



THE AMERICAN FEMINISTSM

Feminists for Life of America[®]



work

vs. *family*

Women and men struggle to meet the conflicting demands of work and family.

THE AMERICAN FEMINIST

Feminists for Life of America



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WORK VS. FAMILY

U.S. Work-Family Policies:

Historical Precedents and New Directions

Kerri-Ann Kiniorski
Communications Vice
President

In 1995, a woman earned 75 cents for every dollar earned by a man. This statistic is frequently cited as a sign of women's economic progress (or lack of progress). Yet this one figure does not adequately convey why women still have not been able to achieve equality with men. Researchers have identified a number of reasons for the existence of the gender wage gap — many of which are tied to women's roles as caregivers. Even though it is acknowledged that women's stronger involvement in raising children has put them at an economic disadvantage, very little has been done to construct policies that enable women to combine their often-conflicting roles as caregivers and breadwinners.

continued on next page

There is historical precedent for this oversight. In the 1800s, when farming and cottage industry dominated, men and women often worked side by side, and family and work roles were closely integrated. The Industrial Revolution began the separation of work from family life and began to solidify gender-specific roles of man solely as breadwinner and woman solely as homemaker and caregiver.

Thus, the lack of work-family policies should not be too surprising considering that public policy has traditionally sought to keep women out of the workforce because of their role as mothers. For example, certain provisions in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 forbade women from working in certain positions, limited the number of hours women could work, and even required that women take rest periods during their shifts. While these provisions were intended to “protect” women’s unique maternal role, they also increased the costs to employers for hiring women and provided justification for employers who paid women lower wages than men in the same position. Even after the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act were revoked, the line had been drawn separating work from family, and ensuring that women remained in the home.

During World War II, with a shortage of male employees, factories and other work places opened up to women. (This happened less dramatically during World War I as well.) Rosie the Riveter was a well-known PR icon representing this shift in the 1940s. In essence, when women have been perceived by a male-oriented structure as needed and valuable in the workplace (e.g., during wartime), the workplace has accommodated them.

After the war, when the men returned, there was a major reversal. To help open up jobs for men and ease women back into their “traditional” roles, new PR tools came into play, glorifying the role of homemaker and mother. This historical aberration in the 1950s still strongly influences policies and attitudes regarding work-family issues.

The Equal Pay Act ensuring women “equal pay for equal work” was not passed until 1963, and many people still considered this to be a radical piece of legislation. Although women in the workplace started to

be more widely accepted, mothers in the workplace were still not welcomed. In 1978, with the passage of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA), pregnant women made limited progress (see “Pregnancy Discrimination Act”, page 6). The PDA said that pregnancy must be treated in the same manner as an illness. In other words, if a company allowed a man to take paid leave for illness, then a pregnant woman had the same right. If the company did not have any sick-leave policies, then pregnant women had no right to take time off for childbirth. At the time, few legislators objected to treating pregnancy as a “disability.”

The passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 was heralded as a step toward acknowledging employees’ family

homemaker, companies must begin to recognize that their employees — women and men alike — have responsibilities beyond the workplace. In order for women to be recognized as serious and equal players in the labor market, the norms that dictate how performance is evaluated must change. Performance should not be measured solely on the number of hours an employee works; rather, promotions and raises should be based on final products and outcomes.

A growing number of management experts advocate such changes based on the positive impact these policies have on the company’s bottom line. Work-family programs that offer parental leave, flexible scheduling options, job sharing, telecommuting and child-care services are not simply “feel-good” benefits — they contribute directly to a company’s profitability.

Current research shows that companies that offer work-family programs have lower absenteeism, reduced turnover rates, higher employee morale, and increased productivity. An investment in employees pays off in increased profits.

However, a number of such policies are not applicable to men. This is an unfortunate oversight, which does not take

into account male emotional needs. In the book *He Works, She Works*, authors Rosalind Barnett and Cheryl Rivers confirmed a number of studies that have found that family issues and concerns are as important to men as they are to women. Unfortunately, workplace culture can exert strong pressure on men to prevent them from taking advantage of family-friendly initiatives.

While more attention is being paid to women who work outside the home, women who choose to be full-time caregivers are being lost in the shuffle. (According to U.S. Census data, there are also 1.9 million full-time stay-at-home dads.) For example, President Clinton’s proposal to provide additional child-care tax credits to working families has been widely criticized for not acknowledging the financial sacrifices made by families with full-time caregivers. Those women who leave the labor force to take care of family members lose their health-care benefits and pension benefits. Even if women re-enter the labor force, their pension benefits may be diminished.



... companies must begin to recognize that their employees ...

responsibilities. Yet initial evidence indicates that FMLA has been more symbolic than substantive. Only 50 percent of U.S. workers are covered by FMLA, and since the FMLA does not provide for income replacement, only those workers who can afford to take unpaid leave benefit from it. Even the child-care tax credits that are currently provided do little to help working families make ends meet. In addition, such tax credits can be used only by individuals who owe taxes. Therefore, low-income workers, who often do not owe taxes, are unable to benefit from these credits. This fact can have important implications for women transitioning from welfare to work. Overall, family policy in the U.S. is limited.

Of course, legislation alone cannot eliminate gender stereotypes or ensure that women’s work as caregivers is valued.

Many of the existing barriers will be changed only as societal norms and corporate policies change.

Rather than assume that the average worker is a man whose wife is a full-time

The recent enactment of the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 should assist women with more intermittent labor force participation in maintaining health-care coverage. Also, the Small Business Job Protection Act should ameliorate some of the negative effects of shorter job tenure by increasing the availability and portability of pensions to women who leave the labor force or are displaced. Yet more needs to be done to ensure that women who choose full-time caregiving are not penalized while they are raising children or later in their lives.

Yes, women have made progress in many areas. Women now make up more than 40 percent of the labor force, and a third of all business owners in the nation. While the gender wage gap still exists, it has decreased. In 1955 women only earned 62 cents for every dollar a man earned. Forty years later, the wage gap has decreased by 34 percent. In fact, a recent study by the Families and Work Institute found that a majority of full-time employed women provide half or more of household income. Women's human capital investments have increased enormously — today women are

more likely to graduate from college than men. Certainly, women are on the road to achieving economic equality. Yet one of the most pervasive problems women face is combining their dual roles as breadwinners and caregivers. Without a cohesive family policy, women will continue to have to choose between their life plans and their children. ○



... have responsibilities beyond the workplace.



THE PREGNANCY DISCRIMINATION ACT OF 1978

Roseann McGurrin

The recent media publicity surrounding the \$5 million verdict in the lawsuit brought by actor Hunter Tylo against the producers of “Melrose Place” (see sidebar) has focused national attention on the rights of pregnant women in the workplace. The core of Hunter Tylo’s case was that her firing was in violation of the federal Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978. The PDA provides important protections in employment for pregnant women, protection that they often need but too often do not know they possess under the law.

Congress passed the PDA to overrule a 1976 Supreme Court decision. That decision interpreted the meaning of discrimination on the basis of sex under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to exclude pregnancy discrimination. Congress responded by amending Title VII to include a new definition for the terms “because of sex” and “on the basis of sex.” The amended law is all-inclusive and specifically states that these terms:

“include, but are not limited to, because of or on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions; and women affected by pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions shall be treated the same for all employment-related purposes, including receipt of benefits under fringe benefit programs, as other persons not so affected but similar in their ability or inability to work, and nothing in section 703 (h) (42 USCS 2000e-2(h)) shall be interpreted to permit otherwise.” 42 USCS 2000 (e) (k).

By specifically defining discrimination on the basis of sex to include pregnancy, childbirth and related medical conditions, this law gives pregnant women access to all of the legal remedies, both monetary and injunctive, provided by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. These are important tools for the protection of pregnant women and are applicable in a variety of common situations in which employers can be charged with sex discrimination if they fail to treat pregnant women fairly.

Stated simply, the law requires that pregnant employees be treated equally with all other employees of similar abilities and inabilities. A woman cannot be terminated, demoted, disciplined or in any way discriminated against in her employment for the reason that she is pregnant. The law does not provide special privileges for pregnant women but only mandates equal treatment. Thus, a pregnant woman can be fired for poor work performance, insubordination and other legitimate reasons related to her work performance or job duties. Additionally, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act provides a general exemption for employers for a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ) in connection



with the specific duties of a job. These legitimate reasons are often advanced in litigation by employers to justify their employment decisions. These reasons are disregarded by the courts, however, if found to be a pretext for discrimination based on pregnancy.

The PDA provides important protections in employment for pregnant women, protection that they often need but too often do not know they possess under the law.



In many circumstances, involving a variety of workplace situations, the courts have found in favor of pregnant women under the PDA. The courts have held, for example, that a woman cannot be fired, demoted or forced to take leave because she is an unwed mother. In one case the employer was a sectarian school and argued BFOQ in that its teachers had to set a moral example. In finding for the pregnant unwed teacher, the court noted that male teachers known to have fathered children out of wedlock were allowed to continue as teachers. In another case the court held that the employer could not ask a woman about her unwed marital status and the "legitimacy" of her children in making hiring decisions. It has also been held that an employer cannot fire a pregnant woman because of an alleged poor appearance while pregnant. Nor can an employer fire a pregnant woman because of fear of injury to her while pregnant. The courts have also held that terminations because of pregnancy leave violate the act when pregnant employees were treated differently from other employees seeking temporary medical leave.

These few examples, out of many more that could be cited, illustrate the scope and reach of the protections provided pregnant women by the PDA. The Hunter Tylo case forms another graphic example of the operation of this law.

Any woman who believes that she is being discriminated against in her employment because she is pregnant has a powerful weapon for her defense in the Pregnancy Discrimination Act. No woman has to accept pressure to have an abortion in order to keep her job. Under the law, a pregnant woman can get an injunction to keep her job, can recover money damages, and in most circumstances of a successful case, can even have her attorney fees paid by her employer. Pregnant women have many rights. We need to know them and use them. ○

Roseann McGurkin is a practicing attorney living in Springfield, Mass. She is the mother of five children.

For more information on pregnancy discrimination and your rights, look up the Web site of the Department of Labor's Women's Bureau at www.dol.gov/dol/wb. Information on pregnancy in the workplace is listed under "Know Your Rights."



You'll never see actor Hunter Tylo on the television show "Melrose Place."

Even though Tylo was hired to play the role of a "sexy vixen," she was fired when she became pregnant.

According to "Melrose Place" producer, Spelling Entertainment, Tylo's pregnancy was a violation of her contract that specified that she could be fired for a "material change in her appearance." Producers also feared that Tylo's pregnancy would prevent her from appearing "sexy" on screen — especially since Tylo's "vixen" role would require some "tasteful nudity." One of the producers questioned Tylo's decision not to abort her child, saying, "Why doesn't she just go out and get an abortion? Then she can work."

Tylo said, "For a brief moment I'm ashamed of, I considered having an abortion. I considered it, and I'm ashamed because I don't believe in it. I look at my daughter walking now and I'm ashamed. I don't ever want to see a woman put in that position again."

Tylo accused Spelling Entertainment of pregnancy discrimination and filed a lawsuit. "There's no case that says a pregnant actress can be fired — especially if she can fulfill her job," said Nathan Goldberg, an attorney for Tylo. "The material change law is such a red herring. This is a case about the right of a woman to hold a job, to get pregnant, have a family, and not be penalized for it."

Other television shows have found ways to accommodate pregnant actors. During "The Cosby Show," Phylicia Rashad's pregnancy was camouflaged. On "Cheers," writers incorporated Rhea Perlman's real-life pregnancy into the show.

"Melrose Place" producers defended their decision on the basis that it was an occupational qualification to be a sexy vixen in her character and she could not fulfill that role. Hunter wore tight skirts and silk blouses to court and caused shocked gasps among jurors when she revealed that she was eight months pregnant. Thus, her own appearance, the fact that Heather Locklear had been pregnant and the show shot camera angles around her, and other testimony showed that Spelling's defense was merely a pretext and resulted in a \$5 million verdict in Tylo's favor for emotional distress and lost wages. Tylo called the verdict a victory "for every woman, for every child that's not born."



Jeanne Pryor
Public Policy Vice President

The Challenge

I don't know how my girlfriend does it. More than four years ago, she took her son and left an abusive marriage. As a displaced homemaker, she had little education beyond high school and few marketable skills. She was no stranger to social services. In previous marital crises, she had relied on a number of such programs. But this time, she was determined to build a better life for her and her son on her own.

Unfortunately, low-wage jobs have kept her life in a chronic state of crisis. Landlords and utility companies cut her no slack when she misses a payment. At the same time, the judicial system gives her ex-husband plenty of slack. Despite taking him to court many times, she has yet to receive child support. The car breaks down; she can't go to work; she loses her job. School breaks come and it's a mad scramble to find affordable child care, not to mention affordable after-school programs. She has faced serious health problems and has been fortunate that her employer provided insurance. But when the sick leave runs out, the bills mount and the collection agencies call. Competition for low-wage jobs in the economically depressed area where she lives means that employers are not likely to be sympathetic to her struggles. She has looked into community resources, all of which are stretched too thin. There are millions of women like my friend — all trying to keep their heads above water and build a better life for themselves and their children.

And since August 1996, when national welfare reform became law, they have been joined by two million more women who have left the welfare rolls for work. It is a dramatic experiment, known as "workfare," which has ended 60 years of government support to women and children. It is early in the reform process so national data is lacking on the true impact — both positive and negative — of welfare reform.

The real challenge is not how many women enter the workforce in these initial days of reform but how many are able to keep their jobs and for how long. Historically, three-quarters of all women on welfare left the rolls within two years. But because of the same challenges my friend faces, many continue to cycle back onto welfare when the car breaks down; no child care is available; or when their child faces a serious illness. One year after welfare reform, Iowa and Massachusetts have reported that approximately half of those who left the welfare rolls were unemployed. In Maryland, two-thirds were still working after six months, while 20 percent were back on welfare.

What is different with workfare is that during the two-year period in which women make the transition from welfare to work, they still receive Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) payments, Medicaid and often other "transitional" benefits such as child care and transportation that vary by locality. Many states, such as Wisconsin, have found that such workfare programs actually cost more than traditional welfare benefits but believe it is a worthwhile investment if women can leave

ges of Welfare to Work

behind a life of dependency. Localities have been challenged to find the resources to meet these needs. There are some anecdotal reports that in order to accommodate the needs of "workfare" moms, working poor women have lost benefits such as subsidized child care. And as a woman moves beyond minimum-wage work, her benefits, such as subsidized housing, child care and food stamps, are reduced.

Anecdotal information suggests that women who live in low-unemployment areas and have some skills, work experience, and support could be potential workfare success stories. But other communities note slightly increased levels of children in abusive or neglectful situations or women staying in violent relationships as families in crisis are unable to cope with the additional stress. In Chicago, service providers have also documented increased demand for very basic services, such as emergency food. And welfare reform is just beginning to reach the hard cases of impoverished urban areas or isolated rural ones.

The stereotype of a welfare recipient as a teenager with several out-of-wedlock children is not an accurate one. Like my friend, half of all welfare recipients are married and, on average, welfare recipients have fewer children than the average American woman. Therefore, it is not surprising that, as previously reported in *The American Feminist*, the impact of welfare reform on childbearing decisions is mixed.

Supporters of welfare reform see it as presenting opportunities for women trapped in a cycle of poverty. Critics see it as putting more women and children at economic risk. While it is too early to determine which viewpoint is accurate, pro-life feminists can advocate against coercive measures such as the family cap on benefits in states while working for supportive measures such as increased child support enforcement. This will help women as they struggle with the new transition from welfare to work. ○

The real challenge is not how many women enter the workforce in these initial days of reform but how many are able to keep their jobs and for how long.





When I was growing up, I remember being very proud of my mother. She took off from work about nine months after each of her four children was born. Then my parents — a nurse and a cop — worked shifts so that one of them was always home. When we were all school-aged, we became latch-key kids as my mom went on to further her education, eventually earning a master's degree and becoming a nurse practitioner. Like her, I wanted to be a mother and have a career, too.

Fast forward: After five years of ups and downs as a single working mom, I married the man of my dreams. We decided that I was entitled to some time off and that my little girl, Julia, had waited long enough for a sibling. Within three years a sister, Cassiel, and twin girls, Anya and Kiaran, joined us. Though a bit shaky at times, our situation has allowed me to stay home with my little ones. I have seen both sides, and I know neither one is easy.

A recent battle at home prompted a tearful call to my husband. Did he know how hard it was spending the whole day with human beings who cannot carry on a conversation? That sometimes he's the only adult I talk to all day for a few five-minute stretches? Is this why I went to college? What kind of legacy am I leaving in this world? There are the moments of panic, when I feel that I am not a valued, contributing member of society. Spending the morning readying three tykes for the day, the afternoon getting them to eat lunch and take a nap, and maybe sneaking in a little housework ... it just does not seem like anything worth bragging about.

There are conflicting messages from the women around me. Those who delay having children until after they are set in their careers — and then return to their jobs as soon as possible after giving birth — cannot understand how women like me could abandon the workforce. On the other hand, there are words of envy from women who returned to work before they felt ready.

Cultural and emotional judgments continue to wage in American society over the motherhood choices women make. As a stay-at-home mom, I, like other women, feel the residue of those judgments. While proud of the choice I have made, trying times with my little gaggle of girls have caused moments of doubt and frustration more than once. But those moments are tempered by joy — the joy of day-to-day, morning-to-night interaction with my children.

CHOOSING STAY-AT-HOME PARENTHOOD:

One Mother's Perspective

Colette Moran
FFL of Virginia

Parents are going to face some kind of guilt and self-doubt no matter which choice they make. Any us-vs.-them debates are confusing, and not at all constructive. There should be no "mommy wars." Every person knows which path is best for them. I empathize with women, especially single mothers, who must work to support their families.

In 1997, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, 65 percent of women with children under age 6 worked an additional job besides parenting. Although this statistic does not reflect the fact that some women worked in part-time, at-home jobs and thus considered themselves stay-at-home moms, it does reflect the "minority status" full-time, at-home moms and dads in the '90s often feel.

The old neighborhood community of full-time moms to offer support and encouragement no longer exists. Increased mobility in the U.S. has created greater distances between families. Stay-at-home parents must now seek out new emotional support groups and resources. (I have found a "mothers of twins club" that is a lifesaver.)

In the past decade, roughly half a dozen organizations for stay-at-home parents have sprung up all over the country to address this increasing sense of isolation. One such group, Mothers at Home, publishes a national monthly magazine with a circulation of 13,000. Its public relations director, Marion Gormley, stated in a recent *Washington Post Magazine* article, "Home is hard. Raising children today. Trying to keep marriages intact, trying to find downtime for yourself — it's not easy. And when women make the choice to be at home, you have to redefine success."

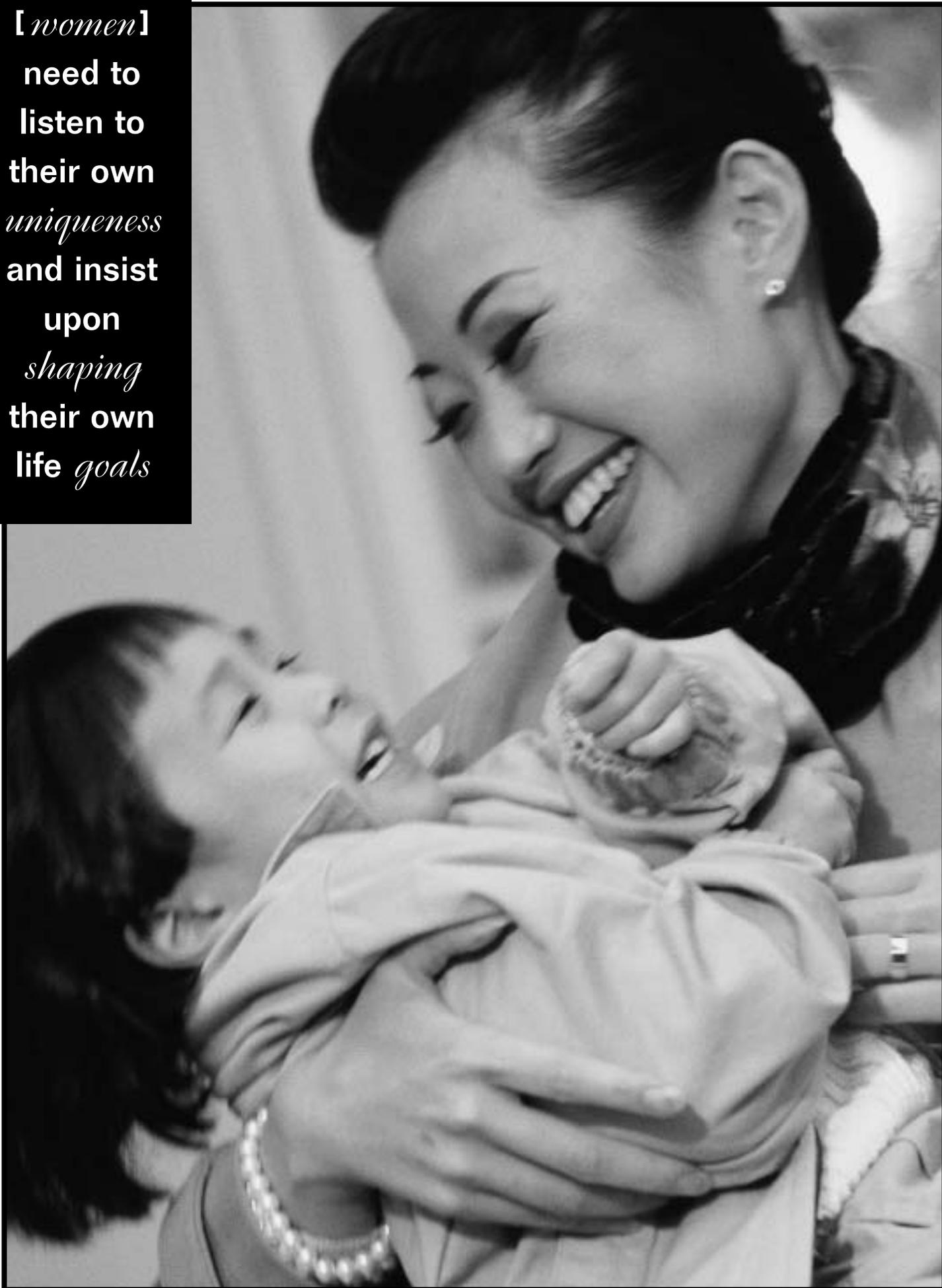
Success comes with the smallest of steps, shaping a unique individual as she begins her life. It is in watching the physical, emotional and spiritual development of one's children that all parents find joy. People today are making a difference throughout their lives, not just when they are young. Staying home full-time with my children has been and continues to be a valuable part of those contributions. ○

... those [trying] moments are tempered by joy —



the joy of day-to-day, morning-to-night interaction with my children.

[*women*]
need to
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their own
uniqueness
and insist
upon
shaping
their own
life *goals*



Motherhood

IN A CORPORATE CULTURE

Do your own thing. Be yourself. Follow your star. Go for the gold.

All of us have heard these simple cliches of modern life again and again.

But how often do people include motherhood within the list of possibilities?

Not often. In general, our society has been telling women that “doing your own thing” and being a mother are somehow mutually exclusive. Women instead are urged to fit their own lives and goals into a rigid pattern of social expectations — a pattern that was originally developed to fit men’s life stages and career development within an increasingly technological/industrial middle class. In reality, as psychologist Carol Gilligan has documented so well, women think and reason differently from men, so what seems right for men may not be at all right for women.

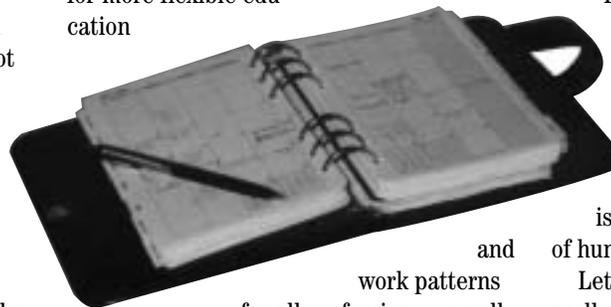
In the post-World War II environment, men were supposed to finish their educations before they married, build their careers during their high-energy 20s and 30s, and reach a professional peak during their mid-40s. Achievement after that was, and is, largely determined by just what peak they reached. Such a pattern was based on an assumption of female help all along the way — as supporters of career development, home managers, and caregivers.

But when women have to adapt their professional development to this male-oriented pattern, they face a crucial anomaly. While men can father children at any age, women are more capable of doing so in their 20s and 30s. Delaying also means dealing with small children just when one is approaching

the peak of one’s career development — a near guarantee of work-family conflicts.

On the other hand, women who have children while they are young frequently experience a time of new creative energy and career potential in their 30s and 40s. And they can bring to such development the multiple insights gained from experience as mothers.

Women should be clamoring for more flexible education



and work patterns for all professions, as well as for the general populace. Of course, many institutions already are adapting to women’s needs — in community colleges and other colleges and universities — and in new forms of flex-time work and telecommuting. Men, too, are taking advantage of such opportunities and recognizing the value of nurturing their children, as well as their careers. But such flexibility is still rare.

To make such changes happen, women must choose to “do their own thing.” They

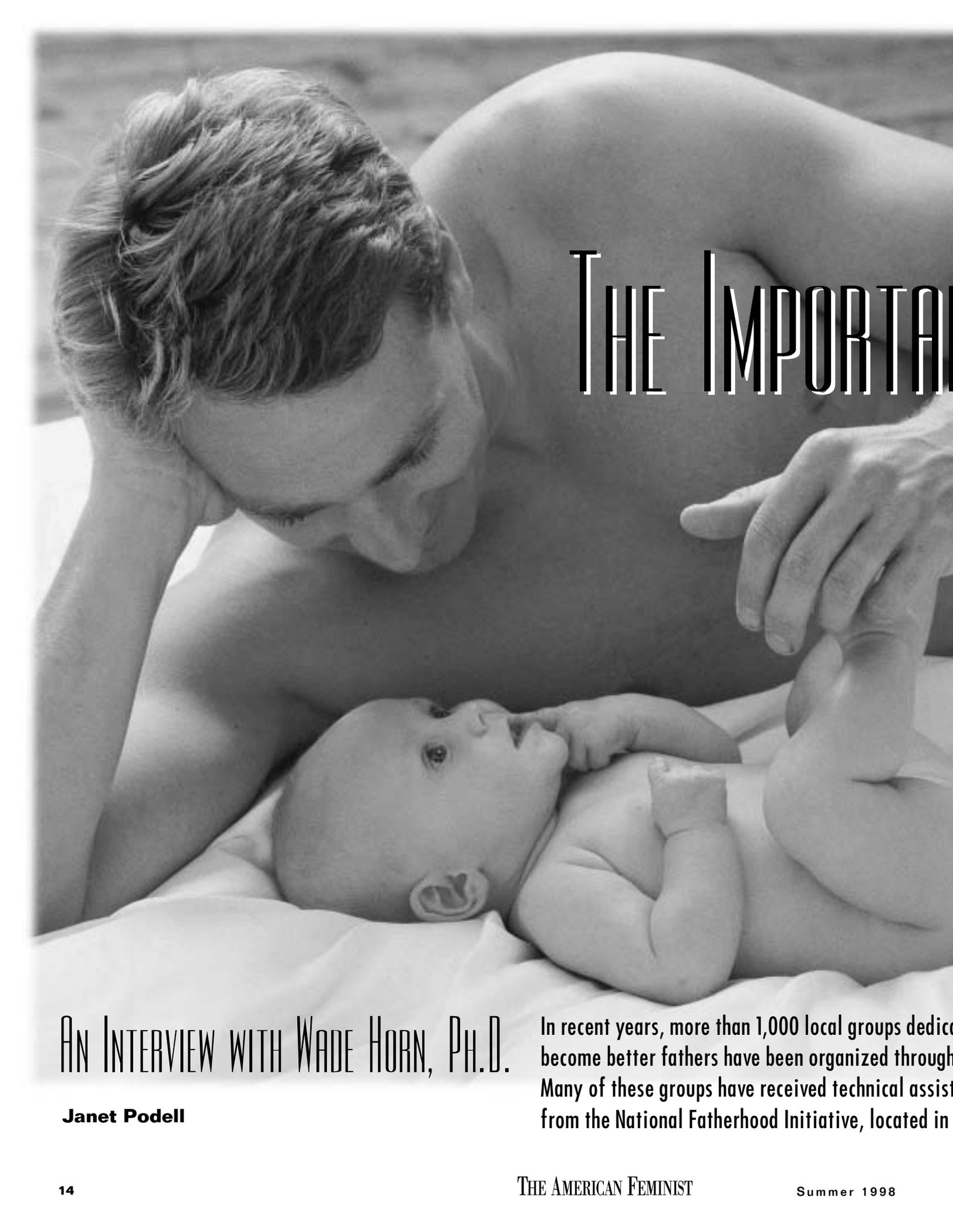
need to listen to their own uniqueness and insist upon shaping their own life goals rather than allowing others to define what they must do and how they must do it.

Recognizing the value of flexibility, being able to change course or pursue new potential, women need to know that having a baby and nurturing a new life can enhance and enrich the intelligence and personal skills they bring to any other profession.

Even an unplanned, unexpected pregnancy represents new opportunity and new potential, not only for the baby but also for her or his parents (or adoptive parents), far into the unseen future and unknown generations. Each human child is precious and essential to the future of humanity.

Let us create a society where a woman really is free to be herself, to “go for the gold” in her own unique way rather than in subservience to any rigid pattern or mechanistic culture. Daring to choose life, not abortion, is one of many ways we can indeed create a new and better world. ○

*Ruth Moynihan is a former professor of women’s studies at the University of Connecticut. She is the author of *Rebel for Rights*, a biography of Abigail Scott Duniway, and co-editor of *Second to None: A Documentary History of American Women*. She is the mother of six children.*



THE IMPORTANT

AN INTERVIEW WITH WADE HORN, PH.D.

Janet Podell

In recent years, more than 1,000 local groups dedicated to helping men become better fathers have been organized throughout the country. Many of these groups have received technical assistance from the National Fatherhood Initiative, located in

ANCE OF

FATHERHOOD

Founded by psychologist Wade F. Horn, Ph.D., in 1994, NFI says its mission is to "improve the well-being of children by increasing the number of kids growing up with committed and responsible fathers." It runs a nationwide public-awareness campaign, assists governments in developing public policy, and serves as a resource center.

Horn emphatically disagrees with the notion that it doesn't matter whether or not a child grows up with both parents present. Mothers and fathers, he says, have complementary and equally essential skills. "It is not that one parenting style is better than the other, but that for optimal development children need both."

Although the leaders of the National Fatherhood Initiative disagree with FFL on some welfare-reform policies, they do support innovative workplace reforms that enable both fathers and mothers to fulfill their responsibilities to their children, including paternal as well as maternal leave.

In his commentary pieces, published throughout the country, Horn has advocated "allowing parents to take short periods of time off to attend school functions or take their children to the doctor; and increasing the use of flex-time, job sharing, and telecommuting."

NFI also develops local fatherhood projects and community fatherhood policies. One of the best-known fatherhood projects in the country is the Center for Responsible Fatherhood, in Cleveland, which works with urban young men to help them support the mother of their children and become actively involved in their children's lives.

In a wide variety of cultures, Horn notes, boys are formally welcomed into manhood by the community of fathers. "Without this — it must be explicit — boys continue to search for affirmation that they are men, often in inappropriate ways. The result is the obsessiveness some men show toward acquisition of things — power, prestige, sexual conquests The advantage of having an involved father, especially one living in the home, is that every day he acts as a model of what a man ought to be, what a good father is. It's only through daily obser-

vation of a man whom that boy respects and loves that the boy internalizes that model into his own behavior."

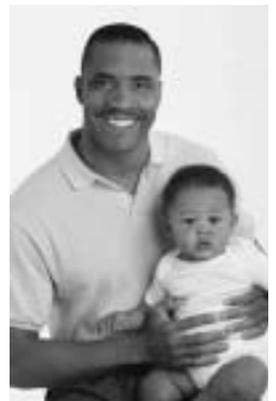
Horn says the increase in absent fathers has produced demonstrable results. "On every measure of child well-being, kids do worse." He points out that the majority of criminals — 60 percent of rapists, 72 percent of adolescent murderers, 70 percent of long-term prison inmates — grew up in homes with absent fathers. Yet an estimated 24 million children now live in father-absent families, up from 8 million in 1960. Among the social developments that have contributed to the devaluation of fatherhood, Horn identifies the primary one as "a shift in the cultural ethos away from responsibility in favor of self-fulfillment. Being a good family man is not about self-fulfillment, it's about taking care of others, being responsible for others."

Horn also cites the high rate of divorce, which he feels has had negative long-term consequences, upon children and the sexual revolution, which, he says, has been a disaster for women. "The primary beneficiary has been men. Men now think, 'If I get a woman pregnant, it's her problem, because the power of abortion is in her hands, so the child is hers. I have no obligation. The end of my responsibility as a man is to pay half the abortion fee.'"

To men who are reconsidering their roles as fathers and husbands, Horn recommends local support groups, or if none are available, the Internet, where there are many sites for fatherhood groups. "Some are fathers' rights groups, keeping you angry and outraged. They give you excuses why you haven't been a good guy. Search out fathering groups that are truly interested in offering you support as you work at being committed to your family and children." An excellent group to contact, among others, is the National Center for Fathering at <http://www.fathers.com>. NFI's own Web site at <http://www.fatherhood.org> links up with many fatherhood groups.

"The whole point of the fatherhood movement is to say: The experiment with fatherlessness has been a disaster for women, for children, and for men." ○

Janet Podell is editor of Abortion (1990), a reference collection of articles and interviews.



ated to helping men
out the United States.
ance and resource support
Gaithersburg, Md.

COPING AND CARING FOR ELDERLY LOVED ONES



Imelda Franklin
President, FFL of Washington

In 1992, freshly graduated from high school and spurred on by the uncomfortable sensation that now was the time to obtain a “skill” in order to pay for college, I trained as a certified nurse’s assistant and began working for local home-care agencies that catered to the needs of the elderly. To my surprise, I found that I loved the people and liked the work. Many of the elderly were spiky. They were funny. Sometimes they were exacting and rude, and told me in no uncertain terms what they thought of this particular young woman who could hardly even handle a microwave (“Do you mean to tell me you’ve lived 18 years ...?”) or serve fresh fruit (“Would you serve your family peaches that hadn’t been peeled?”). Sometimes they were nostalgic, and told me stories of the neighborhood when it was young, of the Klondike Gold Rush, of parents who had been slaves in the Old South. Always, they were interesting.

I met elderly people in a variety of places and situations. Elders who lived alone and hired help for anything from housework to moving from their beds into their wheelchairs, who lived with their adult children and needed “minding” during the day. Elders in full possession of their faculties or with Alzheimer’s disease in its latter stages. Elders in the peak of health or in hospice programs with terminal cancer. Elders in nursing homes, in adult family homes,

and in adult day health centers. However, one thing I saw very little of was elders interacting, having fun, *living*, with their children and grandchildren.

We read frequently about the breakdown of the large extended family and the increasing isolation of the generations. Nowhere have I seen this demonstrated so visibly as in the plethora of nursing homes, adult day health centers, adult family homes or other institutional programs.

It is no longer assumed that the natural caregivers of the frail elderly are the children they bore. We frequently hear older people say, “I wouldn’t want to be a burden to my children,” or younger people joking or worrying about the day “when Mom’s in the nursing home.” Yet if the frail elderly are to live, they must be taken care of, or “be a burden” to somebody; if not to their children, than to someone who requires payment. The sentiment of not wanting to be a burden is a fine one, but it backfires when we consider that the foundation of human society is a dependent relationship: parent to child. If children were to claim total autonomy with the rallying cry, “I don’t want to be a burden to my parents!” most of society would find it laughable, yet we are curiously acquiescent when elderly parents claim the same thing with respect to their children. The

dependent relationship of child to parent becomes, over time, mutual, when adult children take care of the parents who raised them. This interdependency is something to be embraced rather than feared.

Many women and men (especially women, who are often the primary caregivers) feel the obligations of this relationship, and wish to take care of their parents in their old age. But there are many new issues in our day that make this a challenging prospect and that need to be faced honestly.

First, the cost of elder care has gone up greatly due to Americans' improved health and longevity, the increasing sophistication and cost of medical equipment, treatments and procedures, and the growing concern with liability issues over even basic care procedures. Second, it is very difficult in today's economy for a family to live solely on one income. Increased mobility in the U.S. often takes families far away from one another for employment and many families fall into the "sandwich generation," caring for elderly parents and small children at the same time. The "income-less" time commitment that elder care requires can become daunting, especially when society in general perceives that the only options available are round-the-clock care in the home and nursing home placement.

The sentiment of not wanting to be a burden is a fine one, but it backfires when we consider that the foundation of a human society is a dependent relationship: parent to child.

In truth, there are other options. Many are unaware of the national health-care trend away from nursing homes and toward community-based programs of care that work in and with homes and families, supporting the in-home caregivers in their primary role. The objective of these programs is to provide care in the home for as long as possible, rather than immediately jumping to nursing home placement at the first sign of frailty. One such program, the Program of All-Inclusive Care for the Elderly, is a long-term care and financing innovation that serves elders in any state of health from time of enrollment to natural death, whether they are living at home with slightly limited abilities or in a hospital with life-threatening conditions. This program, and others like it, accept Medicare waivers for personally tailored care plans managed by an interdisciplinary care team. PACE was fully operational in 11 cities in nine states in 1995, and is only one manifestation of the growing trend toward long-term care resources that work with patients in the home, rather than taking them out of it.

Such programs are excellent resources for families and part of an increasing number of new solutions to the challenge of elderly care that our society faces. But even the best of programs cannot take the place of the relationship and interdependency between parents and children. Adult children must be supported by their employers and their communities in their efforts to take care of aging parents in a responsible manner. No elderly woman or man should ever fear that their existence is a "burden" to those they love. ○



herstory

Worth Repeating

As pro-life feminists well know, today's "Second Wave" of feminism, which began in the 1960s, has not uniformly promoted greater acceptance of abortion. Consider the dissent of Chicana activist Graciela Olivarez, a high school dropout who became the first woman graduate of Notre Dame Law School.

Along with *Feminine Mystique* author Betty Friedan and 26 others, Olivarez was a charter member of the National Organization for Women. NOW was founded in 1966 to protest a federal ruling upholding the then-common practice of sex-segregated job ads. NOW's original charter declared the full humanity of women, "who, like all other people in our society, must have the chance to develop their fullest human potential." The document decried pressures forcing women to "choose" between work and family, called for equal partnerships between the sexes, and proclaimed: "Women's problems are linked to many broader questions of social justice Human rights for all are indivisible."

Abortion advocacy – conspicuously absent from the charter – was not adopted by NOW until 1967, and then only after heated debate. But Olivarez, unlike the organization she helped to found, continued to practice a belief in the indivisibility of all human rights.

Her accomplishments were numerous. She headed the Arizona Office of Economic Opportunity, Food for All, the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund and, as director of the federal Community Services Administration in the late 1970s, was the highest-ranking Hispanic woman in President Carter's administration. Prior to that, in 1972, she was appointed vice-chair of the President's Commission on Population and the American Future.

In the commission's 1972 report – issued the year before *Roe v. Wade* – she advocated the immediate development and distribution of safer, more effective forms of contraception, for men as well as women who chose to use such methods. Yet she strongly disagreed with the other commissioners – including Sen. Robert Packwood – about legalizing abortion. Her view on

this "matter of life and death," she asserted, "shouldn't be brushed aside as a denominational hang-up." She called upon anyone who considered the unborn child "a mass of cells" to witness an abortion procedure, as she had done. She prophetically detailed the harms of making abortion more accessible:

Advocacy by women for legalized abortion on a national scale is so anti-women's liberation that it flies in the face of what some of us are trying to accomplish through the women's movement – namely, equality – equality means an equal sharing of responsibilities by and as men and women What kind of future do we all have to look forward to if men are excused either morally or legally from their responsibility for participation in the creation of life...?

To talk about the "wanted" and the "unwanted" child smacks too much of bigotry and prejudice. Many of us have experienced the sting of being "unwanted" by certain segments of our society ...

I am not impressed or persuaded by those who express concern for the low-income woman who may find herself carrying an unplanned pregnancy and for the future of the unplanned child ... because the fact remains that in this

affluent nation of ours, pregnant cattle and horses receive better health care than pregnant poor women. The poor cry out for justice and we respond with legalized abortion.

As she predicted over a quarter century ago, the increased availability of abortion has compounded rather than cured the complex evils of sexism, racism, and economic injustice. It is long past the time for taking her prophetic protest to heart, but better late than never. ○

Mary Krane Derr is co-editor of the anthology Prolife Feminism: Yesterday and Today.



Georgetown Administration Initiates Second Pregnancy Resources Forum

Wendy Harrison

Public Education and Outreach Coordinator

In February, Georgetown University students and administrators gathered for the second time in the past year to discuss resources for pregnant and parenting students. University officials initiated this second forum after the overwhelming success of the first Pregnancy Resources Forum at Georgetown, moderated by FFL's executive director, Serrin M. Foster, in 1997. Georgetown was the first university in the nation to host the ground-breaking forum.

The precedent-setting forum revealed obstacles that needed to be overcome to provide sufficient support to women facing an unexpected pregnancy. Last year, students expressed concern over the lack of Pregnancy Support Services staff on campus. Women who were experiencing an unexpected pregnancy often heard only an answering machine, not a live voice, on the pregnancy support line. This year's forum showed that Georgetown is making headway in overcoming these obstacles. For instance, the director of Pregnancy Support Services has since acquired a pager for 24-hour accessibility.

Another issue brought up at last year's forum was confidentiality regarding health insurance bills. At that time, students said they would not go to the student health clinic for pregnancy tests for fear that their parents would see the bill. Georgetown's student health service representative answered that concern at this year's forum. Students now can choose where the bill is sent each time they visit the health center.

Georgetown has also built a child-care center on campus in the past year, but it is financially inaccessible to students at \$800 a month and only accepts children 18 months and older. Other universities, such as the University of Chicago and the University of Hartford, offer more affordable

options such as cooperative child-care and volunteer babysitting services. FFL's Foster suggested these alternatives when she addressed Georgetown University students and faculty a month after the forum.

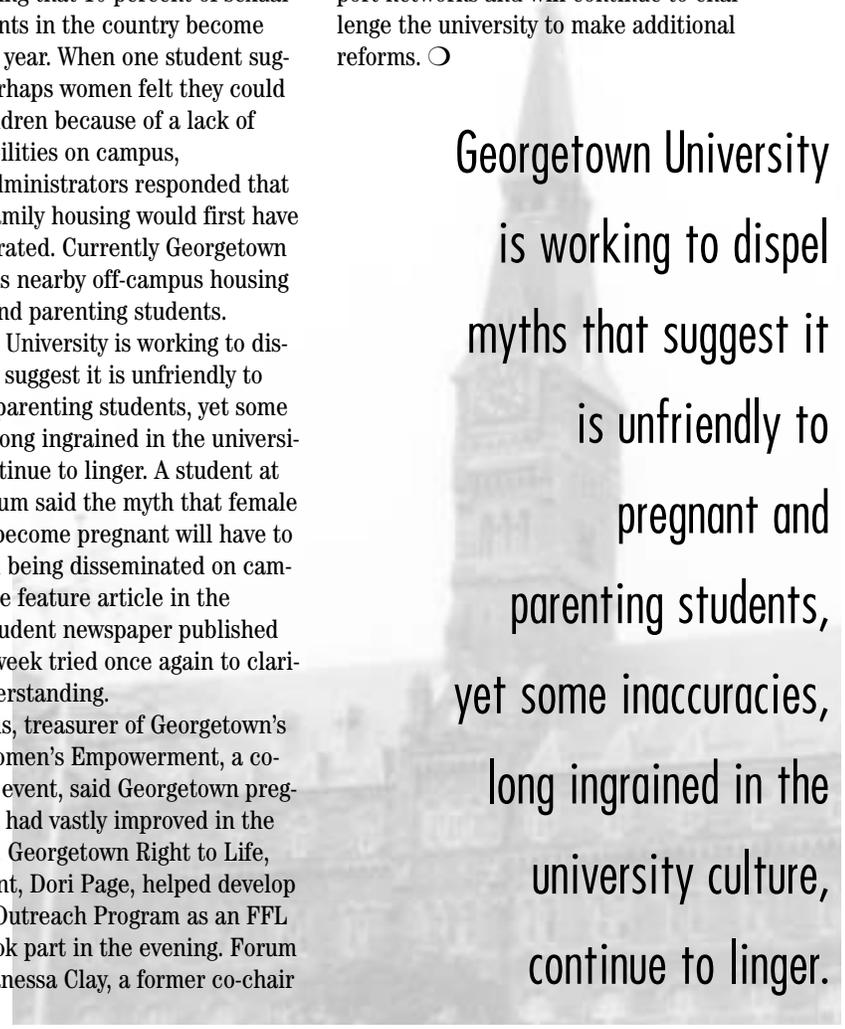
Though Georgetown University is making significant strides in providing resources for students on campus who choose to carry their children to term, visibly pregnant women are still a rare phenomenon despite statistics released by the Alan Guttmacher Institute showing that 10 percent of sexually active students in the country become pregnant each year. When one student suggested that perhaps women felt they could keep their children because of a lack of housing possibilities on campus, Georgetown administrators responded that the need for family housing would first have to be demonstrated. Currently Georgetown University finds nearby off-campus housing for pregnant and parenting students.

Georgetown University is working to dispel myths that suggest it is unfriendly to pregnant and parenting students, yet some inaccuracies, long ingrained in the university culture, continue to linger. A student at the second forum said the myth that female students who become pregnant will have to transfer is still being disseminated on campus. A two-page feature article in the Georgetown student newspaper published the following week tried once again to clarify this misunderstanding.

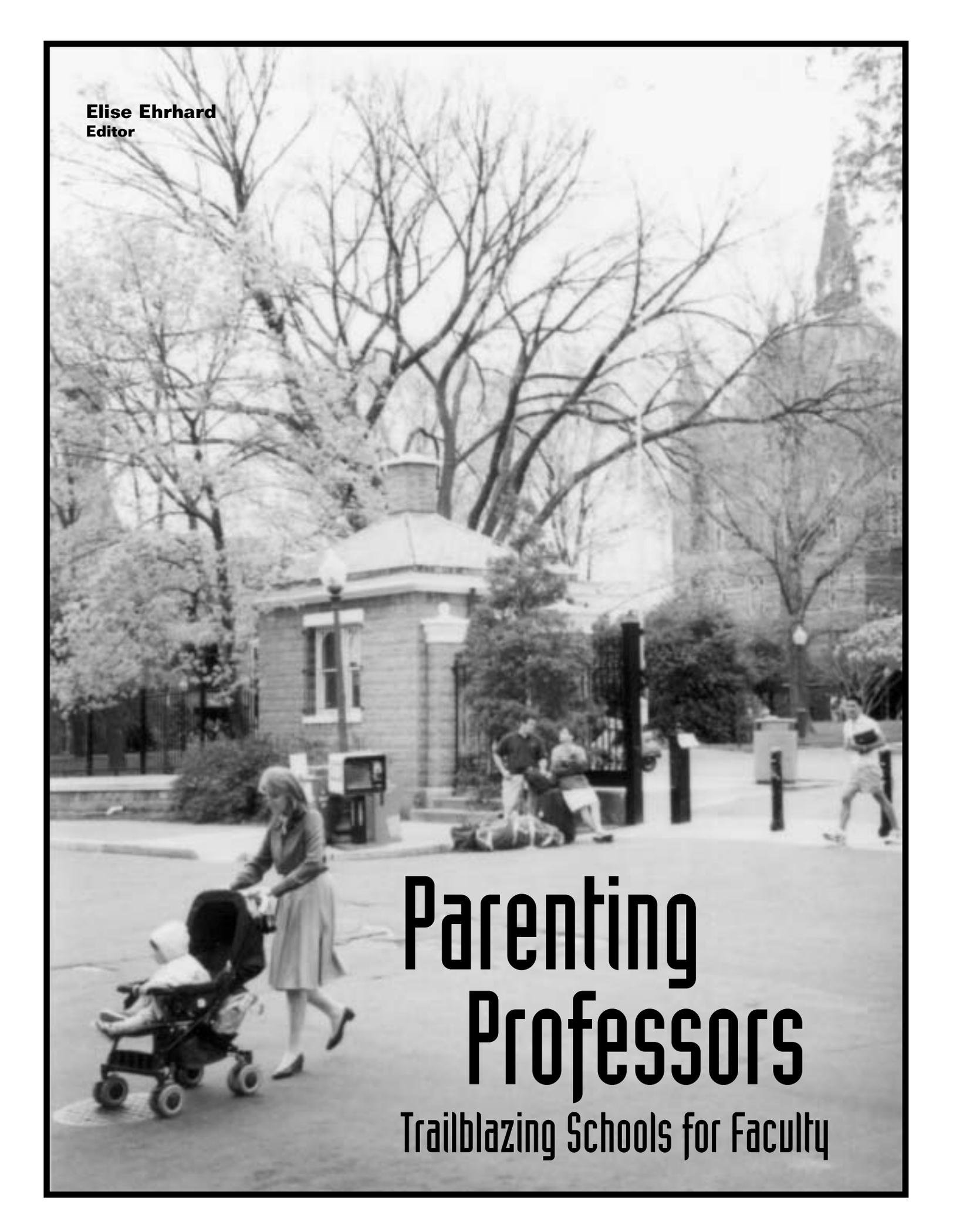
James Harris, treasurer of Georgetown's Alliance for Women's Empowerment, a co-sponsor of the event, said Georgetown pregnancy services had vastly improved in the past few years. Georgetown Right to Life, whose president, Dori Page, helped develop FFL's College Outreach Program as an FFL intern, also took part in the evening. Forum participant Vanessa Clay, a former co-chair

of Georgetown Right to Life and FFL intern and current director of the Northwest Center, a local pregnancy care center in Washington, D.C., offered an analysis of the current situation at Georgetown: "The university has a pretty open attitude towards pregnant students, but it needs more student input and to be challenged."

If the dialogue provided by the last two pregnancy resource forums continues, more students will be aware of Georgetown's support networks and will continue to challenge the university to make additional reforms. ○



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Elise Ehrhard
Editor

Parenting Professors

Trailblazing Schools for Faculty

These trailblazing institutions throughout the country see clear and cost-effective benefits to new family-friendly policies . . .



In recent years, a small but growing number of colleges and universities have been instituting innovative new policies and programs that enable their faculties and staff to combine work and family more easily. These innovations are in response to changing labor market phenomena. In the 1980s, more women than in the past entered graduate and post doctoral programs and now work in academia. Secondly, the perception of the role of fathers has changed. Many fathers both want and are expected to take a more active and involved role in parenting, especially when both parents work outside the home.

These trailblazing institutions throughout the country see clear and cost-effective benefits to new family-friendly policies: increased faculty recruitment, retention and morale, and improved performance from faculty and staff who are less stressed.

Before creating new initiatives, many of these institutions conducted needs-assessment surveys or focus groups with their faculty and staff. Schools with large endowments, such as Harvard University, are able to offer financial assistance and faculty scholarships for family needs. But schools with a smaller funding base, such as San Juan College in New Mexico and the University of Montana, have also found simple, cost-effective ways to create a family-friendly environment.

Furthermore, family-friendly policies and programs have an inherent cost-benefit: Faculty and staff are less stressed and more focused on their work. Another effect of many of these programs, especially in the area of child care, is that parenting students benefit as well.

A recent report prepared by the Families and Work Institute, in collaboration with the College and University Personnel Association, outlined a number of model schools. Each school highlighted in the report made a coordinated effort to publicize and communicate their policies and programs to the campus community. Interestingly, FFL has found through its Pregnancy Resource Forums for students that lack of communication about resources for parents is one of the most prominent weaknesses among colleges and uni-

versities. Model initiatives are evolving primarily in the area of child care. But innovation can also be seen in adoption assistance and family-leave policies.

The concept of offering in-house child care resource and referral services to students, faculty and staff is gaining popularity at colleges and universities across the country. These referral services offer direct access to local, licensed and accredited child-care providers. Johns Hopkins University has taken such a program a step further by offering confidential, individual counseling and assessment for parents considering child-care options. They are also working in collaboration with several local child-care providers to offer need-based financial assistance to parents in the form of scholarships or tuition discount programs.

Collaboration among school departments is also the key to success for San Juan College in New Mexico. The administration joined forces with the school's Early Education Department to provide a child-care center on campus. It offers half-day and full-day programs along with kindergarten and preschool. The program maintains a ratio of one adult for every six to eight children by using teachers *and* teachers-in-training — providing invaluable experience for San Juan's early childhood education students. The impact of the center has been felt by both students and staff. In a parent survey conducted by the school, more than 88 percent of students said they were more likely to complete their education because of its presence.

Iowa State University also took a collaborative approach, working with both its Student Health Department and Department of Residence to provide an extension of their day care program for mildly sick children. "The Comfort Zone" provides a home-like atmosphere for up to six children with beds and a nurse for days that a child is under the weather and cannot go to school. Although available to faculty, The Comfort Zone is used almost exclusively by students, who have fewer financial resources and support networks.

Unfortunately, few schools have extended their resources or referrals to elder care, a growing need among the baby-boom generation. An excep-

tion to this is the University of Michigan Family Care Resources Program, which provides an in-house child care *and* elder care referral service. Its Family Care Resources Program also offers seminars and support groups on how to care for aging relatives.

Harvard University is trailblazing in the area of work-family policies for adoptive parents through its "Parent-to-Parent Adoption Network." New or prospective adoptive parents on faculty or staff connect with more experienced adoptive parents at the university for advice and support. The school provides \$2,000 to \$3,000 to eligible employees to allay some costs of adoption.

Some universities are finding that they can support families through policies with minimal cost. Flex-time is gaining popularity. Schools like the University of Montana and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill offer "shared medical leave," which allows employees to share accumulated sick leave with other employees. This provides a viable option for parents experiencing family emergencies. UNC at Chapel Hill also offers Child Involvement Leave, which permits faculty to take off up to eight paid hours per year for participation in their children's school programs.

Model schools like those highlighted by the Families and Work Institute show that barriers of cost can be overcome and that benefits in morale, retention and recruitment outweigh risks. Their innovative approaches have yet to be widely replicated, and even where resources exist, many professors feel reluctant to take advantage of them for fear that doing so will hurt their employment status, including their tenure track. Notes FFL Executive Director Serrin M. Foster, "While adjunct professors often have children, it is rare to see a pregnant professor while she is on the tenure track."

Faculty, staff and students must advocate within their institutions for family-friendly policies and create an environment in which they can be used without penalty. ○

WE REMEMBER



Sharon Hampton

1969 - 1996

Sharon Hampton's uterus was punctured during an abortion performed by Dr. Bruce Steir, but that did not stop Steir from sending Sharon home so he could catch a plane. Steir caught his plane, but Sharon, 27, never made it home — she died on the way, bleeding to death in her mother's car.

The abortion was performed by Steir at A Lady's Choice Women's Medical Center in Moreno Valley, Calif., on Dec. 13, 1996. At the time of Sharon's death, Steir was on probation with the state medical board. In fact, Steir had been on probation since 1988 when the Navy discovered that Steir was practicing medicine outside the naval medical facility where he worked.

This was not the only complaint levied against Steir. In 1991 he was accused of negligence after puncturing another woman's uterus. A number of complaints were filed against Steir in the following years and the state even tried to revoke his medical license. In 1995, the state filed a formal complaint alleging incompetence involving six abortions. Three of the women had to have hysterectomies after the abortions Steir performed. One woman had to undergo surgery to remove a fetal skull that tore through her uterus.

Steir was allowed to continue practicing medicine until he stood trial for these allegations in April 1997. However, after Sharon's death, the state attorney general's office sought a temporary restraining order to bar Steir from practicing. The court ruled that Steir could no longer perform surgeries and he voluntarily gave up his medical license in March 1997.

Abortion-choice advocates unabashedly defended Steir. "He's a wonderful doctor. He's been performing abortion services for women since *Roe v. Wade* and providing services for us for 20 years," said Shauna Heckert, executive director of the Feminist Women's Health Centers in Redding, Santa Rosa, Chico and Sacramento. "He really believes in a woman's right to abortion and is very dedicated in his practice to helping women in their hour of need."

Unfortunately, the family and friends of Sharon Hampton know where Steir was when Sharon was in her "hour of need" — catching a plane, on his way to perform his next abortion.

Source: *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 10/24/97



Membership Counts



Serrin M. Foster
Executive Director

"How many members do you have?" That's one of the first questions I hear — from politicians on Capitol Hill, reporters, college students and administrators attending one of my lectures or a Pregnancy Resources Forum.

What they are really asking is, "How seriously do I need to consider what you are saying?" Everything we say about today's most pressing problems, and FFL's proposed solutions, is weighed against the size of our membership.

That is how vital your membership is to accomplishing our mission. Every day we can't count you as a member makes it harder to accomplish our mission. So please, take just a moment to send in your membership contribution to Feminists for Life. Regular membership is still just \$25. Students receive a special rate of \$15. (See order form on page 27.)

Be a part of the new revolution FFL is leading on college campuses. Please take a moment now to renew your membership in Feminists for Life.

Thank you!

Electronic Transfer Form

I want my bank to transfer monthly donations to Feminists for Life of America. My authorization to charge my account at my bank shall be the same as if I had personally signed a check to FFLA. This authorization shall remain in effect until I notify FFLA, or notify my bank in writing that I wish to end this agreement, and my bank or FFLA has had a reasonable time to act on it. A record of each charge will be included in my regular bank statements and will serve as my receipt.

\$ _____ Amount of monthly pledge (\$5 minimum).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone: Day(____) _____ Eve.(____) _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Please enclose a voided check from your account to show the bank's address and your account number.

Send to: Feminists for Life,
733 15th Street, N.W., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C. 20005.
Electronic fund transfers will begin immediately upon receipt.

Thank you!



LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

European Nations Sign International Ban on Human Cloning

Representatives from 19 European nations have signed an international ban on human cloning. The ban requires the member countries to prohibit “any intervention seeking to create human beings genetically identical to another human being, whether living or dead.” Britain and Germany, two of Europe’s largest nations, did not participate in the ban.

Human Cloning Ban Stalls in U.S. Senate

Earlier this year, both houses of Congress introduced legislation to ban all human cloning in the United States. On the Senate side, a bill sponsored by Sen. Christopher S. Bond (R-Mo.), seeking an “emergency ban” on privately funded cloning research, stalled after a motion to proceed fell short of the votes needed to end a filibuster. The standstill in the Senate has postponed any federal efforts to ban human cloning. Last year, President Clinton signed an executive order banning federal funding of human cloning experimentation. This order did not apply to private research.

Alarm arose among politicians last December when American physicist Richard Seed announced that he would clone humans for infertile couples. Health and Human Services

Secretary Donna E. Shalala pledged on CBS’ “Face the Nation” that Seed would never be allowed to clone humans in the United States.

U.S. House and Senate Introduce Child Custody Protection Act

Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.) and Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-Fla.) have introduced the Child Custody Protection Act of 1998. The law would make it a federal offense to transport a minor across state lines for an abortion to circumvent a state law requiring parental involvement in a minor’s decision. Currently, 22 states have such laws in effect.

The federal legislation was introduced in response to an incident last year in which a Pennsylvania woman took a 13-year-old girl, whom her adult son had impregnated, to New York for an abortion in order to avoid Pennsylvania’s parental notification law.

New U.S. Surgeon General Supports Partial-Birth Abortion

In February, the U.S. Senate confirmed Dr. David Satcher as U.S. Surgeon General by a vote of 63-35. Satcher was criticized prior to his nomination for his support of partial-birth abortion, a procedure declared medically unnecessary in any circumstances by the American Medical Association.

Florida State Legislature Overrides Veto of Partial-Birth Abortion Ban

In March, the Florida state legislature overrode Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles’s veto of that state’s partial-birth abortion ban. It was the first time a Chiles’s veto has been overridden in his eight years as governor.

The state legislature passed a ban on partial-birth abortion in 1997 with an exception if a mother’s life is endangered. Chiles vetoed that ban, arguing for a “health” exception.

He has filed a petition with the Florida Supreme Court contesting the override.

Virginia State Legislature Passes Partial-Birth Abortion Ban

In March, the Virginia Senate and House of Delegates voted overwhelmingly to pass a partial-birth ban in that state. The same day, the Virginia Senate also voted to ban physician-assisted suicide. Gov. James S. Gilmore III (R) has vowed to sign the partial-birth abortion ban into law. Currently, 20 states have partial-birth abortion bans, although some are being contested in the courts.

N.J. Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Faces Legal Challenge

A federal judge issued a temporary restraining order against the New Jersey partial-birth abortion ban, which was passed by that state’s legislature last year over Gov. Christine Todd Whitman’s veto. The restraining order was sought by abortion advocates.

The state legislature has hired a private attorney to handle the legal challenge because the attorney general in the Whitman administration has refused to defend the ban.

Supreme Court Refuses to Hear Ohio Law

The Supreme Court refused to review a lower court decision overturning a late-term abortion ban law in Ohio. The Ohio law was similar to federal partial-birth abortion ban legislation. However, Ohio’s legislative language was unusual compared with the wording of other such laws. The proposed federal ban defines the procedure as one in which the abortionist “partially vaginally delivers a living fetus before killing the fetus and completing the delivery.” The Supreme Court refused to hear the Ohio law largely on the grounds that it defined the procedure in broader terms, which the court feared could be used to bar other procedures.



Newborn Twins Found Dead in College Dormitory

Newborn twins were recently found dead in the basement of a dormitory at a small Episcopal college in North Carolina. Autopsy reports indicate that the twins had suffered "clear head injuries." The mother of the twins has not been found. Students arranged for burial in the cemetery at St. Paul's College.

Source: *Washington Post*, 3/12/98

Fewer Teens Having Abortions in Virginia

A recent study conducted by the Virginia state health department and local abortion clinics found that 20 percent fewer abortions occurred among girls 17 and younger in the state in the months following passage of Virginia's parental-notification law. The law took effect July 1, 1997. Figures showed that girls 17 and younger had about 700 abortions from July through November 1997, compared with 903 in those months the year before.

Abortion providers, including Planned Parenthood, are challenging the law in federal court.

Source: *Washington Post*, 3/3/98

Life in the Fast Lane

Women are breaking through the glass ceiling and moving up the ranks in businesses across the country. Unfortunately, women's success does not always win them the respect of their subordinates. A recent study conducted by researchers at Ontario's University of Waterloo found that female superiors who gave employees negative evaluations were more likely to be viewed as less competent than similarly critical male supervisors. However, all was well when the employees were given rave reviews — there was no difference in how subordinates rated female and male bosses. When researchers compared the ratings of black and white supervisors, the findings were parallel: Black superiors who gave employees poor evaluations were rated as less competent than white managers who did the same.

Source: *Psychology Today*, September/October 1997

Mexico, Moving in the Right Direction

Mexican women recently won a long-overdue victory with the passage of Mexico's first law against spousal rape, which mandates

prison terms from eight to 14 years for husbands who rape their wives. The law passed despite vocal opposition. "What happens if a man ends up with a prostitute because he doesn't want to rape his wife and catches a disease?" deputy Jorge Humberto Zamarripa asked. The conservative National Action Party — notorious for banning miniskirts and Wonderbra ads — posed the strongest opposition to the law. The ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party strongly backed the law and referred to the National Action Party opponents as "reactionaries" and "rapists."

Source: *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12/4/97

The Legal Practice of Forced Abortions

In an interview with Amnesty International, Tong Yi, a former assistant and translator for China's best-known democracy activist, Wei Jingsheng, spoke out against the treatment of women prisoners in China: "[P]regnant women in prison are given forced abortions, without any negotiation. This is very common in legal practice in China. Nobody outside knows about this,

because all the dissidents who spoke out before were men. But now women are dissidents," said Tong Yi.

Source: *Amnesty Action*, Fall 1997

"Paring" Down Pregnancies

Bobbi McCaughey defied the medical community when she decided to give birth to all seven of her babies. Doctors had strongly encouraged her to "reduce" the number of children she was carrying. "Fetal reduction" is becoming especially common for multiple pregnancies — even for twins. "One patient who was 54 years old said, 'Look, I don't want to be 75 and paying two college tuitions,'" said Mark Evans, a pioneer of fetal reduction at Hutzel Hospital in Detroit. Many obstetricians will not reduce a twin pregnancy to one, but Evans defended such a decision, saying, "If reducing from one to zero is acceptable in this society, then why not from two to one?" As fertility treatments continue to increase with a consequent increase in the number of multiple pregnancies, fetal reduction has become more prevalent. Evans has performed as many as 700 reductions. When he started to

Volunteer Journalists and Photographers
If you would like to be a contributing writer for *The American Feminist*, please send a writing sample to the editor. Ability to meet deadlines essential.
Photographers are also needed. Please send samples of your work. Photos will not be returned. Model releases are required to publish work. Releases become the property of Feminists for Life of America.



FFL Collegiate Coordinators Needed

FFL members located near colleges and universities are needed to mentor pro-life collegiate groups. Coordinators meet with students once per semester and follow up by phone on a monthly basis. FFL provides step-by-step instructors for students and FFL coordinators. Please contact the national office.

perform these abortions, he only did five a year. This year he expects to abort 100 children from multiple pregnancies. Fortunately, for the septuplets born in November, Bobbi McCaughey stood firm in her conviction that no matter what the circumstances, abortion is wrong.

Source: *The Wall Street Journal*, 11/21/97

High-Tech Horror

Surfing the Web? Take a look at <http://www.driller.com>. This is the Web site of abortionist George Tiller. Exclamations such as "Elective Abortion Care to 26 Weeks" and "Late Abortion Care for Fetal Anomaly" will flash onto your computer screen. You can take a look at photos of his operating suite, you can check out the fees for his abortion services, you can even read over the materials mandated by the Kansas Women's Right to Know Law. Tiller is no newcomer to the abortion industry — he boasts of providing abortion services for women since *Roe v. Wade*. Perhaps what's most horrifying about Tiller's practice is the focus on late-term pregnancies — Tiller admits to performing abortions on women in their ninth month of pregnancy. Even more startling is Tiller's admission in an interview with the *Kansas City Star* that three-fourths of his "late-term patients are teenagers who have denied to themselves or their families that they are pregnant until it was too late to hide it." So this is life (or should we say "death") on the "information highway"?

Source: *National Review*, 11/10/97

IRS Combating Deadbeat Parents

The IRS recently announced that it withheld a record \$1.1 billion in delinquent child support from taxpayers' refunds last year. Since 1981, the IRS has withheld tax refunds for parents who owe at least \$500 in child support (\$150 if the parent owes a family on welfare). The names of those whose

refunds need to be withheld are sent by states to the Department of Health and Human Services, which then passes them on to the IRS.

The withheld money will repay the primary caregivers or, in cases of families on welfare, the states supporting the family.

Source: *Washington Post*, 12/19/97

Poland Overturns Liberal Abortion Law

Voting 231 to 160, Poland's parliament endorsed a high-court ruling overturning a sweeping abortion law enacted in 1996. The 1996 law allowed women to obtain an abortion in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy if a child would cause emotional or financial difficulty. Parliament's endorsement means Poland will return to its original 1993 abortion law, which allowed abortion in a more limited number of cases, specifically rape, incest, fetal deformity, or if childbirth would endanger the women's physical health.

Source: *Washington Post*, 12/19/97

Clinton Administration Introduces Child-Care Initiative

The Clinton administration has introduced a five-year, \$21.7 billion package of child care tax credits and spending. The plan would expand tax credits for families earning up to \$60,000 and eliminate federal income taxes on a family of four earning \$35,000 annually with two children in child care.

The plan, along with increasing spending for community child-care services, would also offer tax credits to businesses that provide child care services for their employees.

Critics of the plan say it penalizes those who choose to be stay-at-home parents.

Source: *Houston Chronicle*, 3/11/98

SUMMER LECTURES

FFL Executive Director Serrin Foster will present "The Feminist Case *Against* Abortion" at the following locations. Please contact the FFL national office at (202)737-FFLA(3352) for more information.

May 11. American Association of Pro-Life Obstetricians and Gynecologists Annual Meeting at the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology Annual Clinical Meeting, New Orleans, La.

July 19. 150th Anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention, Feminists for Life of New York Luncheon, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

COLLEGE OUTREACH PROGRAM WORKSHOPS

Presented by Serrin Foster

May 11. University Faculty for Life Conference, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

June 19-20. National Right to Life Convention, Orlando, Fla.

TREAT YOURSELF OR SOMEONE ELSE

Some say FFL's recently trademarked logo is reminiscent of a woman reaching out to a child, or a child to her mother. We all agree that it is a joyful interpretation of the classic women's symbol. FFL's stunning new logo pin is sure to be admired. Available in sterling silver or sterling silver plated in 24 carat gold, it measures 2 1/4 by 1 3/4 inches (shown below actual size), and comes in a navy-blue gift box. It's a perfect gift for the dedicated volunteer, public servant — or treat yourself! Each is available for \$75.00. (See order form on page 27.) Please specify gold or silver. If you can't decide, get both!





LETTERS to the EDITOR

A Mother's Testimony

The following are excerpts from a speech sent to FFL by State Rep. Mary E. Brown of New Hampshire:

There are many moments in our lives that are so significant that they remain indelibly etched into our memories. I'd like to share such a moment with you. It was Jan. 1, 1974. The pregnancy had been short and difficult. The baby had to be born, there was no choice, or both of us would die.

"The baby's chances are zero," the doctor told my husband and me. "It won't be a live birth." But she was kicking and flailing about all through the birth process. I could feel her, as if she was saying "No! No! I don't want to go!"

At that moment all eyes in the room were on her tiny body. The doctor looked surprised as he held, literally in the palm of his hand, the tiniest baby I'd ever seen and she was kicking and flailing her legs and arms. She was doing something else, too. She was crying at the top of her lungs. Wailing, just like any newborn baby, but you could barely hear her. Her vocal chords were not yet developed.

There are a lot of misconceptions about what a fetus is, what a baby of 20, 22, or 24 weeks is like. Despite the uproar over *Roe v. Wade* going on at the time, I'd never thought about abortion. But the birth of our daughter forced me to examine this issue.

Let me share my insights.

How small was our daughter? The wrist bracelet used to identify newborns was moved to its smallest notch. It was way too big. So they put it on her ankle. She kept kicking it off! She was too small to nurse. A tube was inserted down her throat into her stomach. The formula was measured in

grams. One feeding was equal to half a teaspoon.

I went to the library and got some books on preemies. I found a study done in the 1940s. It wanted to know if it was better to isolate severely premature babies and avoid human contact and risk of infections. The babies without human contact died. The babies who interacted with people had a 20 percent survival rate.

The next day I couldn't wait for the doctor to arrive. I told her what I'd found and she agreed. Nurses showed me how to scrub up and, donning mask and smock, I sat beside our baby's isolet and stroked her face, held her hand and talked to her. I spent as much time as I could with her. When you hear the word "fetus" do you think of something that responds to love and nurturing?

We named our daughter Jessica. On Jan. 1, 1974, she made her startling entry into the world, three-and-a-half months ahead of schedule, a little over two pounds.

Last May, Jessica graduated from the U.S. Coast Guard Academy in New London, Conn. President Clinton handed Jessica her diploma and commission. Next time the partial-birth abortion bill comes to him, I hope he'll stop and think about what a fetus really is. It's a human being.

*Rep. Mary E. Brown
Concord, N.H.*

A Special Thanks

Dear Ms. Foster:

I had the pleasure of meeting you a few years ago, when you visited Cornell University as a guest of the Cornell Coalition for Life. You and I did not interact much,

but you did interact with some of my acquaintances. Right now, I am a graduate student at the University of Connecticut studying chemistry. I am joining your Connecticut chapter as a member.

I thank you and your colleagues for being the true voice of women's rights. We are both pro-woman, pro-child, and pro-life. Last week, the pro-choice feminists held a rally in support of "abortion rights." Seeing this made me want to cry; I had not been doing much to fight abortion these last few years. I immediately remembered your talk from Cornell. I remembered your stories about the pain that abortion has caused men and women, the pain of killing their children. I remembered your stories about women who are pushed into abortion by men who do not want to take responsibility for their actions. I logged onto your Web site and remembered many of the things you said at Cornell. Your message has inspired me to send a letter to the campus newspaper, where I state a pro-woman, pro-child, and pro-life message, and I asked anyone who thought that abortion liberated women to check out your Web site. It is painful that these well-meaning but misguided women are supporting something that oppresses women. The term "abortion rights" is an oxymoron. I thank you for reminding us that women's liberation does not mean helping women to kill their babies. Women's liberation is a society where women do not feel the need to kill their children. A free society is one where women are told to be proud of being mothers, not a society where pregnancy is seen as a defect.

Keep up the good work!

*Michael Kenneth Hwang
Willington, Conn.*

ORDER FORM

Materials

Indicate number of items:

- \$75 FFL Logo Pin
 - sterling silver
 - 24K gold plate over sterling
- \$15 *Different Voices* — anthology of pro-life feminist essays
- \$2 "Peace Begins in the Womb" bumper sticker
- \$2 "Question Abortion" bumper sticker
- \$2 "Voices of Our Feminist Foremothers" poster
- \$4.95 *Man's Inhumanity to Woman* — essays by 19th-century feminists
- "You're Not Alone" brochures — 50 for \$5; 100 for \$10; 250 for \$20
- "What Women *Really* Want" brochure — *Free* with a self-addressed stamped envelope
- "You Have Choices" brochure — *Free* with a self-addressed stamped envelope
- \$14.95 *Prolife Feminism Yesterday and Today* — anthology of pro-life feminist essays
- \$17.50 *Swimming Against the Tide: Feminist Dissent on the Issue of Abortion*



College Outreach Program

Send a Kit to Campus

Indicate number of items:

- \$35 Health Clinic Kit
- \$35 Pro-life Collegiate Kit
- \$35 Pro-life Advisor Kit
- \$35 Campus Counselor Kit
- \$55 Pro-life Feminist History Kit
- \$10 Six camera-ready ads
- \$250-500 Range for ad placement
- Pregnancy Decision Questionnaire *Free* with a self-addressed stamped envelope



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OF5/98

QUESTION

a b o r t i o n .

We can make this work.

Women are strong and powerful.

Yet when a woman is unexpectedly pregnant, many expect her to abort her own child, as if she couldn't handle it.



Don't Underestimate Women.

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