. If this is not the case, the Infirmary should act now, change the sexist policies, and put employees on notice that sexist treatment of women students won't be tolerated.

What can I do?

- We won access to the Morning After Pill before by taking feminist action and we can do it again! Join us Dec. 4 at 2:30 on the Plaza of the Americas. Call 377-9935 for more information
- Come to the next UF/SFCC Campus NOW meeting Dec. 3 at 6:30, Anderson 209, or call 379-7641 for more information.
- Write or call the Infirmary and tell them to implement the demands on this leaflet for unrestricted access to the Morning After Pill.

This protest and leaflet are projects of the 1997 community education class, "Women's Liberation: Where Do I Fit In?" taught by Gainesville Women's Liberation (GWL), the oldest southern women's liberation organization, founded in 1968. The experiences described here are those of class participants and people we interviewed. You can write Gainesville Women's Liberation at P.O. Box 2625, Gainesville, FL 32602.

Excerpt from: Feminist Revolution by Redstockings, © 1975, 1978 (Random House). Available for \$8 from the Redstockings Archives for Action Distribution Project, P.O. Box 2625, Gainesville, FL 32602

Consciousness-Raising: A Radical Weapon

The following represents a compilation and expansion of text, notes and comments from a talk Kathie Sarachild gave on consciousness-raising to the First National Conference of Stewardesses for Women's Rights in New York City, March 12, 1973. Sarachild outlined the original program for "Radical Feminist Consciousness-Raising" which was presented at the First National Women's Liberation Conference outside Chicago, November 27, 1968.

Kathie Sarachild

THE IDEA

To be able to understand what feminist consciousnessraising is all about, it is important to remember that it began as a program among women who all considered themselves radicals

Before we go any further, let's examine the word "radical" It is a word that is often used to suggest extremist, but actually it doesn't mean that. The dictionary says radical means root, coming from the Latin word for root. And that is what we meant by calling ourselves radicals. We were interested in getting to the roots of problems in society. You might say we wanted to pull up weeds in the garden by their roots, not just pick off the leaves at the top to make things look good momentarily. Women's Liberation was started by women who considered themselves radicals in this sense.

Our aim in forming a women's liberation group was to start a mass movement of women to put an end to the

barriers of segregation and discrimination based on sex. We knew radical thinking and radical action would be necessary to do this. We also believed it necessary to form Women's Liberation groups which excluded men from their meetings.

In order to have a radical approach, to get to the root, it seemed logical that we had to study the situation of women, not just take random action. How best to do this came up in the women's liberation group I was in—New York Radical Women, one of the first in the country—shortly after the group had formed. We were planning our first public action and wandered into a discussion about what to do next. One woman in the group, Ann Forer, spoke up: "I think we have a lot more to do just in the area of raising our consciousness," she said. "Raising consciousness?" I wondered what she meant by that. I'd never heard it applied to women before.

"I've only begun thinking about women as an oppressed group," she continued, "and each day, I'm still learning more about it—my consciousness gets higher."

Now I didn't consider that I had just started thinking about the oppression of women. In fact, I thought of myself as having done lots of thinking about it for quite a while, and lots of reading, too. But then Ann went on to give an example of something she'd noticed that turned out to be a deeper way of seeing it for me, too.

"I think a lot about being attractive," Ann said. "People don't find the real self of a woman attractive." And then she went on to give some examples. And I just sat there listening to her describe all the false ways women have to act: playing dumb, always being agreeable, always being nice, not to mention what we had to do to our bodies with the clothes and shoes we wore, the diets we had to go through, going blind not wearing glasses, all because men didn't find our real selves, our human freedom, our basic humanity "attractive." And I realized I still could learn a lot about how to understand and describe the particular oppression of women in ways that could reach other women in the way this had just reached me. The whole group was moved as I was, and we decided on the spot that what we needed-in the words Ann used-was to "raise our consciousness some more."

At the next meeting there was an argument in the group

about how to do this. One woman—Peggy Dobbins—said that what she wanted to do was make a very intensive study of all the literature on the question of whether there really were any biological differences between men and women. I found myself angered by that idea.

"I think it would be a waste of time," I said. "For every scientific study we quote, the opposition can find their scientific studies to quote. Besides, the question is what we want to be, what we think we are, not what some authorities in the name of science are arguing over what we are. It is scientifically impossible to tell what the biological differences are between men and women-if there are any besides the obvious physical ones-until all the social and political factors applying to men and women are equal. Everything we have to know, have to prove, we can get from the realities of our own lives. For instance, on the subject of women's intelligence. We know from our own experience that women play dumb for men because, if we're too smart, men won't like us. I know, because I've done it. We've all done it. Therefore, we can simply deduce that women are smarter than men are aware of, and smarter than all those people who make studies are aware of, and that there are a lot of women around who are a lot smarter than they look and smarter than anybody but themselves and maybe a few of their friends know."

In the end the group decided to raise its consciousness by studying women's lives by topics like childhood, jobs, motherhood, etc. We'd do any outside reading we wanted to and thought was important. But our starting point for discussion, as well as our test of the accuracy of what any of the books said, would be the actual experience we had in these areas. One of the questions, suggested by Ann Forer, we would bring at all times to our studies would be-who and what has an interest in maintaining the oppression in our lives. The kind of actions the group should engage in, at this point, we decided-acting on an idea of Carol Hanisch, another woman in the group-would be consciousnessraising actions ... actions brought to the public for the specific purpose of challenging old ideas and raising new ones, the very same issues of feminism we were studying ourselves. Our role was not to be a "service organization," we decided, nor a large "membership organization." What we were talking about being was, in effect, Carol explained, a "zap" action, political agitation and education group something like what the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) had been. We would be the first to dare to say and do the undareable, what women really felt and wanted. The first job now was to raise awareness and understanding, our own and others-awareness that would prompt people to organize and to act on a mass scale.

The decision to emphasize our own feelings and experiences as women and to test all generalizations and reading we did by our own experience was actually the scientific method of research. We were in effect repeating the 17th century challenge of science to scholasticism: "study nature, not books," and put all theories to the test of living practice and action. It was also a method of radical organizing tested by other revolutions. We were applying to women and to ourselves as women's liberation organizers

the practice a number of us had learned as organizers in the civil rights movement in the South in the early 1960's.

Consciousness-raising—studying the whole gamut of women's lives, starting with the full reality of one's own—would also be a way of keeping the movement radical by preventing it from getting sidetracked into single issue reforms and single issue organizing. It would be a way of carrying theory about women further than it had ever been carried before, as the groundwork for achieving a radical solution for women as yet attained nowhere.

It seemed clear that knowing how our own lives related to the general condition of women would make us better fighters on behalf of women as a whole. We felt that all women would have to see the fight of women as their own, not as something just to help "other women," that they would have to see this truth about their own lives before they would fight in a radical way for anyone. "Go fight your own oppressors," Stokely Carmichael had said to the white civil rights workers when the black power movement began. "You don't get radicalized fighting other people's battles," as Beverly Jones put it in the pioneering essay "Toward A Female Liberation Movement."

THE RESISTANCE

There turned out to be tremendous resistance to women's simply studying their situation, especially without men in the room. In the beginning we had set out to do our studying in order to take better action. We hadn't realized that just studying this subject and naming the problem and problems would be a radical action in itself, action so radical as to engender tremendous and persistent opposition from directions that still manage to flabbergast me. The opposition often took the form of misinterpretations and misrepresentations of what we were doing that no amount of explanation on our part seemed able to set straight. The methods and assumptions behind consciousness-raising essentially grew out of both the scientific and radical political traditions, but when we applied them to women's situation, a whole lot of otherwise "scientific" and "radical" people-especially men-just couldn't see this.

Whole areas of women's lives were declared off limits to discussion. The topics we were talking about in our groups were dismissed as "petty" or "not political." Often these were the key areas in terms of how women are oppressed as a particular group—like housework, childcare and sex. Everybody from Republicans to Communists said that they agreed that equal pay for equal work was a valid issue and deserved support. But when women wanted to try to figure out why we weren't *getting* equal pay for equal work anywhere, and wanted to take a look in these areas, then what we were doing wasn't politics, economics or even study at all, but "therapy," something that women had to work out for themselves individually.

When we began analyzing these problems in terms of male chauvinism, we were suddenly the living proof of how backward women are. Although we had taken radical political action and risks many times before, and would act again and again, when we discussed male chauvinism,

suddenly we were just women who complained all the time, who stayed in the personal realm and never took any action.

Some people said outright they thought what we were doing was dangerous. When we merely brought up concrete examples in our lives of discrimination against women, or exploitation of women, we were accused of "man-hating" or "sour grapes." These were more efforts to keep the issues and ideas we were discussing out of the realm of subjects of genuine study and debate by defining them as psychological delusions.

And when we attempted to describe the realities of our lives in certain ways, however logical—for instance, when we said that men oppressed women, or that all men were among the beneficiaries in the oppression of women—some people really got upset. "You can't say that men are the oppressors of women! Men are oppressed, too! And women discriminate against women!" Now it would seem to go without saying that if women have a secondary status in the society compared to men, and are treated as secondary creatures, then the beneficiaries would be those with the primary status.

Our meetings were called coffee klatches, hen parties or bitch sessions. We responded by saying, "Yes, bitch, sisters, bitch," and by calling coffee klatches a historic form of women's resistance to oppression. The name calling and attacks were for us a constant source of irritation and sometimes of amazement as they often came from other radicals who we thought would welcome this new mass movement of an oppressed group. Worse yet, the lies prevented some of the women we would have liked to reach from learning about what we were really doing.

THE PROGRAM

There was no denying, though, that we ourselves were learning a tremendous amount from the discussions and were finding them very exciting. From our consciousnessraising meetings was coming the writing which was formulating basic theory for the women's liberation movement. Shulamith Firestone, who wrote the book The Dialectic of Sex, Anne Koedt, who wrote the essay "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm," Pat Mainardi, who wrote the essay "The Politics of Housework," Carol Hanisch, who wrote the essay, "The Personal is Political," Kate Millett, who wrote Sexual Politics, Eindy Cisler, who led the ground-breaking abortion law repeal fight in New York, Rosalyn Baxandall, Irene Peslikis, Ellen Willis, Robin Morgan and many others participated in these discussions. Most of us had thought we were already radicals; but we were discovering that we were only beginning to have a radical understanding of women-and of other issues of class, race and revolutionary change.

Our group was growing rapidly. Other women were as fascinated as we about the idea of doing something politically about aspects of our lives as women that we never thought could be dealt with politically, that we thought we would just have to work out as best we could alone. Most of these issues the National Organization for

ROOTS OF CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

But why should I in so vast an ocean of books by which the minds of men are troubled and fatigued ... expose this noble philosophy to be damned and torn to pieces by the maledictions of those who are either already sworn to the opinions of other men, or are foolish corrupters of good arts, learned idiots, grammatists, sophists, wranglers, and perverse little folk? ... But to you alone, true philosophers, honest men, who seek knowledge not from books alone, but from things themselves have I addressed these magnetic principles. . . .

William Gilbert Preface to ON MAGNETISM, 1628

We had to adopt the method which physicians sometimes use, when they are called to a patient who is so hopelessly sick that he is unconscious of his pain and suffering. We had to describe to women their own position, to explain to them the burdens that rested so heavily upon them, and through these means, as a wholesome irritant, we roused public opinion on the subject, and through public opinion, we acted upon the Legislature.

> Ernestine Rose, 1860 HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

All knowledge originates in perception of the objective external world through man's physical sense organs. Anyone who denies such perception, denies direct experience, or denies personal participation in the practice that changes reality, is not a materialist.

Mao Tsetung "On Practice", 1937

You can't give the people a program until they realize they need one, and until they realize that all existing programs aren't ... going to produce ... results. What we would like to do ... is to go into our problem and just analyze ... and question things that you don't understand so we can ... get a better picture of what faces us. If you give people a thorough understanding of what it is that confronts them, and the basic causes that produce it, they'll create their own program; and when the people create a program you get action.

Malcolm X, 1964 MALCOLM X SPEAKS

Women (NOW) wouldn't touch. Was it because these subjects were "petty" or really hitting at the heart of things—areas of deepest humiliation for all women? Neither was NOW then organizing consciousness-raising groups. This

only happened after 1968, when the new and more radical groups formed, with a mass perspective. Our group's first public action after putting out a journal was an attempt to reach the masses with our ideas on one of those so-called petty topics: the issue of appearance. We protested and picketed the Miss America Contest, throwing high heels, girdles and other objects of female torture into a freedom trash can. It was this action in 1968 which first awakened widespread awareness of the new "Women's Liberation Movement," capturing world interest and giving the movement its very name.

Our study groups were radicalizing our own consciousness and it suddenly became apparent that women could be doing on a mass scale what we were doing in our own group, that the next logical radical action would be to get the word out about what we were doing. This kind of study would be part of what was necessary to achieve the liberation of women on a mass scale. The pattern of obstacles to consciousness-raising was also getting quite clear. And so I outlined a paper talking about this-about how very political these so-called bitch sessions could be, suggesting what important information for our fight we still had to get from studying the experiences and feelings of women, describing some of the obstacles, and proposing that women everywhere begin.

SIX YEARS LATER

Since 1967, consciousness-raising has become one of the prime educational, organizing programs of the women's liberation movement. Feminist groups and individual women who at first didn't think they needed it are all doing it. As consciousness-raising became popular, many other groups and individuals have become involved in it and its nature has been changed to suit various purposes. The term consciousness-raising has become widely used in contradictory contexts. A recent New York Times article referred to a meeting called by Henry Kissinger to talk to the executives of the major television networks about the content of their programs as a "curious 'consciousnessraising' session with a Secretary of State."

Even in the women's liberation movement there are all kinds of proponents of consciousness-raising, people who are looked upon as "experts in the field" and people who are drawing up all kinds of guidelines and rules for its use. In all of this, the original purpose of consciousness-raising, its connection with revolutionary change for women, is all too often getting lost. This is why a look at the origins of consciousness-raising provides such an important perspective.

The purpose of women's liberation was to defeat male supremacy and give women equality. We felt this was such a monumental task. How to approach it? Consciousnessraising seemed to be what was needed.

The male supremacist Establishment and its forces of discrimination against women that consciousness-raising set out to critique have rolled with the punch. Now the opposition to consciousness-raising frequently comes under the guise of support or partial support. The Establishment

is trying to change consciousness-raising, weaken, dilute, and take away its strength so it won't cause any more changes.

Going to the sources, the historic roots, to the work that set the program in motion, is one of the ways to fight this process. The wellspring of consciousness-raising's power is the commitment to a radical approach, a radical solution. What actually went on in the original consciousness-raising program which turned out to be so provocative, the thinking behind it, the literature which the original group produced, form the kernel experience from which all other lessons grew. From it we can also discover what may have been wrong in the original thinking that allowed some organizing to go off the track. But any corrections in the original idea must be done to make the weapon of consciousness-raising in the hands of women sharper, not duller.

CHECKING OUT THE ORIGINAL SOURCES

The people who started consciousness-raising did not see themselves as beginners at politics, including, in many cases, feminism. Yet they intended consciousness-raising as much for themselves as for people who really were beginners. Consciousness-raising was seen as both a method for arriving at the truth and a means for action and organizing. It was a means for the organizers themselves to make an analysis of the situation, and also a means to be used by the people they were organizing and who were in turn organizing more people. Similarly, it wasn't seen as merely a stage in feminist development which would then lead to another phase, an action phase, but as an essential part of the overall feminist strategy.

To get consciousness-raising started we, as organizers, gave it priority in our actions and outreach political work. In that sense we saw it as a first stage—to awaken people, to get people started thinking and acting. But we also saw it as an ongoing and continuing source of theory and of ideas for action. We made the assumption, an assumption basic to consciousness-raising, that most women were like ourselves-not different-so that our self-interest in discussing the problems facing women which most concerned us would also interest other women. Daring to speak about our own feelings and experiences would be very powerful. Our own rising feminist consciousness led us to that assumption by revealing that all women faced oppression as women and had a common interest in ending it. Anything less than a radical approach to feminism wouldn't interest other women any more than it did us, wouldn't seem worth the effort. We felt that other women, too, would respond to what was radical, although they perhaps would not think of themselves as "radical" due to widespread distortion of the meaning of that word.

From the beginning of consciousness-raising-as you can see in the first program outlined in 1968 -there has been no one method of raising consciousness. What really counts in consciousness-raising are not methods, but results. The only "methods" of consciousness-raising are essentially principles. They are the basic radical political principles of going to the original sources, both historic and personal, going to the people—women themselves, and going to experience for theory, and strategy. Experience in consciousness-raising can't be judged by expertise in any alleged methods but by expertise in getting results, in producing insights and understanding. It is striking how many people in the right circumstances can suddenly become experts by these standards! One of the exhilarating and consciousness-raising discoveries of the Women's Liberation Movement has been how much insight and understanding can come from simple honesty and the pooling of experience in a room full of women who are interested in doing this.

The paraphernalia of rules and methodology—the new dogma of "C-R" that has grown up around consciousness-raising as it has spread—has had the effect of creating vested interests for the methodology experts, both professional (for example, psychiatrists) and amateur. There have been a number of formalized "rules" or "guidelines" for consciousness-raising which have been published and distributed to women's groups with an air of authority and as if they represented the original program of consciousness-raising. But new knowledge is the source of consciousness-raising's strength and power. Methods are simply to serve this purpose, to be changed if they aren't working.

RADICAL PRINCIPLES BRING RESULTS

For instance, the aim of going around the room in a meeting to hear each woman's testimony, a common-and exciting-practice in consciousness-raising, is to help stay focused on a point, to bring the discussion back to the main subject after exploring a tangent, to get the experience of as many people as possible in the common pool of knowledge. The purpose of hearing from everyone was never to be nice or tolerant or to develop speaking skill or the "ability to listen." It was to get closer to the truth. Knowledge and information would make it possible for people to be "able" to speak. The purpose of hearing people's feelings and experience was not therapy, was not to give someone a chance to get something off her chest . . . that is something for a friendship. It was to hear what she had to say. The importance of listening to a woman's feelings was collectively to analyze the situation of women, not to

analyze her. The idea was not to change women, was not to make "internal changes" except in the sense of knowing more. It was and is the conditions women face, it's male supremacy, we want to change.

Though usually very provocative, fascinating and informative, "going around the room" can become deadening and not at all informative, even defeating the purpose of consciousness-raising, when it is saddled with rigid rules like "no interruptions," "no tangents," "no generalizations." The idea of consciousness-raising was never to end generalizations. It was to produce truer ones. The idea was to take our own feelings and experience more seriously than any theories which did not satisfactorily clarify them, and to devise new theories which did reflect the actual experience and feelings and necessities of women.

Consciousness-raising, then, is neither an end in itself nor a stage, a means to a different end, but a significant part of a very inclusive commitment to winning and guaranteeing radical changes for women in society. The view of consciousness-raising as an end in itself—which happens when consciousness-raising is made into a methodology, a psychology—is as severe and destructive a distortion of the original idea and power of the weapon as is seeing consciousness-raising as a stage. As one woman, Michal Goldman, put it, "I get tired of those people who are always experimenting, never discovering anything, always examining, but never seeing—always changing, always remaining the same."

Nor does consciousness-raising, as some have implied, assume that increased awareness, knowledge, or education alone will eliminate male supremacy. In consciousness-raising, through shared experience, one learns that uncovering the truth, that naming what's really going on, is necessary but insufficient for making changes. With greater understanding, one discovers new necessity for action—and new possibilities for it. Finding the solution to a problem takes place through theory and action both. Each leads to the other but both are necessary or the problem is never really solved.

MINDLESS ACTIVISM

The purpose of consciousness-raising was to get to the

In my opinion, to search means nothing in painting. To find is the thing.

- Picasso

Black poets should seek—but not search too much In sweet dark caves, nor hunt for snipes Down psychic trails (like the white boys do).

- Etheridge Knight

I get tired of those people who are always experimenting, never discovering anything. You know, they're always changing, always remaining the same.

– Michal Goldman

A QUESTION FOR CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

This meeting was held ... in an effort to educate the young revolutionary cadres in the fundamentals of class relations and class consciousness so that they could, as they themselves said, "get at the root of calamity." ... The meeting lasted three days and three major issues were discussed: (1) Who depends upon whom for a living? (2) Why are the poor poor and the rich rich? (3) Should rent be paid to landlords?.... When the meeting broke up on the third day the three main questions had been settled in the minds of most: (1) The landlords depended on the labor of the peasants for their very life. (2) The rich were rich because they "peeled and pared" the poor. (3) Rent should not be paid to the landlords.

- William Hinton, FANSHEN, 1966

most radical truths about the situation of women in order to take radical action; but the call for "action" can sometimes be a way of preventing understanding—and preventing radical action. Action comes when our experience is finally verified and clarified. There is tremendous energy in consciousness-raising, an enthusiasm generated for getting to the truth of things, finding out what's really going on. Learning the truth can lead to all kinds of action and this action will lead to further truths.

But no particular change in a woman's personal behavior, nor any particular action or strategy, are presupposed. By the very logic of the idea no action can be required ahead of time in consciousness-raising unless a group is using consciousness-raising specifically to brainstorm for an action. The idea is to study the situation to determine what kinds of actions, individual and political, are necessary. This is also true quite practically. If women fear they have to take action on what they are talking about, especially action alone, as individuals, they won't talk about anything they're not ready to take action on, or they won't be honest. In fact, part of why consciousnessraising is the radical approach is that women are not coming to take immediate action. We can't limit our thinking or our action only to that which we can do immediately. Action must be taken, but often it must be planned-and delayed.

Our idea in the beginning was that consciousness-raising—through both C-R groups and public actions—would waken more and more women to an understanding of what their problems were and that they would begin to take action, both individual and collective. And this has certainly happened—on an unprecedented scale. Of course, with greater unity and organization more can actually be accomplished and solved. But people have to learn this, and there is more and more to learn about which methods of organization and action we need. There is also more to do about clarifying our goals and defining the obstacles—making connections between the oppression of women and other systems of oppression and exploitation.

Analyzing our experience in our personal lives and in the movement, reading about the experience of other people's struggles, and connecting these through consciousness-raising will keep us on the track, moving as fast as possible toward women's liberation.

We have been often asked, "What is the use of Conventions? Why talk? Why not work?" Just as if the thought did not precede the act! Those who act without previously thinking are not good for much. Thought is first required, then the expression of it, and that leads to action; and action based upon thought never needs to be reversed: it is lasting and profitable, and produces the desired effect. I know there are many who take advantage of this movement, and then say: "You are doing nothing; only talking." Yes, doing nothing! We have only broken up the ground and sowed the seeds; they are repaying the benefit, and yet they tell us we have done nothing!

- Ernestine Rose, 1860 HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Kwame Nkrumah said, "Thought without action is empty and action without thoughts is blind." He says, "Revolutions are made by men who think as men of action and act as men of thought. These are the only people who make revolution."

– Stokely Carmichael AKWESASNE NOTES, Early Winter 1974

SUGGESTED READINGS

[&]quot;Program for Feminist Consciousness-Raising" by Kathie Sarachild (Nov. 1968). Published in full in Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation, Shulamith Firestone, editor, 1970, N.Y. (out of print). Also various parts in Voices from Women's Liberation (Tanner), Radical Therapist (Agel), Sisterhood Is Powerful (Morgan), Woman's Fate: Raps from a Feminist Consciousness-Raising Group (Dreifus). See Appendix.

[&]quot;The Personal Is Political" by Carol Hanisch (Feb., 1969). In Firestone; Agel. See Appendix.

[&]quot;Principles" by Redstockings (April, 1969). In Morgan (mistakenly attributed to New York Radical Women). See Appendix.

[&]quot;Resistances to Consciousness" by Irene Peslikis (June, 1969). In Firestone; Tanner; Morgan.

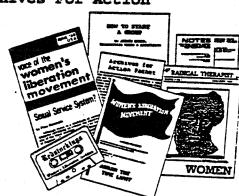
[&]quot;Redstockings Manifesto" (July 7, 1969). In Masculine/Feminine (Rozak & Rozak); The Other Half (Epstein and J. Goode), 1971; Firestone; Morgan; Tanner. See Appendix.

Complete book Feminist Revolution available from:

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What is consciousness-raising?

Kristy Royall

I first attended a consciousness-raising organized by the University of Florida/ Santa Fe Community College chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in March of 1992. The subject was abortion rights, and each woman answered the question "How is your body restricted as a woman?" I was nervous about speaking in front of a group of strangers about myself, but at the same time I was excited by the honesty, courage, and sincerity of the other women in the room. I still remember one woman describing how a condom she was using had broken a few nights before and her fear that she might be pregnant. Most women, including me, know that feeling: day after day of waiting for your period, desperately hoping that it will show up, feeling like you'll do anything just to not be pregnant.

The responses to the question were varied, covering abortion and birth control, beauty standards, and rape and sexual harassment, but it was clear from the common experiences of the women in the room that we did not have the basic freedom to control our own bodies. Until then, my political activities had consisted of attending rallies and marches as an individual, but that night I began to realize that I needed and wanted to be part of something larger and stronger than myself. I joined Campus NOW that night.

In the past three years, I have led and participated in numerous consciousness-raising sessions, primarily on feminist issues. The information in this article is based largely on my experience using consciousness-raising (CR) as a leader

of the Campus NOW chapter and as a teacher in a community education class taught by Gainesville Women's Liberation, so most of the examples will pertain to women fighting sexism. However, the principles can be applied to other groups fighting their oppression; in fact, forms of consciousness-raising were used by many revolutionary movements before the women's liberation movement coined the term "Consciousness-Raising" in the late 60's to describe it. [See box at right].

Getting at the Truth

CR is a way to get at the truth about our lives. Understanding the true conditions of our lives—and learning that we are not alone with these problems—can be a powerful stimulus to action, which is why those in power frequently tell us our problems are a result of our personal

failings, and recommend personal solutions to us. CR is a way to examine what we want most our problems and worries, our fears and hopes. The information turned up by CR has shaped most of my. political beliefs: who oppresses whom and why, how they get away with it, why women and men act the way they do, and how oppressed people can organize and fight back. It has

also shown me the importance of speaking from my own experience when trying to organize or persuade other women, because I first became committed to organized feminism by seeing how other women's experiences with sexism were like my own.

Now, when I consider a theory on how women are oppressed, I ask myself, "Is this based on women's experience? If not, what is it based on? Whose interests does it serve?" CR says that women (or workers, African Americans, and other groups placed in an inferior position in society) are the experts on our own oppression, not psychologists, journalists, academics, or other "experts." Our experiences and feelings are reliable data that we can use to uncover the truth about our lives: what we want, what we are really like, why we behave certain ways, and who benefits at our expense.

Civic Media Center January Events

Thu., Jan. 11 Weekly Open Poetry Jam, a reading of poetry & stuff, 8-11 pm Fri., Jan. 12 Music with Josh and Casey 9 pm Tues., Jan. 16 First Hand History with Abraham Lincoln Brigade veteran Jack Penrod & film "The Good Fight" about the international brigades in the Spanish Civil War, 8 pm

Thurs., January 18 Open Poetry Jam, 8-11 pm Mon., Jan. 22 Humanists of Gainesville meet, open discussion, 7:30

Tues., Jan. 23 First Hand History with Harriet Ludwig, 8 pm

Wed., Jan. 24 Vegetarian cooking and nutrition class, 7:30 pm

Thurs., Jan. 25 Open Poetry Jam, 8-11 pm Mon., Jan. 29 Seminar planning group, 7:30 Wed., Jan 31 Vegetarian cooking class 7:30 pm Thur., Feb. 1 Open Poetry Jam, 8-11 pm

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A Personal Example

For years I thought I was a weak woman (and a bad feminist) because I worried about my weight and wore make-up. I thought I should just accept myself and forget about anyone who didn't like me the way I was, but I never could do it.

When I got involved with a feminist group, we did a lot of CR on beauty standards, especially in conjunction with an action where we picket the Miss University of Florida Pageant. These CR's are usually very successful, because every woman faces being judged on her attractiveness at some point, probably daily.

The problem for most of us is that we do not fit the ideal for American beauty, but we have to be as attractive as possible for the men who are our bosses, teachers, fathers, husbands or lovers. Not only does it take a lot of time and effort, but it is humiliating to not be taken seriously as a human being. As individuals, we have two options: work really hard at being beautiful or just learn to accept ourselves as we are and take the consequences.

I have tried both of these strategies, and I have listened to lots of testimony from other women who have also tried. Both will help you feel a little better, but not without a price. Beauty work is exhausting and expensive, and most women will never meet the ideal, no matter how hard they try. If you decide to eat and wear whatever you want and try to ignore how you look, be prepared to spend a lot of nights alone.

Through CR, I came to see that women get punished or rewarded based on how close we come to meeting the requirements for beauty. No matter how much I love my body, the truth is that

A short history of consciousness-raising

Feminist consciousness-raising (CR) was first developed in the women's liberation movement by New York Radical Women and was first put into writing by Kathie Sarachild, who presented "A Program for Feminist Consciousness-Raising" at the first national Women's Liberation conference in Lake Villa, Illinois in November, 1968.

CR would become the nationally-used method for women to analyze their experience, learn about their oppression as a group, and do something about it. In "A Program for Feminist Consciousness Raising, " Sarachild says that the point of CR is for women to develop a female "class' consciousness." Gainesville Women's Liberation organizer Judith Brown wrote that CR was to "get to the point where large numbers [of women] understand what we want clearly enough to be able to unite around it."

Other movements have used similar methods to unite people around their shared experience. In the Civil Rights Movement, black organizers called this method "telling it like it is." In the Chinese Revolution, the method was called "Speak bitterness," in which peasants analyzed how they were exploited by landlords, and discovered that it was not their personal failings that made them poor.

Many pioneers of feminist CR (including Sarachild and Brown) were active in the Civil Rights Movement and had studied other revolutionary movements. Many of the methods and ideas of the Women's Liberation Movement (including the idea that women can and should organize on their own behalf) were based on lessons from the Civil Right Movement and other radical movements.

CR was wildly successful, and CR groups began to spring up all over the country (and later in other countries). Women, who have been isolated from one another, could finally relate their problems to those of other women and get rid of lies and myths (i.e. we're weak, we're passive, we oppress ourselves). Using CR as a tool, the Second Wave of feminism won many rights for women: access to abortion, better sex and birth control, more access to male-dominated trades and professions, more equal pay, and freedom from some oppressive dress standards, to name a few.

For further description of consciousness-raising, and an analysis of the distortions of the method, see Kathie Sarachild, "Consciousness-Raising: A Radical Weapon" in Redstockings' book *Feminist Revolution*, 1975 (Redstockings edition) and 1978 (Random House edition). "A Program for Feminist Consciousness-Raising" is also reprinted in this book. The book and many founding papers of the 1960's Women's Liberation Movement are available from the Redstockings Women's Liberation Archives. Send two first-class stamps to: Archives Distribution Project, P.O. Box 2625, Gainesville, FL 32602 to receive a catalog.



EMILY FRANCK HOON PhD

Licensed Clinical Psychologist

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thinner women get more attention and praise, more lovers, better jobs, fewer traffic tickets. I now see that the only way out of beauty standards is to change the power relations that allow men to dictate how we can look. We need to go on "strike against beauty standards," but without a great deal of solidarity on this issue, women will not be able to give up their survival techniques. The only way to get this solidarity is to join together and build a mass movement for women's freedom.

What CR is Not

The purpose of CR is to uncover truths about our collective situation and strategize about how to change it. It is not therapy for those involved, it is not a support group, and it is not a personal solution. If this goal is not kept in mind during CR sessions, they can easily get derailed into trying to solve people's individual problems.

Because CR uses people's personal experiences as data for drawing conclusions, participants need to be as complete and honest as possible. Sometimes people will interrupt and ask questions of the person speaking in order to get the best testimony possible. Sometimes a person's experience will trigger another's memory of a similar experience, or they will break in with a contradictory experience. Some people might have more to say than others; that's fine as long as they are contributing data from their own experience.

Of course, CR can have a therapeutic effect as you realize that you are not alone in your struggle. For me, consciousness-raising did help my self-esteem as I realized that many of my problems were a result of women's oppression and not my personal chort-comings. This knowledge. however, did not make me liberated. Sometimes, the realization that you are oppressed and that personal solutions are usually choices among bad alternatives can be depressing. It can be difficult to face the awful truth that men, even men we love and who love us, are sexist towards us.

CR in Action

This section offers some practical information on using CR in an organization working for social change.

The applications of CR are virtually unlimited. For example, CR could be used to organize new people into your group (while illuminating things for the established members), test a theory, figure out the right position on an issue, prepare for an action, or evaluate an event.

It is helpful to start out with a set of questions that each person in the group answers as honestly and completely as possible. Make sure that participants answer from their personal experience, not what they read in a book or what they think are problems in general. Many people find it embarrassing to admit that sexism hurts them and that they cannot always fix this problem by acting strong or brave. A couple of people should be prepared to testify first, being completely honest to set an example and give others courage.

When selecting questions, keep in mind what theory you want to test or what sort of data you want to generate. The questions should require that people provide examples from real-life situations. Here are some examples of questions my organization has used:

When has a man expected something of you that you didn't want to do? Did you go along with it? Why or why not? What did he stand to gain if you went along with it? What did he stand to lose if you didn't?

When have you used the way you look to get something? Why? What happened?

Have you ever lived with a man? What did you like about it? What did you not like?

When my NOW chapter was experiencing a leadership transition, we had a CR using these questions to help the group deal with officers' uncertainties:

What fears and obstacles do you face/ have about taking on leadership? What do you look forward to?

This set of questions (which can be broken up) can be used for a variety of purposes: figuring out interest or commitment level of new members, determining the purpose or direction of a new group (or a group in transition), or

keeping members and leaders inspired by reminding them of what they are fighting for:

Why did I join the ____ movement?
What do I want from the ____
movement?
What do I want to do within the ____
movement?

In most CR's I have been in, there has been a limit on the amount of time each person can use to answer the questions. The purpose is to ensure that everyone has a chance to speak, so that we can gather as much data as possible. If someone is giving testimony that is particularly useful or interesting, the group can grant her additional time, keeping in mind that there might be less time for conclusions.

From my experience doing CR with both men and women, I have found that CR on sexism is most effective when men are not present. The main reason to exclude men is to ensure the truthfulness and completeness of participants' testimony. The presence of men alters what and how much women will say, and not just because the subject matter is often sensitive and personal. There can be direct repercussions for telling the truth about your boyfriend, boss, or father--without the threat of repercussions, women are freer to tell the whole story. (Perhaps this is why many men oppose women's liberation meeting without them, but they never object to being excluded from sewing bees or baby showers.)

Because of these repercussions, participants should be advised of the importance of maintaining the confidentiality of other people's testimony. The accuracy of the conclusions is directly related to the accuracy of the testimony, and people are less likely to be completely honest if they are worried about the consequences of what they are saying. However, testimony and conclusions from CR should be shared so that others can learn from it. Just omit names and other details which could reveal a person's identity.

There are also strategic advantages to meeting separately from the people who have power over our lives. Union organizers fought for and won the right

to meet as workers independently from bosses to discuss how to improve working conditions and get rid of mangement's power over them. They recognized that the presence of management would not only cause the workers to fear consequences for speaking out, but also make the union vulnerable by exposing its weaknesses.

Drawing Conclusions

After all the data have been gathered, we draw conclusions by pooling and comparing people's experiences. It is helpful to try to group each person's testimony under broad categories.

Contradictions within testimony or between people's testimonies are a particularly good indicator that something needs closer examination. When women report that they behaved differently in similar situations, or have different desires or problems, often there is a common root. For example, one woman might work really hard to try to conform to beauty standards, and another might ignore them. The actions are different, and the results are different, but the root problem is beauty standards imposed on women by men.

Sometimes these contradictions can show us that there is not an individual solution, because we hear testimony from women who have tried different

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Jenny Brown Joe Courter strategies. For this reason it is important to hear testimony from people with a variety of backgrounds (racial, cultural, economic) or living conditions (married, single, divorced, with children, without children, older, younger, etc.) In the previous example, both women pay a price for their choices, and both women are still constrained by unfair requirements about their appearance. Individual strategies help us survive, and sometimes we can even get some pretty good benefits, but they do not give us full freedom.

Conclusions can reveal something about our collective situation, for example, that whether we try to conform to beauty standards or try to ignore them, we still feel the effects every day of not being free to be ourselves.

Reserving ample time for thorough conclusions should always be a high

priority when planning a CR. Without at least trying to draw conclusions, CR becomes merely a rap group, a place to meet other people and get things off your chest. The data is full of potential, but without conclusions its power cannot be unleashed. Conclusions is the part of CR where individuals' experiences are transformed into general theories that we can actually use to make decisions about our organizations and about our movement.

Kristy Royall is the former co-president of UF/SFCC Campus NOW. A version of this article originally appeared in Infusion: Tools for Action and Education, the quarterly organizing journal of the Center for Campus Organizing. Subscriptions are \$25 (\$10 to low income, \$15 to students) from CCO, P.O. Box 748, Cambridge, MA 02142.

"The purpose of consciousness-raising was to get to the most radical truths about the situation of women in order to take radical action; but the call for "action" can sometimes be a way of preventing understanding—and preventing radical action. Action comes when our experience is finally verified and clarified. There is tremendous energy in consciousness-raising, an enthusiasm generated for getting to the truth of things, finding out what's really going on. Learning the truth can lead to all kinds of action and this action will lead to further truths.

"But no particular change in a woman's personal behavior, nor any particular action or strategy, are presupposed. By the very logic of the idea no action can be required ahead of time in consciousness-raising unless a group is using consciousness-raising specifically to brainstorm for an action. The idea is to study the situation to determine what kinds of actions, individual and political, are necessary. This is also true quite practically. If women fear they have to take action on what they are talking about, especially action alone, as individuals, they won't talk about anything they're not ready to take action on, or they won't be honest. In fact, part of why consciousness-raising is the radical approach is that women are not coming to take immediate action. We can't limit our thinking or our action only to that which we can do immediately. Action must be taken, but often it must be planned—and delayed.

"Our idea in the beginning was that consciousness-raising—through both CR groups and public actions—would waken more and more women to an understanding of what their problems were and that they would begin to take action, both individual and collective. And this has certainly happened—on an unprecedented scale. Of course, with greater unity and organization more can actually be accomplished and solved. But people have to learn this, and there is more and more to learn about which methods of organization and action we need. There is also more to do about clarifying our goals and defining obstacles—making connections between the oppression of women and other systems of oppression and exploitation.

"Analyzing our experience in our personal lives and in the movement, reading about the experience of other people's struggles, and connecting these through consciousness-raising will keep us on the track, moving as fast as possible toward women's liberation."

—Kathie Sarachild, *Consciousness-Raising: A Radical Weapon* in Redstockings' book Feminist Revolution, available for \$8 from the Redstockings Women's Liberation Archives, Archives Distribution Project, P.O. Box 2625, Gainesville, FL 32602.

Flyer written by Jenny Brown, Campus NOW president in 1989, for Feb. 2, 1989 protest of the Miss UF Pageant.

WE PROTEST THE MISS UF PAGEANT!

our bodies with the clothes and shoes we wore, the diets we had to agreeable, always being nice, not to mention what we had to do to some examples. And I just sat there, listening to her describe al "I think a lot about being attractive," Ann said. "People don't find the real self of a woman attractive." And then she went on to give didn't find our real selves, our human freedom, our basic humanity go through, going blind not wearing glasses, all because men the false ways women have to act: playing dumb, always being "attractive."

--Kathie Sarachiid "Consciousness-Raising: A Radical Weapon" <u>Feminist Revolution</u>, ©1975, 1978, Redstockings.

Florida, Gainesville, 32611. CAMPUS NOW (National Organization for Women) was founded Join the fight against beauty standards and for women's liberation! 1972. For information, write P.O. Box 19 JWRU, University of Institute for Black Culture, 1510 W. University Avenue. We meet Wednesdays at 7:00 at the

eyebrows?

EXPLODE BEAUTY CONTEST MYTHS!

MYTH 1: WOMEN IN BEAUTY CONTESTS ARE DUMB. Women enter beauty contests because there are real benefits like scholarships & career opportunities. There are few sports scholarships available to women, and women are paid less in general and excluded from better paid fields traditionally held by men. Women are forced to compete in pageants to get opportunities that are available to men in other ways.

MYTH 2: WOMEN LIKE TRYING TO LOOK LIKE BEAUTY QUEENS. Every day in a woman's life is a walking beauty pageant. 1 "For women, buying and wearing clothes and beauty aids is not so much consumption as work. One of a woman's jobs in this society is to be an attractive sexual object, and clothes and make-up are the tools of the trade." If it's so much fun, why don't men shave their legs & pluck their

MYTH 3: BEAUTY PAGEANTS MAKE WOMEN INTO MINDLESS CONSUMERS. Women in reality are shrewd consumers. To make a woman buy a product, advertisers appeal to her need to please men. Women need to please men because men have the power. They are our professors, bosses, boyfriends, husbands, and congressmen.

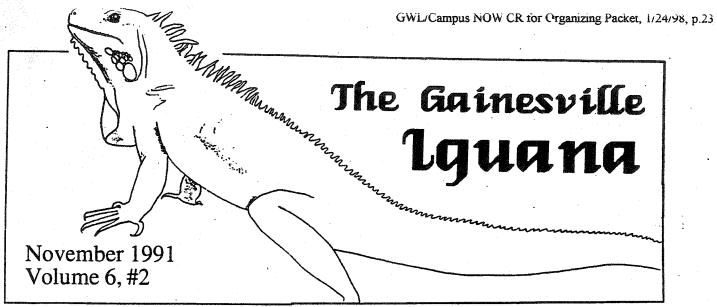
MYTH 4: BEAUTY CONTESTS DON'T HURT ANYONE. Beauty contests keep all women down by requiring that we look a certain way. This benefits men, who walk through a world in which women dedicate huge amounts of time to be prettier for them. "The great rash of nose jobs, the desperate dieting, the hours consumed in pursuit of the proper attire. There is skin care, putting up one's hair each night, visits to the hairdressers, keeping up with, buying, applying, and taking off make-up, etc. The average American women spends two hours a day in personal grooming, not including shopping or sewing. That is one-twelfth of her whole life and one-eighth of the time she spends awake. If she lives to be eighty, a woman will have spent ten whole years of her time awake in this one facet of the complex business of making herself attractive to men."

MYTH 5: THERE WILL ALWAYS BE BEAUTY STANDARDS THAT OPPRESS WOMEN. As late as 1968, all women had to wear skirts or dresses at UF. This oppressive and uncomfortable rule was scrapped as a result of the rise of student protest and the Women's Liberation Movement, which, among many other actions, protested the Miss America Contest in 1968.

Paraphrase of Rosalyn Baxandall on the David Susskind show, Oct. 1968.

²Ellen Willis, "Consumerism" and Women," Notes From the Second Year Women's Liberation, ©1970.

³Beverly Jones & Judith Brown, "Towards A Female Liberation Movement," ©1968, Gainesville, FL.



UF Women Name Names

Stories of sexual harassment of women UF students and community members were presented at the Campus National Organization for Women's "Speak Out NOW Against Sexual Harrassment" on UF's Plaza of the Americas at noon Oct. 24.

Dr. Beth Higgs, a UF alumna and victim of sexual harassment at UF had her statement read by Alex Leader, a member of Campus NOW. Higgs was working as a teaching assistant to an anthropology professor, Dr. Brian DuToil. in the fall of 1982. "It began with Dr.

DuToit making several insulting statements about women during the class lecture. For example, he used studies by sociobiologists about animal sexual behavoir to say that "women behave much like bitches in heat around the time of their menstrual periods," she said.

Higgs talked with other T.A.'s who were disturbed by DuToit's "general treatment of the topic of women's sexuality in the course."

"We drafted a letter together carefully describing the specific in-

Continued p. 4



(L to r) Emma Caplan-Merriman, Erica Merchant and Amber Waters march to "Take Back Our Lives," a nightime march and rally to demand an end to violence and discrimination against women, 'on the street, on the job, and in our homes.' The Oct. 23 event drew over 200.



Lawrence Tunsill, Director of the Carter G. Woodson Committee for Positive Education, Inc. opens a lecture on the "Anatomy of Racism" Oct. 7th. The Committee will hold a second lecture at the Institute for Black Culture Monday, Nov. 18th, 6:30pm entitled "Understanding of Self."

Anatomy of Racism Analyzed

A four-person lecture team from the Jacksonville-based Carter G. Woodson Committee for Positive Education, Inc. made an electrifying presentation to a standing-room only audience at the Institute for Black Culture October 7th. The event was sponsored by the Gator Chapter National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Black Graduate Student Organization and 99-

Continued next page

Names . . . Continued from p.1

stances in class in which we felt that Dr. DuToit was abusive and insulting to women and to people of color in his lecture," Higgs said. After taking that letter to then Anthropology Department Chair Dr. H. Russell Bernard, the complaint was resolved with an explanation that it had been "a personality conflict."

The accused professor continued with his comments about women, Higgs said. When she complained to Bernard once more his response was, "What do you want?" according to Higgs, although Bernard agreed that DuToit "was not representing the department well." In 1983, DuToit did not teach Human Sexuality but was soon reassigned to the course. He has continued to teach the course on and off through this year. "I am very angry about the toleration of sexual harassment by the UF Department of Anthropology," Higgs said.

She returned to UF after doing doctoral fieldwork. In 1984 she reported another incident of sexual harassment by another anthropology professor. Higgs was in the graduate student computer

room in the basement of Turlington Hall along with Dr. Robert Lawless, she said. "He sat down beside me to show me something on the computer and I soon found his hand rubbing on the inside of my upper thigh. I extracted his hand from my body and told him firmly that he couldn't do that to me," Higgs said. After bringing up this incident, "Dr. Bernard, who was the department head and a member of my doctoral committee told me point-blank in a private conference in his office that he considered me an anarchist and he wanted to get me out of the program as quickly as possible," she said.

Robin Hopmeier, currently a Peace Corps volunteer in Nepal, described in written testimony how her complaint about derogatory remarks made to her in IFAS Dairy Research Unit eventually caused her to quit her job there. Hopmeier endured verbal harassment by male co-workers and her manager, who said, "Women shouldn't be in vet school because they only drop out and get married," and "What she needed was a slow-talking man," according to Hopmeier's statement. When Hopmeier complained

to Associate Dean of Student Services Phyllis Meek, Meek then told the Dairy Research Unit Manager that he had been accused of sexual harassment by Hopmeier. He thought this meant he had been



Judy Fegan spoke out about sexual harassment and rape on her job.

accused of rape and rumor spread throughout the unit that Hopmeier had accused him of rape. Meek's action ultimately made work so difficult for Hopmeier that she felt in personal danger and had to quit her job.

Campus NOW member Amy Coenen read testimony from Angela Record, a former UF English student. Record filed a complaint with the UF English Department on June 15, 1989. she was enrolled in "American Fiction Since WWII." Her professor's behavior in the class was "unprofessional, and in my opinion, intolerable," she said. "The obscenity and misogyny presented in the class offended my sensibilities. The remarks, although offered in a joking manner, distracted me from the task at hand."

Record went to Dr. Patricia Craddock, Chair of the English Department, to complain. She suggested that her professor seek counseling after he made "off-color" remarks during several classes, which Record logged in a notebook. While Record did not name the professor, Jeremy Smith said that he had heard similiar comments in class



Audience members at NOW's sexual harassment speakout on the Plaza of the Americas Oct. 24th. The Alligator didn't report the event.

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from Dr. William Goldhurst and that Goldhurst had mentioned a student who "sat in the back and wrote down everything I said" as if to threaten current students not to complain, according to Smith.

Record's notebook read: "Wednesday, March 15, [he] said, "Friday is St. Patrick's Day so wear your green. And girls, don't think that wearing green panties will count because then you are only teasing us and we will all want to see."

"A male student in the class said,
'Girls, I am your witness to sexual
harassment.' [Professor to the student]:
'What do you do in the bathroom in your
spare time?' Male student, 'What do you
do?' Professor: 'What do you think, I'm
a Portnoy (reference to Portnoy's Complaint)? Ha! I haven't had sex in so
long I forget which one gets tied up!'"

Although she was accepted as a graduate student in the English Department, Record's previous experiences of sexual harassment convinced her not to attend and she left UF.

Coenen read a recent letter she had received from Record about a man who

had sexually harassed her at a job after she left UF, "so some of you will understand why Anita Hill waited ten years before coming forward" about harrassment by Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Record: "You'll never guess who called me. Blank, my old boss. He was sitting in a hotel room in New Jersey, bored, so he decided to call me (so he says.) He called directory assistance, got my number and rang me up. Will this ever end? To make matters worse I know that I should tell this guy to fuck off. Instead, I talked to him for 20 minutes and cheerfully answered all his questions about school,... etc. It really bothers me. My mom said to ask him not to call me anymore. Do you want to hear the real kicker? I don't want to hurt his feelings. Can you believe it? I think I'm going to see a counselor."

Women spoke out about other sexual harassment at non-UF jobs, too. Judy Fegan, Kathy Freeperson, and Joyce Leggette all told stories about physical and verbal harassment they had experienced from men

where they worked.

Fegan said sexual harassment on her job ended in rape and that none of her (male) co-workers stood up for her when she reported it. She called for change.

"You men, stand up. Quit letting the child molesters and the rapists and the sexual harassers get away with it. I didn't do anything to deserve to be beat up. . . All he [the rapist] wanted to do that day was he wanted to hurt somebody and he wanted to conquer somebody. . . If you don't stand up the first time you get harassed, the very first time, it's going to increase. Because they're testing you."

Despite the disastrous response by UF administrators to women's filed complaints, Campus NOW organizers urged victims of sexual harassment to create a paper trail about the abuse they received & asked that women send copies of their complaints to NOW.

Iguana staff report

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Comments, suggestions, contributions (written or financial) are welcome. To list your event or group, call (352) 378-5655.

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Editors:

Jenny Brown Joe Courter Assistant Editor: Steve Schell UNIVERSITY
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GAY OWNED AND OPERATED

The University Club encourages and supports amending the city human rights ordinance to include sexual orientation. We ask you to lend your energy. Phone 378-7720 for more info.

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WOMEN

DO YOU HAVE TROUBLE GETTING GUYS TO WEAR CONDOMS? YOU'RE NOT ALONE.

In our experience, guys almost never volunteer to wear a condom. The burden is on us, the women, to ask. Not only do we have to initiate the use, we often have to supply the condoms and sometimes put them on guys, because they won't. We know why we want men to wear condoms, and it is unacceptable that we have to do all the work and take all the responsibility to get men to wear them.

Men resist wearing condoms, and they use a variety of tactics. Sometimes they tell us lies ("I won't come inside you," "I can't get you pregnant"). Sometimes they will outright refuse to have sex with a condom, but usually their resistance is subtler, like whining ("Aw, come on..."), trying to make us feel guilty or selfish ("It doesn't feel as good"), or letting us know that there are plenty of women out there who won't make him wear a condom.

Extreme forms of men's "passive" resistance include losing erections and not being able to come. These problems men have seem to be involuntary ("just biology"), but our experience shows if we insist on condoms anyway, these problems usually go away. These problems can be another pressure tactic men use to get us to let them not wear condoms.

The struggle to make men use condoms makes sex less pleasurable for women and a lot more work because we're fighting a wall of men's resistance. Even men's subtle continual pressure on us to have unprotected sex or use other forms of birth control (like the Pill) wears us down, and sometimes we give in. Then we are forced to take all the risks of unprotected sex in order to get pleasure and love from men, and to reduce struggle and tension with them when they whine and complain.

For men, not using condoms is a matter of convenience and marginally more enjoyment. They apparently don't think they'll get AIDS or other STD's.

But women fight back even though men resist, because we have so much more to lose:

- Women get pregnant and have to either have an abortion—or do the physical work of reproduction, carrying a fetus for nine months and then giving birth. In addition, women usually shoulder the financial burden of either choice, and if we carry the pregnancy to term, they are expected to raise the child as well.
- Women suffer much greater consequences from STD's than men. Chlamydia and gonorrhea can make us sterile; genital warts and herpes can cause cervical cancer—things that don't happen to men with these same diseases. Women are also much more likely to catch AIDS from men than vice versa.
- We also face irritating and serious side effects and long-term effects of chemical contraceptives like the Pill and the Depo Provera shot.
- Even if we don't get pregnant or catch an STD, we still have to worry about these things and worry about getting the guy to wear a condom. These worries make sex much more of a drag for us—less spontaneous and less fun—while the guy is apparently care-free.

MEN, TAKE YOUR SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY IN SEX

- Always assume that you need to wear a condom. Do not assume that women have taken care of birth control. Don't wait for the woman to have to ask. Be prepared by having condoms and knowing how to use them.
- · Don't give us a hard time about using them under any circumstances.
- Pay the full costs of the birth control we choose or abortion, or pay at least half of childbirth and childcare costs, if we choose to have a child.

Men use a whole gamut of resistances and tactics to avoid wearing a condom. They succeed because women haven't formed a united front on this issue yet. There is always the threat that your man will go find someone else, another woman who will go that extra mile, another woman who won't make him wear a condom or make as many demands on him to shape up in general. So we women end up doing things we wouldn't normally do if the relationship were more equal. Women know that our chances of keeping a guy are better if we don't make him wear a condom or we don't insist that he treat us better—if we make demands for him to shape up, we're afraid he'll think we're a "nag," "bitch," or just too much of a pain to be worth his time. The threat he uses is that some other woman will be nicer to him, less demanding.

Women struggling individually on the great condom front, each with our own guy, is not working—we end up fighting this battle with each new guy and repeatedly in relationships. Men do improve some when we individually pressure them, but then they backslide. To get all guys to wear condoms, unconditionally, let's all of us get together, all of us who are having sex with guys, and insist that men wear condoms. Let there be no "other woman" for men to turn to. Making men wear condoms is a political issue, not just an individual, personal problem we're having.

WOMEN, WHAT WE CAN DO TO MAKE OUR LIVES BETTER

- Make men wear condoms. We need to join forces on this—we all need to make this demand together, now, for us to win—to get all guys to wear condoms.
- · Talk to other women about this.
- · Copy and distribute this flyer.
- Join a feminist group.

We believe that all men have been able to get away with fighting us on wearing condoms because they have more power than us, the power they get from male supremacy. "We define male supremacy as behavior which benefits men at the expense of women. Men get better pay, more freedom from menial or repetitive chores in the home, an unwarranted sense of personal worth and deference from women in hundreds of little ways each day."

We women need an organized women's liberation movement to fight back against all these little and big ways that men keep us down every day, including not wearing condoms. If enough women demand condoms, at some point men will automatically put them on--we won't even need to ask.

This flyer was produced 4:23/95 as a project of the 1995 community education class, "Women's Liberation: Where Do I Fit In?" taught by Gainesville Women's Liberation (GWL). Women in New York City, Philadelphia, Orlando, and Vero Beach are also distributing this flyer. The experiences described here are those of class participants and people we interviewed.

Let us know what you think of this flyer by writing to GWL, P.O. Box 2625, Gainesville, FL 32602, or check out GWL's literature shelf at the Civic Media Center, 1021 W. Univ. Ave. Gainesville, FL 32601.

To take ferminist action, call UF/SFCC Campus National Organization for Women (NOW) at 904-332-8692 or 904-338-0853. Next meeting Wed., May 24, 1995, 6:00 pm, Anderson 2.

Judith Brown, "Editorial," The Radical Therapist, Special Issue: Women (Aug-Sept 1970)

GANG RAPE

An 18-yr.-old woman reported that on February 24, 1995 two Sigma Chi fraternity brothers poured alcohol down her throat, took her to a room in the fraternity house, and raped her. She also reported that at least two other fraternity brothers knew the rape was occurring and did nothing to stop it. Despite the brutality of this act, the reported rape is being labeled as consensual sex by witnesses (*The Gainesville Sun, 4/1/95*).

RAPE HURTS ALL WOMEN

All women live with the daily threat of rape, we must watch where we go, who we hang out with, how much we drink, what we wear, and whether or not we can be sexually aggressive. We are constantly faced with making a choice between doing what we want and risking sexual assault or harassment; Men don't have to make this choice. No matter how we choose to live rape is not our fault.

RAPE IS SEXIST

Although the majority of men are not rapists, all men benefit when rapists are not punished. Rape reinforces men's power over women by denying women basic freedoms that men have. When men get away with rape, it makes it easier for them to get away with other forms of sexism: judging us based on how we look, sexually harassing us, not sharing housework and childcare, and not being concerned with birth control.

To the woman who reported being raped at the Sigma Chi house, we believe you!

To take feminist action come to the next UF/SFCC Campus National Organization for Women

Next meeting Wed., NOV. 8, 1995, 6:00 pm, Reitz Union 555

his flyer was brought to you by the UF/SFCC Campus National organization for Women Rape Action Committee. For more information about Campus NOW call 355-1575

NATIONA DRGANIZATION FOR WOMEN

Let the Real Experts Speak! Women speak out on their abortions and pregnancy scares

The first speakout was held on February 13, 1969 by the pioneering Women's Liberation group Redstockings. Members Redstockings invaded the New York State abortion hearings which were being held to decide whether abortion would be legal in this state. These hearings, which were deciding the future of women's lives, were being presided over by a panel of 14 men and one woman-a nun! The panel wanted to legalize abortion only for women who had more than four children, women with fetal deformities, and women who had been raped or were victims of incest. This proposed abortion reform would not have helped any of the women who disrupted the hearings that day.

Redstockings took a revolutionary stand and demanded that the real experts on abortion speak--women. In the spirit of women demanding change, of demanding that we control our own sexuality and reproduction, of fighting for the right to control our lives, women from around the state organized two abortion speakouts.

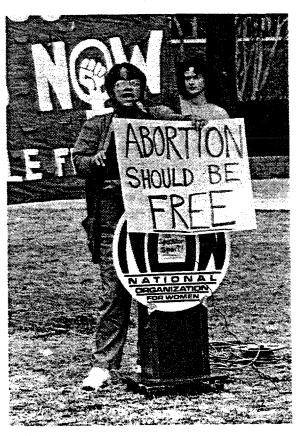
The following testimony was taken from UF/SFCC Campus NOW's Abortion Speakout (February 1996) and Gainesville Women's Liberation class/Florida State University NOW's Abortion Speakout (April 1996). These sections of testimony were originally printed in the March and May/June 1996 issues of *The Gainesville Iguana*.

Pennie Foster, speaking on the abortion she had right after Roe v. Wade passed and the second one she had when she was in the Air Force. At that time the government paid for military women to get abortions. In 1975 the Hyde Amendment eliminated funding for abortions for women in the military and women on Medicaid:

"Recently I've realized how lucky I was. An abortion was easier to get 20 years ago than it is today. Both times I had abortions I didn't get hassled. Twenty years ago there was no such thing as a 24-hour waiting period, or some requirement that a doctor read statesponsored propaganda before you can get permission to have a legal medical procedure. I also didn't have to risk meeting up with some psychotic right-tolifers giving moral judgment or worse. And nowadays if a woman in the military wants to get an abortion she cannot get it from her local military hospital or clinic and she still has to come up with the money to pay for it. Women who had low income once were able to get free abortions. Now they cannot...Who do you want controlling your

body? Your parents, your sex partner, a doctor, or worse, some official who has never even had to worry about an unwanted pregnancy and who doesn't even want to help us take care of the children our society has now and the future children we may or may not want?"

Alex Leader: "When people say things like, well no one wants to have an abortion, I think of course not, stupid,



Abby Goldsmith speaks out for abortion rights at the University of Florida campus, February 14. Goldsmith, a mother of five, first got pregnant at 16 in 1961 in Conneticut, at a time when both birth control and abortion were illegal. "So I didn't have a whole lot of choices...The families got together and I married that sex partner and we spent ten really miserable years together and produced three more children." Speaking of the situation now, Goldsmith said, "Abortion should be free." Photo: Jenny Brown.

because it's expensive, time consuming and irritating. But it was not emotionally trying for me...I felt relieved to be free...I'm mad that the national and state legislature continue to try to pass laws to restrict my access to abortion, or are just trying to make me feel bad or guilty...The state would want to make me right now be on welfare or raising a child and trying to work at the same time, or living at home with my parents, just because a condom came off inside

me four years ago. It's our right to have an abortion without consequences if we want to and we must join together to fight the second trimester abortion roll-backs. I don't mean that abortion is our right because it's a law. I mean abortion is women's right because we have a right to control our own reproduction, the physical work of carrying a fetus in our bodies and giving birth to it, work that only women can do."

Susan Deluzain: "I had no idea where I should go, and I couldn't ask any heath care people because I was afraid that they would recognize my name and that it would get back to my parents. I got my sister to go to the store with me to buy a pregnancy test. When I took it-in the middle of the night with all the lights off and doors locked, it was positive. That really freaked me out, but I was a little skeptical because I had read that they weren't always accurate. Plus I had this idea that only a doctor or nurse could tell me the real truth about my body. So, I called the HRS clinic across town from a pay phone near my work, after throwing the well-wrapped test, box, and stuff in a dumpster down the road. They told me that I should collect a sample of my earliest morning urine, refrigerate it, and bring it with me to my appointment the next day. To do this, I had to fake being sick from school, wait until the family cleared out of the house, hold my urine for what felt like ten hours too long, and finally collect the sample. Then, I had to figure out a way that I could refrigerate it without anyone seeing it and asking a lot of questions. I put it in the extra refrigerator we used for the bar. I told my dad I had decided to start packing my lunch for school. The next day I skipped a couple classes to retrieve the evidence. Then I headed to my appointment. On the drive over there, I felt my period start. I pulled over at a gas station and started to cry because I wasn't pregnant. I was so relieved, not because I was sad or worried about the abortion procedure, but because I didn't want to go through an even bigger hassle of secrets and lying to get an abortion than I already had."

Kristy Royall: My name is Kristy Royall. I work as a bookkeeper in Gainesville and I used to be Co-President of the University of Florida/Santa Fe Community College campus chapter of NOW.

I had an abortion ten years ago when I was in high school. I was sixteen and I had just started having sex with my boyfriend, whom I had been dating for several months. We used condoms occasionally, even though I had known we should have been using them all the time. I would bring it up sometimes, but he told me that he was sure he couldn't get me pregnant. He also made it perfectly clear that he hated wearing condoms and had almost never used them in the past. I didn't feel comfortable with this, but I guess I felt like getting pregnant couldn't happen to me.

When I didn't get my period, I knew in my heart right away that I was pregnant because my periods have always been very regular. But I waited and hoped anyway because I was afraid of dealing with the truth. After a week I bought a home pregnancy test. It took about a half hour of standing around in

the store to get the courage to take it to the counter. I did the test the next morning, and, of course, it was positive.

I knew right away that I didn't want to have a kid and I wanted an abortion, but I didn't have \$300. I was also afraid of the pain and I desperately didn't want anyone to find out.

Well, my boyfriend told all his friends and family (although he didn't want me to tell my mother), and he pretty much acted like he didn't care. At one point he accused me of making it up to keep him from breaking up with me. Eventually he said he would try to get the money, but he never came up with any of it. He knew a place that supposedly did abortions with general anesthesia, so I called and made an appointment, and we both planned to skip school that day. Meanwhile I was throwing up every morning before going to school, running to the downstairs bathroom so my mother wouldn't hear.

The night before my appointment we still didn't have any money, so I told my mother who turned out to be not so clueless. She had noticed that I wasn't having any periods. I should have just told her in the first place because she was so cool about it. She gave me \$300 in cash, even though she was nervous see Speakout, page 9

ABOUT SPARK...

Funding for this issue was made possible by a resolution from Florida NOW at the 1995 State Conference and by personal donations made by Chicky Desmois and Sherry Langlais of Upper Pinellas NOW and Judy Hasner of West Palm Beach NOW. Special thanks to Jenny Brown, Betty Campbell, Alex Leader, and The Gainesville Iguana.

We are currently welcoming high school/college chapter, and other young feminist volunteers to join an expanded editorial collective. We need your articles and pictures of what you are up to! If you would like to be added to the SPARK mailing list, please...

Contact:

Florida Young Feminist Task Force, c/o Campus NOW P.O. Box 2235 Gainesville, FL 32602 (352) 335-1583

Editors: Kirsten Young
Eve Koenig
Francie Hunt

Speakout...continued from page 5

about me going to this clinic which was in kind of a low income neighborhood on the other side of Miami.

My boyfriend came to pick me up in the morning. He had brought his best friend for support, and I had to sit in the backseat. When we got to the clinic, they wouldn't do the abortion because I was under 18. Even though we don't have parental consent laws in Florida, clinics can set their own policies for minors. So I went home, told my mother, and she took care of everything: finding another clinic, taking me, and paying for it. I felt so much better being with my mother. She was really terrific and supportive. But I still felt extremely nervous about the physical aspects--I had never even been to a gynecologist at this point. It hurt some, and I think the drug, Demoral, had a scary effect also because it made me semiconscious, sort of drifting in and out. But it was over fast and in the recovery room I was laughing hysterically, because I was so happy and relieved.

Afterwards, we went out to eat at my favorite restaurant. I felt pure relief. If I think about it today I still feel relief. What would I be doing today if I had a ten year old child? Would I have gotten to travel around Europe or go to college? Would I be on welfare? Would I be stuck with some guy I didn't like because he was willing to be a father to my child? Either way, I'd be trapped.

I'm speaking out today because I know how important abortion is to me and other women. For me, it gave me a second chance at having a life, even though I feel like I made some mistakes. I'm really made at the legislature for constantly trying to take away our rights, and I refuse to let them do it.

I'm also mad because we have to deal with other people acting like we're immoral or irresponsible or slutty for

getting pregnant and choosing not to be mothers. We in the feminist movement deserve part of the blame when we talk about abortion as if it is this difficult terrible decision that women only make in the most desperate situations. The implication is that we really want to have the child, but we just can't because of our unfortunate situation. It sounds like we are requesting permission to be excused from our motherly duties in certain circumstances. Sometimes people even say that it's the best thing for the child (as in every child a wanted child), as if it's not enough that it's the best thing for the woman.

Sometimes we feel guilty about wanting an abortion, but I don't think it's because we don't fit into that hard case; we're just women who don't want to give birth right now. We probably don't have what some might call a "good excuse." We weren't raped, we don't have fetal deformities, maybe we weren't even using birth control.

So what? I got pregnant and I didn't feel like giving up my life at that point to raising another human being for 18 years. It's my life and I've never felt guilty and I've never had nightmares. I have felt embarassed, because I know people thought I was an idiot for not using birth control. But you know what? Even if I made bad birth control decisions, why would that mean that a fetus automatically has more rights than I do, or that the government can force me to have a child? How a woman got pregnant should not be an issue when it comes to abortion.

We as women know that pregnancy and child-rearing affect every aspect of our lives, and we need to have full control over those decisions in order to have freedom and equality with men. If you want to get more rights for women (and defend the rights that feminists before us won through organizing and struggle), you need to get involved with a feminist organization now and start doing your part.

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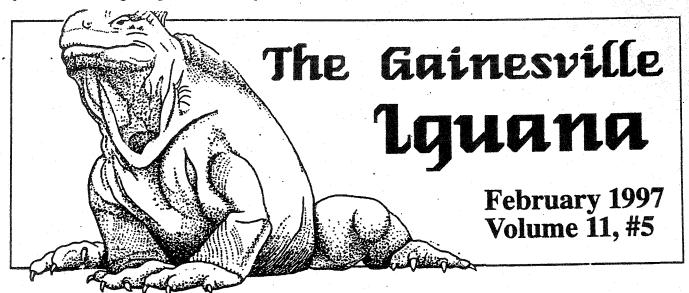
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Elaine Brown, speaking in Tallahassee

A Black Panther speaks of the past and future

Former Black Panther Party leader Elaine Brown spoke in Tallahassee on the FSU campus November 13. Brown was a member of the Black Panther Party in California for ten years, culminating in her leadership of the Party from 1974-77. She spoke and answered questions for two hours, addressing a capacity crowd of about 300. What follows are excerpts from her talk:

"I call my speeches, 'Marching from Monticello: Racism in the new age of Clinton.' I had a problem with Clinton the day Clinton was inaugurated the first time, when he said he was going to walk Continued on page 2 ...

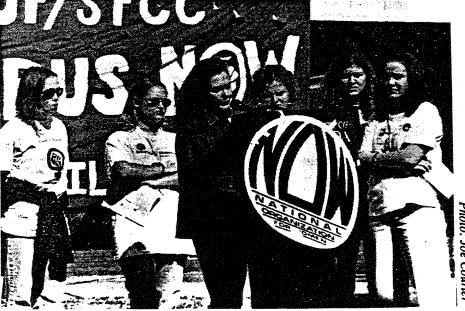
Campus NOW speak out exposes rape, sexual harassment, stalking, and male supremacy

In a powerful indictment of male supremacy, woman after woman came to the microphone to share their pain and humiliation about things that men had done to them, and to share their strength and outrage at learning that they were not alone and not to blame. The UF/ SFCC Campus National Organization for Women's speak-out against rape and sexual harassment on January 29 drew testimony from fifteen women. It was held at the Plaza of the Americas at UF. Speakers recalled sexual harassment from highschool teachers, rape by acquaintances, watching their fathers

beat up their mothers, and humiliation and attacks from their boyfriends. And they talked about how to change the simation.

Campus NOW Rape Action Committee co-chair Kirsten Young launched the program with testimony about her experiences, in one case being threatened by men with guns who had broken into her apartment. "The fear of death is so cold, it's so endless, it's so utterly engulfing and exhausting" she said. "And when we experience the threat of male violence against us, this fear is

Continued page 14 ...



Kirsten Young and other members of UF/SFCC Campus NOW speak out on the Plaza of the Americas, January 29.

happened that night... Shortly after the incident I was approached by two girls on the women's basketball team and they told me that they had had similar experiences with the exact same guy. Two that were raped, and one was an attempted rape. And there was never any charges pressed because they were worried about the repercussions."

"I lost everything because of his [actions]. I no longer had a sense of pride, a sense of self-respect, I felt dirty and worthless, and I felt I had no value as a human being. What took years for me to build up was taken away from me in a matter of minutes... He was never prosecuted because I had to leave town because I couldn't handle the pressure, and they never brought it to trial."

"Rape keeps everyone in a state of fear...
Men have to worry about their sisters, their mothers, their girlfriends, and they are painfully aware that most women do not trust them... The fear of sexual assault changes our lives, when we can go places, who we can talk to, where we walk, study and live. We are constantly taking precautions that most men will never even have to consider."

A woman said that at age 15 she was raped by her best friend's older brother. "She was my best friend, and she knew, and she never did anything. ... We actually weren't friends after that because she couldn't talk to me about it and she didn't want it to be true." She said that before the incident, they had been like sisters.

Tasha Walker said that she dated this all-American type guy, football player. "At first he was really controlling... I wasn't allowed to wear skirts at all, I couldn't wear makeup. If I picked by head up in public I would get slapped for it. If I



Audience members listen to Campus NOW's speakout. Passersby and people from the audience testified spontaneously after hearing other women speak.

said hi to one of my guy friends, I would get slapped for it. I got my skull fractured because I wanted to do my homework rather than spend time with him. ...When I did break up I didn't get too far" she said, because it was a small school. When the man came and tried to break down her door, her mother called security, but they didn't do anything, she said. But the school put her under house arrest for two weeks. "I wasn't allowed to leave the dorm for two weeks" she said. "Me, the victim."

"I'm a strong person, nobody could believe that this was happening to me. But it's not as easy as it looks to get away... If you have a friend in that situation, keep supporting them."

Amber, a member of Campus NOW, said that her boyfriend undermined her sense of self "By making fun of my body or my intelligence." After she broke up with him, he only stopped harassing her because he moved away to college.

A woman who testified that she was sexually abused by her prominent politician father for two years from age 8 stated that every time she tells someone about her experience, male or female, they tell her that they had a similar experience. She said that while her father was convicted of abusing her, he didn't spend much time in jail.

A testifier who, as a child, watched her dad beat up her mom talked about how hard it was for her mother to leave.

After she did leave, the man harassed the family, stalked them, tried to steal her and her sister away. "He would break through windows and when my mom tried to press charges, the cops persuaded her not to. And they found all these

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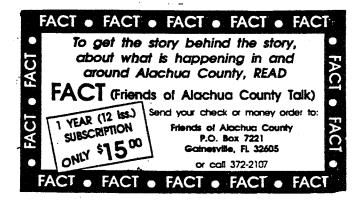
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always present. It doesn't matter who is threatening us, our fathers, our brothers, our uncles, our lovers, or strangers."

Sexual harassment

"I didn't really consider what happened to me sexual harassment until I got older because when I was in high school I thought that men acted a certain way, like they were always just perverts and could comment on the way you look." one woman testified. Her ninth grade physics teacher would comment about the female students to the male students, discussing their breasts or how fat they were. He repeatedly asked her if her boyfriend had seen her naked and made a comment one day to the whole class, "Look how her butt wiggles in those pants.' I was really embarrassed. I couldn't learn physics in his class."

A woman who was sexually harassed on the job told how her male co-workers, who were all a lot older, daily made comments about her. "I stayed even though I knew it was wrong because I figured I could take all the comments about my body and hair and perfume and clothes. But it really made me feel dirty and bad... I used to think that if she thinks the guy is cute it's flirting and if she doesn't it's harassment. That isn't true. [Sexual harassment] is so much more than comments about clothes. It's about pride and dignity and self."

"I think the system on campus should be a lot more supportive of women who have gone through this" she said, stating that CARE only gives you 12 sessions and if you're still messed up after that, "That's your problem."

Testifiers questioned the University Police Department's statistics on rape. UPD says there were four rapes on the UF campus last year. "Does anybody really believe that that's what's happening on this campus?" said one testifier skeptically.

System sides with men

A common theme emerged from the testimonies: When women reported things that had been done to them, they met with roadblocks thrown up by law enforcement, campus officials, and others in power. Even their friends sometimes buckled under the pressure.

A woman said she reported a rape to the Gainesville Police Department, but "I

had a previous record in my files at the police and they actually used this against me to intimidate me so I would not press charges." She persisted anyway.

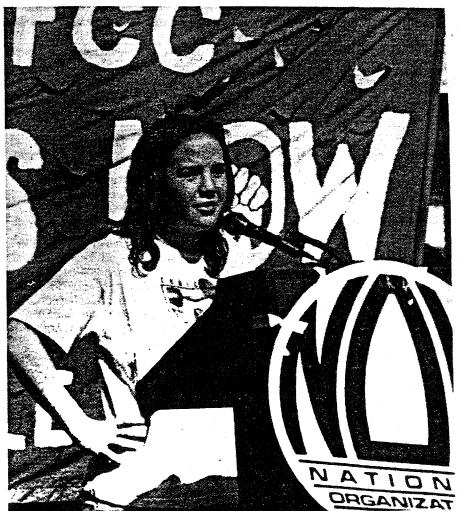
Deborah Henson, Campus NOW Rape Action Committee co-chair, told how she tried to press charges against an acquaintance—a star basketball player at her campus— who had attempted to rape her. By chance, friends came by and stopped the attempt, pulling the man off of her.

Her friends told her that they would stand behind her and would testify against him, so she pressed charges.

"I went through a humiliating question and answer session with a male police officer" she remembered. He asked her questions like how much did you drink?', 'How short was your skirt?', 'Were you flirting with him?' "It was as if I had somehow asked for this to happen to me, as if his lack of control was justified," she said.

"It was even worse at school when word got around. I was harassed by the basketball players and their coach. My boyfriend was harassed ... he was a baseball player at the same school. His teammates wouldn't talk to him, they made jokes about me to him, and he underwent this because I was standing beside me... I was intimidated and shunned because I decided to speak out against this."

"All of my friends, the same people that had literally ripped him off of me were having trouble remembering what had



Deborah Henson, Campus NOW Rape Action Committee co-chair, speaks out on the Plaza of the Americas at UF January 29th.

oe Courter

lame excuses, like it was Saturday, and for some reason it was difficult to press charges on a Saturday. I just want to make the point that the police aren't cooperative."

Making changes

Henson said she doesn't think the man who tried to rape her is a representative of the male gender. "I'm not mad at men in general... But unfortunately we live in a society where the balance of power falls in their favor. And women are routinely punished for speaking out against them. As long as we are silent, rape will continue to happen, and that is why we must speak out. Rape is a personal problem that demands a political solution. The solution to this particular problem ... lies in the society's treatment of victims and offenders... we must change the current system that punishes the victim and not the guilty party."

Young addressed the question of how political change has occurred: "Sometimes we forget that men have always had more power than us. We forget that here at UF not too long ago women couldn't wear pants to class and had to be in the dorms by 10 p.m. That we weren't allowed to be in leadership organizations like Blue Key. That around the country birth control and abortion were illegal. We forget that at one time women weren't allowed to vote and were put in jail for attempting to exercise this right. That all legal rights to our property and children were immediately given up to our husbands when we got married.

"We forget that women as a group, as part of the feminist movement, fought and won these rights for us. [But] we still can't walk alone on the streets at night without the possibility that someone might stop and harass or rape us. ... In the end, we can't even trust our friends and acquaintances, since most of our attackers are men that we know.

"We run the risk of getting raped or harassed whether we got out in slinky dresses or jeans, whether we're sluts or we're saints. It doesn't matter whether we're at a fraternity house or in our own home. As women, there is no safe place for us...

"When you come close to death and survive it, whether you simply perceive it or whether you're experiencing it directly, whether it be physical or sexual violence, or some part of your spirit dying because some man has decided to use his power against you, you gain a certain strength that no-one can take away from you. And with this strength comes a responsibility to share it with others, and work with others to fight male violence against women. Because as one woman, you will only remain terrorized and fearful, as I was. But together, we all have a chance."

Jenny Brown



Panel to give first hand accounts of Gainesville Civil Rights struggle

The Civic Media Center will hold another in its series of First Hand Histories on Wednesday, February 19, at 8pm, when it welcomes four veterans of the struggle for civil rights in Gainesville who will tell of their experiences as progressive Gainesvillians who fought to overturn segregation here in Alachua County. Guest speakers will include two members of the organization GWER, Gainesville Women for Equal Rights, who have both maintained a high level of civic involvement beyond the life of that organization: Rosa B. Williams and Jean Chalmers

Other speakers are Dr. Edgar Cosby, an African American dentist who was very active with the NAACP during that period, and Dan Harmeling, who was a then a student activist at the University of Florida and is now a high school teacher.

In one night it will be hard to do more than scratch the surface, but consider the following: Did you know that the sidewalks outside of the Florida Theater and what is now called the Purple Porpoise (then the College Inn) were scenes of conflict over segregation? Did you know that UF President Stephen C. O'Connell, namesake of the O'Dome, was an obstructionist whose refusal to meet with black students in 1971 sparked major protests with mass arrests and tear gassing of students outside Tigert Hall? Did you know that as a result of the stonewalling of black student demands (first and foremost for an Institute of Black Culture) a couple hundred

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Editors:

Jenny Brown Joe Courter